

THE
ROMANE
HISTORIE WRIT-
TEN BY T. LIVIVS
OF PADVA.

Also, the Breviaries of L. Florus: with a Chronologie to the whole
Historie: and the Topographie of Rome in old time.

Translated out of Latine into English, by PHILEMON HOLLAND,
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LONDON,
Printed by Adam Jslip.

1600.



TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTIE
MONARCH, ELIZABETH, (MY DREAD SOVE-
RAINE) BY THE GRACE OF GOD, QVEENE OF EN-
GLAND, FRANCKE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER
OF THE FAITH, &c.



ALL my labour whatsoever, in translating another mans worke, I present here unto your Highnesse, and consecrate to the happie and immortal memorie of your most sacred Majestie. An attempt (I confesse) in regard of mine owne imperfections, venturous and overbold; as the first enterprise, right, hard and exposed to perill. Yet, most Worthie and Powerfull Emperesse, Who is there so unsufficient, that by the favourable aspect of your countenance, may not be graced and enabled? What so difficult and dangerous, which under the fortunate auspices of your Majestie, cannot be effected with ease and passe in safetie?

Accept then, most gracious Lady, the first fruits of a few-years studie, for the benefit enjoyed of life and libertie. An offering, as well in that respect, as of my selfe the meannest of many thousands, under all proportion; but considering either the argument or the first Author, not much unfitting. Hee, in penning the Historie of the greatest state in his time, for exquisite eloquence had not his equall; no more than your Highnesse in glorious government at this day, any second: Such are the incomparable perfections resplendent in your Royall person; the Wonder of the world.

Vouchsafe also, of your accustomed clemencie shewed to aliens; of your fervent zeale to learning and good letters, wherein (among other rare vertues and singular gifts seated in your Heroicke mind) no Prince cometh neere unto your Excellencie, to reach forth your gracious hand to T. Livius; who having arrived long since & conversed as a meere stranger in this your famous Iland, & now for love thereof learned in some sort the language, humbly craveth your Majesties favour, to be ranged with other freedizens of that kind: so long to live under your princely protection, as hee shall duly keepe his owne allegiance, and acquaint your liege subjects with religious devotion after his manner, with wisdom, pollicie, vertue, valour, loyaltie; and not otherwise.

And the Almighty guard your Majestie alwaies with his holy angels: prolong your life among us in perfect health: adorne your noble heart with divine graces: maintaine your regall estate in all honour: blesse the rest of your daies (and infinite may they be) with sweet repose and firm peace, to the joy of your true-hearted and loving people: and finally, accomplish all your desires, for present prosperitie and future felicitie.

Your sacred Maiesties most humble
and obedient subiect,

Philemon Holland.



Ad Anglicam Livianæ Historiæ versionem, Interpretis Protoproœa.

Nate (decem decies sensu fastidia menses,
Longa nimis; matri dum grave pondus eras)
Quid lucem refugis? (nocuit pudor iste parenti)
Atria quid fugitas regia? siste pedem.
Siste pedem, audentes sequitur fortuna; nec ausis
Excidere è magnis dedecus esse reor.
Horridulum peperit si rusticæ Nymphæ paternam
Te genus aut virtus nobilitare potest.
Nemp: Decus Patav! genuit te Livius ingens:
Sume animum, tanto es qui genitore satius.
Et, quæ savit opemq; tulit Lucina vocanti,
Eilædqa potens, dia Diana mihi;
Hæc oculis, hæc te manibus refovebit aletq;
Audiet, ipsa leget, faustiq; verba dabit.
Agnosce proprias, Princeps ter maxima, laudes;
Sive artes pacis, seu fera bella refers.
Quid si πολυμάχης, quid si πολυγλωσσος, & orbis
Mirandum Decus, hæc ELIZA BETHA tenes,
Quæ tulit in Latium Patavinus, transulit inde
Tentonus, Hetruscus, Gallus, Iberus, Arabs?
At patrias mavult audire & reddere voces,
Quæ patriæ princeps, alma parensq; sua est.
(Scilicet ille Ithacus sapiens optavit Phryges
Velsumum è patrijs posse videre focis.)
ILLIUS aspectu vitalis numine tutus,
Auspicijs felix atque beatus eris.
Aulam sive colas, seu Sacra, aut Castra sequaris:
Sanctior (ecce) vocat Curia; gratus eris.
Sive rogata legas gens ingeniosa placebis:
Seu maze civilis turba frequensq; populi.
Alicui, Antistes, Miles, prudensq; Senator,
Causidicus, Civis, femina, virgo, puer,
Hinc documenta petent: discet juvenisq; senexq;
Vir bonus, & patriæ commodus esse sua.
Ergo matre animis, nec te gens Critica ladet:
Candidior, quo quis doctior, esse solet.

Σὺ δὲ χαρίζεαι (ὅ γὰρ εἰς διῶδες ἀρίστους)
Τέκνον, σὴν πατρίδι σπαύδεο, πολλὰ χαμῶν:
ἀστέρας οἱ τε χαρίζεαι μοι μέγα γάρμα γένοιτο;
Τὸ καὶ πόντος τλάειν ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἀνὴρ.



TO THE READER.

THe is that Axiome received from Philosophie, τὴν ἑνὸς φθορὰν
γεννᾷ τὸ ἐκείνης εἶναι. *i.* The corruption of one thing is the generation
of another. Thus out of the ashes and ruines of Troie sprung
the citie of Rome: and by the wofull fall of that one state,
arose not only the most glorious empire of the Romans, but
also the best writer of their historie, *Titus Livius*. For wher-
as after the fatall destruction of Troy, two principall men of name remained
alive, *Aeneas* and *Antenor*: the one with his fleet arriving in that coast of Italie
where Tybre runneth, built Lavinium, and became the first father of the Ro-
mans, according to *Virgil* in the first *Aeneid*:

— genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque alta moenia Romæ.

— from whence are Latines come,
The noble Albanes eke, and vvalles of stately Rome.

Antenor entered the Venice gulf, and founded the citie of Padua, the native
place of *Livie* their historiographer; as the same Poet writeth a little after:

Hic tamen ille urbem Patav! sedesque locavit
Teucrorum, &c.

Yet here the citie Padua built he: therein to plant
His Trojanes, lest when Troy vvas lost, vvhose resting seat did vvant.

And I wor not wel, whither they were more beholden to that fortune of theirs,
(wherof so much they boasted) for *Aeneas* the author of their beginning & ad-
mirable greatnes: than for this writer *Livie*, who comended their deeds to ever-
lasting fame. For from their very first rising, even vvvith *Aeneas*, unto their sensible
declining and decay, were not twelve hundred yeeres compleat: but since *Livie*
enchronicled their acts, sixtene hundred are come and gone: yet continue
they as fresh this day as at the first, and spred still farre and neere into all parts
of the vworld. So much more durable and permanent are the memorials recor-
ded by learned Historians, than either any monarchie bee it never so great, or
all those vvonderfull Pyramides and Obeliskes, reared by most magnificent
kings, and mightie emperors, to immortalize their name and memorie. This
T. Livius then, vvas borne at Padua, in the yeere 694 after the foundation of
Rome, when *L. Afranius* and *Q. Cecilius Metellus Celer* vvere Consuls. He flou-
rished

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rished all the time of *Augustus Caesar*, and died in the fourth yeere of *Tiberius*: By vvhich account, hee lived full LXXVI. yeeres: as appeareth by an auncient Epitaph upon his tombe at Padua, (where it is thought hee died) with the pourtraict of his visage: whereof the one is represented here, and the other immediatly before the beginning of the Historie.



TITVS LIVIVS PATAVINVS,

Cujus invicto calamo, invicta Romanorum
facta scripta sunt.

TITVS LIVIVS OF PADUA,

Who wrote long since with peere-lesse pen,
The acts of Romanes, match-lesse men.

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Other evidences there be concerning the same, which needlesse it were to call to witnesse: for no Epitaph nor inscription either enchaſed in ſtone or cut in braſſe, is there left; better than the monuments of his owne writings (if they had come entire to our hands) and the teſtimonie of good and approved authors. For during the time of *Augustus*, he wrote the worthe deeds of the Romanes, and continued the narration thereof, from the verie foundation of the cittie of Rome unto the one and twentieth yeere of his Empire. A ſtorie of 750 yeeres, and a peece of worke for the artificiall frame and elegant ſetting out, comparable to the beſt in that kind. My purpoſe is not here, to enter into a large field and rhetoricall diſcourſe of his praifes in regard of any gifts of fortune where-with he was plentifully enriched: namely, the place of his nativitie, a cittie more auncient by 400 yeeres than Rome; flouriſhing in martiall puiſſance, able to ſet out and maintaine 100000 fighting men for the warres; in ſtately port at home, having a nobilitie of 400 in number; in gorgeous and coſtly buildings; in traffique and frequent affluence of Merchants thither; as alſo, that Venice was a Colonie deducted and drawne from thence; and, which is not the leaſt, how at this day the famous Vniverſitie there, affourdeth excellent profeſſors in all kind of learning: nor his happineſſe and felicitie to live and die with the glorie and beautie of Rome, and not to behold with his eyes thoſe daies of her declining ſtate and deformitie, which in great wiſdome he foreſaw in his ſpirit, and denounced accordingly: ne yet the ſpeciall favour wherein hee ſtood with his prince *Augustus*, and *Livia* the Empreſſe; much leſſe then meane I to ſet forth the ſingular qualities and perfections of his mind, and namely his rare and paſſing eloquence; which my pen is no more able now to deſcribe and amplifie to the worthineſſe thereof, than it was to imitate and expreſſe the ſame in tranſlating of his ſtorie. Moreover, if I ſhould ſet into his commendation, beſides that I muſt needs come farre ſhort of his merit, the thing it ſelfe would but renew the juſt griefe, that all learned men have taken for the piteous maime and defect of that notable peece of worke and uniforme compoſition which hee left unto poſteritie. For having digeſted the whole hiſtorie into an hundred and two and fortie bookes, as *Petrarch* was of opinion, and as *Sigonius* therein well colleceth: like as alſo it is evident by the Breviaries of *L. Florus* the Epitomiſt, whereof vve have 140, vvith an evident flawv and default of twaine, to vvith, the 136 and 137: ſee the partiall iniurie of the time, the crooked & maligne deſtinie of the man! Bookes of farre leſſe moment and importance, yea and thoſe of greater antiquitie, have been ſpared and remaine ſafe: but of that vvork of his, one fourth part hath not eſcaped the envie of fortune: and that vvich nowv is extant, hath been delivered unto us either by fragments of old copies unperfect, or by the over-curious meddling of ſome buſie *Ariſtarches* of late daies depraved, who vvith their correcting have corrupted; & in ſtead of reforming vvords, have deformed the naturall ſenſe and primitive conſtruction. Where, by the vvay, I muſt advertiſe the Reader of that vvich *Petrus Crinitus* hath obſerved, even againſt the common opinion approved by thoſe vvho otherwiſe are vvell learned, namely that our Author diſpenſed not this hiſtorie into Decades: that is to ſay, luted and ſorted them not into ſeverall Tomes and Sections of ten bookes a peece. For *Triſcian* and other old Grammarians, vvhen

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when they cite any testimonie out of *Livie*, quote the book, and make no mention at all of any Decade: and with him the abovenamed *Petrarch*, *Florus*, & *Po-
litian* doe agree. Now in these 35 bookes, so few as they be, preserved as another
Palladium out of a generall skarefire, we may conceive the rare and wonderfull
eloquence of our vvriter in the whole: for the farther he proceedeth into a world
as it were, of matter, the more copious still he floweth; and vvith such varietie, as
that he never iterateth one thing twice; but at every change of new affaires, retur-
neth alwaies fresh and gay, furnished vvith new deuises, inventions, and phrased:
much like a second *Anteus*, gathering greater strength & more forces still at every
turn; or after the maner of a little rill, vvhich issuing from a small source, is main-
tained vvith fresh springs and new riverets; & hastning toward the vast ocean, car-
rieth a deeper channell & broader streame. For the forme of his style, I referre the
readers to the sound & staied iudgement rather of *Quintilian*, who cōpareth him
vvith *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, & the best Greeks; than to the fantastical conceits of
some Criticks of our time, vvho seeking *nodum in scirpo*, have dreamed of I vvot
not vvhat Parauinitie in him. What should I speake of that Patheticall spirit of his
in moving affections? But, that vvhich most of all commendeth an historie, vvhich
being *lux veritatis*, ought especially to deliver vvith synceritie the vvhole truth &
nothing but the truth, vvithout respect of face or person: to keep only to the sub-
stance & train of the subiect arguēt; the due & orderly regard of the important
circumstances thereto belonging, vvithout inserting extravagant & impertinent
by-matters, much lesse then, fabulous tales: therein he hath the pricke and price
above all others. For, neither forbeareth he to reprove (as occasion is offered) the
Romans, in whose fauour he might be thought to have vvritten, nor doubteth to
praise the good parts & the valiant exploits of their mortall enemies. The Gauls
he may seem to gall more bitterly upon a sinister affection, glauncing at them, as
he doth, in many places for their greedie desire of gold & idle slouth, as not able
to endure any long travell, and hear least of all: yet so, as the French now li-
ving, seeme not much offended therewith: for above other nations they have gi-
ven him most friendly intertainment, and twise enfranchised him among them.
I am not unwilling to touch by the way this principal point and vertue of an Hi-
storio-grapher, I meane the deliverie of a simple truth in his narrations: for that
I have observed in him throughout, that he hath been most modest in reporting
from others by hearesay any thing that soundeth to an untruth: so little deser-
veth he to be noted with the infamous brand of lye. The vvare circumspecti-
on of his in that behalfe vvhich I dare be bold to recommend unto the reader,
I proposed unto my selfe in making him english; endeavoring by conference es-
pecially of the select copies in Latin, yet not reiecting other translations (such as
I had some little skill in) to come as neere as possibly I could, to the true meaning
of the Author: making this account, that if I could approve my diligence that
way to men of reason and understanding, all other my wants and defects might
sooner be passed by and pardoned. A desire I had to performe in some sort, that
which is profitable to the most, namely, an english Historie of that C.W. which
of all others (if I have any iudgement) affourdeth most plenteous examples of
devout zeale in their kind, of vvisedome, pollicie, iustice, valour, and all vertues
vvhatsoever. According to this purpose & intent of mine I framed my pen, not to
any

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any affected phrase, but to a meane and popular stile. Wherein, if I have called
again into use some old words, let it be attributed to the love of my countrey
language: if the sentence be not so concise, couched and knit together, as the
originall, loth I was to be obscure and darke: have I not englished everie word
aptly? Each Nation hath severall maners yea and tearmes appropriate, by them-
selves: have I varied in some places from the French or Italian? censured I looke
to be, and haply reprooved: but like as *Alcibiades* said to one, *παραφοινίζεις ἀνέ-
σσοι, i. Strike hardly (Euribiades) so you beare me speake*: even so say I; Find fault and
spare not; but withal, read the original better before ye give sentence. And how-
soever I have faulted otherwise by oversight, set against it my affection & desire
to do some good whiles I live to my sweet native country: adde thereto the long
travell that I have taken to testifie the same: and if that will not bring down the
ballance, let the profit and delight both, which you shall find in the argument
and discourse of the historie, countrepoise and over-weigh my wants, more or
lesse. And thus I recommend unto my countrymen, *Livie* in English habit: *Livie*
(I say) who whether he were more honored whiles he lived, than beloved at this
day of forrein nations, I cannot easily determine. For like as then, (by the testi-
monie of S. *Hierome*, and *Plinie* in his Epistles) there repaired many great and
noble personages from the farthest parts of Spaine and Fraunce, only to see his
face, for the admiration they conceived of him by the fame of his incompara-
ble eloquence: even so of late time, his spirit (which yet liveth in his writings)
hath made a voyage by Florence into the same Fraunce and Spaine; and hath
passed as far as into Arabia one way, & Almaine another. In which dissite and
remote parts he hath found such kind entertainment, not only in courts of em-
perours and kings, in pallaces of princes and great potentates; but also with the
people in generall: that they seeme to strive no lesse (who may endow him with
most ample franchises and free burgeoisie) than those seven citties in old time
who every one chalenged to themselves, the birth of the poet *Homer*. Since then,
he hath thus long been desirous to crosse the seas into this noble Iland, not as
a travailer to sojourne for a time, in the Court onely or the Vniversities; but to
remaine here still both in citie and countrey, and thereto hath learned our lan-
guage indifferently; let it now appeare that this nation of ours (like to
reap as great fruit and benefit by his acquaintance as any other)
is readie also to receive and embrace him as
friendly as the rest.



THE EPITAPH.

V. F.
TITVS LIVIVS
LIVIÆ T. F.
QVARTÆ L.
HALYS
CONCORDIALIS
PATAVI.
SIBI ET SVIS
OMNIBVS.
OBIIT IIII. TIBERII
CÆSARIS ANNO.
NATVS LXXVI.
ANNOS.



THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF TITVS LIVIVS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the
Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the said Booke.



He coming of *Aeneas* into Italy, and his acts there: the reigne of *Ascanius* in Alba¹ of *Silvius Aeneas*, and so forth of other *Sylvii*, kings thereof, are contained in the first book. The daughter of *Nannitor* with child by *Mars*. *Romulus* and *Remus* are borne. *Amulius* killed. The cittie of Rome built by *Romulus*. The Senat by him chosen. *Romulus*.²² He made warre with the *Sabines*. He presented unto *Iupiter* *Evectus* the votall spoiles of their king, whom he slew with his own hands. He divided the people into *Centuries*, vanquished the *Fidenates* and *Veintians*, and was canonised a god. *Numa Pompilius* *Numa Pompili-*^{us. 22} taught the rites and ceremonies of sacrifice and divine service, erected a temple to *Luna*, and was the first that shut the doores thereof, after he had made peace with all the nations thereabout: and faining that hee had secret compaignie and conference by night with the goddess *Egeria*, won the stout and fierce hearts of the people to religion. *Tullus Hostilius* warred upon the *Albanes*, *Tullus Hostili-*^{us. 3.} whereupon ensued the combat of the three brethren, twins on both sides. *Horatius* was acquit for killing his sister. The execution of *Metius Suffetius*. *Albans* raised and destroyed. The *Albanes* made five daizens of Rome, and there dwelt. War denounced against the *Sabines*. Finally, *Tullus* was consumed with lightning. *Ancus Marcius* renewed the ceremonies by *Numa* first ordained. Vnto the *Latines* being conquered and made citizens of Rome, he assigned the mount *Aventine* to inhabit. He won againe by force, a towne of the *Latines* called *Politorium*, which the old *Latines* had surprised and possessed themselves of, and utterly destroyed it. He made the *Sublician* or wooden bridge over *Tybris*, and adjoined to the cittie the hill *Laniculum*. He enlarged the bounds of the Empire, built *Ostia*, and reigned three and thirtie yeares. In the time of his reigne, *Lucumo* the sonne of *Demavatus* a *Corinthian*, removed from *Tarquinus*, a cittie of *Tuscane*, and came to Rome: and there entering into amitie with *Ancus*, began to beare the name of *Tarquinus*, and so to be called: and after the death of *Ancus* took the kingdome upon him. He increased the number of the Senators, by one hundred, subdued the *Latines*, appointed the *Circus* or Theatre, set forth the publicke games and plaues: and being warred upon by the *Sabines*, he augmented the centuries of the horsemen. And for to make proofe and triall of *Ancus* *Nanius* the *Augur*: his cunning, he demanded of him, as they say, whether that which he conceived in his mind, were possible to be effected: and when he made answer that it was, he commanded him to cut a whetstone in two with a rasour, which out of hand was by *Ancus* done. Moreover, he won the field of the *Sabines*, and deffited them, walked the cittie about, made the vaulted finkes: and when he had reigned eight and thirtie yeares, was murdered by the sonnes of *Ancus*. There succeeded after him *Servius Tullius*, the sonne of a captive, a noble lady of *Corniculum*, who being a child, lying swaddled in the cradle, had a flame of fire as the report goeth burning about his head. He deffied the *Veientes* and *Uscianes* in battell: He was the first that numbred the people of Rome, valued their goods, and instituted the *Lustrum* every five yeares, in which were reported to have been numbred eightie thousand citizens. Hee described the *Classe* and *Centuries*: set out further the bounds of the *Pomerie*, without and within the cittie walls: and put to the cittie, the hills *Quirinalis*, *Viminalis*, and *Esquilinus*. He together with the *Latines*, founded the temple of *Diana* in mount *Aventine*, and when hee had reigned foure and thirtie yeares, hee was with the privitie and by the counsel of his daughter *Tullia*, murdered by *L. Tarquinus*, the sonne of *Priscus*. After him *L. Tarquinus Superbus* assumed the kingdome, without the election, either of the Senators or the people. On which day *Tullia* (most wicked and caused wretch that soe was) caused her coach to be driven over the corps of her father, lying dead on the ground. Hee had about him a troupe of armed men for the guard of his person. By a subtile wile he put to death *Tarminus Herdonius*. He had warre with the *Volsicans*, and of their spoiles edified a temple to *Iupiter*, on the hill *Capitol*, where the god *Terminus* and goddess *Lucretia*, agreed not to be displaced, whose alters could not be shivered nor removed, as the others. By the fraudulent practise of his son *Sext. Tarquinus*, he brought the *Gabians* to his obedience. Vnto his other two sonnes, being gone to *Delfi*, and consulting there the Oracle, whether of them should be king of Rome, answer was made, That he should reigne who first kissed his mother: which answer they interpreting wrong, *Junius Brutus*, who accompanied them

in the night made as though he caught a fall, and kissed the ground, the mother indeed of all: which proved true on **G** his enemies fell out in the end. For when as *Tarquinius Superbus* by his proud tyrannicall demeanour had incurred the hatred of all men: he at last upon the forcible outrage and villanie done by *Sex. Tarquinius* (his sonne) in the night slew him: the brother of *Lucretia*: who finding for her father *Tricipitinus*, and her husband *Collatinus*, besought them earnestly not to see her death avenged, and so with a knife killed himselfe. I say, by the means of *Brutus*, especially was driven and expelled out of Rome, when he had reigned five and twentie yeares. Then were the Consuls first created, *Lucius Brutus*, and *Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus*.



Hether in writing the acts and affairs of the people of Rome, from the first foundation of the citie, I shall performe a worke of importance and worth my traualle, neither wote I well, nor if I wist, dare I advouch: seeing it is a thing both old and usuall; that new Writers alwaies perswade themselves, either in matter to deliver more truth and certaintie, or in manner of curious penning thereof, to outgoe the rudenesse of elder time. Howsoever it fall out, this yet will doe me good, that even I also, to the utmost of my power, have endeavoured to eternise the worthie deeds of that people which is the soveraigne of the whole world. And if among so manie writers, my fame chance to be obscure, yet may I comfort my selfe in this, That they who shall darken and shadow the same, are men so highly reputed and renowned. Besides, the thing it selfe is of infinite toile and labour, as computing and comprising from above 700 yeares past, and which arising from small beginning hath proceeded and growne so great, as now the bignesse thereof is comberous to it selfe: and I doubt not, but the readers for the most part will take but small delight and pleasure, either in those rare fetched originals, or in the times next ensuing, for halt they make to these novelties of latter daies, wherein the puissance of that so mightie people hath wrought long since their owne downefall and overthrow. But I contrariwise will seeke even this for guerdon of my paines, namely, to turne away from beholding these calamities, which this our age for manie yeares hath seene, so long at least: whilest I call to remembrance, and wholly employ my spirits in considering those ancient monuments of old time, exempt from care and trouble, which were able, if not to withdraw my mind as I write, from the truth, yet to make it pensive and heavie. As for such things as are reported, either before, or at the foundation of the citie, more beautified and set out with Poets fables, than grounded vpon pure and faithfull records, I meane neither to averre nor disprove. This leave and priviledge hath antiquitie, by interlacing the acts of gods and men together, to make the first rising of cities more sacred and venerable. And if it may be lawfull for anie people under heaven to consecrate and ascribe vnto the gods their Original: certes, such is the renowned martiall prowes of the Romans, that all nations of the world may as well abide them to report Mars above the rest, to be the stockefather both of themselves and of their first founder, as they can bee content to liue in subiection vnder them. But these and such like matters, howsoever they shall hereafter be censured or esteemed, I will not greatly weigh and regard. This would I have everie man rather to thinke upon in good earnest, and consider with me what their life, and what their carriage was, by what men and means both in war and peace, their dominion was achieved and enlarged. Afteward, as their discipline began by little and little to shrink, let him marke how at the very first their behaviour and manners sunke withall: and how still they fell more and more to decay and ruine; yea and began soone after to tumble downe right even untill these our daies, wherein wee can neither endure our owne forces, nor salves for the cure. For this is it that is so good and profitable in an historie, when a man may see and behold as in a conspicuous monument and lightesome memoriall, the lively examples of all sorts, set up in open view for his instruction, whereout he may chuse for himselfe and his countrey what to follow, as also learne, how to eschew a foule enterprise, and avoid a shamefull end. But unless I be deceived with the affectionate love of mine owne commended worke, never was there Commonweale, either more mightie, more holie, and devout, better stored of good precedents, or into which covetousnesse and excesse more lately crept, or wherein povertie and frugallitie, were so greatly or so long time honored, in so much, as the more they wanted, the lesse they desired. Now of late daies wealth hath brought

A brought in avarice, abundant pleasures have kindled a desire by riot, lust, and loose life, to perish and bring all to naught. But these complaints, which will be nothing pleasant, no not when perhaps they shall be needfull, banish we must (howsoever we doe) at our first entrance of so weightie a matter: when as we rather should begin (if as the Poets use, it were our manner also) with good offices and luckie forepeakings, with vows and prayers to gods and goddes, to vouchsafe their furtherance and happie successe to the enterprise of so great a worke.

B Ifst of all, this is generally held for certaine, That the Greekes, after the winning of Troy, delt cruelly with all the Trojans, save only *Aeneas* and *Antenor*: to whome, as well in regard of the bond of mutuall entertainment, as also for that they ever perswaded peace and the rendring againe of *Helene*, they wholly forbore to shew any rigor at all, as by martiall right of warre they might have done. And how *Antenor* afterwards, accompanied with a number of *Henetians*, who driven by civill discord out of *Paphlagonia*, and having lost at Troy their king *Pylemenes*, were to seeke both a resting place, and a captaine to conduct them, arrived through many adventures and accidents of fortune, in the inmost gulfes of the *Adriaticke* sea: and after they had expelled the *Euganians* that inhabited betweene the sea and the *Alpes*, those *Henetians* together with the *Trojans*, kept those parts and there remained. The place where first they landed, hight *Troy*, whereof the territorie and signorie thereabout was also named *Troy*, and the whole people in generall called *Henetians*. Moreover, how *Aeneas* upon like misfortune, having fled his countrey, yet aspiring by the fatal direction of the destinies to greater affaires, came first into *Macedonie*: and after into *Sicilie*, seeking an abiding place: and sailing with a fleet from *Sicilie*, arrived at length, and landed in the countrey of *Laurentum*: which place likewise was cleaped *Troy*. Where the *Trojans* being set a shore, having after their long wandering, nothing in a manner left them but ships & armor, as they forraied & drave booties out of the countrey, King *Latinus* with the *Aborigines*, who at that time inhabited those parts, ran forth in warlike manner out of towne and country, to withstand the violent invasion of these strangers. But what befell thereupon, is two manner of waies reported. Some say, that *Latinus* being in a battell vanquished, first made peace with *Aeneas*, and after that allied himselfe to him by marriage. Others affirme, that as both armies stood ranged in battell array, before the trumpets sounded the battell, *Latinus* came forth into the vaward, and called out the generall of the strangers to parle: demanding who they were, from whence they came, by what chance they departed from their owne home, and to what end they entred the *Laurentine* borders? After that he heard the companie were *Trojans*, the Captaine *Aeneas*, sonne of *Venus* and *Anchises*, and that upon the burning of their citie, they having forgone their countrey, sought some place to abide and build them a citie in: wondred much, not onely at the noblenesse of the people and their leader, but also at their courageous hearts, resolved either for war or peace: whereupon, by giuing his right hand, he plight his troth, and faithfully promised them friendship and amitie. So the two generalls made a league, and each host saluted other. And *Aeneas* was by *Latinus* entertained and lodged in the court. Where *Latinus* solemnly in presence of his familiar household gods, by giving his daughter in marriage to *Aeneas*, joined private alliance to the former publicke confederacie. Which thing truly put the *Trojans* in good hope and full assurance, to end one day their wandering and flitting to and fro, and to settle themselves in one certaine place of abode. Hereupon, a towne they built, which *Aeneas* of his wives name called *Lavinium*. Within a while, by this new marriage, he had issue a sonne: whom the parents named *Ascanius*. But after all this, were both *Trojans* and *Aborigines* warred upon. For *Turnus* king of the *Rutilians*, unto whom *Lavinia* before *Aeneas* his coming, had beene espoused, taking it to heart that a stranger was preferred before him, made warre both upon *Aeneas* and *Latinus*: but neither armie departed from the battell with joy and well apaid. For the *Rutilians* were vanquished: the *Aborigines* and *Trojans* wan indeed the field, but lost their Captaine *Latinus*. Then *Turnus* and the *Rutilians* mistrusting their owne strength, fled for succour to the puissant and mightie *Tulcanes*, and to their king *Mecenius*, who keeping his roiall court at *Cere*, a towne in those daies of great wealth, not well pleased even from the first beginning, with the foundation of a new citie, and supposing the *Trojans* power was already much more encreased, than might well stand with the safetie of

The Latines.

The death and
sepulture of As-
canus.
Jupiter Indiges.The wife go-
vernment of La-
vinia, Queene
Mother.Julus or Asca-
nius
The familie of
the Julij.Long Alba
built by Ascanius
The kingdome
of Alba.Albula or Ty-
beris.

Latinus Silvius.

Tiberinus.

Aventinus.

Procas.

Numitor and
Amulius.

Rhea Sylvia.

Romulus and
Remus borne.

the borderers, joined full willingly his forces with the Rutilians. *Aeneas* to win the hearts of the Aborigines against so dreadfull and dangerous warre, to the end, they all should not onely live under one government, but also be all of one name, called both nations Latines. And from that time forth were the Aborigines nothing inferiour to the Trojanes in love and loialtie towards their prince *Aeneas*. *Aeneas* also trusting confidently in the valiant and faithfull hearts of these two States, growing vp daillie more and more in mutuall amitie, albeit *Hetruria* was so mightie, that the name thereof was renowned not onely throughout the inland parts, but the sea coasts also, even from one end of Italie to the other, from the Alpes to the narrow seas of Sicilie: yet whereas he might well have resisted the force of his enemies, and maintained a defensive war within his wals, he brought his armie forth into the open field. This was the second battell that the Latines fought, and the last deed that ever *Aeneas* whilest he was man, achieved. And howsoever by right he ought to be named, he lieth interred upon the river *Nimicus*, and *Jupiter Indiges* men him call. Now was not *Ascanius*, *Aeneas* his sonne, ripe as yet for age to sway the scepter. Howbeit the roiall crowne remained whole and safe for him, untill he came to fourteene yeares of age. So long continued the state of the Latines, and the kingdome by grandfire and father descended, unto the childes behoofe, under the government onely of a woman, as protectresse: of so vertuous disposition and princely carriage was Dame *Lavinia*. Doubtfull much I stand (for who can certainly avouch a thing so long agoe) whether this were that *Ascanius*, or one elder than he, who had to his mother *Cressa*, whilst *Ilium* flourished, and who fled with his father from thence, and from whom being named also *Iulus*, the house and familie of the Julij doe fetch their name and pedigree. That same *Ascanius* wheresoever or of whomsoever he was borne (but *Aeneas* his sonne of a truth he was) when *Lavinium* grew exceeding populous, left that citie now flourishing and wealthie (as the world went then) unto his mother or stepmother, I wot not whether. Hee himselfe built another out of the ground under the mountaine *Alba*, which of the situation thereof, stretching out in length on the side of the hill, was named Long *Alba*. Betwene the building of *Lavinium* and Long *Alba*, which became an under-towne or Colonie drawne out of the other, and peopled from thence, were almost thirtie yeares. But so mightie grew they, especially after the discomfiture of the Tuscans, that neither upon the death of *Aeneas*, nor during the time of a womans government, nor all the while that the young prince learned to bee a king, durst either *Mecentius* or the Tuscans, or anie other of the borderers, once stirre or rise in armes. But peace was concluded upon these tearms, That the river *Albula*, which now they call *Tyberis*, should divide the Tuscans from the Latines, and limit to either of them their owne bounds. After this raigned *Silvius*, the sonne of *Ascanius*, born by chance within the Forrests: who begat *Aeneas Silvius*, and he had issue *Latinus Silvius*, by whom were certaine Colonies or pettie townships erected, & the inhabitants named *Prisii Latini*. And from thenceforth all the kings of *Alba* continued the surname of *Sylvius*. This *Latinus* begat *Alba*, of *Alba* came *Arys*, *Arys* begat *Capis*, and of *Capis* descended *Capeus*, whose sonne *Tyberinus* in ferrying over the river *Albula*, was drowned, and by his name renowned that river unto all posteritie. Next to him raigned *Agrippa* his sonne, and after him succeeded *Romulus Sylvius* in his fathers kingdome, who being stricken dead with a thunderbolt, left the crowne to *Aventinus*. This *Aventinus* was buried in that hill, which now is part of the citie of Rome, and beareth his name. Then raigned *Procas*, who had two sonnes, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. And unto *Numitor*, because hee was the elder, he bequeathed by his last will and testament the auncient kingdome of the *Sylvians* line. Howbeit, might prevaile more than either the will of the father, or the reverent regard of elder brother. For *Amulius* having driven out *Numitor*, raigneth himselfe: and not herewith content, heapeth one mischeefe upon another. For first he murdered the issue male of his brother: then by making *Rhea Sylvia* his brothers daughter, a vestall Nun, and that under colour of honour and dignitie, by perpetuall vowed virginie, he bereft her of all hope of childbearing. But it was a farrall thing, and (as I thinke) which God would have, that so great a citie should be built for to yeeld the ground and beginning of that Empire, which next under the gods is most mightie. For behold, the Vestall virgin was by force deflowered, and after delivered of two twins: and were it that shee thought so in very deed, or because the name and credite of a god might carrie away and cloke the fault more cleancly, shee fathered her bastard children vpon Mars. But neither god nor man was able to save her selfe or her children from the kings crueltie. For the Votarie was committed to clost prison, and there kept bound in yrons: as for the babes he commanded they should bee cast into the

stream

A streame of the river. But (as God would) by good hap the *Tyber* overflowed the banckes, and the standing waters on either side was nothing rough, yet so, as there was no coming to the deepe current or channell of the very river: and they that brought the infants, hoped well they might be drowned in anie place of the water, were it never so still and low. So to fulfill after a sort, the kings commandement, they laid the children in the next plash they came to: even where as now standeth the figtree *Ruminalis*, called as they say, *Romularis*: but all that ground then was nothing but wast desarts, and a very wildernesse. The report yet goeth, that when the ebbe and shallow water was gone, & had left on drie ground the floating trough or vessel, wherein the babes were put forth, a shee Wolfe from out of the mountaines thereby, being a thirst, turned towards the childrens crie, and with their pendant teares so gently gaue the infants sucke, that *Fausstulus* the head Recue and overseer of the kings cattell, found her licking them with her tongue: who brought them to his homestall, and gaue them to his wife *Laurentia* to be fostered. There be that thinke, that *Laurentia* being a common strumpet among these heardmen and sheepeheards, was vially called *Lupa*. Whereupon arose the occasion of this strange tale and wondrous miracle. Well, so were they borne, and so brought vp. And as soone as they grew once to some bignesse, it was no boot to keepe them within dores, nor to let them idlie tend the cattell, for they would use to hunt abroad in the Forrest: whereby having gotten strength of bodie and courage withall, they were able now, not onely to withstand the violence of wild beasts, and to kill them, but also to set upon common robbers by the high waies side, laden as they were with booties, and to spoile them thereof, yea and divide the prey among the sheepeheards: and as the number of yonkers daillie encreased, with them to keepe hollidaies, to make merrie, and follow their disports. And even in those daies (as men say) was the feastivall pastime *Lupercal*, used in mount *Palatine*, which of *Palanteum*, a citie in *Arcadia*, was first called *Palantium*, and after *Palatine*, wherein *Evander*, who descended from the *Arcadians*, long before raigned in that country, and ordained a solemne game and recreation, yearely to be held, as aforetime in *Arcadia*, in this manner: that young men in the honour of *Pan Lyceus*, whom the Romans after called *Janus*, should loosely and wantonly run naked. Now whilest they were busily occupied in this kind of sport, which by vow yearely they performed; there lay in ambush the robbers afore said, in reuenge and for anger of the prizes which they had lost. Where *Romulus* manfully quit himselfe, but *Remus* they tooke prisoner: and being thus taken, they brought him before king *Amulius*, accusing him greivously, and laying especially to his charge, that he with others invaded and made rodes into *Numitor* his land, and with a power of lustie youths, assembled in warlike sort, had forraied and spoiled the same. Thus was *Remus* delivered unto *Numitor* to bee put to death. Now had *Fausstulus* even since the first day conceived some hope, that there were in his house foster children of roiall blood: For well hee wist, that both by the kings commandement the babes were cast forth to perishe, and also that the time when hee tooke them up, fell out fely thereunto: marie this would hee in no wise should bee knowne in hast, and before due time; unlesse it were either upon good occasion or great necessity. Necessitie happened first: and so for very feare hee was driven to reveale the whole matter to *Romulus*. It happened also, that *Numitor* himselfe, having *Remus* in durance, and hearing they were brethren twins, by comparing their age, and avising withall their very countenance and towardnesse, proceeding from no servile and base parentage, bethought himselfe of his sisters children: and by farther enquire and computation, came so farre, as hee seemed welneere to acknowledge *Remus* for his nephew. Thus on all hands were meanes wrought to circumvent and surpise king *Amulius*. For *Romulus* on the one side not accompanied with a troope of tall fellows, for he was not able in open fight to make his part good: but giving the heardmen his supposts, in charge to come at a time appointed, some one way, and some another, to the kings pallace, hee set upon the king. On the other side, *Remus* with another crue from *Numitor* his house, came to second him: and so they slew the king. *Numitor* at the first upstare giving out effoones, that the enemies had entred the citie, and assailed the kings pallace, and thereupon having called the youth of *Alba* into the Citadell, to keepe it by force with a good guard, and espying the two young men after the murder done, coming towards him with ioy: forthwith assembled the people together, and declared openly before them all, the wicked dealings of his brother against him, the parentage of his nephewes, the manner of their birth and bringing vp, and how they came to be knowne: after that, hee reported the murder of the Tyrant, and tooke it vpon himselfe as the authour thereof. The two young men passing with their

B iij

companies

Romulus and
Remus miracu-
lously saved.Fausstulus.
Laurentia.Lupercal.
Evander.Pan Lyceus of
Ionus.Remus taken
prisoner.Amulius the
usurper slaine.

companies through the midst of the people, saluted their grandfire king, whereat the whole multitude also with one accord and voice ratified the same: so was his roiall name and estate by them established. Thus was the whole regiment or kingdom of the Albanes committed to *Nunitor*. Then *Romulus* and *Remus* had a great desire to found themselves a cittie in the verie place where they had bene cast forth and fostered. Now were there of Albanes and Latines both, very manie that might be spared, besides, a number also of heardmen: who, all set together, put them in good hope, that Alba and Lavinium too, would bee but small Citties in comparison of that which now was a building. Whilest they were devising of these things, an old canker came betwene to marre all, even desire of rule and soveraigntie, the same which had troubled their grandfires before them: and thereupon a foule fray, which arose from a final and slight occasion. For as much as they were both twins at one birth, and the respect of their age might yeeld no choice and difference, it was thought good and agreed upon, that the gods, who had the tuition of those places, should by Augurie or flight of birds, declare and shew whether of the twaine should both name the citie, and also rule the same. *Romulus* chose the mount Palatine, and *Remus* the Aventine, for their temples or religious quarters, to marke the bird-flight, and each one apart to receive their Augurie. First (as they say) had *Remus* appearing in flight sixe vultures or gripes: and as tidings came unto him of this Augurie, it happened that the number unto *Romulus* was presented double: whereupon they were both of them by their supposts and favourites saluted kings. The one side tooke the vantage of the time: the other of the number, for the prerogative of the kingdom. Thus they fell to hot words first, and from chollerike words to blowes and bloodshed: in which sturte and preasse of the people, *Remus* was wounded and slaine in the place. The more common report goeth, that *Remus* in scorn of his brother, leapt over the new wals: whereupon *Romulus* in great choler flue his brother with his owne hands, and in menasing wise, added these words withal, So perish he, what ever else he be, that shal once dare to leape over my wals. Thus *Romulus* alone became king, and the Cittie new brilt, of the founders name was called Rome. Wherein first hee fortified mount Palatine, in which he was himselfe reared. To all the rest of the gods he sacrificed after the rule and custome of the Albanes: onely to *Hercules* after the manner of the Greekes, according to the first institution of *Evander*. For the same goeth, that *Hercules* vpon a time, after hee had slaine *Geryon*, drave that way exceeding faire Oxen, and neere the riuer Tybris, where hee had swum ouer with his drove afore him, laid him downe in a faire greene meadow, as well to rest himselfe, being wearie of his way, as also to rest and bait his cattell in so plentifull grasse and forage. There, fallen he into a sound sleepe, as having well charged himselfe with wine and viands, and one *Cacus* a sheepeheard dwelling thereby, a man right fierce, and bearing him proudly of his strength, being greatly in love with the fairenesse of the beasts, had a good will, and minded to fetch away that bootie: but for that if hee had driven the beasts into his owne cave, the verie trackes would have led the owner of them thither, hee drew the goodliest and biggest of them backward by their tiales into his hole. *Hercules* early in the morning when he awoke, and beheld his droue, and missed some of his count, went on toward the next cave, if haplie their footing would traine him thither: But seeing all traces from wards, and leading no other way: as one troubled in spirit, and doubtfull what to doe, he began to drive farther out of that theevish and dangerous corner. But as some of the Oxen in driving, missed their fellows behind, and honing after them, bellowed as their nature is: *Hercules* chanced to heare them loow again, and answere from out of the cave wherein they had been bestowed: whereat he turned backe, and made in hast thither. But as *Cacus* forcible made head against him, and would have kept him from entrance, *Hercules* smote him with his club: and for all his calling upon other heardmen for helpe, flew him outright. At the same time *Evander*, who fled out of Peloponnesus, governed that Countrey, rather by a kind of countenance and authoritie, than by force and lordly command. A man much honoured for his wonderfull invention of letters, a strange and rare thing among those rude and vnlearned fore: but more honoured for the opinion that the people had of his mother *Carmenta*, reputed to bee a goddesse, whom for her spirit of prophesie, those countries, before that *Sibylla* came into Italie, had in great reverence and admiration. This *Evander* being raised with the concurse of the sheepeheards, affrighted about the stranger, guiltie of manifest murder, and hearing of the fact committed, and the occasion thereof: avising well therewith the person of the man, his feiture and favour, more stately a good deale, and carrying a greater majestie than the ordinarie proportion of men, demandeth

A of him who he was. And as soone as he understood his name, his father, and native countrey: *O Hercules* (quoth he) the sonne of *Iupiter*, All haile: my mother a most true prophetesse hath foreshewed vnto me, that thou shalt encrease the number of heavenly wights, and that in this place an altar shall be reared and dedicated vnto thee, which the most mightie and richest nation one day of the world, shall name *Maxima*, and honour according to the ceremonies by thee ordained. In a good houre be it spoken (quoth *Hercules*) and the offe I gladly accept: and so giving him his hand, faithfully promised to accomplish the will of the gods, and erected streitwaies and consecrated an altar in the place. There and then first, hee sacrificed one of the fairest Oxen, chosen out of the whole drove, calling to the ministerie of that divine service and feast, the *Potitij* and *Pinarij*, two most noble houses at that time in those parts. It happened so, by chance, that the *Potitij* were readie at hand in due time, and the inwards or intrals were set before them: which being eaten, the *Pinarij* came to the good cheere behind: whereupon the custome held, that so long as the familie of the *Pinarij* continued, they might not feed of the sacred inwards. But the *Potitij*, instructed by *Evander*, became the priests of that holie sacrifice manie ages after: untill the solemne service and ministerie of this familie was put ouer to publicke servants, and the whole stocke of the *Potitij* utterly worne out and dead. These were the onely forraine sacrifices of all other, that *Romulus* received and admitted, being even then a furtherer and maintainer of immortalitie, by his owne prowess atchieued, and whereunto his fortune conducted him. Having in this manner religiously performed and established the service of the gods, hee assembled the multitude to an audience: and for that they could by no means but by lawes, bee united together into one bodie and societie of a people, he devised Statutes, and ministred justice unto them. And supposing that those laws would be accounted sacred and inviolable of the wild and rusticall sort of men, in case he shewed himselfe by some regall ensignes venerable: he carried with him a greater port and majestie, not onely in his robes and princely habite, but most of all in the attendance of twelve officers or sergeants, called *Libitores*, whom he caused to goe ordinarily before his person. Some thinke he chose this number according to the birds, which by Augurie did foreshew and prognosticate his raigne: I rather am of their opinion, who thinke that Sergeants at armes, and this kind of officers came from the Tuscans their neighbours, from whence also the yvorie chaire of estate, called *Sella curulis*, and the royall purple robe embroidered, named *Toga pretesta*, was fetched, as also the very number of sergeants or *Libitors*. For that the Tuscans had this manner, when they chose their king by the common voices of their twelve principall States, each one found a sergeant. All this while grew the cittie more and more to bee fortified with ramparts and bulwarkes, as men still built in sundrie places where they liked best, seeming thereby to provide rather for a future multitude in time to come, than for the present number wherewith it was then peopled. Furthermore, least that the citie so large in compasse, should stand void and vacant, *Romulus* for to encrease the number of inhabitants (according to the old practise of the founders of cities, who by gathering about them the base multitude and obscure, feined that they were an offspring borne out of the earth) set up a sanctuarie or lawlesse church, called *Asylum*, in that place which at this day betwene the two groves, is enclosed and fenced round about with thicke briars & brambles. Thither resorted (as to a place of refuge) out of the neighbor countries, a rabble and confused medley of all sorts, rag and rag, bond and free, one with another, folke desirous of change and noveltie.

So began first the citie according to the plot of large buildings, to be wel peopled and grow mightie. Thus being provided of power sufficient: he thought then upon a counsaile and policie to his power. And so created a hundred Senatours: either because that number seemed great ynough, or for that there were no more but one hundred that were of worth to bee elected counsellors or (wife) fathers. These men certainly for honour and dignitie, were called *Patres* or Sage fathers: and their lineall descent *Patritij* or nobles. Now by this time was the State of Rome so mightie and puissant, that it was able in fight to match any citie neere adjoining whatsoeuer. But for default of womankind, this puissance was to indure but the age of one man: for neither had they hope of issue among themselves at home, nor yet made marriages with their neighbours abroad. Whereupon *Romulus* by the advise of his Senatours, sent Embassadors to the countries thereabout, to treat for societie and alliance for his new people, by way of marriage. Alledging that citties also, as well as other things, arose of base beginnings, and in proesse of time by their owne prowess, and helpe of God withall, grow to great power and

and reputation: whereas therefore they were full well assured, that as the gods were gracious to their first uprising, so their own vertue and valor should not be wanting: their neighbors ought not, in regard of common humanitie, and as they were men, thinke much and disdain to ioinc in blood and kindred with them, being also men as well as they. Howbeit, this embassage in no place had gentle audience and courteous entertainment. For they all in general despised them, and were in feare for themselves and their posteritie, by reason of so mightie a state, encreasing in the midst of them, and under their very noses. And from the most of them the Embassadors were dismissed and sent away, with this frumpe and demand, Whether they had set up a sanctuarie or lawlesse place for women to? For that were alone, and a fit marriage indeed to fort together. This tooke the youth of Rome in great displeasure, and doubtlesse the quarrell grew like to be tried by knocks. But *Romulus* dissuading his inward heart-burning, to the end he might find time and place meet for the purpose, prepareth to set forth certaine solemne plaies and games, which he nameth *Consualia*, to the honor of *Neptune Equestris*. Hereupon he commanded to proclaim these games al over the country adjoining, and with as great preparation and furniture, as in those daies either their skill or abilitie might afford, they celebrate the same, and all to make the shew more goodly, and worthe so great expectation. Thither resorted manie a one, desirous also to see this new citie, but their next neighbours especially of *Cenina*, *Crustuminum*, and *Antemnæ*: The whole multitude of *Sabines* likewise came with their wives and children. Who being friendly invited to their houses, from one to another, and courteously entertained: when they beheld the situation of the citie, the strong wals and faire buildings, so thicke standing, wondred how in so short a space the citie of Rome was growne so great. Now when the time of this solemne sight was come, and that their minds were busied, and their eies bent thereon: then at once, as it was agreed before, there arose an uprore. And the youth of Rome upon a token and watch-word given, fell on every side to carrie away the Sabine maidens. A great many of them were ravished by hap hazard, as they did light upon them, and as they came next to their hands. Other some more beautifull than the rest, were appointed for the cheefe of the Senatours, and by certaine of the commons, as they had given them in charge, conveyed home to their houses. But one passing faire and lovely above all others, was harried by the companie or crue of one *Thalassius* (they say) and when as anie asked to whom they carried her, they ever cried out (for feare she should bee forced or deflowered) *Thalassio, Thalassio, Vnto Thalassius*. Whereupon *Thalassio* became a common by-word at weddings ever after. Thus their sport and pastime upon this sturre and fright, was marred, and the parents of the virgines fled away with heaveie cheere, blaming them highly, and complaining of their breach of hospitalitie: and calling upon the god for vengeance, to whose feativall games they being come, were under colour of religion and truth, beguiled. The damfels likewise that were ravished, conceived neither better hope of themselves, nor lesse indignation against them. But *Romulus* himselfe in person went from one to another, declaring, That their fathers pride, who denied their neighbours marriage, was the cause of all this: promising neverthelesse that they should bee linked in lawfull wedlocke, made partakers of all worldly goods, obtaine the freedome of a citie, and (than which, nothing is more deare to mankind) enjoy the blessing of children: exhorting them to appease their anger, and quiet themselves: and to give them their harts, whose hap it was to have their bodies. For oftentimes upon wrong and iniurie there groweth loue and reconciliation. Alledging moreover, that they should find their spouses so much more louing and kind, as everie one of them for his part would endeavour, after they had in their turne and course fulfilled the dutie to them of good husbands, for to make amends, and supplie the misse they haue of father, mother, and native country. Their husbands withall used faire speeches and flattering words, excusing the matter, and laying all the weight upon fervent affection and pure loue: which kind of persuasion of all other, prevaileth most with womens nature. Thus were the ravished young wives in some sort quietted in mind, and held themselves well contented. But their fathers, then most of all araid in mourning weed, with teares and heauie complaints, stirred vp the Cities where they dwelt: neither contained they their mood within home, but assembled themselves from all parts vnto *Tatius* the king of the *Sabines*: and to him repaired their Embassages, for that the name of *Tatius* was highly renowned in those countries. They of *Cenina*, *Crustuminum*, and *Antemnæ*, who were partly touched and grieved for that wrong done, thought that *Tatius* and the *Sabines* dealt but coldly in the action, and went but slowly about revenge. These three nations therefore

The games Consualia.

The Sabine maidens ravished.

Thalassio.

Romulus led to the Sabine maidens ravished.

Thinking of the Sabines.

A fore banded themselves, and agreed to prepare for warre. But so sharpe let were the *Ceninians* that the men of *Crustuminum* and *Antemnæ*, bestirred not themselves quick ynough for them. So they of *Cenina* entred alone by force of armes the territories of the *Romanes*. As they wasted and spoiled without order and measure, *Romulus* met them with an armie, and in one small skumish made prooffe, how Mood without might is vain and bootelesse. For he discomfited, put to flight, and pursued in chase their whole hoist, slew their king in battell, and him despoiled: and having slaine their generall, at the first assault hee won the towne: and after hee had from thence brought backe his armie with conquest and victorie, as a man no lesse desirous to shew his noble acts with glorie, than to achieve the same by prowesse, he bare afore him on high as a pompeous pageant in a frame fitly for the purpose wrought, the spoile and armour of his enemies captaine, by himselfe slaine: and so ascended up to the Capitoll hill, where laying them downe at the Oke which the sheepeheards had in great reverence, hee consecrated them as a present to *Iupiter*: and set out withall, the foundation and bounds of a temple unto him: giving moreover this addition and title to the god, and saying solemnely: O *Iupiter Feretrius*, I king *Romulus* upon my victorie, present unto thee this armor of a king, and within this compasse of ground, which even now I haue conceived and assigned, I dedicate a temple, to receive those rich and roiall spoiles, which the posteritie, following mine example, shall beare away from the kings and captaines generall of their enemies, whom they shall happen hereafter to kill. This is the very beginning of that temple, which first of all other was in Rome consecrated. And so it pleased God, that neither the first founders words were spoken in vaine, whereby he foretold C and pronounced, that his posteritie should bring their spoiles thither: nor his glorie made vulgar and common to manie compartners with him in the like exploit and glorious present. For after him, in so many yeres, and after so many wars, two roiall spoiles only were won of the enemies. So rare was the happinesse of honour in that behalfe. Whilest the *Romanes* were thus employed about *Cenina*, the armie of the *Antemnates*, taking the vantage of the time, and of the *Romanes* absence from home, and seeing their frontiers without a guard, with a power of armed men entred the confines of Rome. Against whom also the *Romane* legion made head in all hast, and finding them scattered out of order in the fields, charged upon them. By reason whereof, at the very first shooke and shout made, discomfited were the enemies and their towne surprised. As *Romulus* returned with triumph and joy for these two victories, his wife *Herstilia*, at the importunate sute of the wives that had bene ravished, earnestly besought him to pardon their fathers and receive them into his citie: for so by concord and unitie, the weale publicke, and the good estate of his kingdom might flourish and grow mightie. This sute was gently heard, and soone obtained. After this, he set forth against the *Crustuminiens* that began to warre upon him: with whom hee had the lesse adoe, for that their courages were well abated already by the ouerthrowes of others. To both these places as unto Colonies, were new inhabitants sent. But the greater number were desirous to enter their names, and to plant themselves at *Crustuminum*, for the fertilitie of the soile. And manie likewise removed from thence to Rome, the parents especially and kinsfolke of the ravished women. Last of all, the *Sabines* warred farre more sharply and dangerously than the rest: for nothing did they either in furie or rage, or for covetous desire of spoile. Neither made they talke & shew of war, before they warred indeed and were seene in field. And besides this their confiderat policie, they dealt also with craft & subtiltie. For whereas one *Sp. Tarpeius* had the charge of the castle in Rome, his daughter a young maiden, *Tatius* with a summe of money corrupted and procured, at what time as hee went to fetch water without the wals for sacrifice, to receive armed souldiours into the fortresse. But so soone as they were let in, they with their armour smothered and killed her: either for that thereby it might bee thought the castle was woon by force: or because they would make her an example to posteritie, that no traitor should ever thinke to escape unpunished. But here to belongeth a tale, namely, that the *Sabines* used commonly on their left armes to wear bracelets of massie and weightie gold, and faire rings besides on their fingers, set with precious stones of great value: and that shee covenanted and agreed with them to have that which they ware on their left hands, whereupon shee had their targets in steed of those golden ornaments, heaped upon her. Others say, that upon agreement and covenant made to deliver that which was on their left hands, she demanded their armour, and because she seemed to deale deceitfully, shee was overtaken therewith, and perished by receiving a reward of her owne chusing. However it was, the *Sabines* were possessed of the castle. From whence the morrow after (when as the *Romanes*

The Ceninians defeated. Their king slain.

Romulus presents unto Iupiter Feretrius the spoile: The king of the Ceninians.

By Cornel. Cofus, and M. Marcellus.

The Antemnates overthrown, and their citie forced. Herstilia wife to Romulus.

Colonies of Romanes first planted.

The Sabines make warre.

The castle of Rome betrayed to the Sabines.

A small battell
of the Sabines
and the
Romans
Curios.

The prayer of
Romulus to
Jupiter Saturn.

The Sabine wo-
men to their hus-
bands and their
children.

Quirites.

Curios Lacus.

manes armie well appointed in battell ray, had taken up and overspread the whole plaine that lieth from mount Palatine to the hill Capitoll) they would not come downe on even ground before that the Romanes, partly nettled with anger, and partly pricked with an hot desire to recover the castle againe, began with their great disadvantage to climbe against the hill. Whereupon the captaines on both sides joined battaile: *Metius Curtius* for the Sabines, *Hostius Hostilius* for the Romanes; who albeit he was on the lower ground, yet in the forefront most courageously and stoutly abid the brunt of the conflict. But so soone as hee was stroken downe and slaine, incontinently the Romanes reculed and gave ground: and thus discomfited, fled backward to the old gate of Palatium. *Romulus* himselfe also, borne backe with the presse and throng of those that fled, lift up his weapons on high towards heaven, and cried out saying: *O Iupiter, I* *Romulus* by thy direction guided and ruled, have here in this mount Palatine laid the foundati-
H on of this citie: and now already have the Sabines by corruption and trecherie got the citi-
dell and fortresse thereof: from whence they having passed the midst of the vale betweene,
make higher in haile with force of armes: but thou *O* father of gods and men, vouchsafe yet
from hence at leastwise to repulle the enemies, deliver the Romans from this so great feare, and
stay their shamefull flight. And here to thee *O Iupiter Stator* I vow a temple, for a memoriall to
all posteritie, that by thy present helpe this citie was saved and preserved. Thus having once
praised, as if he had knowne for certaine that his praies were heard. Even here (quoth he) *O* yee
Romanes, dooth *Iupiter Opt. Max. i.* the best and greatest of all the gods command you to stay
and begin the battell afresh. Herewith the Romanes, no lesse than if they had been commanded
from heaven above, made a stand. And *Romulus* in person highed him with all speed to the for-
most in the vaward. Now was *Metius Curtius*, principall leader of the Sabines, run downe from
the castle, and had scattered and chased the Romanes backe as farre as the Forum or common
place of Rome at this day reacheth in length: and being come within a little of the gate of Pa-
latium, he lift up his voice and cried aloud, Vanquish we have these faithlesse friends, and hart-
lesse foes: and now know they well, it is one thing to ravish maidens, and a farre other thing to
fight with men. In this fort as he braved it out, *Romulus* with a troope of lustie young men, made
head against him. *Metius* haplie at that time, fought on horsebacke, whereby he was forced the
sooner to recule, and the Romanes made after and pursued him. The other battell of the Ro-
manes in like manner, being much encouraged with the valour of their king, discomfited the
Sabines. *Metius* with his horse under him, affrighted at the noise of them that ran after, leapt in-
to a marsh or bog thereby. Which accident, considering the danger of so great a person, made
the Sabines to looke backe to him. And hee verily taking heart againe at the calling and en-
couragement of many his favourites, escaped. But the Romanes and Sabines both, in the middle
valley betweene the two hills, renewe the battell againe: where the Romanes got the better hand.
Then the Sabine dames, for whose wrongfull usage all this war arose, with their haire hanging
loose about their shoulders, and renting their garments, for very griefe and sorrow past all feare,
ventured to run amongst the javelins & darts as they flew: & thus hauing thrust themselves vio-
lently overthwart betweene them, began to part these bloodie armies, and to end their deadly
feud: Beseeching their owne fathers on the one side, and their husbands on the other, that they
being fathers and sonnes in law, would not embrew themselves with so unkind and unnatural
bloudshed, nor as parricides, murder the young ones newly borne, some their graundchildren,
and others their owne heirs of their bodie begotten. If ye our fathers, thinke much (say they) of
the affinitie betweene our husbands and you: or if yee our husbands are displeased with our ma-
riage, bend all your anger and malice against us: we are the cause of this warre, we are the cause
of wounding and killing both husband and father: yet will wee rather die, than live either or-
phans without the one, or widows without the other. This thing mooved as well the multitude
of soldiours, as also the captains; and presently of a suddaine all was hushed, and the fight cea-
sed. Whereupon, the Generals came forth to conclude a league. Neither made they peace
only, but one citie of two: united their realms, & joined together in the regiment: but the roiall
estate they setled in Rome.

The citie thus being made one of twaine, the Romanes for to gratifie the Sabines in some
fort, were of Cures, a towne of the Sabines, called Quirites. And for a memoriall of that battaile,
the very place where *Curtius*, after he was gotten out of the deepe marsh, first set his horse on
firme ground, was named *Curtius* his lake. This joyous peace ensuing presently upon so cruell
war, made these women better beloued of their husbands and parents: but especially of *Romu-*
lus

Curios, 301

Centuries.

Tatius murdered.

A stratageme of
Romulus.

lus himselfe. And therefore when hee divided the citie into thirtie wards or parishes, hee called
them by their names. But it is not left in any record (for out of all question the women were farre
more in number than so) whether those that should give names unto the wards, were chosen by
age, or by their owne dignitie and worthinesse, or their husbands degree and calling, or by ca-
sting lots. At the same time were enrolled and ordained three centuries of gentlemen or knights:
The Ramneses were so cleaped of *Romulus*, the Titienles of *Titus Tatius*; but of the name and
first beginning of the Lucernians, the occasion is not certaine. So these two kings not onely rai-
ged together, but also governed with great unitie and concord. But after certaine yeares the kin-
dred of king *Tatius* chanced to bear and euill intreat the embassadours of Laurentum. And
when as the Laurentines pleaded the law of nations, for satisfaction of this outrage; *Tatius*
his kinsfolke what by favour, and what by intreatie, prevailed more with him than the just com-
plaint of the others. Whereby hee brought vengeance due to them upon his owne head: For
being come upon a time to Lavinium, unto a solemne factifice and feast, there in an upore
or huribury the people ran upon him, and so was he slaine. Which thing (they say) *Romulus*,
made lesse regard of than was meet: either for that fellowship in lordship is neuer faithfull,
or because he esteemed him not unjustly to be made away. Whereupon he forbore indeed to make
warre: yet to the end the wrong done to the Embassadours, together with the murder of the
king, might bee expiate and purged cleane away, the league betweene the cities of Rome and
Lavinium was renewed. But whilest peace verily was beyond mens expectation with them con-
cluded: behold another fresh warre arose, much neerer than the other, and hard almost at their
very gates. For the people of Fidene supposing the Romans power and riches to encrease over-
much so neere unto them: before they should grow to such greatnesse as they were like to doe,
began first to warre upon them: and sending a power of lustie tall souldiours, invaded and wa-
sted all the countrey betweene the citie of Rome and Fidene. And taking their way on the left
hand, for that the Tyber kept from the other, they forraied and spoiled as they went, to the great
feare of the pezants and countrey people. So as this suddaine tumult and garboile heard out
of the fields into the citie, brought the first newes of the warre. *Romulus* raised therewith (for so
nigh a warre might beare no delay) led forth his armie, and encamped within a mile of Fidene:
and leaving there a competent guard, hee departed thence with all his other forces, command-
ing part of his souldiours to lie close in certaine covert places, among the thickets in ambush-
ment. Himselfe with the greater number, and all his horse, advanced forward, and riding up and
downe before their gates after a disordered and bragging manner, made semblant of a brava-
do, and all to traine the enemy forth, which was the thing he onely fought. This kind of horse
service was a meanes that the Fidenates lesse suspected and marvelled at their flying, which they
were to counterfet. For whilest the Cavallirie stood unresolved as it were, in a mammering whi-
ther to flie or fight, and the infanterie withall began to retire: all at once the enemies in thrun-
ging manner sallied forth of the gates, and chased the Romanes so fiercely, that in their eager
pursute they were drawne to the verie place of ambush. Thence the Romanes suddainely arose,
and charged the flocke of the enemies: And to encrease their fright, they likewise that were left
behind to guard the campe, shewed themselves with banners displayed. So the Fidenates terri-
fied sundrie waies, before well neere that *Romulus* and his men of armes could reine about their
horseheads, turned their backs, and rode full gallop towards the towne againe, and so much the
faster for that they fled now in good earnest themselves, that pursued them, who a little before
made but semblance thereof. Yet for all this could they not escape the enemy: for the Romanes
hard at their heeles, rushed together with them pelmell into the towne, before the gates could
be shut against them. At this Fidenatian warre, spreading so dangerously, the Veientians grew
angrie in their hearts, and began to chafe. Touched they were also in regard of kindred and al-
liance: for the Fidenates were likewise Tuscanes. And fearing least (if the Romane forces should
thus distresse and lie upon all the borderers) they being so neere, should not goe free, they were
the rather pricked forward, and thereupon made rodes, and entred in armes the confines of
Rome, spoiling and boothaling, more like robbers than professed warriors. So without pitching
any tents, or abiding the coming of their enemies, but onely driving and carrying away
great booties out of the fields, they returne againe to Veij. The Romanes contrariwise, not find-
ing the enemies in the field, but yet provided and resolved to give battell, and to hazard all,
passed over the Tyber, Whom the Veientians understanding to be encamping themselves, ful-
ly minded to come against their citie: issued forth and met them, intending to trie the quarell
by

The Valentines
discomfitedly
Romulus.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF T. LIVIUS.

Truce betwene
Romans and
Veientians for an
hundred yeeres.

The commen-
tation of Romu-
lus.

Celerus.

Romulus his
will.

The speech of
Proculus Iulius.

The speech
betwene
the Romans and
Sabines for the
crown.

by dint of sword, and in open field, rather than to be mued up within the town, & to fight & defend themselves from off their houses and wals. There the Romane king with the strength onely of his old beaten souldiours, without anie other helpe and supplie whatsoever, without policie or stratagem, had the better: and having thus discomfited the enemies, he chased them even to their verie wals. And for that the cittie was exceeding strong, fortified as well by naturall situation, as by wals, he forbore to assault it. But in his returne homeward, hee wasted the countrey, more upon a mind to revenge, than hope of spoile. With this defeature, the Veientians no lesse subdued than if they had lost a field, sent Oratours to Rome to sue for peace: unto whom truce was granted for an hundred yeares, but they were amerced to lose part of their lands. These were in a manner all the acts that were done both at home and abroad, during the reigne of *Romulus*. Whereof none seemed to derogate anie jot from the opinion, both of his divine birth and beginning, and also of his immortallitie or deification after his death. Such was his courageous heart in recovering his grandsires kingdome: his policie and wisdom in founding the cittie first, and after in establishing and governing the same, as well in war as in peace. By whose good proceeding it got such strength, and so sure footing, that for fortie yeeres space after, it enjoyed peace with Italie. Nevertheless of his commonns hee was better beloved than of his nobles: but above all, his souldiours most heartely affected him: of whom he had alwaies about him, as squires of the bodie, three hundred pensioners armed, not onely in time of warre, but also of peace, whom he called *Celeres*. Thus having atcheeved these noble and immortall deeds, as he upon a time assembled al the people upon the plaine, at the marsh Capra, there to number or muster his annie: behold, upon a suddaine there arose a tempest with great crackes of thunder, which with so thick & cloudie a storme, covered the king, that the people lost the sight of him. And never after was *Romulus* seene on earth. The Romane youth, after their feare was at length past, and that upon so darke and troublefome weather, it prooved a faire day againe, and calme withall, seeing the kings throne emprie, albeit they credited the Senators that stood next about him, who gave out he was taken up aloft in the storme, yet stricken into sad dumps, as it were for the losse of their father, held their peace a good while. But afterwards, when some few of them had once begun, they all set on and cried aloud, *All hail god Romulus the sonne of a god, king and father of the cittie of Rome*: With earnest praier beseeching him of his grace, that he would vouchsafe to be propice, and save their offspring and posteritie for ever. I am of this mind, that some there were even then, that suspected and secretly furnished that the king was pulled in peeces by the hands of the nobles. For this rumour also was bruited abroad, although in very darke and obscure tearmes. But by reason of the high admiration of the man, and the present feare withall, the former opinion tooke place, and was more currant. Over and besides, it grew the rather credible, through the politike practise of one person. For as the whole cittie was pensive and sorrowfull for the misse of their king, and sore displeased with the Senators, one *Proculus Iulius*, a substantiall good author (as men say) and to bee beleevied in a matter of great importance, stepped forth into the assemblie. *Romulus* (quoth he) O *Quirites*, the founder and patrone of this cittie, even this verie morning at the day breake, descended suddenly downe from heaven and met me, and as I stood all quaking for feare, readie to worshipp him, and humbly beseeching that I might behold him face to face: Away (quoth he) & tell the Romans, that the will of the gods in heaven is, that my cittie of Rome shall bee the head and cheefe of the whole world: will them therefore to follow and practise chivalrie, and the knowledge thereof: and wot this well, and so let them doe their posteritie to wit, That no power in the world shall be able to withstand the puissance of the Romanes. Which (said he) was not so soone spoken, but he ascended on high, and departed. A wonder it was to see, how much they gave credite to this mans tale, and how greatly the misse of *Romulus* both among the commonns and the annie, was by this beleefe of his immortallitie, digested.

In this meane while, the Senators fell to strive who should bee king: and the desire of soveraigntie troubled much and perplexed their minds. But as yet, there was no banding nor siding from any one person in particular: for that in a state so newly risen, & of so small continuance, there was not one that far excelled another in authoritie. All the contention was betwene the two severall factions in generall. For they that were descended of the Sabines, fearing least because after the death of *Tatius* there was none of their part, that had reigned with *Romulus* in equall jurisdiction, they should now loose their possession and title to the crowne, were desirous to have a king chosen out of their corporation. The old Romanes againe might not abide

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THE FIRST BOOKE OF T. LIVIUS.

A an alien or forrainger to be king. Howbeit, thus diuersly affected as they were, a king they all will needs have, as who (God wot) had not yet tasted the sweetnesse of libertie and freedome. Besides the Nobles began to feare; least peradventure in case the hearts of manie citties thereabout, should not be well disposed, but provoked against them, some forraigne power would make invasion, finding the cittie without government, and the armie without a capitaine. Therefore they all liked well to have one head, but none could find in his heart to giue place unto another. Whereupon the hundred Senatours associate and combine together in the rule of the Common-weale, by deviding themselves into ten Decuries, and for euerie Decurie chusing one to beare the cheefe authoritie. So that ten governed at once, but one alone had the regal ensignes and the Lictors before him. This soveraigntie and preheminnce determined every five daies: and thus went it through them all round in course. After which manner they continued the space of one yeare. And the government upon this occasion was (as it is still at this day) called *Interregnum*. Then after a yeare began the commonns to grudge and mutter, that their servitude was greater than before, having now lords over them, an hundred for one: and seemed they would no longer endure, but have a king againe, yea and one of their owne chusing. The Senatours seeing them thereabout, and taking it to bee good policie for to offer that of their owne accord, which they were otherwise like to forgoe, carried favour with them in this wise, to wit, by graunting the cheefe prerogative unto the people (in chusing a king) yet so as they gave them no greater privilege, than they reserved to themselves. For thus it was decreed, that when the people had elected a king, it should stand firme and ratified, if the Senatours liked thereof, and gave thereto their roiall assent. And even at this day in making of laws, and chusing magistrates or rulers, the same right is in some sort observed, setting aside the violence of Tribunes. For that now before the people give their voices, the Senatours passe by their authoritie, that which they would have done, saltie out in the assemblie of people, by scrutinie, doubtful as it will. To proceed then, the Interregent having called a generall parliament: In the name of God (quoth he) O *Quirites*, and which may be to you good, luckie, and prosperous, elect, or nominate yee a new king: for so is the good pleasure of the Nobles and Senatours: and in case yee shall elect a man of such qualitie, as may be deemed worthie to succeed *Romulus*, then will they by their assent passe the same, and allow thereof. This pleased and contented the commonns so highly, that because they would not seeme behind in bountie and curtesie, they answered againe, that this onely they ordained and agreed upon, to wit, that the Senate should determine who should be king of Rome. Ther was in those daies one *Numa Pompilius*, much renowned and esteemed for his just life and religious: he dwelt in Cures, a cittie of the Sabines, a man right skilfull and very well seene (as any one might be in that age) in all lawes both divine and humane: whose teacher and first maister, for want of other authour of his science and knowledge (they say) but yet vnruly, was *Pythagoras* of *Samos*. Concerning whom, this is well knowne, that he a hundred yeeres after and above, in the daies of *Servius Tullius* king of Rome, held a schoole of yong men students, that were his disciples, and followed his sect, in the utmost and farthest coast of Italie, about Metapontum, Heraclea, and Croton. From which places (albeit he had lived in that time) what fame of him could spread so farre as to the Sabines? or by what entercourse and affinity of language might hee possible have trained any man unto him for desire of learning at his hands? or by what good meanes and helpe, could *Numa* trauell alone unto him in safetie, through so many countries, of diuerse tongues and sundrie manners? I am of this opinion rather, that the man by nature was framed and disposed to vertue, and that hee was instructed, not so much in strange and forraigne sciences, as after that strict rule, that sterne and severe discipline of the ancient Sabines; than whom, there was not a nation in times past, more precise, reformed, and void of corruption. The Romane Senatours hearing the name of *Numa*, although they saw well enough, that the Sabines were like to proove of great reputation and power, by chusing their king from among them, yet was there none of them so audacious, as to preferre either themselves, or any one of their bend and faction, not any one I say, Senator or Cittizen, before that man: but all in generall with one accord, agreed to conferre the kingdome upon *Numa Pompilius*. Who being sent for and come; like as *Romulus* at the founding of the cittie was inaugurate King, or attained to the crowne by meanes of Augurie: so hee also would needs, that the will and counsell of God should be sought for, touching his owne election. Whereupon hee was by the Augur (unto whom for ever after that publicke ministerie or priesthood, in regard of honour and reverence by patent belonged) brought unto the castle hill, and there he set him

downe

downe upon a stone, with his face towards the South. Then the Augur on his left side, with head covered, tooke his place: holding in his right hand a smooth staffe without knot or knob, and hooked towards the top, which they called *Litus*. From whence after that he had with good avisement taken a prospect and view towards the cittie and countrey, and made his prayers to the gods, he limited the quarters of the heaven, from East to West: and the parts Southward he appointed for the right hand, and those Northward for the left. And so farre as ever hee could cast his eie and see forward, he imagined to himselfe a marke: then shifting his staffe into his left hand, and laying the right hand upon *Numa* his head, he praised in this forme. O father *Jupiter*, if it may be right and lawfull, that this *Numa Pompilius*, whose head I lay my hand upon, shall be king of Rome, shew I beseech thee some certaine and manifest signes within that compassse and those precincts, that I have conceived and set out. Then pronounced hee in plaine words what tokens by sight or flight of fowles he would have to appeare. Which being once seene, *Numa* was declared king, and so came down from the temple or place of prospect above-said.

In this manner, being inaugurate and invested in the kingdome, hee provideth by good orders, lawes, and customes, to reedifie as it were that cittie, which before time had been new built by force and armes. Whereunto, he seeing that they might not be brought and framed in time of warre, whose hearts were already by continuall warfare growne wild and savage: and supposing that this fierce people might be made more gentle and tractable, through disuse of armes, he therefore built the temple of *Ianus* in the nether end of the street *Argiletum*, in token both of warre and peace: with this invention, that being open it should signifie, that the cittie was in armes: and standing shut, that all the neighbour countries were in peace and quiet. Twise onely after the reigne of *Numa* was this temple shut: once, when *T. Manlius* was Consul, after the first Carthaginian warre was done and ended: and a second time (as God would) in our age for us to see, when as the Emperour *Cesar Augustus*, after the battell of *Actium* (with *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*) had obtained peace both by land and sea. *Numa* then having knit the hearts of the borderers about him in firme league and amitie, and thereupon closed up the dores of *Ianus*, secured now from all feare and care of dangers abroad, yet doubting least through ease and idleness their minds might fall to loosenesse and riot, whom the dread of enemies and martial discipline had held in aw and in good order: devised above all things to strike some feare of God into them, and to plant religion in their hearts: a policie no doubt, with the simple multitude (rude in those daies and ignorant) most effectually. Which reuerence of God, for that it could not sincke nor enter well into their heads, and take a deepe impression, without some devise of a fained miracle, he made semblance, and gave out, that he conversed in the night season, and had, I wot not what, secret conference with the goddesse *Egeria*. By whose counsell and direction forthwith, he ordained such divine service and sacrifices to the gods, as to them was most acceptable: and to everie god appointed severall priests for the ministerie thereof accordingly. But first above all other things he divided the yeare, according to the course of the Moone, into twelve moneths: and for as much as the Moone hath not full thirtie daies to euerie moneth, whereby some daies are wanting to make up the iust yeare, after the revolution and circle of the sunne: he, by putting the odde daies between everie moneth, so disposed and ordered the yeare, that in every three & twenty years space the daies agreed just to the same point of the sun from whence they began, and so made up the void spaces, and accomplished fully the tearme of everie yeare. He appointed likewise law daies and daies of vacation, called *Fasti* and *Nefasti*, thinking it good, that otherwhiles there should bee rest from attendance on the courts, and no dealing with the people. After this, he set his mind about the creation of priests, albeit in his owne person he performed very manie sacrifices, especially those which at this day pertaine to the priest, of *Jupiter*, called *Flamen Dialis*. And supposing that in a cittie so martiall, there should succeed more kings like to *Romulus* than *Numa*, who in proper person would goe forth to warre: least haply the divine ministerie that belonged to the king, might be neglected, he created a *Flamen* to *Jupiter*, for to be a sacrificer continually resident: endued and adorned him with a rich cope or vestiment, and with an yvorie chaire of estate upon wheelles, called *Sella curulis*. Vnto him he adjoined two *Flamines* more: one for *Mars*, another for *Quirinus*. He instituted also a Nunne-rie as it were, of religious vestall virgines. A priesthood that had the beginning from *Alba*, and sited well with the house, from whom the first founder of the cittie was descended. And to the end they should attend continually about the church, as resiant chaplaines, he allowed them an

ordinarie

- A ordinarie fee or pension, at the publike charges of the cittie: and made them by perpetuall vowed virginities and other ceremonies to be revered and accounted holic. Likewise vnto *Mars Gradivus* he elected twelve priests called *Salij*, and gave unto them a rich purple coat, embroidered for an ornament, and to weare upon that coat a brasse breastplate, and to beare certaine scutcheions or bucklers that fell from heaven, called *Ancilia*: commanding them to run about the cittie, chaunting hymns and songs, with dancing and leaping full solemnly. Moreover, he chose for a Superintendent or high Priest, *Numa Martius*, the sonne of *Marcus*, one of the Senatours: and to him hee gave in writing, set downe under his hand and seale, a rule, whereby he might know what beasts should be killed for sacrifice, upon what daies, and at which temples, and how the monie should be levied and disbursed for the diffaying of all charges.
- B All other sacred rites as well publicke as private, hee submitted and referred to the discretion and ordering of that high Priest: to this end, that the common people might know unto whom they were to resort for counsell and instruction, and that no part of Gods worship and service should by neglect of the auncient rites and traditions of their owne countrey, bee confounded and corrupted by bringing in any strange and forraine superstitions. Hee ordained besides, that the same Archprelate should teach, not onely these heavenly ceremonies, but also funerall obsequies, and how the spirits beneath, and ghosts of bodies departed, should be quiered and pacified: and what strange and prodigious tokens, that came by way of lightening, thunder, or any other fearfull sight whatsoever, should be expiate and purged by sacrifice accordingly. And for to know the truth, portended by these tokens even from the minds of heavenly spirits above, hee consecrated unto *Jupiter Elicius* an altar upon the mount *Aventine*. And by the meanes of Augurie, he consulted with that god, what things he was to enterprise and goe about. Whilst the whole multitude was thus drawne away, and cleane turned from thinking of force and armes, and busied about devising and ordering of these matters, not onely their minds were occupied in doing somewhat, but also the continuall feare of God now settled in them, (as being persuaded that the heavenly power was present in the managing of mens affaires) had possessed now all their hearts with such pietie and religious holinesse, that faithfull promise once made, and the reverence of an oath taken, abandoning all feare of law and punishment, was able to rule and governe the cittie. And as the people framed and reformed themselves to the fashions and manners of their king, as the only and speciall patterne to follow: so the nations likewise bordering upon them, who before time verily thought that cittie to be built, and as it were encamped in the midst of them to the disturbance and disquieting of all their peace, were now become so respective of them, that they thought it an impious and sinfull deed, once to offend or offer abuse to that cittie, so well given, and so devoted to the worship and service of God. Furthermore, there was a grove, the midst whereof was watted continually by a spring that issued out of a darke and shaddowed gage, into which, because *Numa* used verie oft to retire himselfe alone, without any other, as it were to have familiar companie with *Egeria*, hee dedicated that grove unto the Muses, for that, their assistance also in counsell and advice hee desired together with his wife *Egeria*. And to Faith alone hee instituted a solemne yearly feastivall day, and erected a chappell. Vnto which hee commanded the *Flamines* to ride in an arched or embowed close chariot, drawn with two horses, and to sacrifice and execute their function, with their hands covered and wrapped close to their fingers ends: signifying thereby, that faith is to be kept and preserved: and that her seat was sacred and consecrated even upon the right hands. Many other sacrifices, and places for sacrifice, which the Priests call *Argeos*, did he appoint and dedicate. But of all his acts this was most worthie and memorable, that during the time of his reigne hee had no lesse regard to preserve peace, than to maintaine roiall estate and dominion. Thus two kings one after other, taking either of them a severall course by himselfe, that one by warre, this other by peace, mightily promoted the welfare of the cittie. *Romulus* reigned 37 yeares, *Numa* 43. So that now the cittie became very puissant, as being well and equally tempered both with feats of armes, as also with discipline of peace.
- F Vpon the death of *Numa* the regiment returned againe to an interreigne. Then the people nominated and elected for their king, with the roiall assent of the Senatours *Tullus Hostilius*, the nephew or grandsonne of that *Hostilius*, who had in times past fought valiantly against the *Sabines*, at the foot of the castle hill. This man was not onely unlike the former king, but also more fierce and hardie than *Romulus* himselfe. For besides the heat of youth, and strength of bodie withall, the glorious remembrance of his grandfather set him on and pricked him forward. Sup-

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posing therefore that the cittie through rest and ease began to age as it were, and to decay, hee sought everie way to picke quarrels, and to give occasion to make warre. It fortuned, that the pe-
 zants about Rome, and those of Alba likewise, preided and spoiled one anothers land. At that
 time *C. Cluilius* was lord and king of Alba. From both parts wel neere at one time, were Embas-
 sadours addressed to demand restitution of good, and satisfaction for their harmes. *Tullus Hosti-*
lius he had streightly charged his messengers to have no dealing with the Albane prince, before
 they had delivered unto him their message. For well hee wist, that hee would make deniall, and
 yeeld no amends: and then might hee with safe conscience justly proclaime warre against him.
 On the contrarie side, the Albane embassadours followed their businesse but slackely, for being
 courteously invited, and friendly entertained by *Tullus*, and lodged within his pallas, they were
 well content to bee feasted by the king, and were his daily guests so long, that the Romanes had
 by this time both challenged their owne first, and upon deniall made by the Albane King, given
 defiance and proclaimed open warre within thirtie daies next ensuing. Vpon which tidings by
 them related to *Tullus*, hee gave the Albane Embassadours audience, permitting them to de-
 clare what their errand was, that they came about. They (simple men) ignorant of all that was
 done, first spent time in excusing themselves, saying, they were very loath and unwilling to speak
 ought that might displease *Tullus*, but being commanded by authoritie, they might not will
 nor chuse: and thereupon were come to make claime of goods, and amends for wrongs, and if
 they were not restored and recompence made, they had commission to denounce warre against
 him.

The Ambassadors
 of the Albanes to
 King Tullus.

Whereunto *Tullus* made answer in this wise, Tell your king and maister (quoth hee) that the
 Romane king calleth the gods to witness, whether of the two Nations sent the Embassadours
 away first, and rejected them when they demanded restitution, that upon his head they might
 bring the miserie, losse, and calamitie of the present warre. With this dispatch the Albanes re-
 turned home. So they made preparation of forces on both sides all that they could, most like in
 all the world to a ciuile warre, betwene fathers and sonnes, proceeding both from the Trojane
 race: considering that by Trojanes Lavinium was founded: from Lavinium came the people
 of Alba: and from the Albane kings were the Romanes in right line descended. But the finall
 issue and end of this warre, made the warre it selfe lesse wofull and lamentable, both because
 they came not to a fere field, and also for that by raising the houses onely of the one cittie, two na-
 tions were intermingled and united in one. The Albanes first with a mightie power entered the
 territorie of Rome, and encamped themselves not past faine miles from the cittie, where they
 strongly entrenched themselves: which place of the Captaines name was called * *Fosse Cluiliæ*,
 many yeares after: vntill both it and the name withall in processe of time, decayed cleane and
 came to nothing. In this campe the Albane king *Cluilius* ended his daies, in whose stead the Al-
 bane armie created *Metius Sufferius* their Dictator. *Tullus* in the meane time became haue
 and prouid, especially upon the death of the king, effluons giving out and saying, that the mightie
 power of the gods, having thus begun at the verie head, would likewise take vengeance on
 the whole bodie of that Albane nation, for this their vnjust and godlesse warre: and one night
 above the rest passed secretly by the campe of his enemies, and in warlike manner invaded
 the Albane land. This newes raised *Metius* out of his standing campe. Who led forth his armie
 and marched on as neere to his enemies as hee could, dispatching aforehand an herault unto
Tullus, to notifie unto him thus much from him, that it was needfull and expedient before they
 joined battell, to parle and commune together. If he would vouchsafe to conferre, he knew very
 well, that he should alledge and say forth such matters, as might concerne the weale of the Ro-
 manes, as well as of the Albanes. *Tullus* refused not the offer, albeit they were but vain toies that
 were pretended, and therefore set his men in battell aray. The Albanes seembly come forth
 against him. After they were thus ranged and embattelled readie to fight, the generalls on both
 sides, accompanied with a few of their principal Nobles, advance betwene both armies. Then
 began the Albane Dictator in this wise. Mee thinkes (quoth hee) I heare already of iniurie and
 wrongs done, and how such goods as were demanded are not restored againe according to the
 form of the league, as also that *Cluilius* our king was cause of this war: neither doubt I, *O Tullus*,
 but even you pretend, and are about to alledge as much. But if wee would as wee ought to doe,
 stand upon the truth of things, rather than upon I wot not what gloses, and goodly shewes
 of words: it is ambition and desire of rule onely and nothing else, that spurreth on two nations
 of one bloud and neere neighbours to take armes and war one with another: justly or unjustly,
 I am

* Fosse Cluiliæ
 foss.

Metius Sufferius
 Dictator of the
 Albanes.

The Creation of
 Metius unto Tullus
 104.

A I am not able to say, Let him on Gods name that first began the quarrell, in conscience see to
 that. As for me, the Albanes indeed have made me their generall. But this one point *Tullus* I
 would have you to remember and consider: How strong about us and you especially the Tus-
 canes are, you know better, the neerer yee are unto them: mightie they are by land, much more
 by sea. Then wot well this, that when you shall cause the trumpet to sound unto battell, these two
 armies will bee to them a faire marke and spectacle to behold: that they may give an assault to
 both at once, as well the victors, as them that are vanquished, whilst they are wearied and toi-
 led out of heart. For the love of God therefore, if there be any sparke of grace in us, since we not
 contented with that libertie which we surely enjoy, will needs venture & put in doubtful hazard,
 which of us shall rule and command, and who shall serve and obey the other, let us take some
 good course whereby it may bee decided without great losse or bloodshed on both sides, whe-
 ther shall bee lord and soveraigne. The motion *Tullus* misliked not, albeit both for disposition
 of nature, and hope of victorie, hee were the haughtier of the twaine. And as they fought on
 both parts what way to take, this meanes at length they found, whereunto fortune it selfe pre-
 sented fit matter and occasion. For by good hap even then, in either host three brethren twins
 there were, borne at one birth, and those neither in age nor strength unlike. Their names were
Curatij and *Horatij*, that is very certaine; neither is there any thing of ancient record more fa-
 mous and notable. Yet as cleere in substance as it is, there remaineth still some doubt and error
 in their names: of whether people the *Curatij* and the *Horatij* were. Writers there bee on both
 sides, but the greater number say, as I find, that *Horatij* were the Romanes, to whom I rather en-
 cline, and my mind giveth mee to follow them. With these three brethren the kings went in
 hand, perswading them to fight for the honour of their countrey, and trie the quarrell by dint
 of sword: shewing them, that on whether side the victorie fell, there should remaine the sove-
 raigne dominion. Nothing refused they to doe, the time and place both, were agreed upon and
 appointed. But before the combat, it was covenanted betwene the Romanes and the Albanes,
 and these conditions drawne: That whose champions in fight should have the better, that na-
 tion should peateably command the other. There are of covenants many and sundrie Capitu-
 lations farre different in matter: but they run all after one manner and forme. As for this, it was
 made, as wee have heard in this wise, neither is there extant a more auncient record of any com-
 position whatsoever. The Herald (called *Fecialis*) demandeth of king *Tullus* in this wise: Is it your
 will and commandement my lord, that I make a covenant and accord with the *Paterpatrate* of
 the Albane people? It is (quoth the king.) Then (quoth he) I demand of you sacred hearbs. The
 king answered againe, Take them pure and cleane. The *Fecial* then reached from the cattle hill
 pure hearbs from among the grasse: which done, he thus asked the king: Do you (my lord) ordain
 mee the messenger roiall of the commons of the people of Rome? and allow necessary imple-
 ments, all furniture for my selfe, and my retinue and traine? The king answered: I doe, so far forth
 as may bee, without the harme or detriment of my selfe, and of the cittizens of the people of
 Rome. The *Fecial* or herald for that time, was *Marcus Valerius*, who created *Paterpatrate* or king
 at armes. *Sp. Fufius*, by touching his head and haire with vervaine. Now the *Paterpatrate* is for to
 confirme the agreement with an oath, and so he read out the covenant and oath, and that with
 manie words: which to rehearse, as they were in a long prescript forme pronounced, were verie
 needlesse. After this having recited all the articles and conditions thereof. Harken (quoth hee)
O Iupiter, listen thou Herald for the Albanes, attend also and give eare yee the Albane people,
 how these conditions from the first to the last, have bene read aloud out of those bookes or ta-
 bles of waxe, without coven or fraud, and how at this day they are most rightly meant and un-
 derstood, according to the tenure of the words: from these articles I say, I shall not the people
 of Rome start backe first, nor make default: If they shall first goe backe and faile therein by pub-
 llike consent, and fraudulently; that day, *O Iupiter*, smite thou the cite of Rome, as I to day will
 strike this swine: yea and smite thou home so much more, as thou art more able and powerfull
 than my selfe. And after he had thus said, he smote the swine with a flint stone. The Albanes like-
 wise repeated their prescript forme of words, and the oath, by their Dictator and Priests for the
 purpose. The complements of the covenant and composition thus performed, and all con-
 cluded, then those three brethren of both sides, as it was before agreed, buckle to arme them-
 selves. And being encouraged on both hands by their well-willers and friends, that put them in
 mind of their countrey gods, their native soile and parents, saying, that all their fellow cittizens
 and countrey men whatsoever, both at home in the cittie, and abroad in the campe, euery one,
 C iij had

Christij
 Horatij.

had their eie onely upon them, their weapons and their hands: the young men being both of themselves by nature forward and lustie, and also emboldened with the comfortable words of their friends, advanced forth betwene both armies. Now were the two hosts set on both sides before their camps, rid of present danger, rather than void of care and pensiveness. For why? the whole triall of soveraigntie and rule, rested in the valour and good speed of a few. Whereupon they longing to see the sequels and issue, were wholly bent to behold, and onely minded this unpleasant sight and spectacle. At sound of trumpet these brave brethren, three to three, like as they had bene two for battels, and carrying the stomakes verily of two great armies, affronted one another, and with cruell and mortall weapons gave the charge. Neither regarded they their owne proper peril, but set before their eies, only the rule or servitude of the common-weale, as if the state of their country from thenceforth lay wholly upon their good or bad success in this action. So soon as they began to cope together and make assault, that their harness and weapons once clattered, and their drawne swords shone and glittered againe, behold such an exceeding feare came upon the beholders, that they trembled and quaked withall: and during the time of equall combat, seeing no inclination of victorie to the one side or the other, they were so astonied, that unneath they could well speake or freely take their wind. Afterwards, when as they were come to closing and handstrokes, and that now not onely the stirring of their bodies, and the doubtfull handling of their weapons and armour, but bloodie wounds also were seene, two of the Romanes (having sore wounded all the three Albanes) fell down one upon the other, and yielded up the ghost. At whose fall, the Albane host shouted againe for ioy: but the Romane legions, albeit they were now past all hope of victorie, yet they were not void of care, being amated, and in an extasie as it were with very feare what should become of him, who being but one, had three Curiatij upon him at once. But as good hap was, hee as yet was fresh and unwounded. And as hee was not able alone to make his part good with them altogether, so in single fight, man to man, he thought himselfe good ynough for them all, one after another. To single them therefore, and to part them in fight, he begins to flie, thinking thereby they would follow after him, each one as his hurt bodie would give him leave. Now when he was retired a prettie good way from the place where they had fought, and looking behind him espied them follow farre asunder, and one of them not much behind himselfe, hee turned againe upon him with great violence. And whilest the host of the Albanes cried out to the Curiatij to rescue and succour their brother, *Horatius* by that time had slaine his formost enimie, and was in hand with the second. Then the Romans with such a shout, as they are wont to make who after a great fright recover themselves and take heart againe, encourage their champion: and hee himselfe halteneth to finish the combat. And before that the third, who was not far off, could get to the other, he had slaine the second *Curiatius*. So that now there was but one to one, left to fight on even hand: and they, neither in hope nor strength equally matched. As for the one of them, his bodie as yet not wounded, and his double victorie withall, caused him to attempt the third conflict stoutly and courageously. The other faint and feeble of his hurt, tired with running, had much ado to come forward, and quite out of heart, seeing his two brethren lie slain at his feet, offereth himselfe as a prey to his victorious enimie: for surely betwene them was no fight at all to speake of. The Romane he, triumphing and crying out for joy, Two brethren already (qud he) have I sent to the divell, the third likewise I shall I send after them, that a Romane may command an Albane, which is the cause of all this warre. And therewith he thrust his sword aloft into his throat, who had much ado to hold his weapons: and so soone as he was downe, stript and rifled him. The Romanes with great triumph and gratulation, receive *Horatius*, rejoicing so much the more, as his case was more dangerous and well neere desperate. Then of both sides addresse they themselves to burie their champions, but not with like cheere and alacrity of heart. For why? they of the one part were become lords, and they of the other, subiects. Their tombes remaine yet to be seene in the very places where they were each of them slain, two of the Romans entombed together in one place neerer unto Alba: the three Albanes towards Rome, but distant asunder, like as they fought and left their lives. Before they dislodged and departed thence the one from the other, *Mellius* according as it was capitulated in the composition, asked & demanded what *Tullus* would command him to do: who enjoined him to keep his youth readie in armes at an houres warning, for that hee would employ them in service, in case hee should warre with the Veientians. So were the armies dismissed home. And *Horatius* he went formost, bearing afore him the threefold spoile of three brethren. Whom his sister, a maid affianced before to

one

A one of the Curiatij, met before Capena gate: and espying upon her brothers shoulders, the coat of armes of her espoused husband, which she her selfe had wrought with her owne hands; she unbound her head, let her haire loose, and pittiously called upon her dead spouse by name. This lamentable wailing of the sister presently upon victorie, and amidst great and publicke joy, moved the proud and haughtie young man to wrath, and drawing out his sword therewith, ran the filie damsell through: and with these bitter words rebuketh her also, Get thee hence (quoth he) to thy spouse with thy unseasonable and foolchastie love, forgetfull as thou art, of thy two brethren dead, and him that is alive: forgetfull of thy native countrey, and the honour thereof: and so with a mitcheefe goe she, what ever she be, that shall bewaile an enimie of Rome. A cruell and horrible fact this seemed, as well to the Senatours, as to the commons: but his late and fresh desert made it the lesse trespass: yet for all that was hee apprehended, and brought before the king. The king, that hee might not seeme the authour of a judgement so unpleasant and odious unto the people, and consequently of punishment according to the doome, assembled the people together and said: I ordaine Duumvirs to sit upon *Horatius*, in triall of a criminal cause of felonie; and to judge him according to the law, in that case provided. The tenor of the law runneth thus, in a dreadfull kind of forme. THE MAGISTRATES CALLED DUUMVIRS SHALL IUDGE THE PARTIE ACCUSED IN A CAPITAL ACTION OF FELONIE, IF HE SHAL APPEALE FROM THE DUUMVIRS, LET HIM TRAVERSE HIS APPEALE, IF THEY OVERTHROW HIM, THEN HOODVINKE HIM, OR COVER HIS HEAD, HANG HIM UPON A CURSED GALLOV TREE BY A ROPE, AND STRANGLE HIM, HAVING WHIPPED AND SCORVED HIM BEFORE, EITHER WITHIN THE POMERIE OR WITHOUT. By vertue of this law were the Duumvirs created, who by the rigour of that law thought they might not quit so much as a guiltlesse person: and having once condemned him, then one of them gave sentence and said: I judge thee O *Publius Horatius* a murderer and enimie to the state of Rome. Goe Licor therefore, and bind his hands together. Then came the Licor and cast a cord about them. But *Horatius*, by the advise of *Tullus*, a gentle and mild interpreter of the law, I appeale (quoth he.) So upon his appeale was the matter debated, and to be tried before the people: who were not a little troubled in deciding or judging this cause, and most of all in regard of *Publius Horatius* the father, crying out and saying, That he deemed his daughter was justly and worthily killed: otherwise hee would himselfe have punished his sonne by his fatherly authoritie. Beseeching moreover, that they would not now make him childlesse, whom erewhile they saw with a goodly companie of children about him. And therewithall the old father embracing the young man, and shewing the spoiles of the Curiatij, set up and hanging in that verie place which now is called *Pila Horatii*, *Horatius* his pillar. And can yee indeed (O ye Romanes, quoth hee) abide to see him bound under a gallows, yea and whipped and tormented, whom a while afore yee beheld to march in great glorie and iolitie for his atcheeved victorie? So unseemely and foule a sight as which, the Albanes themselves can hardly suffer. Go Licor, goe bind those hands fast, which armed a little before, wan the people of Rome their dominion: Go I say, and hoodwinke his head, who saved and delivered this cittie from bondage, hang him by the necke, and strangle him upon a cursed tree: scourge him and spare not, either within the circuit of the wals, so it be among those javelins and spoiles of the enemies: or without the wals, so it be within the compass of the Curatian sepulchres. For to what place can you lead this young gentleman, where his honourable acts may not save him from so unworthie and shamefull punishment? The people could no longer endure, either the teares of the old father, or the constant resolution of the youth his son, who shewed himselfe still the same, & not to change for any danger. So they quit him, in the honorable regard rather of his prowess & valor, than in the right and equity of his cause. Yet to the end that the murder so manifest and openly knowne, should be in some sort expiate, and satisfaction made therefore, his father was charged to purge his sonnes sinne, and make amends, at the expences of the cittie. Who having performed certaine purgatorie sacrifices, which afterward belonged to the house and familie of the *Horatij*, put a raster or beame crosse overthwart the street, and caused the young man with his head covered to goe under, as under a yoke or gallows: which remaineth yet unto this day, from time to time at the cittie charges repaired, and they call it *Sororium Tigillum*, i. the Sisters beame. And in that verie place where *Horatia* was wounded and fell downe, her tombe was erected of foure-square stone. But not long continued the Albanes in quiet and peace. For the common people finding fault

The cruell combat between the brethren Curatij and Horatij.

Horatius killed his sister.

The interment of Horatius.

P. Horatius the father to the people.

fault and greatly discontented, that the whole state of the weale publike was put into the hands **G** of three souldiours, infected so and poisoned the vaine and shittie head of the Dictator: that for as much as plaine and upright dealing sped no better, he began to win againe the hearts of his commons by crooked meanes, and indirect courses. Seeking therefore warre in time of peace, as before in time of warre he sought peace: and seeing his people had more heart than hand, and their strength not answerable to their stomackes: hee stirred up other nations, openly by way of proclamation and defiance to make warre, and reserved his owne men under a colour of league and confederacie, for to practise treason and falshood. The Fidenates, a colonie of the Romanes, having made the Veientians partakers of their counsell, and combined with the Albanes to forsake the Romanes, when time came, and turne unto them, brake out and tooke arms. When Fidene had thus openly revolted, **Tullus** sent for **Metius** and his power from Alba, and **H** setteth forward against his enemies: and passing over the river Anio, encamped neere the confluent, where both streames meet together. Betwene which place and Fidene, the armie of the Veientians had crossed the Tyber, wio put themselves in the right wing of the battell fast by the river, and the Fidenates in the left, neerer to the mountaines. **Tullus** directly opposeth his owne forces against the Veientians, and placeth the Albanes to affront the Fidenates. The Albane capitaine having as litle heart as honestie and truely, neither durst keepe his standing, nor openly turne unto the enemy, but by litle and litle withdraweth himselfe toward the mountaines: and when hee thought hee had gained vantage ynough, hee mounted up the hill with all his companies, and with a wavering mind to spend the time, displaieth his rankes. His intent and purpose was, on what side fortune seemed to give the better, with them to joine and take their part. The Romanes that stood next, perceiving their flankes naked by reason of the departure of their friends and allies, at first marvelled much at the matter: but afterwards there gallopt an horseman, and advertised the king that the Albanes were gone away. **Tullus** in this so fearefull and dangerous case, vowed twelve Priests *Salij*, and two temples to *Pallor* and *Pavor*, to Palenesse and Feare: and with a lowd voice cried out in the hearing of his enemies, commanding the said horseman to return to the battell, saying, There was no cause at al to feare, for that himselfe had commanded the Albane host to wheele and fetch about, and so to charge the Fidenates on their backs where they lay open. **V**illing him expressly moreover, to cause the men of armes to hold up their launces on end. By which meanes, a great part of the footmen could not see the Albanes as they departed and went their waies. And those that had scene **K** them, thinking it was a truth which they heard the king to speake, fought so much the more hotely. So the feare turned now from them, and fell upon the enemies: for they heard the king when hee spake so lowd, and also a great manie of the Fidenatians being cohobitants with the Romanes, under stood Latine. For feare therefore, that the Albanes should all on a suddaine run down from the hils, and stop their passage to the towne, they turned their backs and fled. Then **Tullus** presteth hard upon them, and having discomfited the Fidenatians wing, commeth back more fiercely upon the Veientians, being already amased at the fright of the other. Neither were they able to withstand the bruit. Howbeit, the river behind at their backs kept them at first from flying away, but afterwards when their flight bended thitherward: some flinging their weapons shamefully away, like blind men ran headlong into the water: other lingering still, and staying **L** on the banke side, doubtfull whether to flee or to stick to it and fight, were trod under foot and hewen in peeces. Never had the Romanes before that day a more cruell battell. Then the Albane armie, which beheld and saw all this conflict, descended downe into the plaine. And **Metius** forsooth, rejoiceth much on **Tullus** behalfe for his victorie. **Tullus** againe speaketh **Metius** faire, and gave order, that the Albanes in a good hower should joine their campe to the Romanes: and against the next day, prepared a purging or Lustrall sacrifice. The morrow when it was day, and that all things were in a readinesse, according to the manner, hee commandeth both armies to assemble together to an audience. The criers, beginning at the furthest part of the campe, summoned the Albanes first. **V**ho also for the strangenesse of the matter, and desirous to heare the Romane king to make his Oration, prest forward to stand next. The Roman **M** legion for the nonce, as it was before decreed, stood armed round about, and hemmed them in: and the Centurions had in charge without delay to execute whatsoever they were commanded. Then began **Tullus** to speake in this wise. If ever in anie warre heretofore yee had cause, O Romanes, to render thanks, first to the immortal gods, and then to your owne manhood and valour, certes it was in yesterdaies battell. For yee fought not then with the force of your enemies, more

The Oration of
Tullus.

A more than with the trecherie and falshood of your friends and confederates, which is the greater conflict and farre more dangerous. For to put you cleane out of doubt, and to beare you no longer in hand with a wrong perswasion; The Albanes went up toward the hils without my commission, neither was it my commandement that, but a policie and countenance onely of command: to this end, that yee not knowing how ye were forsaken, might not withdraw your hearts from fight, and also that your enemies weening they were environned behind, should be afraid and so enforced to flee. Yet are not the Albanes all in generall to be charged with this fault which I reprove. They did but follow their leader, as yee likewise would have done, if I had willed the march to have turned anie whether from thence. It is **Metius** that was the guide and leader of this journey, **Metius** is hee that is the worker and deviser of this warre, **Metius** I say it is, and none but **Metius**, the breaker of the Romane and Albane league. But let who that will from **B** henceforth presume hardly to do the like, if I make not him forthwith a notable example to all the world, The Centurions stood armed round about **Metius**, and the king goeth on with the rest of his speech as hee began, and said: That which I pray God may turne to the good, prosperitie and happinesse of the people of Rome, of my selfe, and you the Albanes, I am minded to reduce all the Albane nation to Rome: to endue the commons with the freedome of the citie: to advance their cheefe gentlemen to the order of Separators, & to make one uniforme citie and Commonwealth: that as in times past the Albanes state, out of one body was divided into twain, so now it may bee united and become one againe. At these words the Albane youth unarmed, and beset on everie side with armed men, albeit they were distracted in mind, yet were they forced with a generall feare to keepe silence, and hold their peace. **Metius** *Saffertius* (quoth **Tullus** then) If thou couldest have learned to keepe allegiance, promise, and covenants, thou mightest have bene taught it at my hands with life. But now since thy froward nature is intractable, teach thou by thy fearefull example and death all mankind, to hold and repute those things for sacred and holie, which have by thee bene broken and violate. Like as therefore erewhiles thou barest a double heart in doubtfull ballance, betwene the Fidenates and the Romanes state: even so, straightwaies shalt thou yeeld thy bodie to be drawne asunder, and plucked in two peeces accordingly. Then forthwith hee caused two teemes of foure horses to bee set to, and **Metius** to be stretched out and tied unto the chariots to them belonging. Afterwards were the horses driven a contrarie way, and carried with them in both chariots the bodie torne in peeces as farre forth as the lims hung fast together by their cords and ligaments: which made all men averte their eyes from beholding so cruell and horrible a spectacle. This was the first and last punishment that ever the Romanes executed with so litle respect, or none at all (to say a truth) of the lawes of humanity. In all other they may safely make their boast, that no nation in the world hath ben lesse delighted and pleased with extremities of torment.

Whilest these things were in doing, there had bene certaine horsemen sent afore to Alba, for to translate the multitude to Rome. After whom were the legions also of the footmen thither led, to rase and destroy the citie. At whose entrance within the gates, ther was not that stir nor fearefull hurric, as usually is scene when citties are lost: and when with breaking down the gates, beating and battering the wals with rams and other engines, forcing the citadell, the enemies shout, and the armed souldiours run to and fro in the citie, killing and slaying, firing and burning all afore them as they goe: but a sad silence, and a still kind of sorrow and pensivenesse so possessed and astonied all their minds, that for feare forgetting what to leave behind them, or what to take with them, without advise and counsell, one asking another what to doe, they one while stood in their house entries, another while ran up and downe wandring in their houses, as if their last day had bene come. But so soone as they heard the horsemen crie aloud, and command them with menacing to void and depart, and that now the ratling of the tiles and slates from off the houses, as they were a pulling downe, was from the furthest part of the towne heard: and that the dust raised from places farre off, had as it were with a cloud overcast and filled all: then everie man catching up hastily, and carrying forth what hee could, leaving their domesticall gods, leaving their houses wherein they had bene borne, bred, and brought up, departed forth: so that now they filled the streets as they went close on a row together, and the sight one of another with mutuall commiseration, redoubled their teares and wofull complaints. Yea & pittious mone & lamentations were heard of women especially, as they passed by their faire and stately churches, beset with souldiours, and abandoned their gods as it were captives and prisoners. After the Albanes had thus quit the citie, downe went the Romanes everie where

where with the buildings, as well publicke as private, and laid them even with the ground, and so in one hower destroyed and raised foure hundred yeeres worke, for so long had Alba stood and flourished. Howbeit the temples of the gods they spared, for so the king had given commandement. Rome all this while, riseth by the fall of Alba. The number of Citizens increased double: to enlarge the citie the mount Celius was annexed to it: and that it should bee better peopled and more inhabited, *Tullus* had his roial seat and pallace there, and therein from that time forth he kept his court. The cheefe Citizens of the Albanes he advanced to the order of Senators, that hee might augment that state also of the Commonweale, namely, the houses of the *Tulli*, *Servilij*, *Quintij*, *Geganij*, *Curatij*, *Cloelij*: and for that degree and order of Senators by him encreased, he built an hall or new court, called until our fathers daies *Hofilia curia*, *Hofilia* court. And that all estates and degrees might out of this new people be somewhat strengthened, hee chose from out of the Albanes ten troopes or cornets of horsemen, and with the same supplie hee both fulfilled the number of the old legions, and also made and enrolled new.

Curia Hofilia.

With the Sabines.

Tullus upon this affiance he had in his strength and power, denounceth warre against the Sabines, a people in those daies of all other most puissant and mightie, both in men and munition, next the Tuscans. Wrongs had been done, and outrages committed on both parts, and restitution or amends demanded, but to no effect. *Tullus* found himselfe grieved, that divers occupiers or merchants of Rome, at an open mart or faire of great resort before the temple of *Feronia*, were laid hold upon and apprehended. The Sabines on the other side complained, that their men, notwithstanding they took sanctuary in a certain sacred and priviledged grove, were arrested and in hold at Rome. These were the quarrels and occasions pretended of the warre. The Sabines well remembring, that not onely part of their owne forces was by *Tullus* translated to Rome, and there planted, but also that now of late the puissance of the Romans was well amended by the supplement of the Albanes, began likewise for their part to cast about, and seeke for helpe abroad, and forraigne aids. Now was Tuscan their neighbour nation, and of the Tuscans the neereft unto them were the Veientians. From thence they gat certaine voluntaries to take their part, by reason that their minds already were well disposed to revolt upon old grudges and rancour, remaining still of the former warres past: other some also vagabonds and idle persons of the rascall sort, and needie commons, were soone hired for monie. But as for any succor from thence by publicke consent of the state, they had none at all. So much prevailed even with the Veientians (for in the rest it was lesse marvell) the faithfull covenant of truce concluded with *Romulus*. Now when these preparations of warre were made on both sides to the uttermost of their power, and that it stood upon this point, That they were like to have the odds and vantage, who should begin first, and enter the field: *Tullus* prevented the enemies, and invaded the Sabine land. A sharpe and bloodie battell was there fought under the wood *Malicusa*. Where the Romanes bare themselves bravely that day, much upon the valour of the Legionarie footmen, but more upon the strength of their men of armes, whose number lately was augmented: for by the suddain and forcible charge of the horsemen, the battell of the Sabines was so broken, their ranks so disordered, that they could neither stand close together to fight it out, nor yet spread themselves to flie, without great slaughter and bloodshed.

The Sabines defeated by the Romanes.

The Sabines thus vanquished, and the kingdome of *Tullus* and the whole state of Rome, being verie glorious and wealthie: behold, newes came to the King and Senators, that in the Albanic mount it rained stones: which hardly was beleaved, and therefore certaine men were sent of purpose to see this strange and prodigious sight: who might plainly behold stones to fall thicke out of the skie, like as when some forcible winds drive haile in big round balls upon the earth. They imagined moreover, that they heard a great and mightie voice out of the grove from the verie top of the hill crying unto them, & warning the Albanes to do sacrifice and divine service according to the rites & ancient maner of their forefathers, which they had discontinued and forgotten, as if together with their country they had abandoned their gods, and either taken to the Romane fashion, or else being angry with fortune (as it is commonly seene) forlet and neglected the worship of the gods altogether. The Romanes likewise upon that miraculous signe, for the purging and expiation thereof, celebrated solemne publicke sacrifices for the space of nine daies, called a *Novendiall*: either because they were mooved thereto by that voice from heaven (for that also is reported) or tooke direction from the Soothsayers that prie into the inward of beasts. Certaine it is, that a solemne custome remaineth still unto this day,

A Novendiall.

A day, that whensoever word commeth of the like wonder, they keepe hollyday nine daies together. Not long after this, the pestilence rained in the citie. And albeit the people began thereby to slacke souldierie and militarie service: yet would not this martiall prince give them rest and respite from warre: being of this mind, that the bodies of young men were more healthie in armour, abroad in the open field, than at home in the citie under covert: until himselfe at length fell sicke of a long and lingering disease. Then that haucie and courageous stomacke of his, together with his lustie and able bodie, became so abated, that hee who earst before thought nothing lesse besetting a king, than to set his mind, and busie his braines about religious ceremonies; now all upon a suddaine became wholly devoted to all kind of superstition both more and lesse, yea and filled the peoples heads besides with holinesse and devotion. So as now the verie common fort wishing againe for the old world, under the reigne of king *Numa*, were verily persuaded, that there was no other remedie left for their sicke and diseased bodies, but to obtaine at Gods hand grace and pardon. Men say, that the king himselfe in perusing and turning over the Commentaries and registers of *Numa* his predecessor, and therein finding certaine hidden and solemne sacrifices that had bene unto *Iupiter Elcius*, retired himselfe, and kept close within house to celebrate the same. But for that this holie service, was neither begun aright, nor duly administrated, hee had not onely no divine apparition and heavenly vision presented unto him, but also incurred the heave displeasure and wrath of *Iupiter*, whom by his preposterous religion he had thus disquieted; and so both himselfe and his whole house were consumed with lightning. This *Tullus* in great glorie and renowne of martiall prowesse, reigned two and thirtie yeares.

Tullus consumed with lightning.

When *Tullus* was dead, the government returned againe, as it was from the first beginning ordained, unto the Senators; who named an Interregent, and he called a parlement, wherein the people elected *Ancus Martius* for their king, and the Senators gave their assent thereto. This *Ancus Martius*, was *Numa Pompilius* his daughters sonne, who so soone as hee was come to the crowne, both in remembrance of his grandfathers glorious government, and also in regard of the raigne of his next predecessor, which in other points right excellent and commendable, in this onely failed, and was not so happie: either for that religion was neglected, or not with due ceremonies exercised: and thinking it a thing most necessarie, and of greatest moment, to reduce all publicke divine service and sacrifices to the first institution of *Numa*, commanded the Archprelate or Highpriest, to make an extract, and transcrip of all the sacred rites and misteries out of *Numa* his Commentaries, and ingrosse them into one table, and to publish them abroad unto the people: whereby both his subjects and citizens desirous of peace, as also the States thereby adjoining, were in good hope, that the king would altogether conforme himselfe, and take after the customes and ordinances of his grandfather. Hereupon the Latins, with whom in king *Tullus* his daies a league was made, tooke heart unto them, made in-roads into the countrey about Rome, and fetch out booties. And when the Romanes demanded restitution, they made them a proud answer, supposing belike, that the king of Rome would passe the whole course of his raigne in ease and idleness, sitting still in his chappels, and by his holie altars. But *Ancus* was of a meane and indifferent disposition by nature, having an eie as well to *Numa*, as to *Romulus*, & composed as it were of both. For over & besides, that he thought peace more expedient and necessarie for his grandsires reigne, the people being as then but new risen, unsettled, and fierce withall: considering also, that himselfe should not easily without taking wrong, enjoy the quietnesse which to him happened: for that his patience was already tried, and not onely tried, but also despised: and seeing that the State of the present time was fitter for a *Tullus* to be king, than a *Numa*: yet to the end that, as *Numa* in time of peace instituted ceremonies of religion, so he might likewise set out to posteritie others concerning warre: and that warres should not onely be made, but also denounced and proclaimed orderly, and in some religious forme of solemnitie: he set downe in writing that law and formall order, by vertue whereof restitution is demanded (which at this day the Fecials or heralds observe) like as he received it from the ancient people *Aequi*.

Ancus Martius king of Rome.

F The Embassadour Fecial, comming to their borders, at whose hands the goods are required againe, covering his head with a bonnet or vail of woollen yeerne, saith thus: *He re o Iupiter, give eare yee limits and confines* (naming them of such and such a countrey) *let Iustice and right hearken also to what I shall say: I am the pvelicke messenger of the people of Rome, of a iust and religious embassage*

BASSAGE AM I COME, AND TO MY WORDS GIVE CREDITE. After this, relieaseth he, G
all his demands, and then calleth *Jupiter* to witnesse, saying, If I UNIVISTLY AND IMPIOVSLY
DEMAND THAT SUCH PERSONS SHOULD BE DELIVERED, OR SUCH AND SUCH GOODS
BE RENDRED UNTO ME, THE PUBLICKE MESSENGER OF THE PEOPLE OF ROME;
THEN LET ME NEVER RETURN AGAINE TO ENIOY MINE OVNE COUNTRY. These
wordes he hearseth he, as he setteth foot, and steppeth into the confines: the same also he speaketh
to him whomsoever he meeteth first: the selfesame words he pronounceth, as he entrench within
the gate of the citie: yea & when he is come into the market place he saith the same, changing
and varying in some few tearmes, from the prescript forme of the demand, and taking the so-
lemne oth. In case then, the persons whom he requireth, bee not yeelded after three and thirtie
daies expired (for so manie just, are usually graunted) then proclaimeth hee warre in this wise, H
HEARE O *Jupiter*, and thou *Iuno*, *Quirinus* thou: YE CELESTIAL SAINTS ALL, AND TER-
RESTRIALL POWERS, YE INFERNALL SPIRITS ALSO LISTEN, AND GIVE EARE. I
CALL YOU ALL TO VVITNESSE, AND PROTEST BEFORE YOU, THAT THIS NATION,
(naming them whosoever they be) IS UNJUST, AND DOETH NOT ACCORDING TO RIGHT
AND EQUITIE. BUT OF THESE MATTERS VVILL WE CONSULT AT HOME IN OUR
COUNTRY, VVITH OUR ELDERS, AND ASKE THEIR ADVISE NOV VVE MAY COME BY
OUR OVNE. Herewith returneth the messenger unto Rome for counsell, and presently the
king would in these or such like words, sitting in counsell with his Peeres, move them in this man-
ner. WHEREAS THE PATERPATRAT OR HERALD, IN THE BEHALFE OF THE PEOPLE
OF ROME, AND THEIR QUIRITES, HATH TREATED VVITH THE PATERPATRAT, OR
HERALD, IN THE NAME OF THE ANCIENT LATINES, AND VVITH THE FOLKE OF THE
ANCIENT LATINES, CONCERNING CERTAINE THINGS, DIFFERENCES, SHYES, AND
CAUSES THEREUPON DEPENDING; WHICH THINGS THEY HAVE NEITHER YEE-
DED NOR PAID, NOR PERFORMED AND DONE; VVHICH OUGHT TO HAVE BEN PAID,
YEEDED, PERFORMED AND DONE; WHAT IS YOUR IUDGEMENT? speaking to him,
whose opinion first hee asketh in this case. Then (saith hee) MY ADVISE IS, THAT THOSE
THINGS BE SOUGHT FOR AND RECOVERED BY PURE FORCE, BY JUST AND LAV-
FULL VVAR. THIS DO I FULLY AGREE UNTO, THIS DO I DETERMINE RESOLUTELY.
After him were the other asked in course: and when the greater number of them there present
accord therunto, then by generall consent, they were wont to proclaim war in this order: K
that the Feclal or king at armes should go with a javelin, having an yron head, or with a red bloodie
spear burnt at the end, as far as to their borders or marches: and there in the presence of three
witnesses at the least, not under foureteene yeares of age, should say thus: VVHEREAS THE
PEOPLE OF THE OLD LATINES, AND THE OLD LATINE FOLKE HAVE PRACTISED
AND TRESPASSED AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF ROME AND THE QUIRITES, AND
VVHEREAS THE PEOPLE OF ROME, AND THE QUIRITES HAVE SO DETERMINED,
CONSENTED, AND AGREED, THAT VVAR SHOULD BE MADE VVITH THE ANCIENT
LATINES; I THEREFORE TOGETHER VVITH THE PEOPLE OF ROME, DO DENOUNCE
AND PROCLAME AND MAKE VWAR VVITH THE NATIONS OF THE OLD LATINES,
AND VVITH THE OLD LATINE FOLKE. And when he had thus said, he launced his speare L
or javelin within the confines of the enemies. After this manner then, was restitution demanded
of the Latines, and warre denounced or proclaimed: which order of proceeding their posterity
by tradition received.

Ancus having committed the charge of divine service and sacrifice unto the Flamins and
the other Priests, levied a new armie, went forth into the field, and by force wan Politorium, a
citie of the Latines. And following the usuall maner of the former kings his progenitors, who
had mightilie increased the Romane estate, by admitting their enemies into the number of ci-
tizens, transported the whole multitude from thence to Rome. And because the ancient natural
Romanes inhabited Palatium, the Sabines about the Capitoll and rocke Tarpeia, and the Al-
banes replenished the mount Celius: therefore the hill Aventine was allowed this new compa- M
nie to dwell in. Unto whom not long after, there came fresh inhabitants to people it, upon the
winning of Tellene and Ficana. But after this, the Romanes were driven to recover by war Pol-
itorium againe: for that whilest it stood void and vake, the old Latines had surprisid and taken it.
Which was the cause, that the Romanes destroyed that citie quite, that it should not bee at all
times a receptacle for the enemies. Last of all, when as now the Latines warre was driven wholly
and

A and brought before Medullia, there for a good while was much ado, and doubtfull issue of fight,
and interchangeable victorie: for that the towne was both well fortified with bulwarkes, and fur-
nished with a strong garison of men: and also by reason that the armie of the Latines being in-
camped in plaine and open ground, had sundrie times with banners displaied, encountred hand
to hand with the Romanes. At the last *Ancus* bending his whole power against them, fitt gaue
them an overthrow in a set battell: and so having gained rich pillage, returned to Rome. At what
time also were many thousands of the Latines received into the citie. Who to the end, that
the Aventine and Palatium should meet together, were appointed to seat themselves about the
temple of **Muria*. The Ianiculum likewise was adjoined unto the citie, not for want of ground, Venus
but because it might not be at any time a fortresse and hold for the enemies: which was thought
good to be united unto the citie, not onely with a wall, but also for more commodious passage
to and fro, with a wooden bridge over Tyber. The *Quirites* fosse or ditch also, no small defence
against the easie access from the plaine grounds, was a worke of *Ancus*. Thus the estate being
growne to exceeding strength and bignesse: when as now in so huge a multitude of people
there was much confusion, and no difference of well doing or ill, and thereby many mischeefes
and outrages began secretly to be committed: for to restraine therefore with some terror, such
boldnesse increasing daily more and more, there was a gaole or common prison built in the
hart of the citie, even over against the common place of assemblie. And in this kings daies not
onely the circuit of the citie was enlarged, but also their lands and territories. For by reason that
the Forrest Moesia was conquered from the Veientians, their signorie reached to the seavhere, C
in the very mouth of Tyber was the towne Hostia built, and the salt pits made thereabout, and
upon such noble exploits by armes atcheeved, the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, was in more am-
ple and glorious manner reedified.

In the reigne of *Ancus*, there came to dwell at Rome one *Lucumo*, a pregnant nimble head-
ed man, and a wealthie, upon a desire especially and hope of advancement and honour, which
at Tarquinij (where he was borne, although descended of forraigne parentage) he had no means
to attaine unto. The sonne hee was of *Demaratus* the Corinthian, who upon civile troubles and
dissentions having fled his country, and by chance planting himselfe in Tarquinij, there mar-
ried a wife, and had issue by her two sonnes, named *Lucumo* and *Aruns*. *Lucumo* survived his fa-
ther, and became heire of all his goods. *Aruns* died before his father, leaving his wife behind
him, conceived with child: neither lived the father *Demaratus* long after his son, who not know-
ing that his daughter in law and sonnes wife was with child, made no mention at all of his ne-
phew in his will, and so departed this world. Whereupon the child after his grandsires decease,
being borne to no part of his goods, for his poore condition, hight *Egerius*. But *Lucumo* on the
other side, the sole heire and inheritor of all, as hee began by his wealth to bee haucie ynough,
and to looke aloft, so hee grew much more proud for his marching in marriage with *Tanaquil*,
a dame of a right noble house descended, and who could hardly beare a lower estate and degree
than that wherein she was borne. When shee was once married, and saw the Tuscans to disdain
Lucumo, for that his father was a stranger and banished person, shee could not indure that indig-
nitie. But forgetting all kind affection to her native countrey, so shee might see her husband rai-
sed to high promotion, shee resolved and plotted to leave Tarquinij and depart. To which pur-
pose and designement, Rome seemed a place most fit and convenient of all others. For thus the
projected and discomfited: That in a citie lately founded, where all kind of nobilitie suddainely
commeth up, and ariseth from vertue and prowess, her husband a valorous and industrious man
must needs have place, and be entertained: that king *Tatius* a Sabine borne, had raigned there:
that *Numa* was from Cures sent for thither, and called to the crowne: that *Ancus* also a Sabine
by his mothers side, had the onely image of *Numa* to shew for his nobilitie. Thus shee soon per-
suaded him, as being a man ambitious and desirous of honour, and whose mother onely was a
Tarquinien borne, and therefore hee was to make lesse scruple of abandoning the place of his
nativitie. Thereupon they removed with all they had to Rome. And it fortuned that to Ianiculum
they came. Where, as *Tarquinij* sat with his wife in the chariot, behold an Eagle came gently
flying downe from aloft, & tooke up his bonnet from his head, and soaring over the chariot with
a great noise, and clapping of her wings, as if shee had been sent from heaven to doe this feat,
set it gainely and handomely on his head againe: which done, shee mounted on high, and flew
away. *Tanaquil*, as they say, embraced this Augurie with great joy, being a woman skillfull, as
commonly all the Tuscans are, in such prodigious sights and apparitions from heaven; and
therewith

therewith taking her husband about the necke, willed him to be of good cheare, and to hope for great matters and high preferments: saying, how that bird came from such a quarter of the heaven, addrest as a messenger from such a god, and shewed a divine token and presage upon the highest part of man, even the top of the crown, and lifted up the ornament that stood upon his mortall head, to give it him againe immortall, as from God above. In these hopes and cogitations which they entertained by the way, they entred the citie: where they tooke an house, and from thenceforth hee was commonly called *L. Tarquinius*. Now within a while both his new comming, and his wealth withall, made him well knowne and himselfe also besides, set forward his good fortune by courteous and faire speech and affable language to everie man, by friendly inviting, and liberall feasting, and by making what friends he could by gifts, favors, and good turnes: so farre forth, as the fame of him came into the kings court: where, by his willing service and singular dexteritie, in short time he had not onely access to the kings knowledge, but also entered into familiar acquaintance and friendship with his highnesse. In somuch, that both in private counsels and publicke consultations, as well at home as abroad, hee was alwaies present, and bare a great stroke. And having in all kind of offices carried himselfe with credite, was in the end by the kings last will and testament made tutor or protector of his children. Thus reigned *Numa* foure and twentie yeares, for glorie and reputation of his sage governement, as well in warre as in peace, equall to anie of the former kings his predecessors. Now were his sons neere foureteene yeares of age when hee died. *Tarquinius* therefore made the more hast, that the high court of parliament should with all speed possible bee summoned for creation of a king, which being against a day proclaimed, he sent away the boies to the chase a hunting, at the verie instant of the said election. Hee himselfe (as men say) was the first, that both ambitiously sought for the crowne, and also to win the hearts of the commons, divided and framed an eloquent Oration. Saying it was no new and strange thing that he stood for: And why hee was not the first (that any man should be offended, or make any wonder) but the third alien that in Rome affected and aspired to the kingdome: that both *Tatius*, not of a forrainger onely, but of anemie became king: and *Numa* likewise, a man unacquainted with the citie and matters of State, was without any lute or seeking of his part, by the Romans sent for, and advanced to the crown. As for himselfe, hee alledged and said, That from the time he was at his owne libertie to dispose of himselfe, hee with his wife and all that he had, removed and came to Rome: and of that age wherein men are employed in civile affaires, he had spent a greater part in Rome, than in his own ancient country. Moreover, that he was trained up both at home in the citie and in war abroad, to the knowledge of the Romane lawes, orders, add customes, and that under no meane person, but an excellent master, even king *Numa* himselfe. And finally, for faithfull service and diligent attendance about the king, he had endeavoured to passe all others: and for liberalitie and courtesie towards all others, hee had striven to goe beyond the king. These and such like allegations, as he laid forth and pleaded, and that right truly, the people of Rome with exceeding great consent elected him their king. Who being a man otherwise of singular parts and of great worth, as hee was ambitious in seeking the kingdome, so continued he stil, when he ware the crowne: and minding no lesse to establish his owne state and throne, than to maintaine the good estate of the Commonweale, he advanced one hundred more to the order of Senators, who afterwards were called *Minorum Gentium Patres*, as a man would say, Senators of a latter sort, and meaner qualitie. A faction, no doubt to take part and side with the king, by whose meanes they had bene admitted into the Senate. The first warre he made, was with the Latines: from whom by force hee war the towne Appiolar: from thence having brought away a greater pillage in proportion, than the warre imported in brute, he set forth gamings and plaies more stately and with greater furniture and provision, than the other kings before his time. Then was the plot or compasse of ground first set out and appointed for the lists or Theatre, called now *Circus maximus*, wherein were assigned scaffolds for the Senators, and for the gentlemen or knights severally by themselves, called *Fori*, where they might make them places to see the pastimes at their ease and pleasure. And in this manner stood they to behold: namely upon scaffolds born up twelve foot high from the ground with forked perches or props. The gamings were running of horses, and fighting at fists and buffets: for performance whereof, there were champions sent for of purpose, especially out of Tuscane. These sports continued afterwards from yeere to yeere in great solemnitie, and named diversly, either the Romane games, or the Great games. This king moreover assigned certaine places about the Forum or common place for private men to build in: where the galleries & shops were

The end of An-

The Creation of
the Romanes Phil-

Circus maximus

A were made. He went in hand likewise to wall the citie about with a stone wall, but the Sabine war staid him in the beginning, that he went not forward with that work. This came so sodainly upon him, that the enemies were passed over the river Anio, before the power of the Romanes could meet them, and make head against them. Whereupon great feare there was at Rome. And at the first a cruell conflict there was, and much blood shed on both parts, but no apparence of victorie. But after that the enemies were retired once into the campe, and that the Romanes had time to gather fresh forces, *Tarquinius* supposing his onely want was in his cavalerie, determined to joine unto the Rhamnenses, Titienles, and Luceres, which *Romulus* had ordained, other centuries or cornets of horsemen, and them to leave unto the posteritie after him, bearing his owne name. Which because *Romulus* had done aforetime by the counsell and advise of Augures, *Accius Navius* renowned and famous in those daies for his skill that way, opposed himselfe and gave out plainly, that there might be nothing changed or newly ordained in that behalfe, unless the birds first approved and allowed the same. Whereat the king was wroth, and in scorn and derision of his art, as they say: Come on Sir Soothsayer (quoth he) areed, and tell me by the flight of your birds, whether that may possible be done, which I now conceive in my mind. To which demand *Navius*, who had first made prooffe thereof by his learning, answered resolutely, that it might in very deed bee effected. Why then (quoth hee) I have imagined in my conceit, that thou shalt cut a whetstone asunder with a rasor: Here take them to thee, and dispatch that which thy fowles foretew may bee done: then as the report goeth, without more adoe, he cut the whetstone quite atwo. And in that verie place where this feat was done, the Statue or Image of *Accius* was erected, with his head covered, even in the Comitium, at the staires thereof on the left hand of the Curia or counsell house. It is reported that the whetstone also was set up in the same place, for a memoriall to all posteritie following, of that miracle. Certes, both Auguries, and the priesthood and colledge of Augures, from that time forward was so highly honoured, and had in such reverence, that never after was there ought done, either in warre abroad, or in peace at home, but by their counsell and advise. Assemblies of people summoned were dismissed, armies levied and readie to take the field were discharged, yea and the greatestt affaires of State, were given over and laid aside, when the birds allowed nor thereof. Neither did *Tarquinius* for that time alter the centuries of the horsemen anie whit, onely hee redoubled the number, so that in three centuries or cornets there were 1300 horse: and those latter sort who were added to the others, bare the names of the former, which at this day, because they be double, are called the sixe centuries. Tarquine thus having encreased that part of his power, had the Sabines battell the second time. And over and besides, that the Romanes armie was in strength well amended, he devised also privily a subtile Stratageme, and sent certain men to set on fire a mightie stacke of wood, lying upon the bancke of Anio, and so to cast it into the river: the wood burning still by the helpe of the wind, and most of it being driven against the piles of the bridge, and ther sticking close together with the boats and plancks, fired and consumed it cleane. This accident both terrified the Sabines in their fight, and when they were discomforted, troubled them much, and hindered their flight: so that manie a man having escaped the enemy, yet perished in the verie river. Whose armour and weapons floating downe the Tyber, were knowne at Rome, and brought newes thither of this victorie, in manner before word could be brought thereof by land. In this conflict the horsemen won greatestt price and praise. For being placed at the skirts of both the wings, at what time as the maine battell of their owne footmen, were now at the point to reule, they charged so forcible upon the enemy (as it is reported) from the flankes where they were marshalled, that they not onely staid the Sabine legions pressing hard and fiercely upon those that began to shrink and give backe, but all at once put them to flight. The Sabines ran amaine towards the mountaines, but few gat thither: for the greater number as we said before, were by the horsemen driven into the river. *Tarquinius* thinking it good to take the time, and follow hard upon them whiles they were frighted, after he had sent to Rome, the bootie with the prisoners, and burned on a great heape together (as hee had vowed to *Vulcane*) the spoiles of the enemies, marched on still forward, and lead his armie into the territorie of the Sabines: who albeit they had already sustained an overthrow, & could not hope for better successe, yet because they had no time to consult and advise with themselves, with such a power as might on a suddaine in that stirre bee raised, met with him. Where they once againe were defeated and vanquished, and in the end being in dispaire to make their part good, they sued for peace. Then was Collatia, and all the lands about it taken from the Sabines,

Dij

Egerius

41 - Some of
these driving a
cattle.

Egerius the kings brothers sonne, was left with a garrison at Collatia to keepe that place. And (as I find upon record) the Collatines were yeelded into his hands, and the manner of their surrender went in this order. First the king demanded thus and said: Are yee Embassadors, or deputed assignes sent from the people of Collatia to make surrender both of your selves and the Collatines? We are (quoth they.) And are the people of Collatia in their owne power, and at libertie to doe what they will? They are (say they.) Do yee also render up your selves, the people of Collatia, their town, their territorie and lands, their waters, their limits, their temples, their household stuffe and implements, and all things els, as well sacred as prophane, unto my power and the peoples of Rome? We doe yeeld (say they.) Then (quoth he) doe I accept thereof, and receive all into my hands. The Sabine warre thus finished, *Tarquinius* returned to Rome in triumph. After this, he warred upon the old Latines, but they never proceeded so farre on any side, as to join issue in a generall battell, and one set field for all. But bringing his power first to one towne, and after to another, he made a conquest of the whole nation of the Latines. So as these townes, Corniculum, old Ficulnea, Cameria, Crustumium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, were recovered from the old Latines, or from those that had revolted unto them.

After all this ensued peace. Then was he more earnestly bent to goe forward with his workes, begun in time of peace, than he was before busied in managing of his warres: inso much, as he gave the people no more repose at home, than he had in warres abroad. For besides that he prepared to compass the citie (which as yet he had not fortified) round about with a stone wall, the beginning of which peece of worke was by the Sabine warre interrupted and broken off: he divided also certaine draughts or vaulted finckes from aloft into the Tyber, whereby he drained and kept drie the base citie, or lowest grounds about the market place, and the other vallies betweene hill and hill, for that out of the plains and flats, they might not easily make riddance and conueiance away of the water. Moreover, he levelled a large court or plot of ground, readie for the foundation of the temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitoll, which he had vowed in the Sabine war, his mind even then giving him, that one day it should be a stately place.

At the same time there happened in the court a wonderfull strange thing, both in present view, and also in consequence. For as the report went, a young lad, whose name was *Servius Tullius*, as he lay asleepe, in the sight of manie persons had his head all on a light fire. And upon an outcrie raised at the wondering of so great a matter, the king arose: and when one of the household brought water to quench the flambe, he was by the Queene staied. And after the stir was somewhat appeased, she forbid the boy to be disquieted, untill such time as he awoke of himselfe: and within a while as the sleepe departed, the blaze likewise went out, and vanished away.

Then *Tanaquil* the Queene taking her husband aside into a secret roome. See you this boy (quod she) whom we so homely keepe, and in so poore and meane estate bring up? VVot well this, and know for certaine, that he will one day be a light to direct us in our dangerous troubles and doubtfull affaires; hee will bee the cheefe pillar and succour of the afflicted state of the kings house. Let us therefore cherish and foster with all kindnesse and indulgence the subject matter of so great a publicke and private ornament. VVherupon they began to make much of the boy as if he had been one of their owne children, and to instruct and traine him up in those arts, whereby forward wits are stirred to great enterprises, and to atchieve high place of wealth and honour. And soone came that to passe, which pleased the almightie gods. For he proved a yong man indeed of princely nature and towardnesse: in such sort, that when there should be a sonne in law fought out to match with *Tarquinius* his daughter in marriage, there was not one of all the yong gentlemen of Rome to be found comparable to him in anie respect. So as the king affianced his daughter unto him. This so great honour whereunto he was advanced, upon whatsoever cause or occasion it was, induceth me to thinke he was not the son of a bondwoman, nor that he served whilest he was a little one, as a slave. I am of their mind rather, that report thus: When Corniculum was won, the wife of *Servius Tullius*, a great lord and principall personage of that citie, and there slaine, was left great with child: and being among other captives knowne whose wife she was, in regard of her rare nobilitie onely, was by the Queene preserved from servitude, and at Rome in *Priscus Tarchinius* his house, was delivered of a child: upon which so speciall favour, there grew more familiar acquaintance betweene the two ladies the Queen and her selfe, and the child also brought up of a little one there in court, was both tenderly beloved, and also highly regarded. But his mothers fortune, whose hap was after her countrey was lost, to fall into the hands of enemies, caused men commonly to thinke that he was the sonne of a bond-slave.

A slave. Now in the eight and thirtieth yeare almost, after that *Tarquinius* began his raigne, was this *Servius Tullius* in right great estimation and credit, not onely with the king, but also with the nobilitie and commons. Then the two sonnes of *Ancus*, who as they alwaies before disdained in the highest degree, that they were by the deceitfull practise of their guardian, so unworthily put by the inheritance of their fathers kingdome, and that a stranger raigned at Rome, one who was not defended of anie neighbour house thereby, no nor so much as of Italian bloud: so now they began much more to take stomacke and indignation, in case that after *Tarquinius* the kingdome should not returne to them and their line, but should still run on end, and headlongwise fall unto such base varlets: That in the same citie, a hundred yeares almost after that *Romulus* the sonne of a god, and a god himselfe, raigned therein, (during the time he remained here upon the earth) a verie bondlave and no better, and one borne of a bondwoman, should be possessed of the crowne: and that it would be a foule stain and dishonour generally to the name of the Romans, but most especially to their house and familie, if whilest the issue male of *Ancus* lived, the kingdome of Rome should lie open, and be exposed, not to strangers alone, but which is more, to verie bondmen and slaves. This ignominie therefore, and open wrong, they resolve by fine force to put by and avoid: howbeit, the greivance of this injurie done unto them, set them on against *Tarquinius* himselfe, rather than *Servius Tullius*; both for that the king, if he lived still, would be a more sharp revenger of the murder, than a privat person: and also if they should happen to kill *Servius*, whomsoever besides, the king would vouchsafe for his son in law, him was he like to make heir apparent, & inheritor also of the kingdome.

B. For these considerations they lay wait for to murder the king himselfe in this manner: There were for the purpose to do this feat, two passing stout and sturdie hearthen chosen, who having such rusticall yron tooles about them, as they were wont both of them to occupie, and made a great shew of a most tumultuous brawle and fray in the very porch of the court gate: by which means, they drew all the kings officers, sergeants, & guard about them: then as they called with a loud voice, both the one and the other upon the king, in such wise, as the noise was heard within the pallace, they were convented before his highnes. At their first comming, they cried out both at once, and interrupted one another in all outrageous manner, so as by a sergeant they were faine to be restrained & commanded to speak by turnes, untill at length they gave over their confused brawlings. Then one of them for the pones, as it was before agreed, began his tale: and while the king, as wholly bent to give care turned aside towards him, the other lift his axe aloft, and strooke the king on the head, and leaving it sticking there still in the wound, they whipt out both of them together, and ran their waies. And whilest they that stood next about *Tarquinius*, tooke him up readie to die, the sergeants made after them that were fled, and apprehended them. Whereupon an outcrie arose, and a great concourse of people, wondering what the matter might be. *Tanaquil* in this hurlyburly caused the court gates to bee shut, and commanded everie one to avoid the place: and at one instant with great diligence provideth things requisite to cure the wound, as if there were some hope of life: and withall, if that should faile, hee prepareth other meanes and remedies against the worst that might happen. Sending therefore in all speed for *Servius*, when she had shewed him her husband halfe dead, and already bloudlesse: shee tooke him by the right hand, and besought him not to suffer, either the death of his father in law unrevenge, or his wives mother, to be a laughing stocke unto the enemies. Thine is the kingdome O *Servius* by right (quoth shee) if thou bee a man; and not theirs, who by the hands of others have committed a most shamefull and villainous fact. Take a good heart therefore, and arme thy selfe, and follow the guidance and direction of the gods, who long since by a divine and heavenly flame burning about thy head, foreshewed that one day it should bee highly advanced. Now let that heavenly blaze, raise thee up: now awake in verie deed: what man! wee also being strangers have borne the scepter: consider with thy selfe who thou art now, and not from whence thou art descended. And if in so suddaine an occurrence, thine owne wits be astonished, and to seeke, then follow my reed, and be advised by my counsell. In this while the noice and violence of the people was so great, that it could not well be suffered. Then *Tanaquil* from the upper loft of the house, out at a window that opened into the new street (for the king kept his court hard by the temple of *Jupiter Stator*) spake unto the people, willing them to be of good cheare. The king indeed (quoth she) was amazed and shrownd at the suddaine stroke, howbeit it went nothing deepe: for now is he come againe to himselfe, his wound cleafed from bloud, and searched: all signes of life, and no danger of death: and I trust in God within a while you shall

L. Tarchinius the
king killed.

Tanaquil to Ser-
vius.

Tanaquil to the
people.

shall see himselfe againe. In the meane time his pleasure his, that the people shall be obeyant to *Servius Tullius*: he shall minister justice and give lawes, he shall execute and performe all the offices of the king. Then came *Servius* abroad in his roiall robe; called *Trabea*, attended with the Lictors; and sitting in the kings throne, some causes he dispatcheth himselfe, of other some he maketh as though he would consult and confere with the king. Thus for certaine daies, the king being dead, and his death concealed, he, under colour of executing the function of another, gathereth strength to himselfe. But when at the last it was openly knowne by the wailing and lamentation which arose in the pallace, that the king was departed, *Servius* accompanied with a strong guard, shewed himselfe, and was the first, that without the election of the people onely by the will and consent of the nobles, tooke the kingdome upon him.

The sonnes of *Ancus* at the first, seeing the murderers attached, and hearing that the king was alive, and *Servius* so mightie, retired themselves as banished persons to *Suessa Pometia*. And *Servius* now sought meanes to make himselfe strong, as well by private helpees, as by publicke. And least peradventure the children of *Tarquinius* should another day be as ill affected against him, as the children of *Ancus* were against *Tarquinius*, he gave in marriage his two daughters to *Lucius* and *Aruns*, two of the kings sonnes late deceased; Yet could not he with all the policie of mans wit, stay the fatall necessitie, nor stop and divert the course of the destinies, but that the envie that followeth a kingdome, bred all distrust, disloyaltie, and mallice, even among those of his owne household, for all their alliance and affinitie. Howbeit, in very good time, and fitly for the quietnesse of the present state, was the warre with the Veientes. (for now was the tearme of the truce expired) and other Tuscanes, taken in hand. In which warre, both the valour, and also the good fortune of *Tullius* was well scene and greatly renowned. Who having discomfited a mightie host of the enemies, as undoubted king in the conceit and judgement as well of the Senatours as of the commons, if their hearts had been founded, returned to Rome.

Then in hand went he with a worke of peace, and of all other the greatest, and of most importance. To the end, that as *Nyma* was the first author of divine law and religion, so the posteritie for ever after might report and record, that *Servius* was the founder of all distinction and order; whereby betwene degrees of worship and wealth, there might be scene due difference, and regard of worth. For he devised and ordained the Cense, to wit, the Assessing, and taxation of the cittizens: a thing most profitable to that state and government, which was like in time to come, to grow so mightie. By which Cense, the charges and contributions, either in war or peace, was not levied by the poll upon the cittizens, as aforetime, but according to the valuation of their wealth and abilitie. So he erected certaine *Classes* and Centuries, and appointed their degrees, according to the assessing, and valuation, meet in decent manner to serve in warre, and meet to be employed in peace. And first, of those who were rated at an hundred thousand *ASSES* and above, he ordained 80 Centuries; 40 of the elder sort, and as manie of the younger: and all jointly were counted the first *Classis*. The elder were charged to be in readinesse at all howers, for defence of the cittie: the younger to follow the warres abroad. These were bound to find harness: for defence of their owne bodies, an headpeece or morion, a sheild, greeves, and corselet, all of brasse: and for offence of the enemye, a javelin and a sword. To this *Classis* were adjoined two Centuries of carpenters and smiths, or engineers, who were in wage, and served without armour: and their charge was to find the campe engines of batterie and artillerie. The second consisted of those that were valued betwene 100000 and 75000 *ASSES*. And of this sort both young and old, were enrolled twentie Centuries: who were enjoined to provide for their armour, a target or buckler in stead of a shield; and excepting onely a corselet, in all points as the former. The third he would have to be of those that were esteemed worth 50000 *ASSES*, and as manie Centuries of them, and with the same distinction of age. Neither concerning their armour was any thing altered: only for their greeves they were dispensed with. In the fourth *Classis* were those that were assessed in the Subsidie booke, betwene 50000 and 25000 *ASSES*, and of them were 10 manie Centuries. Their armour was changed, having no more but a speare and a casting dart, with a loope called *Verutum*. The fift was greater, containing thirtie Centuries. These carried with them slings and stones to sling a farse off: among whom were reckoned the beadels or criers, together with the trumpetters & cornetiers, who were divided into three Centuries. This band stood of them that were assessed from 25000 unto 10000 *ASSES*. The valuation under this, comprised all the rest of the multitude. Whereof arose one Centurie, freed and exempted from warfare. Thus having furnished and disposed the forces of the Infanterie,

he enrolled besides twelve Centuries of horsemen, and those out of the principall men of the cittie: and sixe other Centuries likewise, to those three that *Romulus* instituted, retaining the same name still, that they in their first solemne institution had. These horsemen for to buy their great horses, had 10000 *ASSES* out of the chamber of the cittie, a peece: & for to find and keepe those horses, were the rich widdows set, yearly at 2000 *ASSES* a peece. Thus were all these charges and burdens shifted from off the poore mens shoulders, and laid upon the rich. And therefore afterward was their dignitie and honour so much the more. For in the grand lectures and solemne elections of Magistrats, everie man had not prerogative alike, nor equall authoritie, as *Romulus* first ordained, and the other kings continued, when they gave their voices by the poll indifferently, one with another: but there was distinction made, and certaine degrees; but so, as neither any one was excluded or shut out, and yet the whole rested and lay in the power of the richer sort, and cheefe of the cittie. For first the horsemen were called: afterward, the eightie Centuries belonging to the first *Classis*, of the principall footmen: who if they disagreed, and happened to be at anie difference, then the Centuries of the second *Classis* were cited. And never went they likely so low, as to the last of all. Neither ought anie man to marvel, that this order in these daies, after five and thirtie tribes complete, agreed not with the Centuries of the elder and younger sort, according to the computation set downe by *Servius Tullius*, considering their number is now doubled. For having divided the cittie into foure Wards, according to the quarters and hils; those parts which were inhabited, he called Tribes, of the word Tribute (as I suppose.) For he it was that devised and brought up the manner of equall contribution and payment, proportionably to the assessment and rate of mens goods. Neither were these tribes anie waies at all respective to the division or number of the Centuries afore said. When this Cense and taxation was finished, which he dispatched the sooner, by reason of the peoples feare of an act by him made, concerning those that should not come in to be registred and enrolled in the Subsidie booke; he published an edict, under paine of imprisonment and death, that all cittizens of Rome, as well horsemen as footmen, should the morrow after at the breake of day, everie one in his owne Centurie, shew himselfe in *Campus Martius*, in *Mars* field. There, after he had mustered and embattelled the whole annie, he assailed and purged the same with the sacrifice of a Swine, a Sheepe, and a Bull. And this was called *Conditum Lustrum*. Which was the very closing up and accomplishment of the assessment. In this *Lustrum*, there were numbred and assessed 80000 Cittizens. *Fabius Pictor*, a most ancient writer sayth moreover, that so many there were of able men to beare armes. For to containe this multitude, it was thought good the cittie should be enlarged. Whereupon he adjoineth unto it two hils more, to wit, *Quirinalis*, and *Viminalis*. After this, he proceeded to augment the mount *Esquilie*: and to grace that hill, and make it of more reputation, there he dwelt himselfe, and had his court. He cast a trench and ditch, and raised a rampire about the cittie, and then walled it: by occasion wherof, he set out the *Pomœrie* further. *Pomœrium*, according to the Etymologic and litterall signification of the word, is as much to say, as *Postmarium*, or the *Arriermure*, that is, a plat of ground behind, or without the wall. But indeed it is rather a space about the wal on either side, which the Tuscanes in old time, when they built their cities, used by advise of Augures, to hallow and consecrate in certain bounds and limits, all along where they minded to set the wall: that neither within-forth the houses might joine upon the wall (whereas now adaies they build close to) and without also, there might be a void peece of ground, lying common, free, and unoccupied of men. This vacant space, that neither might lawfully be inhabited, nor yet eared and planted, as well because it was without the wall, as the wal without it, the Romanes called *Pomœrium*. And ever as the circuit of the cittie was made larger, looke how much the wals should be set out further, so farre those hallowed and consecrated bounds of the *Pomœrie* were extended.

Thus the cittie being much increased in compasse of building, and all things disposed in good order, requisite as well for war as peace; to the end, that he should not alwaies seeke to purchase wealth and puissance by war and martiall prowesse onely, he attempted to amplifie his dominion by pollicie, and withall to bestow upon the cittie some glorious ornament to beautifie the same. And even at that time was the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, of great fame, and much renowned: which as the report went, was built in common by all the states and princes of Asia. When as therefore *Servius* would use highly to praise and commend unto the lords and heads of the Latines (with whom of purpose he had both in publicke and privat, mutuall intertainment and familiar acquaintance) that generall agreement of the princes of Asia, in matters of religion,

gion, and in the uniforme worship of the same gods: at length, by much iterating and following still that theme, he prevailed with them so far, that the nations of the Latines, and the people of Rome together, built at Rome a temple unto *Diana*: which was a plaine confession, and cleare case, that Rome was now the imperiall seat, for which they had so often warred. This quarrell, albeit now the Latines all in a manner had neglected quite, and made no care at all thereof, seeing they had so often attempted it by force of armes, and sped so badly: yet fortune seemed to one only man to cast a favourable aspect, and yeeld good hope, by his private policie and industrie, to recover againe the imperiall dignitie unto the Latines. A certaine houtholder forsooth of the Sabines, had as they say, a cow bred with him of a wonderfull bignesse, and fair withall (for a memoriall of which so rare and wonderfull beast the hornes were set up, and remained fast fixed in the porch of *Dianas* temple, many a hundred yeares after) this was supposed (as it was no lesse in very deed) a strange and prodigious thing: and the wisemen or wizards prophesied, that the soveraintie and Empire should be seded and established in that State, where of any one citizen sacrificed that cow unto *Diana*. This prophesie came to the eares of the priest of *Dianas* temple. The Sabine above said, so soone as he had espied a meet and convenient day for sacrifice, drives the cow to Rome, and leads her to the temple of *Diana*: and there presented her before the altar: where the Romane priest wondering to see so huge a beast, where of there had been so much speech, and calling to mind withall the aforesaid Oracle, spake to the Sabine in this wise, My friend (quoth he) what meane you to sacrifice so uncleanelly unto *Diana*, and doe not rather purifie and wash your selfe all over in some running streame: before you come hither? Lo where Tyber runneth in the valley beneath. The stranger then, moved with some scruple of conscience, who desired nothing more, than that all should be well and orderly done, that an happie successe might be correspondent and answerable to so prodigious a beast, forthwith went downe to the Tyber. In the meane while, the Romane killed the Cow in honour of *Diana*. This thing pleased the king and the whole cittie wonderfull well.

Servius, albeit he were now without all question by so long continuance, fully and really invested in the kingdome; yet because he heard say, that young *Tarquinius* otherwhile gave out speeches of him, that he reigned without the nomination and election of the people: therefore after he had first wan the hearts of the commons, by dividing among them every one, certaine lands gotten by conquest from the enemies, he adventured to propound unto the people, & put it to their suffrages and voices, Whether their will and pleasure was, that he should raigne over them. Thus was he declared king with as great consent, as never any before with the like. But *Tarquinius* for all this, had never the lesse hope to aspire and attaine unto the crowne: nay rather so much the more, because he understood the said division of the lands among the commons, was a thing concluded & passed against the wil & mind of the Senators. Taking therefore occasion therby to accuse & blame *Servius* before them, he supposed he had good means offered to wind himself into favor with the lords of the Senat, & so to become strong in the counsell house. Over and besides, he was both himself a young man of great courage & hot stomach, & his wife likewise at home, dame *Tullia*, layever upon him, & pricked forward his distempered & troubled mind: for you must thinke, that the roiall court of Rome also, hath brought forth and afforded one example of a tragicall and horrible act: that by a wearines and lothing conceived against the kings government, liberty and freedome might the sooner ensue: and that raigne bee the last, which was by mischeefe gotten first. This *L. Tarquinius* whether he were the sonne or nephew of *Priscus Tarquinius*, it is not very cleare, howbeit, I would rather thinke with most writers, that he was his sonne. A brother he had, *Aruns Tarquinius*, a young gentleman of a mild nature. These two (as is aforesaid) had married the two *Tullie*, the kings daughters, and they also themselves were in conditions farre unlike. And happily it so fell out, that two froward and violent natures were not coupled together in wedlock: such was the good fortune, I beleve, of the Romane people, that thereby the raigne of *Servius* might continue the longer, and the cittie brought and settled in good order. The younger *Tullia*, a stout dame and a proud, grieved and vexed much that her husband had nothing in him, no mettall or matter at all, either to cover and desire, or to enterprise and adventure: her mind was fully set upon the other *Tarquinius*, him she esteemed highly, and had in admiration, him she said to be a man indeed, and defended of roiall blood. As for her sister, she despised and checked her, for that the having a forward and valorous knight to her husband, sat still, and seconded him not in audacitie and boldnesse, as a woman should doe. Well in short time likeness and disposition soone brought them together, and

A and as it is commonly seene, Naught will to naught, and fort best together. But the mischeefe and trouble that brought all up side downe, arose from the woman. For she using to have secret conference with her sisters husband, never ceased to speake badlie, and to raile of her own husband unto his brother, and of her sister unto her husband. Affirming in good earnest, it were better both for her selfe to be a widow, and for him to live single, and without a wife, than so to be mismatched as they were, and through the craven cowardise of others to languish and come to nothing. As for her selfe, if the gods had given her an husband according to her owne quality and worthinesse, she doubted not to see, and that very shortly, the crowne in her own house, that now she seeth in her fathers. In this manner possesseth she quickly the humorous young man, and filled his head with her owne rashnesse and follies. Now when *Aruns Tarquinius* and the elder *Tullia*, who died just in a manner both at one time, had well rid their owne houses, and made way and overture for a new marriage, it was not long but they were married, with *Servius* his leave and connivence, rather than his good liking. But then every day more than other began *Tullius* to be a continual mote in their eies, his old age hatefull, and his raign more odious: for now the woman minded nothing but one mischeefe upon another: and would not suffer her husband to be at rest night nor day, least peradventure the former murders done and past, should serve to no purpose, and misse the effect of their designements. And thus she brake out and said: That she wanted not before one that carried the name of an husband, with whom she served, & kept her selfe quiet and said nothing. But she had a want of one, that thought himselfe worthe of a kingdome, that remembered he was the sonne of *Tarquinius Priscus*, that loved better to be seised of a crowne and scepter indeed, than hope for a kingdome, and here thereof. But sir (quoth she) if you be the man to whom I take my selfe wedded, then I cal you both husband and king: if not, then is our case changed for the worse, in that, cowardlinesse is accompanied now with wickednesse. Why resolve you not? why arme you not your selfe, and go about this businesse? you need not go so far as to Corinth or Tarquinij, for to seeke and compasse forraine kingdomes, as your father did. The gods of your owne house and native country, the linage and example of your father, the kings pallace, and therein therioiall seat and throne of estate, yea the very name of *Tarquinius*, createth, nameth, and salureth you king. But and if your heart will not serve you to these designs, why beare you the world in hand and deceiue them? why take you so upon you as you doe, to shew your selfe as a kings sonne? Get you hence to Corinth againe, away to Tarquinij, turne backward to your former stocke and condition, more like to your brother than to your father. With these and such like motives, by way of reproofe she checketh the young man, set him on, and pricked him forwards, and she her selfe for her part, could be at no repose, for thinking that *Tanaquil*, an alien and stranger borne, could contrive in her head, and effect so great a matter, as to make two kings together, one after other, namely her husband first, and afterward her son in law: and she her owne selfe, a kings daughter, could beare no stroke either in giving or taking away a kingdome. *Tarquinius* kindled with these furies and temptations of a woman, went about, laboured, and made court to the Nobles, especially those that were *Minorum gentium*: erst soones putting them in mind of the pleasures and favours that his father had done them, and requiring now of dutie the like good time at their hands. The young men, the flower and manhood in generall of the cittie, he wrought and won to himselfe with gifts: and so partly with great promises, what wonders he would doe, and partly with raising slanders upon the king in all places, and charging upon him odious crimes, he grew very great and mightie. At the last, espying a convenient time to set on foot, and put in execution his intended projects, with a strong guard of armed men, hee entered forcible into the Forum or common place of assemblie, whereat the people all surprised with great feare, he sat him downe upon the kings throne, even at the entrance of the Curia or Senate house, and there, by the voice of the crier summoned the Senators to counsell before king *Tarquinius*. Who forthwith there assembled together: Some, thereto made and prepared aforehand others, for feare least their not comming, might turn them to displeasure. And as they were assented at this strange and wonderfull sight, so they thought *Servius* utterly undone, and his case desperate. This *Tarquinius* began an invective in spitefull and reprochfull tearmes, touching the first pedigree or parentage of *Servius*: saying, that he being a slave, and born of a bond woman, after the cruell and shamefull death of his father *Tarquinius*, usurped the kingdome: not by meanes of an Interreigne, as the order was aforesaid, nor by a solemne assemblie, and the free voices of the people, ne yet by the assent of the nobles, but only through the wile and fraud of one woman. And as he was (quoth he) thus borne and thus created king, so hath he been a partial

favoure

Tullia to her husband.

L. Tarquinius his speech to the senators.

favouier ever of the basest fort, even such as himselfe; and in hatred of the noble birth of others G
hath divided amongst the vilest persons, lands taken from the chiefe men of the citie; and all such
burdens and charges, as had ben in times past common to all, he hath cast upon great person-
ges of qualitie and worth, and set up an assessing or taxing, that the state of the wealthier persons
being made knowne and exposed to envie, he might bring them into disgrace with the people,
and bestow their goods upon the poorett and neediest at his pleasure. Amidst this Oration of
his, came *Servius* in place, advertised of the matter by a fearefull messenger in all hast. And pre-
sently began to crie out with a lowd voice, at the very porch or entrie of the Curia: What is here
ado (quoth hee) and what meaneth this *O Tarquinius*? How darest thou, during my life, assemble
the Senatours or sit on my seat? Whereunto he stoutly made a proud answer, that hee did but
keepe his fathers throne, and being as hee was, a kings sonne, hee deemed himselfe more wor-
thie to bee inheritor of the kingdome, than a bondslave: and as for him, hee had been suffered
long ynough to play with his good Masters, and to insult over his betters. With this arose a
great clamour from the parakers and complices of both sides: the people they ran from
all parts to the counsell house, and like it was, that the stronger should be king. Then *Tarquinius*
being put to his shifts, and forced to trie the utmost, seeing no other remedie, tooke *Servius* by
the middle, as being himselfe much younger and stronger farre, carried him out of the counsell
house, and threw him downe from the staires head to the foot, and so returned againe into the
Senate house, to get the Senators together. The kings officers with the guard attending upon
him, fled. Himselfe well neere dead, with certaine of his courtiers and traine, breathlesse also for
feare, made speed, and retired towards his pallace, as farre as to the top of Cyprius street, where
he was overtaken by them that were sent by *Tarquinius*, and so slaine outright. And it is verily
thought, that this was done by the suggestion and procurement of *Tullia*; so little disagreeeth it
from other wicked pranks of hers. But this one thing is known for certaintie, that she came ri-
ding in her coach into the common place of assemblie, & nothing dismaied or abashed at the
presence of so many men, there met together, called forth hir husband out of the Senat house, &
was the first that stiled him with the title of king. By whom shee being willed to depart away out
of that throng and upore, as she returned homeward as far as the pitch of Cyprius street, where
was of late a place consecrated unto *Diana*, called *Dianium*; the coachman that had the guiding
and driving of the steeds, as he turned the chariot on the right hand up to the cliffe Virbius, for
to passe up to the hill Esquiliz, suddainely staied for feare, and reined in his horses, and shewed
unto his ladie and mistresse, *Servius* lying there murdered. And hereof followed (as the report
goeth) a beastly part, and beyond all sence of humanitie, which the very place doth witnesse still
at this day, called thereupon *Sceleratus Vicus*, i. the wicked street: wherein, the raging and frantike
woman *Tullia*, harried with the furies, and haunted with the ghosts of her siter and husband,
caused (men say) her chariot to be driven over her fathers dead corps; and being her selfe be-
sprent and beraied with the bloudie chariot, caried home with her some part of it in token and
witnesse, that her hand was in this parricide and murder of her owne father: to the end, that
shee might provoke her owne domesticall gods and her husbands to wrath and displeasure:
and so consequently, as they entred their raigne with mischeefe and wickednesse, they might
soone after be turned out thereof with shame and infamie. *Servius Tullius* raigned foure and for-
tie yeares, in such wise carrying himselfe, as it were hard, even for a good and staied prince that
should succeed him, to follow his steps. This made moreover for his glorie and fame, that toge-
ther with him died all right and lawfull government of Romane kings. And even that regiment
of his, so mild, so gracious, and temperate as it was: yet because it rested in the absolute power
of one man, he was minded, as some doe write, to have forgone and given over, had not this wic-
ked intestine practise from his owne familie come betweene, to prevent and cut off his good de-
signes and intent to let his country free.

After him began to raigne *Tarquinius*, for his insolent acts surnamed *Superbus*, i. the proud.
For he would not suffer his wives father (unkind sonne in law he) to be interred: saying estoons
in jibing manner, that *Romulus* also died, and was never buried. Moreover, the principall heads
of his peeres and nobles, such (as he thought) had favoured *Servius* his proceedings, and tooke
part with him, those he made away and slew. Afterwards, fearing upon the guilt of his owne con-
science, that he had given an ill precedent for others, to take vantage against himselfe, attaining
to the crown so leaudly, he retained therefore a guard of armed men about his bodie: and in ve-
ry truth, setting only might aside, no other right had he to wear the diademe, as who raigned
neither

A neither by peoples election nor Senatours approbation. Over and besides all this, to the end he
might sit safely in his seat by servile feare and dread, who reposed no trust nor hope in the love of
his subjects; therefore to strike the greater terror into them, and hold them in aw, he by himselfe
alone without assistance of any counsell, sat upon all matters of life and death: by meanes wher-
of he was able to kill, banish, and condemne in forfeiture of lands and goods; not those onely
whom he suspected and hated, but also them, from whom he could looke for nothing else but
spoil. Thus when he had decayed the number of the nobles especially, he purposed to chuse no
new in their place, for to make supplie: to the end, that the fewer they were, the more contemp-
tible the whole order might grow: and with lesse discontent, put up the indignitie, that they were
not employed in the State, nor ought done by their advise. For this king was the first, that aboli-
shed the custome received and continued by all others afore him, of consulting with the Senat
in all matters, and managing nothing without them. He governed the Commonweale by him-
selfe, and after his owne waies: with whom it pleased him he made war and peace, league and
societie, even of his owne head: and would breake the same as himselfe thought good: thus he
did, and undid all at his pleasure, without regard of the peoples mind, or the Senates authoritie.
Above all, he sought to win the hearts and good wils of the Latine nation, that by support of
foraine power also, he might be more secure and safe among his owne people: neither enter-
tained he with their princes, friendship and amitie only, but entred also into alliance and affi-
nitie with them. For unto *Ostavius Mamilius* a Tusculane, he gave his daughter in marriage. This
Mamilius was of all the Latines the principall and noblest person, lineally descended (if we may
beleeve the common bruit and report) from *Physes* and *Circe*. By this marriage he gained many
kinsfolke and friends of his new sonne in law. So that now *Tarquinius* was in great authoritie and
reputation among the lords and Barons of the Latines. Whereupon he gave them knowledge,
and proclaimed, that upon a certain day they should all meet him at the sacred grove of Feren-
tina, to treat and commune together about matters concerning the common good of both
States. Thither resorted they in great number betimes in the morning. And *Tarquinius* himselfe
failed not for his part, to keep the very day appointed, but it was sunsetting welneere before he
came. There, in that assemblie all day long, before his coming, was much talke and reasoning,
pro & contra, touching him. *Turnus Herdonius* of Aricia, had inveighed spightfully against *Tar-*
quinius in his absence (for his being away) saying it was no marvell indeed that he was at Rome
D surnamed *Superbus* (for even then commonly they termed him so, although secretly, & in whispe-
ring wise.) For could there be (quoth he) a powder part plaid, than thus to mock, delude, & abuse
the whole state of Latium, that when their princes and nobles were cited there to appeare, farre
from their cities and dwelling houses, he only should be absent that summoned the assemblie?
Which verily was but a devise of his to trie their patience, that if they once tooke the yoke; he
might keep them stil under as his vassails for who seeth not what he reacheth at even to command
and lord it over the Latines. And in case his owne citizens have done well, in trusting him in
the rule over them (if a man may say they trusted him, & not rather that he came foullie and for-
cibly by it, even with shameful murder) the Latins also may put themselves into his hands with se-
curitie. And yet I see not why they should so doe, considering he is a meere stranger and alien.
E But how and if his owne subjects repent, and are discontented with him, being one after another
by him murdered, banished, deprived, and spoiled of their goods? What better dealings may
the Latines hope and looke for? Therefore if they would be ruled by him, they should depart
home everie man, and not keepe the day of the Diet no more than he doth that published and
proclaimed it. Whilst this seditious and dangerous person, who by these and such like facti-
ous courtes was growne to be a great man and powerable in his countrey, stood arguing thus,
inforcing and following hard upon other points, tending to the same effect, in commeth *Tar-*
quinius. Whereupon hee brake off his speech, and all was hush. Then turned every man
to salute and welcome *Tarquinius*: Who after silence made (being advised by some of his
familiaris that were next unto him, to excuse himselfe for comming at that time of the daie)
F said, that hee had bene taken to bee an arbitrator or daiesman betweene the father and the
sonne: and because hee was desirous and carefull to procure attonement betweene them,
and to make them good friends; hee made the longer stay and came the later. Which
occasion of businesse seeing it had disappointed them of that day, therefore the morrow after
hee would deliver that which hee had in purpose and intended to moove unto them. But
Turnus (as they say) could not hold, nor put up so much as this with silence: but brake out
and

Servius Tullius
killed.

Turnus Herdo-
nus his oration
against *Tarqui-*
nus Superbus.

and said againe, there was no speedier deciding and taking up of any matter, than betweene G the Father and the Sonne; a thing that might be dispatched in few words: for if he would not obey and giue place unto his father, he should abide the smart of it with a mischiefe. And thus the *Aricine* having girded as it were, and glaunched at the Romane king, departed out of the assemblie. Which thing *Tarquinius* taking more displeasantly a good deale then he made semblance of, forthwith deuised and practised to bring *Turnus* to his death, that he might strike the same terrour into the hearts of the *Latines*, wherwith he had kept under his owne subjects at home. And for that he had no absolut power to cause him openly to be slaine, he framed most falsly a criminall action against the guilelesse man; therby wrongfully to worke his destruction. By meanes of certaine *Aricians* of a contrarie faction, he wrought a bondslawe of *Turnus* with a summe of monie, to suffer a number of swords prively to be conveyed into his masters Inne or lodging: which being done in that one night accordingly, *Tarquinius* some- what before day, sent for the chiefe Lords of the *Latines* to come unto him; and pretending as though he were frighted by some strange accident, said that his long tarrying the day before, (by Gods speciall providence, as it were, so appointed) was for the safetie of him and them all. For he was informed that *Turnus* contrived to massacre both him and the heads of their nation, to the end that he alone might raigne over the *Latines*: That he minded yesterday to have put this plot in execution, even in the verie assemblie; but the deed was deferred, for that himselfe (the principal author of that meeting) whose life he sought for aboue all other, was not in place. And herupon it was (saith he) that he fared so as he did, and railed against him so bitterly the day before in his absence; for that he by his long tarrying had put him by his hope and the effect of his designs: and if all were true that was told him, he nothing doubted but early in the morning at break of the day, so soone as they were set in counsell together, he would come armed and well appointed with a crew of his adherents & swome confederates: for reported it is, (quoth he) that a number of swords and other weapons are brought into his lodging: which whether it be so or no, might soone be knowen. And therwith he desired them to take the paines to go with him thither. And verily, considering the proud nature and haucie spirit of *Turnus*, together with his yesterdaies Oration, and the long stay of *Tarquinius* besides, for that the pretended massacre seemed theby to have bene put off and prolonged, the matter became very suspitious and pregnant. Thus go they with minds verily somewhat enclined and disposed to beleue all, and yet so, as they would thinke all the rest but tales and lies, unless they found the swords aforesaid. Being come to the house, and *Turnus* awakened out of sleepe, certaine warders were set to keepe him on every side: and when they had laid hold upon his servants, who for love of their lord and master began to make resistance, the swords were brought forth out of all the blind corners of the hostellie openly to be seene: then was it a cleare case and past all peradventures: and *Turnus* was apprehended & yrons clapt upon him. And immediately in all hast the *Latins* assembled together to counsell in that great tumult and uprore: Where, upon bringing forth the swords in sight before them all, they were so incensed and deadly bent against him, that he was not suffered to answer and plead for himselfe, but was presently at the source or spring head of the *Ferentine* water plunged downe, & a hurdle done aloft upon him, & great stones heaped thereon, and so after a new kind of death stifled & drowned. *Tarquinius* then, after he had called the *Latins* againe to the place of counsell, & much commended them for dulle executing *Turnus*, who practising thus to alter and trouble the state, was detected of a manifest intended murder, made this speech unto them: I might (quoth he) if I would, by vertue of ancient rites alledge and plead, that for as much as all the *Latines* are descended from *Alba*, they are comprised within that confederacie and league, whereby in the raigne of *Tullus* the whole Commonweale and State of *Alba*, together with their inhabitants, became incorporate into the Empire of Rome. Howbeit, in regard rather of the commoditie and weale publicke of all, I iudge it requisite, that the league were renewed, and that the *Latines* might enjoy and be pertakers of the prosperitie and happie fortune of the people of Rome, rather than evermore to hazard and suffer the destruction and desolation of their cities, with the spoiling and wasting of their lands, which first in *Anciens* daies tasted, and after in my fathers time they had abidden and suffered. The *Latines* were hereto soone perswaded. And although in that league the preheminance and soveraintie rested in the Romans, yet they saw well enough that both the heads and rulers of the *Latine* Nation stood with the Romane king, and were wrought unto his hand, to side with him: and also *Turnus* unto them was a fresh precedent and example, to teach them what danger might betide

Tarquinius against Turnus Heronius.

Turnus Heronius put to death

Tarquinius to the Aricians.

A betide every one that should make a part against him and crosse his intention. So the alliance was renewed and proclamation made that according as it was capitulated, that all the serviceable men of the *Latins* should at a day appointed repaire in good number with their armor, unto the grove of *Ferentina*. Who when they were there met together from all parts according to the edict of the Romane king, to the end they should have no capitaine of their owne to lead them, no privie watchwood or regiment by themselves to direct them, nor private enignes distinct from the rest to keepe them together; he shuffled or mingled the bands and companies of *Latines* and *Romaines* one with another, making one of *Latins* and two of *Romans*; and when he had thus doubled the bands, he set Centurions over them. And albeit he was in peace an unjust prince, yet was he in war no bad capitaine; nay, for martiall prowesse he had bene equall to the former kings; had he not failed and degenerated in other things, and therby stained and hurt his glorie even in that behalfe. He was the first that warred upon the *Volscians*, which war after his time lasted more than 200 years: and wan from them by force. *Sueffa Pometia*. Where having made portsaile of the pillage, and raised as much gold and siluer as amounted to 40 talents, he conceived in his mind to build so stately a Temple of *Iupiter* as might be seeme the soveraigne king of gods and men, become the noble Empire of Rome, and answer the majesty also of the very place where it was to stand. And for the rearing and finishing of this Temple, he laid that money apart, that came of the spoile aforesaid. But presently upon this, was he surprised with a warre that held longer than he hoped it would. For having made one assault in vaine upon *Gabij*, a neighbour citie to Rome, and despairing also of any good successe by beleaguering the towne, for that he was valiantly repulsed from the wals, at the last he deuised and resolved to get it by wile and deceit: a course that *Romaines* had not usually practised. For making as though he had given over and abandoned this warre, as being now earnestly bent and busily occupied about laying the foundations of the Temple, and following other publike works in the citie: *Sextus* his sonne, the yongest of three, fled for the nones to *Gabij*, complaining of his fathers intollerable rigor and crueltie against him: saying, That now he had turned his accustomed pride from strangers upon his owne blood, and was growne to be weary of so manie children: that as he had made good hand and cleane riddance of his nobles, and left the Senat desolate, so he might bring it to passe in his own house, to leaue behind him no issue nor inheritour of the kingdom. And for his owne person verily, he was escaped from among the pikes and swords of his father, and was perswaded fully, he might no where be sure in safety, but with the capitall enemies of *L. Tarquinius*. For to put them out of doubt, and that they might be no longer abused, the war continued still against them, which seemed in outward shew given over and laid away: and his father would not faile, but whensoever he could spie his vantage and fit opportunitie, come upon them at unawares. But in case there were no place of refuge and protection for poore and humble suppliants amongst them, he would wander and travaill all over *Latium*: and if he might not rest there, he would from thence go to the *Volscians*, *Aequians* and *Hernicks*, untill he came to them that knew how to save the children from the crueltie and inhumane persecution of the fathers. Perhaps he should find meanes to stirre coles and kindle warre, yea and performe himselfe good service against that most proud king, and that most stout and insolent people. And seeming withall in great anger and discontentment, (if they would not regard his complaints) readie to depart and go his waies, he was kindly entertained, and friendly intreated by the *Gabians*: who willed him to be of good cheere and not to meruaile at all, that *Tarquinius* became now at length so ill affected against his own children, like as he had tyrannised alreadie upon his subjects and confederates: for he would no doubt in the end exercise his fell stomach even upon himselfe, for want of other subject matter to worke upon. And as to him, right welcome he was to them, assuring themselves that within a while it would so come to passe, that if he wiled them, would set to his helping hand, they should remoove the warre from the gates of *Gabij* unto the verie wals of Rome. After this, was he admitted to sit with them in common counsaile. In which he used oftentimes to say, That in other matters he gaue place, & referred himse to be advised by the ancient *Gabines*, as men more practised and experienced than himselfe, but for the warre, which ever and anone he perswaded them unto, himselfe tooke upon him a speciall insight & skil therein, as he that knew the strength of both nations, and was fully perswaded in the conscience, that his kings pride must needs be odious to his subjects, which his verie owne children could not brooke and endure. Thus whiles by little and little he sollicitated the principell citizens to rebell, and went himselfe daily in person

Sueffa Pometia wonne by the Romans. 1070 lib. lxxi.

Sextus Tarquinius to the Gabians.

The Gabines to Sextus Tarquinius.

Sextus Tarquinius to the Senators of the Gabines.

E

with

with a crew of the most forward and able yooing men, forraying, spoyling and making rodes into the Territorie of the Romanies, and that now through his words and deeds, which tended to fraud and deceit in the end, they began more and more to give credit unto him that one day would deceiue them, he was at last chosen Generall for the warre. And having made certaine small skirmishes betwene Rome and Gabes, in which for the most part the Gabines had the better (whiles the simple people, God wot, saw not his drift and how he caried the matter:) then all the Gabines from the highest to the lowest, thought verily and in good earnest, that *Sextus Tarquinius* was sent them by speciall grace even from God above to be their Capitaine and Protector. But with the soldiers, what with attempting painefull enterprises & performing dangerous service, and what with dealing prizes liberally amongst them; it passed how he grew into credit, & how dearly he was beloved; in so much as *Tarquinius* the Father was of no greater command at Rome, than *Tarquinius* the Sonne at Gabes. This when he saw he had gathered strength sufficient, and was fully furnished against all affaires; he dispatched unto his father at Rome, one of his trustie servants with credence, to know his will & pleasure, seeing that the gods had done him this grace, that he at Gabes was able to do all in all. To this message made the king no answer at all by word of mouth, taking the man belike, as I verily thinke, for one hardly to be trusted. But as one musing with himselfe and in a deepe studie what answer to shape, he went into a garden on the backe side of the house, and his sonnes messenger followed after. There walked he vp and downe, and said never a word: onely, with his rod or walking staffe, as it is reported, he knapt of the uttermost heads and tops of the poppies. The messenger wearie with calling for an answer, and waiting such attendance; returned to Gabes as wise as he came, and without effect of his errand: He reporteth what he had said and seene, namely how the king, whether upon anger or hatred, or pride ingrafted by nature, uttered no speech at all. But *Sextus* knowing by these mysticall and secret circumstances, his fathers will and direction, made no more adoe but slew the chiefe of the Citizens: some by accusations unto the people, and others by reason of disgrace they were already in, and therby exposed unto violence, were soone overthrown. Many of them were openly executed, and some whom there was little apparance or colour of justice or none at all to accuse, were secretly murdered. Divers of their owne accord fled into voluntarie exile, or else they were forced into banishment; whose goods as well as theirs that were put to death, were divided among the people. By sweetnes of this largesse of spoile, by the profit and wealth that grew to private persons; the publike wo and calamitie was nothing felt and seene: untill such time as the Gabines whole estate, disposed of counsaile, bereft of aide and succour, yielded without dint of sword unto the king of Rome.

The house of
Tarquinius

Tarquinius having thus gained the towne of Gabes, made peace with the nation of the Æquians, and renewed the league with the Tuscans. After this he converted his mind to the affaires of the cittie, among which this was the principall, to leave behind him the temple of *Iupiter*, upon the mount *Tarpeius*, for a monument and memorie of his raigne and name. That of two *Tarquines*, kings both, it might be said another day, that the father vowed it, and the son finished the same. And to the end, that the floore and plot of ground, freed and exempted from all other kind of religions, might wholly be dedicated to *Iupiter* and his temple, there to be built: he determined to exaugurate and to unhallow certain churches and chappels, which having been first vowed, by king *Tatius*, in the very extremitie of the battell against *Romulus*, were after by him consecrated and hallowed. In the very beginning and founding of which worke, it is said, that the divine power and soveraigne deitie, moved the gods to declare the future mightinesse of so great an Empire. For when as the birds by signes out of the *Augurs* learning, admitted and allowed the exauguration and unhallowing of all other cels and chappels besides, only in that of *Terminus*, they gave no token to confirme the unhallowing thereof: which was taken for an ominous prelage, and thus interpreted, That seeing the scar and house of *Terminus* was not stirred, and he the god alone that was not displaced and called forth of the limits to him consecrated; it shewed that all should remaine there firme and stable for ever. This divine token of perpetuities being received for good and currant: there followed another strange and prodigious signe, portending the greatnesse also of the Empire. For as they digged for the foundation of the temple, there appeared (as they say) a mans head, face and all whole & found: which sight imported no doubt and plainly foretold, that it should be the cheefe castle of the Empire and the capitall place of the whole world. To this effect prophesied the wisards, as well they of the cittie, as those whom they sent for out of Tuscane, to know their opinion and iudgement.

Terminus the
god of bounds
and measures

A ment. Thus was the kings mind all wholly set upon sumptuous building, and spared for no cost. So that the pillage taken at *Pometia*, which was laid by for the accomplishment of the whole worke, would hard and scant serve for the very foundation. And therefore I would rather give credit unto *Fabius Pictor* (to say nothing that he is the more auncient authour of the twaine) that there were but 40 talents, and no more, than to *Piso*, who writeth, that there was 40000 pound weight of silver set by for that use. Which summe or masse of mony could never be looked for to arise out of the saccage of one only citie in those daies: & must needs exceed the charges of the foundation of any of these stately and magnificent buildings in this our age. The king being thus wholly minded and bent to the finishing of the temple, and sending for Carpenters, Masons, and other workemen, out of all parts of Tuscane, employed not only the citties monie and stocke thereabout, but also had the worke and labour of the common people withall. Which was no small toile of theirs, considering the travell of warfare besides: yet were they lesse agreed and discontented therewith, so long as they founded and reared with their owne hands the temples of the immortall gods. But afterwards were they employed and set to other works, which as they were lesse in shew, so were they more painfull & of greater trouble, namely the making of scaffolds or standing places in the Cirque or Theatre; and to the conuenance of a mightie great sinke or vault under the ground, for to receive and carrie away all the filth and corruption of the citie. To which two peeces of worke, scarcely is the magnificence of our new modern buildings, in any respect comparable. Having in this wise held the commons in continuall labour, because hee thought that a multitude of people would but overcharge and pester the citie, when they were not employed some way or other, and also minded by erecting Colonies, to enlarge the confines of his dominions, he therefore sent part of them to inhabite and people *Signia* and *Circeij*, two strong forts and frontier townes for the defence of the cittie by sea and land.

Tarquinius Priscus founded the temple of the Capitoll.
*1070 lib. ster.
*125000 lib. ster.

Whilest he was busied in these affaires, there appeared unto him a strange and fearefull sight, namely a serpent gliding downe a pillar of wood, which having put the beholders in great fright and caused them to flie into the kings pallace, did not so much amaze the kings heart with sudden and momentanie feare for the present, as fill his head with perplexed cares what the thing might portend. Whereas therefore the manner was to use the Calchars and wise men of Tuscane about publicke prodigious tokens onely: he being much troubled in spirit, and terrified at this fearefull sight, being domesticall, and as it were touching and concerning his own person: purposed to send out as far as *Delphi*, to the most famous and renowned Oracle in the world. And for that he durst not put any other in trust with the answers that should be delivered by the fatall lots, he addressed two of his sonnes to take a voiage through vnkown lands in those daies, and more unknown seas, into *Greece*. *Titus* and *Aruns* were they that went this journee, having to beare them companie all the way, *L. Iunius Brutus*. This *Brutus* was the sonne of *Tarquinius* the kings sister, a yooing gentleman of a farre other nature and disposition, than he seemed in outward shew and semblance. He hauing heard say that certain principall citizens, and his own brother among, had been by this his uncle put to death; to the intent that himselfe might have nothing left, eyther in the parts of his mind for the king to feare, or in his outward state for him to couet and desire: resolved under the cloake of base contempt to save himselfe, since that in right or justice he might repose small or no safegard at all. And therefore composing and framing himselfe of purpose to counterfeite a noddie and a verie innocent, as suffering himselfe and all that he had to fall into the kings hands as an escheat, he refused not to be misnamed *Brutus*, a name appropriat to unreasonable creatures; that under the shadow and colour of that surname, that courage of his lying close hid, which should one day set free the citie of Rome, might abide the full time and appeare in due season. This *Brutus* beeing by the *Tarquines* brought to *Delphi*, as their laughing stock to make them pastime by the way, rather than a meet mate to accompany them, caried with him (as men say) for to offer and present unto *Apollo*, a golden rod within a staffe of cornell wood, made hollow for the purpose: the very type and resemblance by secret circumstances, of his naturall disposition. Thither beeing arrived, the yong men having done their fathers commission accordingly, were very desirous and earnest to inquire and leame of the Oracle, which of them should be king of Rome. And from the bottoome of the deepe vault, this answer as men say, was deliuered in their hearing: WHICH OF YOU (O YONG MEN) SHAL FIRST KISSE YOVR MOTHER, HE SHAL BEAR CHIEFE AND SOVERAIGNE RYLE IN ROME. The *Tarquines* then intending that *Sextus* their brother

Iun. Brutus counterfeited a noddie

E ij

who

who was left behind at Rome, might neither know the answer, nor yet obtaine the kingdome, G
willed the matter should by all possible means be carried so secret as might be, & concealed from him. They themselves agreed upon this together, to draw lots whether of them twaine, when they were returned to Rome, should first kiss his mother. But *Brutus* supposing the speech of *Apollo* his priest, tended to another sence, made as though he stumbled forward and took a fall; and so touched the ground with his mouth and kissed the earth, thinking this with himselfe, that she was common mother of all mortall men. Then returned they to Rome. Where they found great preparation for warre against the Rutilians.

The Rutilians then were lords of Ardea. A people in those parts, and for those times, very rich and wealthie: and that was it that gave the very occasion and was the first motive of warre. The Roman king was desirous both to enrich himselfe, as having about the sumptuous building of publicke works emptied his coffers: and also by some spoile, to mollifie & win againe the hearts of his naturall subjects: being much discontented (besides their generall dislike of his pride otherwise) at his manner of government; and disdaining greatly that they were by the king made labourers, to serve carpenters and masons, and held so long to servile toile and painefull labour. The Romanes assailed at the beginning to surprize and win Ardea by assault: but when that way sped but ill, then began they to annoy and distresse the enemies by laying siege, by casting trenches, raising forts, and fabricks, about the towne. During this siege, and the standing campe lying there, as it falleth out commonly, when the warre is rather long and late than hote and cruell, there were granted large licences and passports to and fro betweene the campe and Rome, with much liberty: and yet more to the Principals of the armie than to the common soldiers. And the kings sons had otherwhile good leasure to feast and banquet one with another. Vpon a time it happened whiles they were drinking & making merry with *Sextus Tarquinus* in his pavilion, where *Collatinus Tarquinus* the sonne of *Egerius* sat at supper; there arose among other good table-talk, some arguing about their wives, whiles everie man highly praised and wonderously commended his owne. And growing to some heat and contention therabout: There need not many words for this matter, quoth *Collatinus*, for in few howeres it may be known how farre my *Lucretia* surpasseth all the rest. And therefore if there be any lustinesse & courage of youth in us, why mount we not on horsebacke, and in our owne persons go and see the natures and dispositions of our wives? And as they shalbe found and scene, taken of a sodaine, and not looking for their husbands coming, so let every man judge of them, and set that downe for the onely triall of this controversie. They had all taken their drinke well, and were prettily heat with wine: Marry, content say they all, and to horse they go, and away they gallop on the spur to Rome. Thither were they come by the shutting in of the evening when it grew to be darke; and so forward without any stay to Collatia they ride. Where they find dame *Lucretia*, not as the kings sons wives, whom they had surpris'd & seen afore, passing the time away in feasting and rioting with their minions and companions: but sitting up farre within night in the middelt of her house amongst her maidens, hard at wool-work by candle light. Whereupon, in this debate about their wives, the entire praise and commendation rested in *Lucretia*: Her husband and the *Tarquines* had a loving and courteous welcome at her hands. And hee againe for joy of the victorie, invited the kings sonnes kindly, and made them friendly cheere. There at that instant, *Sextus Tarquinus* was bewitched and possessed with wicked wanton lust, for to offer violence and villanie unto *Lucretia*: her passing beauty and her approved chastitie set him on fire and provoked him thereto. But for the present, when they had disposed themselves all night long like lustie and pleasant youths, they returned betimes in the morning to the campe. A few daies after, *Sextus Tarquinus*, unwitting to *Collatinus*, attended with one onely man came to Collatia, where he was againe in good and friendly sort received by them: in the house, that suspected nothing lesse than that whereabout he was come. And being after supper brought up into the guest chamber, when he thought all about him sure, and that every body was fast asleep, all set on fire and burning in love, hee steppeth with naked sword in hand to *Lucretia*, as she lay sleeping full soundly, and bearing down the womans breast with his left hand, Peace (quoth he) *Lucretia*, and not a word: I am *Sextus Tarquinus*, I have my drawne sword in hand: if thou once speake thou shalt surely die. The feely woman thus starting out of sleepe, was sore affright, as seeing no remedie but in a manner present death, in case she had cried for helpe. Then uttered *Tarquinus* and confessed his amorous passion, fell to intreat and intreat againe, and with his prayers intermeddled threats, and went every way about her, not ceasing by all meanes to fitt, to sound and

A and tempt the womans heart. But when he saw her obstinat and invincible, and (to die for it) not relenting one jot; then, besides the feare of death, he presented unto her dishonour and shame: pretending that after he had massacred her, he would lay by her side in naked bed, her own manservant with his throat cut; that it might be voiced abroad, that she was taken and killed in filthie adultery. For fear of this reproch and infamie, see how sinfull lust gat the victory, and conquered constant chastity and *Tarquinus* in great pride and jolitic, that he had by assault won the fort of a womans honor, departed thence. But wofull *Lucretia*, all sorrowing for so heave a mischance, dispatched a messenger to her father at Rome, and so forward to her husband at Ardea, with this errand: That they should come unto her, each of them with one faithfull and trustie friend, and hereof they must not faile, but make all the speed they could, for that there was befallen a greivous chance and horrible. So there repaired to her *Sp. Lucretius* her father, accompanied with *P. Valerius* the sonne of *Volesus*: and *Collatinus* her husband, with *L. Jun. Brutus*. Who both together by chance going backe to Rome, encountred in the way his wives messenger. *Lucretia* they found sitting alone in her bedchamber, all heave and sad: and she at the coming of these her deere friends, shed teares and wept apace. How now my deere (quoth her husband) is all well? No. God wot sir, (quoth she againe) For how can ought be well with a woman that is despoiled of her honour and womanhood? The print, *Collatinus*, of another man is to be seen in thy own bed. Howbeit, my bodie only is distained: my mind and heart remaineth yet unspotted: and that my death shall make good and justise. But give me first your right hands, and make faithfull promise that the adulterer shall not escape unpunished. *Sex. Tarquinus* is the man, he it is, who this night past, entertained as a friend, but indeed a very foe in the highest degree, hath by force & violence taken from hence with him his pleasure, a deadly pleasure, I may say, to me: & to himselfe also no lesse, if yee be men of courage. All of them one after other give their assured word, comforted the wofull hearted woman, excused her selfe that was but forced, and laid all the blame upon him that committed the shamefull act: saying, It is the mind that sinneth, and not the bodie; and where there was no will and consent, there could be no fault at all. Well (quoth she) what is his due to have, see you to that: as for me, howsoever I quit and assoile my selfe of sinne, yet I will not be freed from punishment. And never shall there by example of *Lucretia*, any unhoneft woman or wanton callot live a day: and thus having said, with a knife which she had close hidden under her clothes, shee stabbed her selfe to the heart, and sinking downe forward, fell upon the floor. D readie to yeld up the ghost. Our alas, cried her husband and father hereat: and whilest they two were in their plaints and mones, *Brutus* drew forth the knife out of the wound of *Lucretia*, and holding it out afore him, all embrewed and dropping with blood, Now I swear (quoth he) by this blood, by this most chaste and pure blood, before the vilanie wrought by the kings sonne, and here before the gods I protest, whom I call to witnesse, that I will by fire and sword, and with all my might and maine persecute and drive the country of *L. Tarquinus* the prowde, and his ingracious wife, and the whole brood of his children, and suffer neither him nor any els for his sake to raigne as king at Rome. Then gave he the knife to *Collatinus*, and so to *Lucretius* and *Valerius*, who greedily amased at this so strange occurrent, and wondering how it came to passe, that *Brutus* should of a suddaine be so changed, and become so stout of stomacke and courageous, tooke the same forme of oath that hee swar afore: and so leaving their wailing and lamentation, and wholly set upon anger and revenge, they followed *Brutus* as their captaine and leader, to put downe and overthrow the government of kings, and utterly to root out their race. The dead corpes of *Lucretia*, was had out of dores, brought into the market place, and there shewed. And thither, what with wondring (as the manner is) at so strange a sight, and what with the indignation of so unworthie a fact, they raised much people together. Everie man for his part was readie ynough to complaine of the wickednesse and violence done by the kings blood. The sorrow of *Lucretia* the father on the one side, the resolution of *Brutus* on the other side, who rebuked and blamed all vaine weeping and foolish moning, mooved and perswaded all that were present, that like men of valour, like true hearted Romanes, they would take armes against them that demeaned themselves no better, nay worse than ordinarie enemies. And presently, the bravest and tallest yong men shewed themselves forward, readie in armour, and voluntarie. The rest of the youths followed straight after. And having left at Collatia the one halfe of their forces in garrison, to ward the gates, and set certaine watches, that no man brought tidings or newes unto the king and his sons, of this rising and commotion, all the other were appointed in warlike manner, followed their leader *Brutus*, from thence directly to Rome. As the suddaine coming thither of this armed multitude: no marvell if all

the way where as they passed and marched, there arose a feare and trouble among the people. But when they perceived the most substantiall and principall citizens in the forefront, they judged whatsoever the matter meant, it was not for naught. And verily this hainous fact disquieted the minds of men no lesse at Rome, than it had before at Collatia. Therefore from all parts of the citie there was flocking and running into the market place. And being thither come, the Bedell or common Crier, summoned the people to appeare before the tribune of the Celeres or Capitaine of the guard: which office haply *Brutus* bare at that time. Where he made an oration, not proceeding from that spirit, nor resembling that qualitie of nature which unto that day he had pretended and made shew of unto the world, for he inveyed against the violence and filthie lust of *Sextus Tarquinius*; the shamefull vilanie and not to be named, done upon the bodie of *Lucretia*: he discoursed of her lamentable end and piteous death, and the desolate case of *Tricipitinus*, bereft now of all his children: who accounted the occasion of his daughters death a greater indignitie, and more pitifull, than her verie death. Moreover he laid abroad the pride of the king himselfe, the miseries, the infinite toyle and pains of the commons, buried as it were under the ground, with cleansing and casting of ditches, voiding and ferring of the sinkes. Saying, that the men of Rome which were the conquerors of all nations about them, were now of warriors become quarriers, hewers of stone and day labourers. He reckoned vp also and put them in mind of the unworthie death and cruell murder of *Servius Tullius*: and how his daughter (oh abhominable act!) rode over the corps of her father in her cursed chariot: And herewith he calleth on the gods that are revengers of outrages and wrongs done to parents. Thus rehearsing these and other matters, much more grievous and horrible, (I verily beleue) according as the present indignitie at the verie time doth minister and giue utterance for, nor so easie penned and set downe by writers that come after, he so mightily inflamed the multitude, that he caused them to depose the king, to deprive him of his royall state and dignitie, yea and to decree and enact, that *L. Tarquinius* with his wife and children should be banished for ever. Himselfe hauing selected & armed the yonger gallants who offered their service, and willingly entered their names, set forward in person to the campe lying before *Ardea*, for to excite the armie there against the king: leauing the government of the Citie unto *Lucretius*, who had before bene appointed deputie and lieutenant there, by the king. In this time of garboile, *Tullia* left the pallace and fled, and all the way as she went, both men and women cursed and cried out upon her, and besought the ghostly spirits and furies of parents to be avenged. When newes hereof was brought into the camp, and that the king upon these strange tidings made haft towards Rome, to stay and suppress these broyles: *Brutus* hauing intelligence of his coming, turned another way because he would not meete with him. And so at one instant in a manner, by contrarie journees came *Brutus* to *Ardea*, and *Tarquinius* to Rome. But the gates were shut against *Tarquinius*, and in steed of entrance, warned he was, & commanded into exile. The whole campe receiued with joy, *Brutus* the redeemer of their Citie. From thence also were the kings sonnes driven: two of them followed after their father and departed into banishment unto *Cere*, a towne of the Tuskanes: as for *Sextus Tarquinius*, he retired himselfe to Gabes as it were into his owne kingdome: where he was murdered in revenge of old quarrels, upon mallice and hatred of the people which he had brought upon himselfe in times past. *L. Tarquinius Superbus* reigned 25 yeares. Thus continued the kings regiment at Rome, from the foundation of the Citie, unto the freedome and redemption thereof, 244 yeares.

Then in a solemne assemblie and election by the Centuries, held by the Provost of the citie, according to the ordinance of *Servius Tullius* in his commentaries, two Consuls were created: *L. Iunius Brutus*, and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*.

The Roman
Consul
Brutus
hauing
the
people
against
the king
and his
broode.

Tarquinius the
king banished.

Consuls first
created.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIVS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the second Booke.



Brutus took an oath of the people, that they should not suffer any to vaigine king at Rome. Hee compelled his fellow Consul *Tarquinius Collatinus*, a suspected man to take part with: he *Tarquinius*, by reason of the affinitie he had with them, to give over the Consulship, and to depaer the citie. The goods of the king and his sonnes he commanded to be seized upon, and vifited. A field of theirs he consecrated to *Mars*, which was named afterwards *Campus Martius*, or *Mars field*. Hee beheaded certaine young gentlemen of the nobilitie, together with his owne and his brothers sonnes, for conspiring to receive the king and his complices againe into the citie. Vnto the boned slave *Vindictus*, that betrayed the complot, he gave his freedome, of whom *Vindicta* took the name. Having led an armie against the king, who had assembled a power of *Venitians* and *Tarquinius*, and made waer, he died in battell together with *Arms*, the sonne of *Superbus*: and for his death the dames of Rome mourned one whole yeare. *P. Valerius* the Consul propounded and made a law concerning Appealing unto the people. The Capitoll was dedicated. *Posena* king of the *Clusines*, warring in the quarrell of the *Tarquines*, and being come to the *Ianiculum*, was by the valor of *Cocles Horatius*, encompassed that he passed not the *Tyber*: who alone, whiles others bewed downe the *Sublician* bridge, withstood the *Tuscanes*: and when it was broken downe, leapt armed as he was into the river, and swam over to his fellows. Another example of manhood is reported of *Mutius*, who being entred the campe of the enemies with full intent to kill *Posena*, and having slain his principall Secretarie, whom hee took for the king, was apprehended: and thrusting his hand into the fire of the altars, whereupon they had burned sacrifice, suffered it there to frye untill it was consumed: and said withall, that there were behind him three hundred more besides, that had sworne the death of the king himselfe. Who wounding at their resolution, was driven to offer conditions of peace, and upon taking of hostages to give over waer: amongst whom, one virgin *Clælia*, beguiled her keepers, made an escape, and swam over *Tyber* to her friends: and being revenged againe, was by *Posena* sent honorable home, and had her statue or image on horsebacke set up for a memoriall. *App. Claudius* abandoned the *Sabines*, and fled to Rome, of whom the tribe *Clautia* took the name, and was added to the rest. The number of tribes was encreased, to be one and twentie. Against *Tarquinius Superbus*, who with a power of *Latines* waged waer, *M. Porcius* the *Dictator*, obtained a prosperous battell at the lake *Regillus*. The commons rising, for being entrallied unto their creditors, retired themselves into the mount *Sacer*, and were by the policie and comfite of *Menenius Agrippa*, reclaimed from their sedition, and appeased. The same *Agrippa* being deceased, was by reason of his povertie, buried at the cities charges. There were created five *Tribunes* of the Commons. *Corioli* a towne of the *Volsians*, was taken by the valow and industrious meanes of *Cn. Marcius*, who thereupon was surnamed *Coriolanus*. *T. Latinus* a meane Commoner was warned in a dreame to make relation to the Senate of certaine religious ceremonies: and for neglecting the same, lost his sonne, and sell himselfe to be lame of his lims, and being brought into the Senate in a chaire, after hee had declared the same, returned sound on his feet home againe. *Cn. Marcius Coriolanus* after he was banished, became general of the *Volsians*, and with an armie of enemies approached the citie of Rome: unto whom, first *Embassadors* wore of pacse sent, and afterwards the *Priests* and whole *Cleergie* perswaded with him, not to make waer against his native countrey, but all in vaine. Howbeit *Veturia* his mother, and *Volumnia* his wife entreated him and obtained that hee should depaer backe againe. The law *Agryia*, concerning division of lands among the poore commons, was now first put up and proposed. *Sp. Cassius* an *Alderman*, after he had bene Consul, was condemned for aspiring to be king, and suffered death therefore. *Oppia* a *Vestal Nun* was sincerely buried quicke. Against the *Venitians* neere enemies and ill neighbors, yet indeed troublesome rather than noysome and dangerous, the house alone of the *Fabii*, required to be employed in service: and set out three hundred and sixe armed men to the field, who everie one were by the enemies slaine neere the river *Cremera*, and left but one onely at home alive of that name, under fortetene yeares of age. *Ap. Claudius* the Consul having fought unfortunately against the *Volsians*, and that, by meanes of the stubbornesse and unwillnesse of his armie, euedged everie tenth man of his souldiors. Over and besides (this booke) containeth the exploits against the *Volsians*, *Aequians*, and *Venitians*, and the seditions discords betwene the Nobilitie and Commons.

Now



Now will I describe from henceforth, the acts both in war and peace of the people of Rome, a free state now from this time forward: their yearly Magistrates and governours: the authoritie and rule of laws, more powerfull and mightie than that of men. Which freedome of theirs, the last kings pride made more acceptable and welcome. As for the other kings before him, they reigned so, as that they might bee counted all of them, and that worthily builders of sundrie parts of the citie one after another, according as they everie one by himselfe added still one new place or other, for the multitude by them encreased, to inhabite. Neither is it to be doubted, but that even the verie same *Brutus*, who deserved so great honour and glorie for expelling the proud king *Tarquinius*, should have done the same to the exceeding danger of the weale publick, if for desire of unripe and untimely freedome, he had wrested the roiall dignitie and government from any of the former princes. For what would have come of it, if that communitie consisting of heardmen and fugitive strangers, resorting out of their owne countries there to dwell, having under protection of a sanctuarie and priviledged place gotten libertie, or at least, wife impunitie; being now freed and past feare of a roiall majestie, had begun to be troubled and disquieted, with the rustling stormes and seditious tempests of the Tribunes? and in a new and strange citie sowed debate, and intertained variance with the Nobilitie, before that the surest pledges of wives and children, the dearest affection of the verie place and soile, which requirith long time of liking and loving, had united and knit their hearts together? Certes, the state not yet come to full growth and maturitie, had by discord faded and come to naught, which a peaceable and gracious government cherished and fostered, and by cherishing and nourishing brought to that passe, that now being come to ripeness and perfection of strength, it might be able to bring forth and beare the good and wholsome fruits of libertie.

The beginning of this freedome you must account in regard hereof, That the Consularie regiment was annuall, and from yeare to yeare, rather than that the roiall power and jurisdiction that the kings had, was any whit abated & diminished. For the first Consuls had the same absolute authoritie, held all the former roialties, and retained still the regall ensignes and ornaments of supreme dignitie. This only provided, that they should not both have the rods borne before them, for avoiding a twofold feare and dread of their majestie. *Brutus* with the good liking and consent of his companion in office, had the preheminence and prerogative of that honour to be done unto him alone: who had not been aforetime a greater instrument, and more forward to procure and recover the libertie, than he was afterward a sure maintainer and protector of the same. And first above all other things, whilst the people were yet greedie of this new freedome, for feare least they might any time after be won by entreatie or moved by gifts on the kings part, he caused them to swear that they would never suffer any to be king at Rome. After this, because the Senat might be of more power and greater reputation, by the frequent company of that degree and order: he encreased their number (which had ben impaired much by massacres, committed by the late king) to the full complement of three hundred: by chusing the cheefe and principall of the degree of knights or horsemen. And hereof came as they say, this custome, to admit into the Senate both them that were before time of the ancient Nobilitie, and also those that were newly chosen for the supplie: naming these that were last enrolled, the new Senat. And a wonder it was to see, how much good this did to the concord of the citie, and to the knitting of the hearts of Nobles and Commons together.

This done, they went in hand with religion and church matters: and for that there were certain publick sacrifices that had been usually executed by the kings themselves in their owne persons: least therefore they should not find the misse of kings in any respect, nor long after them again, they create of purpose a king-priest or sacrificer: which sacerdotall dignitie they ordained to be under the Arch-prelate, least that this new addition & title of honor, might prejudice their freedome any jot, wherunto they had then a special regard above all other things. And I wot not well, but I thinke verily they went beyond all measure, and were over precise in the maintenance and strengthening thereof every way, even in the smallest trifles, and toies of no moment. For when as nothing els was offensive unto them, the name forsooth of one of their Consuls became suspected and odious unto the citie, without any other scandale whatsoever. And thus they murdered and said, that the *Tarquinius* had reigned overlong, and too much already: that *Prius* first began,

A began, and when after him succeeded king *Servius Tullus*, *Superbus Tarquinius* not having in that time and space betweene, forgot the kingdome, as seeing another invested therein; by wicked practise and violence claimed and recovered the same againe, as the inheritance properly to his house belonging. And now that *Superbus* is driven out and gone, the rule and government is devolved unto *Collatinus* and there resteth. These *Tarquines* belike (say they) cannot skill how to live as private men: giving out among, that the verie name was dangerous to a free state, and in one word, they could not endure it. These and such like speeches at first were whispered abroad throughout all the citie, by them that underhand sounded by little & little the hearts and dispositions of men: and when these surmises & suspitions were once buzzed into the commons heads, and they thereby disquieted, *Brutus* called them to a generall assemblie. Where first and formost he reciteth the oath of the people, That they should suffer none to be king, nor ought els in Rome, from whence might arise any danger to their libertie. This oath is the thing (quoth hee) that with all diligence, and by all meanes possible is to be maintained, and nothing thereto appertaining is to be despised and lightly regarded. As for me, I am unwilling to speake, in respect of the person, neither would I speake at all, but that the love & affection to the C. VV. doth overrule me. The people of Rome is not thoroughly persuaded, that they have recovered their entire and perfect libertie. For as yet the kings blood, yea and the kings name, not onely remaineth still, but also beareth soveraigne rule in the citie: This is it that hurtheth, this is it I say that hindereth their true freedome. Now quoth he, *L. Tarquinius* willingly of your owne accord rid them of their fear. We remember well, we confesse and acknowledge, you it was that expelled the kings. Finish therefore and perfite this great benefit of yours: take away from hence the kings name also. As for your goods and substance, your citizens and countrymen, if they will be advised by me, shall not onely yeeld unto you againe, but if ought be fount and wanting, shall by my consent supplie the same to the full right liberally. Depart I say, and freindly take your leave: deliver the citie and disburden them of this their feare, that peradventure is but vain and needlesse: Howbeit, this their minds give them, that together with the stocke and house of the *Tarquines*, the kings rule and government will likewise void and depart for ever. The Consul at this so strange and todaine a motion, first wondred much, and was not able to open his mouth. But afterwards as he addressed himselfe and began to make a speech, the heads of the citie came about him, & with many prayers besought the same at his hands. As for all the rest, they prevailed full little with him. But after that *Sp. Lucretius*, a more grave and elder man than himselfe, of greater worth aforetime, and his father in law besides, took him in hand & dealt with him sundrie waies, one while by way of intreatie, otherwhiles by persuasions and reasons, that he would condescend unto that which the citie in one generall consent required: then the Consul fearing, least hereafter being once out of his place and a private man againe, hee should chance to be forced thereunto, with the losse of his goods and some disgrace perhaps besides; resigned up the office of the Consulship, and removing all that he had away to Lavinium, quit the citie and departed. Then *Brutus* by an act and decree of the Senat, proposed unto the people, That all the race and linage of the *Tarquines* should be exiled. And in a generall Session of the Centuries, he created for to be his colleague in government, *P. Valerius*, by whose assistance he had driven out the kings.

E No man doubted now that the *Tarquines* were about to take armes: yet that warre happened not so soone as men looked for: but see (a thing that no man feared) they had like by fraud and treason at home to have lost & forgone their freedome againe. There were of the flower of Rome, certaine youths, & those of no low degree nor base parentage descended, who in the kings daies had lived like yong princes more loosely and at pleasure, as companions and plaifephers with the yong *Tarquines*, the kings sonnes: who seeking to enjoy the same licentious life still, in this equality of estate wherin all others then lived, made mone and complained one to another, That the libertie of others turned to their servitude. The king, say they, is a man, at whose hands one might obtaine somewhat, as need required, were the cause right or were it wrong: where a man might find favour and friendship, as who could both be displeased and angrie, and also forgive and remit a fault, and knew well how to make difference betweene a friend and a foe. As for lawes, they are things deafe and inexorable: more holosome and commodious to the poore than to the rich and mightie, affourding no release nor pardon, if one chance to trespassse and transgresse. And a ticklish point it is and perilous, for a man among so many errors whereto our frailtie is subject, to beare himselfe onely upon his innocent life. Being thus of their owne accord already discontent,

Brutus the Consul persuadeth Tarquinius to give over the Consulship and depart.

A conspiracy of yong gentlemen of the Nobilitie.

discontent, sodainly overlooked for, there came embassadours from the kings, who without any mention at all of returne, demaunded onely their goods againe. Vpon their message being delivered and heard in the Senate house, this debate and question held them for certaine daies in counsell, fearing least that the goods not restored might minister occasion of quarrell, and being rendered, yeeld maintenance and nourishment of warre. In the meane time the Embassadours dealt & treated with diuers persons diuersly: in open shew, claiming only their goods, but secretly and under hand, contriving how to compasse the kingdome for their maisters. And under colour of procuring friends for the accomplishment of that which they pretended, and was in question, they founded eistfoones the minds of certaine noble young gentlemen, how they stood affected to their designements. Whose words and reasons were of them gently intertained: and thereupon they delivered unto them letters from the *Tarquines*, and withall conferred together, and practised the receiving of the kings privily by night into the citie. The execution of this plot was principally committed to certain of the *Vitellij* and *Aquilij*, that were brethren. A sister of the *Vitellij* was married unto the Consul *Brutus*, by whom he had two sons that were young men, *Titus* and *Tiberius*, whom their vnclies by the mother side made partakers with them likewise of their counsell. Besides, there were diuerse young gentlemen (whose names long time hath borne out quite) made acquainted therewith. In this meane season, their opinion in the Senat house prevailed, who thought it best that the goods should be restored: and the embassadours upon that occasion made stay in the citie, for that they had gotten time of the Consuls to provide carriage for to have away the kings stuffe, and other moveable goods. All that time spent they in consulting with the Conspirators, and so importunately laboured them, untill they had procured their letters also unto the *Tarquinijs*: for otherwise (say they) how will they beleeve but that their Embassadours make wrong report of matters so important. The giving of those letters in pledge of their truth and plaine meaning, prooved to bewray and reveale their purposed enterprise. For the day before the Embassadours were to take their leave, and returne to the *Tarquines*, they fortunated to sup with the *Vitellij*: and whilst the conspirators there, were in sad and close talke together, conferring at large about this new devised practise, and no man by but onely themselves (as the manner is:) a certaine bondslave chanced to overheare them, one that before, had an incling whereabout they went, but waited the opportunitie when the letters should be given to the Embassadours, which being found upon them, might directly prove the treason. This slave after he understood the letters were delivered, gave intelligence of all unto the Consuls: who immediately departed from their houses to take the Embassadours, and the conspirators in the manner, and without any sturre or tumult light upon them unware, and dashed all. But of the letters they had a speciall care, that they should be forthcomming and not miscarie. And committing the traitors forthwith to prison, they made some pause and doubt about the Embassadours, what to doe with them. For albeit they seemed to have deserved no lesse but to be vsed as enemies, and to have no favor at all, yet had they regard to the law of Nations. Now concerning the kings goods, which they thought meet before to be restored, the matter came about wholly in question againe before the Senators: who being overcome with ire and indignation, denied staidly the rendring of them, yea and forbad they should bee confiscate and converted to the common treasure: but they were given away among the commons to make spoile & havock thereof: to the end, that they having once touched or seised on the kings goods as a bootie, might for ever after bee past all hope of any peace or favour with them. The field of the *Tarquines* lying betwene the citie and Tyber, was consecrated unto *Mars*, and after called *Campus Martius*, *Campus Martius*, i. *Mars* field. It happened (as men say) that there was at that time standing corne there, now ripe and readie for the harvest: which crop of the ground, because they made some scruple of conscience otherwise to consume, therefore it was cut downe, come, straw, stubble and all, and a great number of people sent thither at once to carrie it away in baskets and skeps, and poure it downe the Tyber, running then but shallow, as it useth to doe in the midst and heat of Summer. And so the heapes of corne, together with the mud slucke still and rested in the ebbe places and foulds of the river: and by little and little encreased with one thing or other that came downe the streame, untill it became an Island. Afterwards, I suppose there were dauns and piles made therunto, and by mans hand it grew so high, and so firm a peece of ground, that it was able to beare even temples and stately galleries that stood thereupon.

When the kings goods were thus spoiled, rifled, and made away, the traitors were condemned and put to death. Which suffering of theirs was the more notable, for that the father by his place

A place and vertue of his office, was bound and charged to see execution done upon his owne children: and he who otherwise ought not to have bene a spectator and looker on, euen he (such was his fortune) was forced of necessitie to be the principall actor in this tragicall execution. Then stood these most noble youths bound fast to a stake. But among all, the Consul his children, turned upon them the eyes of everie man; from all the rest, as unknowne persons and of no reputation; all men pitied them, not so much for being punished, as for deserving by their fact to be punished: That they could find in their hearts and once let enter into their thought, to betray into the hands of *Tarquinius*, sometimes a proud prince, and then a cruell enemie, and banished rebell, their native countrey, lately and in that verie yeare set free from captivitie: their naturall father who set it free: the Consulship sprung first out of the familie of the *Iunij*: the nobles, the commons, and in one word, all things whatsoever in Rome belonging either to God or man. Then came the consuls forth, tooke their places and set them downe on the tribunall seat. The Licitors were sent to doe their office, who first stripped them naked and scourged them with rods, and then with an axe chopt off their heads. All which time, the father himselfe, his countenance and visage was a wonderfull spectacle to behold, considering how a fathers affection could hold out and abide the performance of this publike & exemplarie punishment. When the offenders had once suffered, to the end there might be shewed noble examples on both sides, for to debarre wickednes, and stop the course of sinne: the informer and reveiler of treason, had for his reward a peece of monie, out of the common treasure, obtained his freedome, and was enfranchised a citizen of Rome. This was the first man as they say, that was made free by the rod *Vindicta*: for that the partie his name was *Vindictus*, from whence, as some thinke, the word *Vindicta* was derived: after whom, this was observed, That whosoever in that sort gat their freedome, were supposed withall enized.

When tidings hereof came to *Tarquinius*, with the manner of proceeding in euerie circumstance, he not onely grieved that so great hope of his was frustrate and come to nothing, but also was set on fire with hatred and indignation: and seeing the way shut up and stopped against all deceitfull courses, he thought there was no dealing now but by fine force and open warre. Whereupon he went vp and downe, solicited and made humble suit unto the cities of Etruria, and besought the Veientians especially, and the *Tarquiniens*, that they would not suffer him, being come of their own blood, a banished man, forlorne, poore & needie, disposedd so latelie of so goodly a realme and kingdome, together with his children (forward young men) to perish even before their eyes. Alledging that others had bene sent for and set out of forraign parts unto Rome for to be kings: and he their leige king, and such an one as advanced still the Roman empire by martiall prowesse, was by the wicked conspiracie of his neere kinsfolke and friends depose from his imperiall dignitie and expelled: and they now, because there was no one man he thought sufficient and worthie to raigne, had parted betwene them the kingdome, and given among the people his goods as a spoile; that there might not be any one, who had not his finger, and whole hand in so foule a fact. Saying moreover, that his mind and intention was, to seeke means to returne into his owne countrey, to recover his crowne, yea and to perfecture, and to be reuenged of those unthankfull subjects: and therefore praied them, to set to their helping hand, and yeeld him assistance: and not to sit downe with so many old wrongs of their owne part received, namely, their legions so often hewen in peeces, their lands and livings taken from them: but to go with him for revenge. These suggestions mooved the Veientians, and everie man for himselfe muttered and gave out in threatening wise, that now at length, having a Roman captaine especially to be their leader, they were to doe away the foule dishonours sustained, and win againe what by former warre they had lost. As for the *Tarquiniens*, they were soon incited in regard of name and consanguinitie, and thought it was a godly matter and an honour unto them, to haue of their owne name and house to be kings of Rome. Thus two armies of two cities banded with *Tarquinius*, for to restore him to his kingdome againe, and to make sharp warre upon the Romanes: who being entered the teritorie of Rome, were met with by the Roman consuls.

F The footmen marched under the conduct of *Valerius*, marshalled in a battailon foure square. *Brutus* with the horse went before to espie and discover the coasts: In like sort the men of armes of the enemies rode foremost under the leading of *Aruns Tarquinius* the kings sonne, and the king himselfe in person followed with the legions. *Aruns* espying by the Licitors, the Consul a farre off, and as he approached neerer knowing *Brutus* more certainly by his face, all inflamed with yre: This is the gallant (quoth he) this is he, that hath driven and banished us out of our native

The conspiracie discovered.

Campus Martius.

The traitors executed.

Brutus putteth to death his owne children.

* i. The men of *Tarquinius*. The speech of *Tarquinius* superbus to the *Tuscanes*.

native countrie. Lo how bravellie he setteth forward, all gorgeously to be seene and dight in our roiall ensignes and ornaments. Now helpe ye gods that are revengers of wrongs done to kings: and therewithall set spurs to his horse, and ran amaine with full carriere upon the Consul his own person, intending certainly to speed him. *Brutus* perceived likewise that he made directly toward him: (Now was it a noble and worthie fight for the capitaines themselves to begin the battell.) Whereupon with resolute courage he encountereth him. And so fiercely they charged one another, and so deadly were they bent, that neither of them had regard to save himselfe, so hee might wound and mischeefe his enemy, but were both with a counterpuls that quite pierced their targets run into the sides, and thrust through, and so having one anothers launce, sticking in their bodies, fell from their horses readie to die. Herewith began on both sides the other hordemen to fight, and within a while the footmen also seconded them. And so equally were they matched, and the battell so indifferently fought, that it was verie doubtful whether side had the better. For on both parts the right wings got the upper hand, and downe went the left. The Veientians, unto whom it was no newes to be overcome of Romanes, were discomfited and put to flight. But their new enemies the Tarquiniens, not onely held their owne and stood to it, but also from their battell put backe, & forced the Romanes to give ground, and gave them the repulse. After this conflict there fell such a fear and terror upon *Tarquinius*, and the Tuscans, that both armies as well of the Veientians as the Tarquiniens, gave over their enterprise with doing just nothing, and by night dislodged and departed every man to his owne home. This battell was more notable by reason of certaine miracles that men report: namely, that in the dead time of the night next following, when all were at rest, there was heard a mightie voice of *Sylvanus* (as men thought) out of the wood *Arfia*, to utter these words, THAT THERE WAS SLAINE ON THE TUSCANES PART MORE BY ONE, AND THAT THE ROMANES WYAN THE FIELD. Thus verely and no otherwise departed they asunder: the Romanes as winners, and the Tuskans as having the worfe. For the next morrow, so soone as it was day, and that none of the enemies appeared in sight, *P. Valerius* the Consul gathered up the spoile together, and returned from thence with triumph to Rome, and performed the funerals of his brother Consul, in all sumptuous maner and solemne pompe, as possibly at that time he could devise. But, that which did him the greatest honour after his death, was the publicke sorrow and heaviness of the cittie, in this respect above all singular and memorable, for that the dames and Matrones of Rome mourned a whole yeare for him, as for their own father, in that he had ben so sharp a revenger of violence done to the chastite of women.

After this, the Consul that survived, presently upon the great liking and favour that hee was in (see how wavering and unconstant the minds are of the common people) was not onely envied, but also suspected, yea and charged with an odious and horrible crime. The voice went and bruited it was abroad, that he aspired to the crown. And why? because forsooth he had not chosen unto him a new fellow Consul in the roome of *Brutus*: and began to build aloft on the top of *Velia*, where (say they) in an high place and strongly scituate, hee may make a castle impregnable. These things commonly spoken and credited too, vexed much, and mightily grieved the Consul in his very soule, as a great indignitie offered unto him. Whereupon hee assembled the people together, and causing the rods to be held downewards to the ground, went up into the pulpit to make an Oration unto them. That sight pleased the multitude passing well, taking it for a plaine demonstration, that the markes and ensignes of rule and government submitted unto them, was a very acknowledging and confession that the people was of greater majestie and power than the Consul. Where after silence made, and commandement to hearken and give eare, the Consul began highly to extoll the fortune and good hap of his Colleague deceased, who having with great honour set his country free, ended his daies, fighting manfully in defence of the Weale publicke, even in the prime, heighth, and best time of his glorie, ere that it became subject unto envie: but he himselfe outliving it, remained alive, exposed unto criminous slanders and spightfull malice of men, and of a deliverer and redeemer of his country, was now reputed no better than the *Aquillj* and *Vitellj*. And will you never indeed (quoth hee) approove the vertuous and honest conversation of a man so well, but it shall be tainted with vnjust suspicion? What would any man thinke, that I being so fierce and fell an enemy of the kings, should ever feare to incur the jealousy of men, for seeking to bee king? What if I dwelt on the top of Tarpeie cliffe, even in the verie Capitoll, should I beleeve and thinke it possible, that my countrey men, neighbours and citizens, would stand in feare of me? and will so small a matter as this

turne

turne the balance of your opinion and conceit of mee? Is your affiance and confidence in mee grounded so slightly, and standeth it upon so nice tearmes and ticklish points, that you force more and make greater reckoning of my dwelling place, than of the qualitie of my person. Wel, *P. Valerius* his house shall be no hinderance or impeachment unto your libertie, O *Quirites*, ye shall not need to feare any harme from *Velia* for me. I will remove my house not onely downe into the plaine, but even to the valley under the hill foot, that you may dwell above me, and overlook me (a suspected citizen.) Let them a gods name build in *Velia*, who may be better trusted with the cities freedom, than *P. Valerius*. Then was immediatly the timber and all carried downe beneath *Velia*, & where as now *Vicus Publicus* is, in the very bottome of the hill, was his house rectified.

After this were lawes enacted, which not onely acquit the Consul, and cleared him of all suspicion of affecting to the kingdome, but also contrariwise wrought such effect, that he became exceeding popular againe, wherupon, he was surnamed *Publicola* or *Poplicola*. And first and foremost the Statute passed as touching the appeale unto the people, against the rulers and Magistrates. Item, concerning the cursing & condemning of him both bodie and goods, that should intend or plot to usurpe princely dominion over them. These acts the commons liked well of. Which when he had alone ordained, that all the thanks and praise might bee his therefore, then assembled he a generall Session for the substituting of another Consul unto him, in the roome of his colleague departed. So, *Sp. Lucretius* was created Consul: who being an aged man and of great yeares, feeble withall, and not able to execute the office and function of a Consul, within few daies paid nature her debt and died. And in place of *Lucretius* was *M. Horatius Pulvillus* chosen. In some ancient writers I doe not find that *Lucretius* was Consul. For immediatly after *Brutus* they make mention of *Horatius*. But I thinke verily because no act of his, made his Consulship memorable, thereupon he was forgotten and left out. Now as yet was not the temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitoll dedicated. And when *Valerius* and *Horatius* the Consuls, cast lots whether of them twaine should performe that dutie, the charge fell unto *Horatius*, and *Publicola* went forth to the Veientian warre. But the kinsfolke and friends of *Valerius* tooke it more greivously and impatiently than reason was, that the honour of the dedication of so famous a temple, was given unto *Horatius*. Devising therefore by all means possible they could, to impeach it, and seeing they had assailed all in vain, and nothing took effect: even at the very instant, whiles the Consul was holding a post of the temple, and in his solemne praiers to the god, behold they brought unto him heave and wofull newes, that his sonne was dead, and that he might not lawfully, whiles his household mourned and was polluted with a dead corps, consecrate the temple. Whether it were, that he gave no credit to the messenger, or rather was of heart so stout, neither is it for certaine reported, nor easie for a man to divine. But for all these tidings, never a jot was he turned from his purpose, nor said ought els to the messenger, but willed that hee should bid the corps to bee had forth to buriall, and so holding the pillar or post still, said out his praier, and dedicated the temple. These were the acts done both at home and abroad, in the first yeare after the expulsion of the kings.

Then were *P. Valerius* the second time, and *T. Lucretius* created Consuls. By this time were the *Tarquines* fled for succour to *Lartius Porfena* king of *Clusium*: where, by many reasons & remonstrances, intermeddled with praier, one while they besought him not to suffer them, descended from the Tuscans, of the same bloud and name, to live needie & forlorn in perpetual exile; other while they advised and warned him not to put up without revenge, this new fashion of expelling kings, now comming up. Saying, that libertie in it selfe had sweetnesse ynough: and unless kings would defend and maintaine their crownes with as great might and maine, as cities desired to enjoy freedome, there would be a generall confusion, and all things turned upside downe: neither would there be in States and Commonwealths any thing aloft and eminent above other, endured: whereupon would insue a finall end of kingly regiment, a thing with God and man of all other most excellent and beautifull. *Porfena* supposing it would be an honourable matter unto the Tuscans, both to have a king at Rome, and a king too of the Tuscans line, came with a cruel arpie against Rome. Never was the Senat at any time afore put in such feare: so mightie in those daies was the puissance of *Clusium*, and the name of *Porfena* so renowned. Moreover, they feared not their enemies onely, but also their owne subjects at home, least peradventure the Communalitie of Rome for feare of warre, should receive the king into the cittie, and accept of peace, though it cost them their libertie. During which time the Commons were entertained of the Nobles with all kindnesse, and many favours and courtesies they had at their hands. And

F

above

The Veientians
defeated by the
Romanes.

Valerius surnamed
Publicola of
Poplicola.

P. Valerius the
Consul, unto the
people.

Porfena becom
geth Rome.

above all things order was taken for provision of graine and victuals. And for to purvey store of G
corne, some were sent to the Volsci, others to Cumæ. Over and besides the licence of selling
salt, because it was sold at an exceeding high price, was taken from private salters, and was under-
taken by the citie, with all the cost and charges thereto belonging by them defraied, & salt deliv-
ered out to the people at an easie reckoning. The commons also were freed of portage, tollage,
and tribute; and rich men that were able to beare the burthen, were assailed at all painments and
contributions: the poore were thought to be charged enough with the bringing up of their chil-
dren. This kind dealing and indulgence of the Nobles, kept the citie afterwards (notwithstand-
ing their hard distresse of siege and famine) in such concord and unitie, that the meaneest as well
as the highest abhorred and detested the name of KK. And never after was there any one pri-
vate person, so popular, so devoted to the people by craftie meanes and indirect courses tending H
to their particular designes, as the whole Senat was at that time, by their good government of the
Commonweale. Now when the enemies approached neere at hand, everie man made shift for
himselfe, forsooke the countie and came into the citie. Which they fortified with strong guards
round about: so that what with wals and bulwarks on the one side, and what with the Tyber on
the other side, it seemed sure enough, and sufficiently defended. The wooden bridge had like to
have given the enemy entrance, had not the valour of one man beene, even *Horatius Coclès*
(who that day by the good fortune of the Romanes was a fortresse unto the citie of Rome.)
He as good hap was, appointed to ward and keepe the bridge, seeing the Ianicle by a sud-
daine assault wonne, and that the enemies ran downe so furiously from thence upon him,
and contrariwise, the multitude of his owne companies for feare, to forgoe their weapons, breake I
their arraies, and to be gone: tooke hold of everie man, opposed himselfe against them afront:
and calling God and man to witnesse, protested, shewed and declared unto them, that forsaking
and abandoning thus their quarter, all their flying was but in vaine: for if they left the bridge
on their backs, to yeeld passage to the enemies, there would anone be more of them in Palati-
um and the Capitoll, than in the Ianicle: and therefore he willed and commanded them, yea
and gave them direction to breake downe the bridge, by hewing, by firing, or by what meanes they
possible could: assuring them for his owne part, so much as the bodie of one onlie man was able
to doe, he would receive, and withstand the violence of the enemies. Then advanceth he himselfe K
unto the first entrie or foot of the bridge, and all goodly to be seene, amongst those that would
no point fight, but shewed their backs, he so bent his sword and target in their verie faces, reso-
lute to encounter with them hand to hand, that even with his wonderfull hardines and incredible
courage, he astonished & amazed his enemies. Howbeit, two there were that for verie shame taried
still and stood to him, namely *Sp. Largius* and *Tit. Herminius*, brave men both, as well for noble
birth as worthie deeds. Assisted for a while with these gallants, sustained he the first storme of dan-
ger and most cumbersome push of the skirmish. But as they that were hewing downe the bridge
called upon them to come backe, he constrained those two also to retire and save themselves,
whiles some little part of the bridge was left behind free and uncut. Then casting all about in
menacing manner his fierie and terrible eyes, towards the captaines and principals of the Tus-
canes, onewhile he chalenged them one by one to single fight: otherwhiles he rated them all in
generall, calling them the hirelings and slaves of proud kings and tyrants; who forgetting and M
making no reckoning of their owne freedome, were come to oppugne and impeach the libertie
of others. The enemies stood at a baye and in suspence a good while, looking about them one
upon another who should first begin to fight. At last, verie shame made the whole troupe to
stirre and come forward, and so setting up a loud crie, from all sides they let flie their javelins at
him, one man alone and their onlie enemy. All this while bare he off their shot which light upon
his target, and there stucke, and nache lesse with full resolution kept the bridge still, walking his
stations, and stalking like a giant. Then assailed they with all their force to beare the man down,
and to turne him over into the water: but by this this time the cracke of the bridge broken un-
der him, and the shout withall of the Romanes, for joy that they had finished their worke, staied
with suddaine feare their violent assault. Then praised *Coclès* in this wise: O father *Tiberinus* (quoth L
hee) O sacred river, with devout heart I thee beseech, receive with thy gracious and mercifull
streame, this harnish, these weapons, and this thy soldier. And so all armed as he was, he
leapt into the Tyber: and albeit many a dart was flung from aloft and light upon him, yet he
swam over and escaped safe to his fellowes. A brave adventure for all posteritie another day to
talke of, rather than to beleve. For this so great fortitude and resolution of his, the citie was
thankfull,

The first fight
of Horatius
Coclès

A thankfull, and in token thereof his Image or Statue was set up in their common hall, named *Co-*
mitium, and as much ground given him in compasse, as he was able with a plough to break up in
one day. Amongst these publick favors and honors done unto him, the kind affections and good
wills of privat persons also, wel appeared: for in that extreame want and scarcitie that then was, eve-
ry man out of his house store and provision spared from himselfe, and for to give him one thing
or another, defrauded his owne bellie. Thus *Porfena* with the repulse of this his first enterprize,
changed his mind from assailing, to besieging of the citie: and after he had placed a garrison
in the Ianiculum, hee planted himselfe and encamped on the plaine even upon the bankes of
the Tyber. And sending for boates and craiers from all parts, both to stop the mouth and pas-
sage of Tyber, that no corne should come in and bee conveyed to Rome: and also that the foul-
diors as they saw occasion, might crosse the river, and fetch booties in diverse and sundrie places
at their pleasure, in short space he brought the whole country about Rome to such streights,
that not onely other things were brought in, but all their cattell also was faine to be driven out,
the fields into the citie, and no man durst put any creature forth out of the gates. The Tuscanes
were permitted to be thus bold, not so much for feare as for a policie: for *Valerius* the Consull
waiting for some vantage and opportunitie, suddainly to set upon many of them at once and
at unawares, as they stragled abroad disorderly, making little regard to revenge small matters,
kept himselfe to be revenged of them thoroughly, and to pay them home one time or other. To
the end therefore he might draw forth these forragers, and toll them abroad, hee gave his men
in charge and proclaimed, That the next day in great companies they should put their cattell
C forth at the gate *Esquilina*, which was furthest from the enemies supposing that they would have
intelligence thereof, by reason that in this extremitie of long siege and pinching hunger, some
false knaves and disloyall rogues, would flie unto them. And so fell it out indeed. For they had
knowledge thereof by a fugitive slave. Whereupon they in farre greater multitudes passe over
the river, in hope to make a generall spoile and havock once for all. Then *Valerius* commanded
T. Herminius with a sufficient companie to lie close in ambush at two miles end, in the Sabine
high way, and *Sp. Largius* with a power of lustie tall fellows lightly armed, to keep the gate *Col-*
lina, untill the enemy were gone by and past: with direction, then to put himselfe betweene the
river and them, and so to intercept them in their returne. The other Consull *T. Lucretius* issued
forth with certaine bands of footmen at the gate *Navia*: and *Valerius* himselfe in proper per-
son set forth from mount *Coelius* certaine ensignes of his best and choice souldiors. These first
D were descried and discovered by the enemy, *Herminius* so soon as he heard some noyse and stir,
arose and ran at once out of the ambush, and whilest the Tuscanes turned to set upon *Lucretius*,
he charged them lustily at their backs: so that on every hand from the gate *Collina* on the one
side, & from the gate *Navia* on the other, the alarme was given. Thus the robbers were slain and
cut in peeces in the midst of them: both for that they were overmatched in fight, & also because
all the waies were stopped up, that they could not escape by way of flight. And never after durst
the Tuscanes raunge about the countie so audaciously. Howbeit, the siege continued never-
theless, with great scarcitie of corne, and exceeding dearth within the citie. And *Porfena* had
good hope by sitting still, to force it in the end, and be maister thereof. At what time one *C. Mu-*
E *tius* a noble young gentleman, who thought it a dishonour and foule shame, that the people of
Rome, who all the while they were in bondage under kings, were in no warre nor by any enemies
beleagured, should now, being the same still, in time of their freedome, be of these Tuscanes be-
sieged, whose armies they often had defeated: and supposing that by some hardie and adventu-
rous preece of service this reprochfull indignitie was to be revenged, devised at first on his owne
head to enter into the enemies campe: but fearing afterwards to go without commission from
the Consull, and the knowledge of any other person, least peradventure he might bee taken by
the watch of the Romanes, and brought backe for a traiterous runagate, at such a time especially,
when the hard estate of the citie was ynough to bring him into a deepe suspicion, and to be re-
puted for no better: presented himselfe before the Counsell into the Senate house: I am right
F willing, and I have a purpose my LL. (quoth hee) to passe over the Tyber, yea and if I can, to en-
ter the campe of the enemies, not in qualitie of a robber, nor to bee revenged for booties from
us taken, with doing the semblable. A greater exploit with the favour of the gods, I intend to
performe. The Senatours gave their consent, and approved his designment. Then with a skeine
hidden under his garment, he fetterth forward. Being thither come into the campe, hee presteth
in the thickest throng to stand neere the kings Tribunall. It fortuned that then and there, the
F ij souldiours

The valiant resolu-
tion of C. Mu-
tius

souldiours were receiving their pay. And the Chancellor, or kings principal Secretarie, sat together with the king in like array, much employed and busied in many matters, and the souldiours commonly had recourse unto him. *Mutius* fearing to enquire whether of them two were *Porfena*, least by not knowing the king, he should bewray himselfe who hee was, happened (see how fortune in her rashnesse directed his hand) to kill the Secretarie in stead of the king: then as he passed through the fearefull multitude, making himselfe way with his bloudie blade, there was a present outcrie, and therat the kings guard came running in, laid hold of him, and brought him backe before the king his roiall throne: and albeit he was now forlorne and without all succour, amidst those threats of frowning fortune, yet as a man more feared still than fearing: I am (quoth he) a citizen of Rome, and *Caius Mutius* is my name, a professed enemy, I confesse, and an enemy would I have slaine; as readie and willing am I to die my selfe, as I was to kill another. For, both to doe, and to suffer valiantly, is the part of a noble Romane. And it is not alone that carrie this mind and resolution against thee, O king, there is a long traine and crue behind, of them that seeke to win the same praise and honour: make thee readie therefore, and arme thy selfe, if thou thinke good, against this danger, and reckon everie hower to bee in hazard of thy life, and to have alwaies at the verie court gates thy enemies sword. This kind of warre doe we youths of Rome denounce openly unto thee: no battell, no fight else shalt thou need to fear. With thee alone will we all, one by one have to do, and with none other. Hereat the king incensed with wrath, and for the danger that he stood in, affrighted with all, commanded in menacing wise that he should be fried at a stake, unless he would presently unfold in plaine tearmes, what secret and dangerous practises he meant and threatened under this covert circuit of words and intricate circumstances. Lo, (quoth hee againe) how little they set by this carkasse, that aspire to great glorie, & aime at honour: and with that, thrust his right hand into the hearth on fire that was made for the sacrifice, & when he indured the roasting thereof, as if he had ben senselesse, and felt no paine, the king welneere astonished at this wonderful and miraculous sight, start up and leapt from his roiall seat and chaire of estate, commanding the young man to bee had from the altar. Goe thy waies (quoth hee) in peace, thou that hast done thine owne selfe more mischeefe, than thou hast attempted against my person. I would say God blesse thee, & worthe hadst thou been of honour for thy prowesse, if it were in my service, and in the behalfe and defence of mine owne countrey: and now by the law of armes I discharge thee freely, and give thee leave to depart without any hurt or abuse offered unto thee. Then *Mutius*, as it were to requite againe his courtesie and desert. Forasmuch as (quoth he) thou settest so great store by valour, and honour, rest vertue so highly; to the end it may bee scene that thou shalt get at my hands by courtesie, that which by cruel threats thou couldst not: these are therefore to let thee understand, that there are three hundred of us noble youths, even the very flower and knighthood of Rome, that have conspired & sworn thy death, and in this manner to assaile thee. My lot it was to be the first, the rest as it shall fall out, will be here shortly, and wait everie man his turne and time, untill they hit right upon thee. *Mutius*, surnamed afterwards *Scavola*, by reason of the maim of his right hand, was no sooner dismissed and gone, but there followed straight after him to Rome, Embassadors from *Porfena*; and so much troubled in spirit was he, both for the danger past of the first assault (from which nothing preserved him but a small error and oversight of the assailant) and also for the hazard to come, (for looke how many conspirators remained behind to give the like attempt, so often stood he in jeopardy of his life) that of his owne accord he offered the Romanes conditions of peace. And among other capitulations, he stood hard upon this article (but al in vain) of restoring the *Tarquines* into their kingdom. This point the king urged instantly rather because hee could not well himselfe denie the *Tarquines* so much, than for that hee was ignorant, that the Romanes would never yeeld thereto. But another article hee got graunted, namely, the restitution of the *Veientians* lands againe: and the Romanes were driven of necessity to give him hostages, in case they would have the kings garison to quit the *Ianiculum*. Upon these conditions peace was concluded, and *Porfena* withdrew his forces from the *Ianiculum*, dislodged & departed out of the territorie of Rome. The Senators bestowed frankly upon *Mutius*, as a testimoniall of his valiantnesse, a peece of ground lying beyond *Tyber*, which was afterwards called *Mutia prata*, *Mutius* his meddowes.

Upon this honourable regard and reward of vertue, women were likewise provoked and encouraged to enterprife worthie acts in the service of the Commonweale. For a yong damosell and virgin named *Clotia*, one of those hostages aforesaid, whiles the Tuskans were encamped

(as

A (as it fell out) not farre from the banks of *Tyber*, deceiving her keepers and leading a company of other maydens after her, even within the shot and darts of the enemies, tooke the river, swam over with them, brought them all to Rome safe, and delivered them to their parents, kinsfolke and friends. Which being reported to the king, he at the first stormed at it, and was all in a rage, and sent unto Rome certaine Oratours to demanda againe his hostage *Clotia* by name: as for all the rest, he made no great account of them: but afterwards, upon further consideration he admired the enterprife, and plainly said, it surpassed farre all the adventures of the *Coclitis* and the *Mutij*: so as he pretended that if the mayde were not rendered againe, he would take the league as broken, and being yeelded, he would send her backe to her friends, undischarged and without any abuse or violence done unto her. On both parts was promise faithfully kept: For both the Romanes restored the pledge of peace according to covenant, and scene also it was, that vertue was not onely secured safe, but also highly regarded and honoured with the Tuskane king. For after he had commended and praised the damsell, he promised to give her part of the hostages, chuse whom she would. And when they were all brought forth before her, she made choise (they say) of those yong boies that were under 14 years of age: which was not onely most besitting her virginity, but also by the accord of the hostages themselves, best approved: namely, that that age especially should be delivered out of the enemies hands, which was most subject to injurie and taking wrong. The peace thus renewed and confirmed, the Romanes rewarded this rare valour in that sex, with as new and strange an honour, for, in remembrance of her, in the top of *Via sacra*, there was erected her statue, A MAIDEN SITTING ON HORSEBACKE.

C There remaineth yet even unto our daies amongst other solemne ceremonies, this one custome received from our ancestours, farre differing and disagreeing from this peaceable and friendly departure of the Tuskane king from before the citie of Rome, and this it is: In the port-sale of goods they use to proclaim first aloud, THE SALE OF KING PORSENNA HIS GOODS. This ceremoniall custome must needs eyther begin in time of warre, and so was not afterwards forgotten in peace: or else arose from some more gracious and gentle occasion at the first, than this title or outward forme pretendeth, of selling goods by way of hostility, & after the manner of enemies. But the likeliest conjecture and nearest to the truth of all those that are given out, is this: that *Porfena* dislodging from the *Ianicule*, gave freely unto the Romanes, (the citie at that time being after long siege distressed & in great streights) his rich campe furnished with victuall D and provision, conveyed thither out of the plentifull countiees of *Heuturia*, neere adjoining: which goods, for feare there should have beene some havocke & spoile made thereof in warlike wise, in case the people had beene let loose to the rifling of the tents, were after sold, and called *Porfena* his goods: which title signified rather their thankfull acceptation of the gift, and remembrance of the giver, than any open and overt sale of the kings goods, which were not so much as in the Romanes power, nor at their disposition.

Thus *Porfena* having given over the Romane warre, because he would not seeme to have brought an host of men into those parts, and performed no exploit, sent his sonne *Aruns* with part of his forces, to surpris and assault *Aricia*. At the first this suddaine and unexpected enterprife, much troubled the *Aricins*, but afterward when they had gotten aid both from the Latine nations and also from *Cumes*, they tooke such heart againe, that they durst enter into the field and bid the enemy battell. In the beginning of the conflict, the Tuskans charged them so hotly, that at the verie first encounter, they brake the arraies of the *Aricines*. But the troups of the *Cumans* setting pollicie against force, went a little aside, made way & gave some ground, and when the enemies had outstripped them, and were rashly and disorderlie passed beyond them, they turned their ensignes, and set upon their backs: so were the Tuskans being in the verie traine of their victorie, beset round about, and slaine in the mids betwene. Onely a small remnant of them after the losse of their captaine, because they had no other place of refuge neerer, were faine to trudge to Rome without weapons and disarmed, like suppliants both in deed and shew. Where they were kindly entertained and bestowed in severall lodgings. Some of them when they were cured of their wounds repaired home, reporting the hospitalitie and courteous usage they had found. Many remained still at Rome for love of their hosts and the citie: who had a place allotted them to dwell in, which after they called *Tusculum vicus*, the Tuskane street.

After this, were *P. Lucretius* and *P. Valerius* the third time created Coss. In that yeare, for a small end, there came embassadors from *Porfenna*, to treat about the restoring of the *Tarquins* into their realme: to whom this answer was returned: that the Senate would send embassadors

F iij to

The commendation of Clotia.

to the king himselfe: wherupon their were immediatly addressed unto him in embassie the G
most honourable personages of all the nobilitie, who in the name of the people of Rome deli-
vered this speech: That the chiefe of their nobles were sent, rather than any dispatch given by
word of mouth unto his embassadours at Rome; not for that they could not haue shapen them
this short answere, They would no kings have: But to this end, that for ever after there should
be no suite renewed of that matter, nor in so great mutuall benefites, and fauours passed between
them, some discontentment arise on eyther side, whiles he might be thought to request that
which was repugnant and prejudiciall to the libertie of Rome, and the Romanes againe, unlesse
they would be executors of their owne wrongs, and seeke their owne mischiefance, to make
deniall unto him, whom by their good wils, they would not seem to denie ought for anything in
the world. But as to the substance of the matter, this was the point: namely, that the people of
Rome were not under the regiment of a king, but were a free state: and fullie settled in this pur-
pose, To set open their gates to enemies, sooner than to kings: and were all generally of this
mind and resolution, That looke when the freedome of that citie had an end, then should the
citie come to an end also. To conclude therefore, they were to intreat him, that if he tendered
the weale and safetie of Rome, he would permit them to be free still and at their owne libertie.

The king overcome with verie modestie, and much abashed in himselfe, answered thus againe:
Since you are so fully minded and listlie bent (quoth hee) neither will I importune you, nor
dull your eares with harping still upon this unpleasant string, and do no good: nor beare the
Tarquines any longer in hand, and deceive them of that hope of aide, which nothing at all is in
my power to performe. Let them from henceforth seeke some other place of exile, either for
peace or warre, as they shall thinke more expedient, that there may be nothing to let and hin-
der the free course of amitie, and alliance betwene mee and you. To these good and kind words
he joynd better and more friendlie deeds. For all the hostages that remained in his hand, he
sent home: and the Veientians lands which by the covenants indented at Ianiculum, were ta-
ken away, he restored to the Romanes againe. Thus Tarquine seeing all hope of returne cut
off, remooved unto Tusculum to his sonne in law *Mamilius Octavius*, there to live and spend the
rest of his daies in banishment. So there continued faithfull peace betwene the Romanes and
king *Porfena*.

Then were *Coss. M. Valerius* and *P. Posthumius*. In that yeare the Romanes fought with the
Sabines fortunatly, and the Consuls triumphed: But afterwards the Sabines made greater K
preparation of warre: to withstand whom, as also for feare of some suddaine danger that might
arise from Tusculum, from whence they suspected warre, although none was openly seene, were
P. Valerius the fourth time, and *T. Lucretius* the second time created *Coss.* But among the Sa-
bines, there grew some civile discord betwene that part that would have war, and the contrarie
that sought peace: which gained the Romanes some strength even from thence. For *Appius*
Cladius (who afterwards at Rome was surnamed *Appius Claudius*) a persuader himselfe of quiet-
nes & repose, being overmatched and not able to make his part good with the aduerser faction
that minded and stirred troubles, accompanied with a great power of friends & followers, from
Regillum fled to Rome. Who were enfranchised citizens and possessed of those lands that lie
beyond the river * Anio. And from hence came the name of the old tribe Appia: after that
other new citizens were put unto them, those I meane, that descended of that race, and out of the
same territorie. This *Appius* was admitted into the number of the Senators, and not long after
advanced to be one of the chiefe men and heads of the citie. The *Coss.* went with a strong power
into the Sabines land, where after they had first wasted the countrie, and after in battell abated
the strength and puissance of the enemy; so, as for a long time after they needed not to feare
anie rebellion from thence, they returned to Rome in triumph.

The yeare following, when *Agrippa Menenius* and *P. Posthumius* were *Coss.* *P. Valerius* en-
ded his daies in great glorie, reputed the onely singular man in those times, by all mens judge-
ment, for skill and knowledge as well in martiall feats, as in civile affaires: but so poore was his
estate, that he had not wherewith to defray his funerall expences, and was therefore at the cities
charge right honourable entered. And the dames of Rome mourned for him as they did
for *Brutus*.

The same yeare two Colonies of the Latines, Pometia and Cora, revolted to the Auruncans.
The Romanes first began to warre upon the Auruncans. And after they had discomfited a great
host of them, who met with the Consuls as they entered the borders, and fiercely made head
against

A against them, then all the Auruncane warre was driven and translated wholly to Pometia. The
carnage and execution was no lesse after the conflict, than during the fight: for whereas there
were many more of them slaine outright in the place than taken prisoners, those also that were
prisoners, they spared not, but murdered every where as they went: neither staid the furious
rage of warre therewith, but even the very hostages whom they had received, to the number of
300, they put to the sword. In this yeare also was a triumph at Rome.

The Consuls *Opiter Virginius*, and *Sp. Cassius*, that followed the next yeare, assailed Pometia,
first by fine force to skale the wals, after with pavoises, mantelets, platformes, & other fabrikes, rai-
sed against it. Vpon whom the Auruncans sallied forth, rather of a cankered & malicious hatred
than for any hope or vantage given them of good exploits: the greater part of them furnished
better with fireworkes than armed with sword and speare, killed and burned all afore them: and
having thus fired their fabrikes aforesaid, hurt and slaine a greater number of their enemies, one
of the Consuls also (but his name precisely is not by any authour set downe) was sore wounded,
stricken downe from his horse, and welneere slaine. Whereupon the Romanes returned backe
to Rome thus unhappily defeated, leaving the Consull behind them amongst many that were
hurt, like to die. Soone after, and no longer than whilest their wounds might be healed, and a new
supplie of souldiours made, they came against Pometia, in more furious manner than before,
and also with a stronger power. And when by making of new mantelets and other warlike instru-
ments of assault, they were proceeded thus forward, that the souldiours were readie to skale and
get up the wall, then they within yeelded: and notwithstanding the towne was thus surrendered
up, yet there was no more mercie shewed unto it, than if it had bene forced by assault. The
cheefe and principall cittizens shamefully lost their heads, the rest of the inhabitants were sold at
the speare in ouert market like slaves, the town sacked and rased to the ground, yea & mony made
of all the lands belonging to it. The Consuls for that they had so wreaked their anger, and
sharply revenged themselves, more than for any great warre they had finished, obtained tri-
umph.

The yeare following, were *Posthumius Caninius* and *T. Larginus* Consuls. In this yeare, during
the games and plaies at Rome, certaine yonkers of the Sabines, went about in a wanton jolitic
to carrie away and ravish the curtizans and common strumpets of the citie. Whereupon the
people ran together, and made a roior, grew to words, and from words to brawles, inso much as
they went together by the eares, and made a fray in manner of a battell: upon which final occa-
sion, there was a rebellion like to insue. Over and besides the feare of the Latines warre, (for to
encrease their troubles the more) newes came, and it was certainly known, that by the solliciting
and practise of *Octavius Mamilius*, there were already thirtie nations banded together against
the Romanes. The citie thus being perplexed for the event and expectation of these so great
occurrences, there arose the first occasion and mention made of creating a Dictator. But neither
in what yeare, nor in what Consuls time (for that it can hardly be beleevd, that they should bee
of the Tarquines faction, and yet that also is reported) nor yet who was first created Dicta-
tor, is it certainly knowne: Howbeit, in the most auncient writers I find, that *T. Larginus* was cre-
ated the first Dictator, and *Cneus Cassius* generall of the horsemen: and Consular men (i. such
as had bene Consuls afore) they were that elected him: for so the law provided that was ena-
cted, concerning the creation of a Dictator. And this induceth mee the rather to beleevd, that
Larginus an auncient man, and one who had been Consull before, was appointed as a controller
and maister over the Consuls, and not *M. Valerius* the sonne of *Marcus*, and grandson of *Voleius*,
who as yet had not attained to the Consuls dignitie. For if these Consular men aforesaid, had
ben minded to have chosen a Dictator out of that house above all other, surely they would have
made choise rather of his father *M. Valerius*, a noble personage, of approved prowesse and valor,
and one besides that had ben Consull. When the Dictator was once chosen at Rome, and the
axes were seene borne before him, the commoners stood in great awe, and took better regard to
be obedient at every becke and command. For neither could they make account of any help (as
they might under the Consuls, who were both in commission alike, & of equal authority, when
they had recourse from the one to the other) nor yet appeale unto the people: no nor looke for
succour at all, but in their own double diligence & care of obedience. The Sabines likewise were
afraid of the Dictator thus created at Rome: and so much the more, because they were verily
persuaded he was made of purpose for them: and thereupon, they sent embassadours to treat for
peace, who beseeching the Dictator and the Senate to pardon so small a fault, and being but a
tricke

Dictator first
created at Rome.

tricke of youth, received this answer: That youths indeed might well be pardoned, but such old babes as they might not, who never rested to sow debate, and minister occasion of one warre after another. Howbeit, they sat in consultation about a peace, and obtained it had ben, if the Sabines could have found in their hearts and condescended, to make good and repay the expenses that the Romanes had disbursed about the warre: for that was the thing demanded at their hands. So, defiance was sent and war proclaimed. And yet for that yeare all was quiet, as it were in time of a secret truce, during the Consulship of *Servius Sulpicius*, and *M. Manlius Tullus*, in whose yeare there was nothing done worthe of remembrance.

After them were *T. Ebutius*, and *C. Vetusius*. In their time * Fidene was besieged, * Crustumaria woen, and * Prenceste revolted from the Latines unto the Romanes. And the Latine warre, which had ben a breeding and budding for certain yeares, was no longer delayed, but brake forth. *A. Posthumius* the Dictator, and *T. Ebutius* Generall of the cavallerie, with great power of foot and horse, set forward and advanced as farre as the lake Regillus, in the teritorie of Tusculum, and there encountred the armie of the enemies, in their march. And because they heard say that the *Tarquines* were in the host of the Latines, they could not for anger forbear any longer, but presently fell to it, and began battaile. This field was fought right fiercelie, and cost more bloodshed a good deale, than others usually before: because the Generalls and chiefe Commanders were there present, not only to give direction by their counsell & advice, but also in person themselves hazarded their own bodies, & fought bravely in the medley. And not one almost of the principall leaders, escaped out of the skirmish, eyther of one side or of the other, safe and sound, save onely the Romane Dictator. For as *Posthumius* was encouraging his men, and setting them in aray in the vaward, *Tarquinius Superbus* (albeit he was now verie aged & unwieldie, and notable to beittire himselfe) set spurs to his horse, and ran full but against him. But having caught a thrust from a side, was rescued by his men that came about him, and retired to a place of safetie. And in the other wing, *Ebutius* Generall of the horsemen, set upon *Off. Mamilius*: but he, the captain I meane of the Tusculanes, was well ware of him, and espied him comming, and ran his horse with full carriere likewise upon him, and so desperately they bare their launces one against the other, that *Ebutius* was run quite through the arme, and *Mamilius* wounded in the breast, whom the Latines succoured and received into the middle ward. As for *Ebutius* not able any longer to beare his blasse, with his arme fore hurt, withdrew himselfe out of the battell. The leader of the Latines, nothing dismayed for all his hurt, maintained fight still: and seeing his souldiors somewhat distressed, he lendeth for the regiment of the Romane exuls, that were under the leading of *L. Tarquinius* his son: who sticking more courageously unto it, for anger that their goods were spoiled, and they driven out of their owne countrey, renewed the combat afresh for a while. And as the Romanes from that quarter began to reule and give ground, *M. Valerius*, the brother of *Publicola*, espying young *Tarquinius* vaunting himselfe gloriously in the forefront of the exuls, inflamed also with a desire of domesticall glorie of his house: that the same familie which had the praise of expelling the kings, might likewise win the honour of killing them, spurred his horse, and with deadly speare ran against *Tarquinius*, who giving way to his mortall enemy, retired backe to his owne regiment. But *Valerius* by this time was disbanded from his companie, and rashlie ridden into the battaile of the exiles, and there a common souldior happened to charge upon him a flanke, and run him through. The horse staid not a jot for all the rider was wounded, and so the Romane knight readie to die, fell to the ground with his armor upon his bodie, and paid nature her debt. *Posthumius* the Dictator, after he perceived so valiant a man fallen, and the banished men advancing lustilie forward with full trot, and his owne souldiors distressed, and at point to turne their backs, gave expresse commandement unto his owne band, which he had about him of chosen tall men for to gard his person, that as manie of their fellowes as they saw to flie, they should take them for enemies, and kill them in the place. Thus by reason of a counterfeare, the Romanes made head againe and renewed the battaile. Then began the Dictators cohort to fight, and comming with fresh bodies and courageous stomackes, charged vpon the wearied exiles, and killed them on every side. Whereupon began another combat also between the Colonels & captains of qualitie & marke. The generall of the Latines seeing the battalion of the banished, well nere environed round by the Romane Dictator, speedily taketh with him into the forefront of the battaile, certaine squadrons of those that were appointed in the reergard to succour and aid: whom *T. Harminius* a lieutenant, espied to come marching in good order, & knowing amongst them *Mamilius* by his gorgeously harness, and

* Castel Fidene:
* Crustumaria,
* Prenceste
* Publicola
* Posthumius
* Off. Mamilius

Tusculum

The famous battle
fought at the Lake
Regillus

A and goodly cote armour, with farre greater violence than the Generall of the horsemen a little before, encountred the Colonell of his enemies so hotly, that both he ran *Mamilius* through his sides, and slue him outright, and also whilest he was disarming and rising his bodie, he was wounded himselfe with a short javeline, and being brought backe with victorie into the campe, at the first dressing yeelded to nature and died. Then rode the Dictator apace to the horsemen, and earnestly cried unto them, that seeing the footmen were toiled out and wearied, they would alight from their horses, and take the matter into their hands. The horsemen soone obeyed, leapt from horsebacke, and set forward as if they had flowne, to the forefront, where they opposed their targets in defence of them that fought before the ensignes. Whereat presently the Infanterie began againe to take heart, seeing the principall men of armes and noble young Gentlemen in the like kind of service, exposed to the same danger, and readie to take part with them. Then at the last were the Latines put backe, and their whole battel began to shrinke. The gentlemen had their horses brought to them againe, and they mounted on horsebacke to pursue their enemies. The footmen likewise followed after. There the Dictator omitting no helpe of God and man, vowed as men say, a temple to *Castor*, and openly promised and proposed rewards to that souldior that made either first or second entrie into the enemies campe. Whereupon they bestirred themselves so courageously, that the Romanes at one brunt both vanquished their enemies, and also were possessed of their tents. This was the noble field fought at the lake Regillus. The Dictator and the generall of horsemen returned into the cittie with triumph. For three yeares after, there was neither assured peace betwene them, nor yet professed war.

Consuls were *Q. Cloelius*, and *T. Lartius*. After them *A. Sempronius*, and *M. Minutius*. Whiles these two were Consuls, the temple to *Saturne* was dedicated, and the feast called *Saturnalia* instituted. After them succeeded *A. Posthumius*, and *T. Virginius*. And in this yeare and not before, I find in some authours, that the said battell was stricken nere the lake Regillus, and that *A. Posthumius* suspecting the fidelitie of his brother Consul, gave over his place, and so was made Dictator. The account of times doth so varie and is so intricate and confused, whiles writers diversly set downe the cheefe Magistrates, that in so great antiquitie, not of acts onely, but also of authours, a man cannot orderly and directly distinguish, according to some writers, who were Consuls, and what was done in every yeare.

Afterwards were *Ap. Claudius*, and *P. Servilius* created Consuls. This yeare was famous for the newes of *Tarquinius* his death. He died at Cumes, to which place after the defeature of the Latines power, he went to *Arifodemus* the Tyrant. At which tidings the hearts of the Nobles were wel lightened, the Commons also began to look up. But that joy in the Nobilitie was above measure too excessive and licentious. For why? the great men began now to wrong and wring the communitie, whom untill that day they had favoured and pleased to their full power. In the same yeare the Colonie Signia, which king *Tarquinius* had erected, was now stored againe the second time, and the number supplied with new inhabitants. And the tribes or wards at Rome were now made up 21. The temple of *Mercurie* was dedicated in the * Ides of May. With the Nation of the Volscians in the time of the Latine warre, neither was there peace, nor war: for both the Volscians had levied a power for aid to send unto the Latines, if the Romane Dictator had not made good speed: and also the Romane Dictator hastened the more for feare he should in one battell have to deale with Latines and Volscians both at once. Vpon this quarrell, the Consuls led forth their legions into the Volscians countrey. The Volscians fearing no revenge for their defeignement (that was intended onely, and never came in action) were much troubled with this suddaine and unlooked for occurrent. Not minding therefore to make resistance, and forgetfull of warlike prowesse, they delivered 300 of their noble mens children out of Cora and Pometia for hostages. Whereupon the Romane Legions from thence without any fight were withdrawne. But not long after the Volscians being somewhat eased & delivered of their feare, came againe to their old biace and returned to their wonted nature, and secretly under hand made preparation anew for warre, joyning with them as confederates in this quarrell, the Hernikes. They send also their embassadours all about, to moove and sollicite Latium. But the Latines, for their late overthrow at the lake Regillus, tooke such a spleen and hatred against him whosoever, that should once put into their heads and persuade them to take armes, that they could not forbear the verie embassadours, but offer them abuse. They apprehended therefore the Volscians, conveyed them to Rome, & delivered them to the Consuls: where they revealed and gave intelligence, that the Volscians & the Hernikes were out in armes, and

Temple of Saturne
dedicated
Saturnalia instituted.

Tarquinius Superbus dieth.

Wards, 21.
* 15 of May.

Confederates
Romans

readie to warre upon the Romanes. Which being reported unto the Senators, they were so well pleased and contented therewith, that they set at libertie 6000 Latines, prisoners, and sent them hence. And concerning a league to be concluded with them, which was like before to have beene denied for ever, they referred the consultation thereof, unto the new magistrates that should next enter. And in good sooth, blith and glad were the Latines then, for that they had done, and the authors of peace were magnified and had in great reputation. They send moreover a crowne of gold into the Capitoll, for a present to *Iupiter*. With these embassadours and the present, those prisoners which before were set free, came in greater number. Who repaired straight waies to everie man his house, where they had beene prisoners, yielding them great thanks for their kind usage and friendlie intertainment in time of their calamities and miseries, and promised therewith the like courtesie and mutuall hospitalitie. Never were the Latines at anie time afore, both publickely and privatelie, united more needlie to the Roman empire.

But as the Volscian warre was now at hand, so the cittie was at discord among themselves. The Senators and commons hated one another at the heart, and all this arose by occasion especially of certaine persons that were indebted, and in danger of their creditours: who murdered and gave out in murmuring wise, how that abroad they adventured themselves and fought for the libertie and dominion of the cittie, and at home by their owne neighbours they were held prisoners and oppressed: saying, that the freedome of the commons was more safe in time of warre, than of peace, among the enemies rather than their owne fellow citizens. This inward grudge and heartburning, which of it selfe still kindled more and more, the notable calamitie of one man above all others, set on a light fire. A certaine aged person chaunced to breake prison, and with the armes, badges and ornaments of all his ancestors, ran into the market place. His apparrell was all to rattered, foule and loathsome, but the habite or plight of his bodie much more filthy: so pale, so wan, so leane withall, as if he had beene over-pined and starved, his long side beard and haire of his head so overgrowne, that they made his visage and countenance wild and gafflie. Howbeit, for all he was thus disfigured by this deformitie, he was a man well knowne, and as some said, he had done good service in the wars, had beene a chiefe Centurian, and had the charge and leading of bands in the field: and the common people, as pitying his estate, and to moove compassion, recounted many worthie exploits of his, to his great credit and singular commendation. Himselfe likewise shewed the scars of wounds, which in his breast & forepart of his bodie in divers places he had received, that might testifie his valiant service. The people flocking about him as it were in a common assemblie to heare a solemne Oration, enquired of him, how he came to be in that taking, so poore, so disfigured and deformed? He answered, that whiles he served in the Sabine war, he by reason of the continual forraying, & wasting of the territorie, not onely lost the revenewes and increase of his lands, but also his Maner-house was burnt, all his goods ranfacked & spoiled, his cattell driven away: and when a levie and tribute was exacted in a time when he ill might, he was driven to take up monie & run in debt, which growing more & more by payment of interest, first he was constrained to sel his land, that his father and grandfather had left him, and to turn himselfe out of all, by making a cleane hand of the rest of his goods: until at length his bodie also began to winder away in a consumption. Complaining moreover how by his creditor he was not onely brought into bondage and thraldome, but also imprisoned, and whipped, and tormented in most cruell and butcherlike manner. With that he shewed before them all, his backe lately scourged, with the fresh waies of the lashes newly given him. At the sight and hearing hereof, there arose a great outcrie of the people, so that anon the upore kept not within the compass of the market place, but spread over all the cittie: in such sort, that as well they that were bound, as they that were loofe, came forth from all parts into the open streets, calling the Quirites and the people pittifully, to helpe. In no corner wanted any companions to take part willingly in this seditious rout, and every where in all the streets they run by companies into the common place. Those Senators who chanced to be abroad, at their no small perill light upon this multitude: and had not the Consuls *P. Servilius*, and *App. Claudius*, made the better speed, and come upon them to appease the commotion, there would have ben some knocks, for hardly could they have held their hands. At whose coming, the multitude turned unto them, shewing their yrons, and all their other shamefull mislage & miserie, saying, This is all the good we have gotten for our warfare: upbraiding every man the services they had performed, some in one place some in another, requiring them in threatening

A threatening wise, rather than by way of supplication, to call the Senate together, and they the while stood about the *Curia*, as if they would be judges and moderators of their publicke counsell. Very few of the Senators, such onely as by chance came that way, could be brought to repaire to the Consuls: as for the rest, they were afraid not onely to come into the Counsell house, but also to venture abroad into the market place, so that by reason of their final assemblie, there could be nothing done nor determined. Then thought the people indeed they were mocked and dallied withall, and driven off with delaies, summing, that the Senators which were away, absented themselves not by chance, nor for feare, but onely to hinder the proceeding of their cause: and that the Consuls themselves kept a haisting and finching, and without all question, made but a scorne and game at their miseries. This broile so increased, that hardly could the reverence and majestie of the Consuls restraine the peoples rage. But the Senators standing in doubtfull tearmes, whether to tarrie behind or to come forward would be more dangerous, at length they resolved to repaire into the Senate, and being now at last a full and sufficient house gathered, neither the Lords there assembled, no nor yet the Consuls, could well agree amongst themselves what to doe in this case. *Appius* a man of a hot spirit, was of opinion to order the matter by Consular authoritie and commandement, saying, That if one or two of them were laid hold on, the rest would be quiet. But *Servilius* more inclined to mild & gentle remedies, thought it a more safe and easie course too, rather to bend than to breake their angrie and fell stomackes. But amidst these troubles there happened a greater and more fearefull occurence: For certaine Latines on horsebacke rode in post, and brought news in hastie and tumultuous manner, that the Volscians were coming with a mightie and cruell armie against the cittie to assault the same. Which news being heard (see how discord had of one cittie made twaine) wrought far other effect in the Nobles, than in the Commons. The comminatie lept for joy, and said the gods were now come downe from heaven to be revenged of the Senators pride, & encouraged one another not to take prest-monie, or to enter their names in the Muster-masters book, saying that they had rather die at once with all, than perishe alone and none but they: Let the Nobles (qd. they) serve as soldiers; let them take weapon in hand, & abide the brunts and hazards of war, who receive the profits, the prizes & rewards thereof. But contrariwise the Senat penfive & surcharged with this twofold feare, as well from citizen as enemie, besought the Consull *Servilius* (a man by nature more affable and popular) That he would provide for the safetie of the Common-wealth, beset as it were round with so fearefull perils. Then the Consull dismissed the Senate, and came forth into the assemblie of the people, where he shewed what care the LL. of the Senat had for the good of the commons: But whiles they were (qd. he) busie in consultation for the greatest part (I confesse) of the cittie, and yet in truth no more but a part, it fell out so in the meane while, that of necessitie they must see to the whole bodie of the Common-wealth, whereof they stand in exceeding feare. Seeing therefore the enemies were almost hard at the gates, they could not possiblie doe or intend anything beforewaite. Neither (if there should be anie respite and leasure granted) were it either for the commons credite and honestie, not to fight for their countrie, unlesse they had their pay before hand; nor well beseeming the Nobles and for their reputation, to looke unto and take order hastily, to redresse the miseries and calamities of their citizens upon feare, rather than afterwards with good deliberation, for love and of willing mind. This speech of his he confirmed with an edict, by vertue wherof, he gave streight commandement: *Imprimis*, that no man should keepe bound or in prison, any citizen of Rome, but that he might be enrolled before the Consuls. *Item*, that no person should hold in possession, or sell the goods of anie soldior, so long as he abode in the campe, nor arrest his children or childrens children. This edict being once published and proclaimed, not onelie the enthralled debtors there present, were immediatly by name enrolled, but also from all parts of the cittie, they leapt out quicklie of their houses, seeing that now their creditors had no right nor power to detain and arrest them, and ran into the market place for to take a militarie oath of allegiance, to be true soldiours & faithfull to the state. A number there was of these: neither was there anie that more mansullie behaved and quit themselves or tooke more paines in the Volscian warre. Then the Consull led forth his power against the enemies, & within a litle of them incamped himselfe. The night following, the Volscians presuming upon the variance and discord of the Romanes, assailed the tents, if happily in the night season any of them might have ben wrought, to abandon the campe, & come to them, or to practise any treason. But the Sentinels descried them, and upon al arme given, the whole armie arose, and everie man made hast to his weapons. Thus came

Divers opinions
in the Senate
house.

A dangerous
sedition in Rome.

that

that enterprife of the Volſcians to nothing. The reſt of the night both parts reſted, and were quiet. On the morrow by breake of day, the Volſcians having filled up the trench, aſſailed the bulwarkes and rampiers. And by that time they had on everie ſide plucked up the fences, palliſadoes, and other fortifications, the Conſul, who for all he was called unto inſtantly on everie hand, but of the debtors aforeſaid eſpecially above the reſt, to give the ſignall, and to ſound the battell, made ſome ſtay on purpoſe to trie the courage of his men: and ſeeing well now their forwardneſſe and their ſtomackes, at length gave them a token to ruſh forth, and ſo letteth them looſe, as eager to fight as might be. So at the verie fiſt onſet the enemies were preſently diſcomfited and put to flight: the footmen followed hard upon them in chaſe, and as they could reach, wounded them behind on their backs, and killed them: the horſemen likewiſe purſued them even to their pavillions, who ſtill feared exceedingly what might become of them: and within a while their very campe alſo, environned about with the legions, and abandoned of the Volſcians themſelves for feare, were forced and riſed. The next day following, the legions marched to Suella Pomertia, for thither the enemies were fled: and within few daies the towne was won, and put to the ſacke, and the ſpoile and pillage given away: whereby the needie ſouldiours were ſomewhat reſtreſhed. The Conſull in great glorie and honour brought backe his victorious armie to Rome. In his way homeward the Embaſſadours of the Eretrian Volſcians diſtruſting their owne ſtate, upon the loſſe of Pomertia, came unto him. To whom after conſultation had with the Senat, and a decree paſſed, peace was granted: but they were fined to part with their lands. Immediately upon this, the Sabines alſo put the Romanes in a fright, and in very deed it might be called a tumult, rather than a war. For word was brought in the night ſeaſon, that an armie of the Sabines were come in a rode, as far as the river Anio, robbing, ſpoiling, and burning all the villages and hamlets as they went. Forthwith was ſent thither the whole power of horſes under the conduct of *A. Poſthumius*, who in the Latine warre had been Dictator. After him followed the Conſull *Servilius* with a choſen regiment of footmen. Moſt of the enemies, as they raunged abroad a forraging in ſcattering wiſe, were by the horſemen ſurpriſed and incloſed. And when the Infanterie beſides marched againſt the Sabines legion, they were not able to reſiſt: for being tired out, partly with their long journey, and partly with booting all night long, and many of them having overcharged themſelves with meat and wine within the villages, had hardly ſtrength ynough to run away. Thus the Sabine warre in one night was heard of and ended. The day following, when as now the Romanes were in good hope, that they had peace on everie ſide, behold, the Auruncane Embaſſadors came into the Senat, proclaiming warre, unleſſe they would forgoe the Volſcians lands, and reſtore them to their rightfull owners. And even at one time with the Embaſſadours was the armie alſo of the Auruncans abroad, and had taken the field. The newes whereof, and namely that they were now in ſight not farre from Aricia, raiſed up the Romanes in ſo great a broile and hurlyburly, that the Senators could neither be conſulted with, and deliver their opinions in order, nor yet give a peaceable anſwer to thoſe that came as it were with weapon in hand, being thus forced to take armes themſelves. So to Aricia directly in warlike manner they march, and not far from thence they joined battell with the Auruncans. And in one day that war had alſo an end.

Thus when the Romane ſouldiours had gotten victorie within ſo few daies in ſo many places, and had now defeated the Auruncans, they looked for the promiſe of the Conſul, and the faithfull performance of it by the Senat. At what time *Appius* both upon a proud ſtomacke and arrogant ſpirit of his owne by nature, and alſo, ſo diſcredit and diſanull the word of his fellow Conſul, in all actions of debt proceeded, and gave judgement with rigour, againſt the debtors. Whereupon, both they that had been before imprifoned, were delivered againe into their creditors hands, and other alſo became priſoners anew. Whereat when as a ſouldiour, whoſe caſe it was thus hardly to be dealt withall, called upon the Conſull his fellow for helpe, they ran all at once to *Servilius*, at his hands they claimed a promiſe: everie one upbraided and reproched him with their ſervice in warre, with the ſcars there gotten, requiring that he would propoſe the matter againe unto the Senat, and as a Conſul, ſuccour and protect his citizens; or like a General, maintaine his ſouldiours. Theſe matters no doubt, moved the Conſull: but ſo ſtood the caſe that he could neither will nor chuſe, but haſt, deale double, and temporize with them: ſo fully bent, and wholly wedded to the other part, was not onely his colleague, but alſo the whole faction of the Nobilitie. Thus by bearing himſelfe as a Neuter, and going as they ſay, betwene the barke and the tree, he neither avoided the hatred of the Commons, nor yet wooon favour with

A the Nobles: whiles the Nobles tooke him for a ſoft and baſe minded Conſull, ſeeking to pleaſe all parties, & the Commons for as craftie and falſe a diſſembler: in ſomuch as within a ſhort time, it appeared, he was as much hated of the people as *Appius*. For, the Conſuls happened on a time to ſtrive, whether of them twaine ſhould dedicate the temple of *Mercurie*. The Senat put over the deciding of this matter from themſelves vnto the people: and decreed withall, that to whether of them the dedication of the temple was by the peoples election granted, he ſhould over and beſides have the charge to purvey come and victualles, he ſhould erect and inſtitute a Colledge or fellowſhip of marchants, and he in ſteede of the high Prieſt, ſhould undertake the ſolemne feaſts, or feſtival daies. Then the people gaue the dedication of the temple to *M. Leſtorius*, a principall Centurion of the vanguard: which as it eaſily appeared, was done not ſo much to grace the man, as who had an higher office beſtowed upon him, than was fit for one of his degree and calling; as to diſgrace and deface the Conſuls. Hereat, one of the Conſuls yea and the Patricij ſtormed and ſared exceedingly againſt the Commons. But the Commons tooke heart vnto them more and more, and began to proceede farre otherwiſe, and to take another courſe than they purpoſed at the beginning: for, diſpairing of the Conſuls and Senats helpe, when they ſaw a debtor ſued and brought to the barre, they would run flocking from all parts together, ſo that the Conſuls ſentence and decree could not be heard for the noiſe and clamour. And decree or judge what he would, no man would obey. And ſo violentlie they went to worke, that in preſence of the Conſull, the creditours were ſingled out, evil intreated, and miſuled of the Commons, being many together. So the whole feare and hazard of the maine chaunce, even of libertie it ſelfe, was now altogether tranſlated from the debtors to the creditours. In the very necke of theſe troubles, there aroſe feare of the Sabine warre, and when it was determined, there ſhould be a muſter of ſouldiours, no man would anſwere to his name and be enrolled. All this while *Appius* raged and tooke on, inveying bitterly againſt the nicetie and popularitie of his brother Conſul, who with his keeping ſilence for diſpleaſing the people, by his loſt cariage of himſelfe, had betrayed the weale publique, and over and beſides that, he had not miniſtered juſtice for the loane of mony, nor dealt according to law in that behalfe, he had brought the matter ſo to paſſe, that he could take no muſters by vertue of the decree of the Senat. Howbeit (ſaith he) the common wealth is not wholly forſaken and forlorne, nor yet the Conſular authoritie vtterly caſt downe and troden vnder foot: for he would himſelfe alone, if there were no more but he, defend and maintaine both his owne place, and the Senatours dignitie. When as the multitude therefore ſtood thus malapertlie, as their daillie manner was, about the bar, he commanded one principall captaine of ſeditious to be attached and had away: and as he was haled to priſon by the ſergeants and liſtors, he appealed. Neither would the Conſul have given place to the appeale (for all he knew the people how they were bent, and what their doome would be) had not his obſtinate ſtiffneſſe with much ado bene overſwaied more through the diſcreet adviſe and authoritie of the cheefe Nobles and Lordes of the Senat, than by the clamorous noiſe and menaces of the multitude: ſo reſolute was he, and his heart ſo couragious, to undergo their ill will and heaſie diſpleaſure. Thus grew the miſchiefe more and more daillie, teſtified not with open mouth and broad ſpeeches onely, but alſo (which was more pernicious and dangerous) by conventicles, ſecret meetings, and conferences. At length theſe Conſ. ſo odious vnto the commons, went out of their office, to wit *Appius*, a man wonderous well affected of the Nobles, *Servilius* liked neither of them nor the Commons.

After whom *A. Virginus*, and *T. Vellius* entred their Conſulſhip. But then the Commons not knowing what manner of Conſuls they ſhould have, began to aſſemble together by night, ſome in *Esquilie*, others in the *Aventine*: to the end, they might not be unprovided & to ſeek upon a ſuddaine, what to doe in the common place, nor manage their buſineſſe hand over head, and at a venture. Which the Conſuls ſuppoſing (as it was indeed) a perilous example, and of ill conſequence, propounded the matter before the Senators: but when they had propoſed it, they could not orderly aſke their adviſe what was to be done: they tooke ſo on, and kept ſuch outcrie and *viſas* at it, on all hands ſaring and ſuming, that the Conſuls ſhould lay upon the Senat the burden and heaſie load of that, which properly they by vertue of their authoritie and office ſhould execute and performe themſelves: and ſurely, if there were any Magiſtrates in the citie (ſay they) there would not be thus ſuffered in Rome any other counſel but publicke: whereas now the ſtate is divided into a thouſand courts and conventicles: whiles ſome have their meetings and aſſemblies in *Esquilie*, others in *Aventine*: Certes, one onely man indeed (for that is more than a Conſul) ſuch a one as *Appius Claudius* was, would ſoone diſpatch, and in one minute of an hower

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scatter these their unlawfull assemblies. The Consuls upon this rebuke and checke, replied againe and demanded in this manner: And what would you have us to doe (quoth they) for we are resolved to doe nothing slackly and coldly, but with as great courage and diligence as shall be well liked of the Senatours. Whereupon an order passed, that they should take muster, and levie souldiours with all rigour and severitie: adding moreover, that the Commons with idlenesse and ease were growne over-malapert and too licentious. And when the Senate was dismissed, the Consuls went into the Tribunall and tooke their places, and summoned by name all the * younger sort to appeare: and none making answer to his name, the multitude standing about as it had been to heare some publicke Oration, said plainly, that the commons from thenceforth would be no longer deluded, and that the Consuls should never get so much, as one souldiour, unless they would stand to their word, and make good the promise that publickely before was made, and restore to everie man againe his libertie, before they caused them to take weapon in hand: to the end, they might fight for their countrie and countriemen, and not for their lordlike masters. The Consuls saw well what they had in commision from the Senate, and that of all those who within the counsell house wals spake so stoutly, and gave out so great words, there was not one present to take part of this odious mallice of the people. And like they were to have a bitter fit and cruell broile with the Commons. They thought good therefore ere they tried the worst, and dealt by extremitie, once againe to aske advise of the Senate, and to conferre with them. But then all the younger sort of the Senatours, approached by flockemeale, hard almost to the Consuls seats, willing them to give over their Consulship, and to resigne up their rule and authoritie, to the maintenance whereof they lacked courage. Now when the Consuls had sufficiently peised and tried both waies, thus at length began they and said. A great sedition and commotion is toward, my LL. To the end therefore that ye pretend not ignorance, and say another day ye were not foretold of it, there is a great sedition and commotion toward. We require therefore that they who find greatest fault with our remissions and lack of courage, assist us and sit with us while we take the multers: and since you will needs have it so, wee will execute it according to their minds, that are most earnest and severest. Then come they backe againe unto the Tribunall, and commanded for the nones, one of them that were there in sight to be cited and called by name. But he stood full and held his peace, with a crue of men gathered round about to guard him, for feare hee should have some harme or violence done unto him. The Consull then sent a Sergeant to attach him, who being repulsed off, then those Nobles which sate there on the bench to assist the Consuls, cried out upon the shamefull indignitie, and said it was intollerable, and so ran downe in hast from the Tribunall seat, for to aid the fergeant. But the violent rage of the multitude, who let the Listour alone, and onelie staid him from laying hold on the man, turned upon the Partitians. So that the Coss. were faine to step betweene, and then the fray was appeased. In which, there being no stones flying about their eares, nor weapon drawne, there was more clamour, brawling & chafing than any hurt done. Then was the Senat house called in a great hurrey: and with more confusion sat they there in counsell: whiles they that pretended how they were beaten and misused, required that commissioners should sit upon this riot and make due inquisition: and the stoutest of them gave their determination, as much by clamour and noyse, as by sentence and opinion grounded upon reason. At last, when the tempest was overblowne and their heat allaid, and that the Coss. hit them in the teeth, and reprooved them, saying there was as little discretion and gravitie in their court and counsell house, as in the common hall, they began in the end to consult orderly, and three opinions there were amongst them. *P. Virginius* would not have it a common and generall case (to wit, that all debtors should be released from their creditours) but his advise was, that they should onely be considered, who relying upon *P. Servilius* the Consull his word and faithfull promise, had served in the warres of the Volscians, Auruncians and Sabines. *T. Largius*, he opined and thought this, that it was not a time then to make amends onely for good deserts, and to respect them alone that had done well, and to recompence good service: but for as much as the whole commonaltie was deeplie engaged and plunged in debt, unless they were all provided for, and good order taken for them everie one, there would be no quietnes nor end of troubles: yea and (that which more is) in case they be not all alike regarded, but some debtors in better condition than others, the discord would rather be more kindled than quenched. *Appius Claudius* a man both of naturall disposition fierce and cruel, and also by occasion made more outrageous, nettled with the Commons hatred against him on the one side, and tickled with the praise and commendations of the Nobles on the other

A side, who ever magnified him and lift him up to the skie, spake to this effect: These so great sturres and mutinous hurlburles, my Masters (quoth he) is not long of the miserie and calamitie, but onelie of too much libertie of the commons: who rather upon faines are growne wanton and unrulie than for any want unpatient and discontent: and all this mischief no doubt is sprung of this, that they have libertie to appeale. For so long as it is in their power to flie for helpe unto those that have faulted as well as they, well may the Consull threaten and give out menacing words: as for anie rule else or command, they shall have none among them. Come on therefore, let us create a Dictatour from whom they cannot make their appeale. Then shall this furious rage, which now setteth all on a light fire, be soone hushed and quite extinguished. Let me see then, who dare bear a Listour, when he shall well know, that he alone whose honor and majestie he shall offend and abuse, hath power to scourge him and take away his life. Many men thought this sentence of *Appius* to be verie hard and cruell, yea and dangerous withall, in regard of the late precedent of *Virginius* and *Vetustus*. That other likewise of *Largius* was thought inconvenient, in taking away all keeping of credit with the creditours. The opinion and advise of *Virginius* was supposed as well in one respect as in another most indifferent and meane betweene both. But by reason of the faction and regard of private benefite, which alwaies hath done hurt and ever will, to publicke counsell, *Appius* prevailed, and he missed verie little but he himselfe had beene made Dictatour. Which if it had come to passe, it would surelie have estranged and alienated quite the hearts of the Commons, in that most buisie and dangerous time: when it happened that the Volscians, Æquians, and Sabines, were all up at once in armes. But the Consuls and elder Senatours, had great care and consideration to chuse such a one, as might by mildnesse of his owne nature alay and qualifie the exceeding rigour and sternnesse incident to soveraigne and absolute authoritie. They elect therefore to be Dictatour, *Marcus Valerius* the sonne of *Volsus*. The Commons albeit they saw well enough this Dictatour created for to curbe them, yet having got by his brothers law, the benefite of Appeale, they feared no severe and insolent proceeding from that house and name. The Edict besides, that the Dictatour set forth, which was welneere all one with that other of the Consull *Servilius*, much confirmed and settled their minds. For supposing now, they had more hold both of the man and also of his authoritie, and that they might with more confidence relie themselves on the one and the other, they gave over all debate, & entered their names into the muster booke: so there were enrolled full ten legions. The like armie for number was never levied afore. Of which legions, the Consuls had the conduct of three a peece, & the Dictator commanded the other foure: and high time, it was: for the war might not be deferred any longer. The Æquians had already invaded the territorie of the Latines, & their Embassadors were petitioners to the Senat, either to send succour, or to give them leave to put on armour themselves for the defence of their confines & frontiers. It was thought the safer & surer way, that the Latins without arming themselves should be defended, than to permit them again to take weapon in hand. So the Consull *Vetustus* was sent thither, & he staid them from further foraying & wasting. For the Æquians were departed out of the plains, & trusting rather in the vantage of the ground, than in their weapons, stood upon their guard, kept themselves safe from danger, upon the high tops of the hills & mountains.

E The other Consull who was gone against the Volscians, because he would not also loose any time, drew the enimie forth (by wasting the countrie especiallie) to encampe himselfe neerer, and so at length to fight a field. Now was there a plain in the mids betweene both camps: where each armie stood before their rampiers, embattailed, and ranged in array, with banners displayed readie to fight. The Volscians were somewhat more in number, whereupon they began battaile disorderedly and as if they set light by the enimie. But the Roman Consull neither advanced forward, nor suffered his men once to shoute and answer againe, but charged them to stand still with their javelins fast in the ground, untill the enemies were come within the reach of hand fight, and then to lay about them lustilie with their swords, all that ever they could. The Volscians out of breath with running and shouting, charged the Romanes, who seemed for feare to stand astonied: but after they once perceived that they were hotly reencountered by them againe, and saw their swords glittering in their eies, they were troubled therewith, as if they had beene entrapped and fallen into some traines laied for them, and so turned their backs. And by reason they came running before to battaile, their strength would not hold out now to run cleare away: The Romanes contrariwise, because against the beginning of the fight they had stood quiet, were fresh of body, & soon overtooke them thus overtoiled, woon their campe

by force, & after they had driven the enemies out from thence, chased them into * Velitree, and entered the towne pellmell one with another in a medley, the Victor together with them that were vanquished. More bloodshed there was by execution of them one with another, of all ages and sexes, as they came in their way, than in the verie battaile. A verie few, euen such as without weapon yielded themselves, were spared and pardoned.

Whiles these things were a doing amongst the Volscians, the Dictator discomfited and put to flight the Sabines, with whom he had much cruell warre: yea, and forced them to abandon and quit their campe. For hauing sent his horsemen into the maine battaile of the enemies, which they had but slightly strengthened within forth, and bestowed the ranks there very thin, and all to stretch out the wings on both sides more at large, he brake their arraies: and when they were once disordered, the footemen came in upon them: and in the same brunt were they masters of their campe, and so the war ended. There was not in those daies a braver battaile fought and more renowned, setting aside that onely at the lake Regillus. The Dictator rode in triumph unto the citie. Over & above the accustomed honours, both he and his posteritie after him, were allowed a certaine place in the great Race or Theater, called *Circus*, for to behold at ease the solemne games, and there was set the yvorie chaire of estate, called *Sella curulis*. The Volscians thus vanquished, lost the territorie about Velitree, and new inhabitants were sent thither from the citie, to people and to till the grounds, so that it became a Colonie.

Somewhat after this, there was a field fought with the Aequians, but in truth, full against the Consull his will, for that they were to clumbe up a steep hill (to their disadvantage) for to meete with the enemy. But the Souldiours blaming him for trifling out, and making delaies, to the end that the Dictator might be out of office before they made returne to the citie, and so his word and promise, like as the Consuls before him, should come to nothing; drave him perforce to leade up his armie, rashly and at aduenture against the hills. This being an enterprise ill ordered, and an error escaped, fell out notwithstanding verie well through the cowardise of the enemy: who before they were come within shot and the darts cast, amazed at the venturoulesse of the Romanes, forooke their holdes which they had in most defensible places, and leapt downe into the vallies ouer against them. There was bootie and pillage good enough, and a bloodlesse victorie.

Hauing spent thus fortunately abroad in three severall wars, the Senatours and commons were not carelesse of home-affaires, what would be the issue thereof. The Bankers and Vsurers, what with fauor, & what with subtile and cautelous pollicie, had devised aforehand and wrought such meanes, as might frustrate and disappoint not onely the commons, but also the Dictator, and put them by their expectation. For *Valerius* after the returne of *Vestusius* the Consull, dealt first and above all other matters and causes at the Counsell table, in the behalfe of the people that had achieved such victories, and propounded to know their minds, What should be done with those endebrted, endangered, and imprisoned persons. Which motion of his being disliked and rejected: I see well (quoth he) that I cannot please you, so long as I persuaide to concord and unitie: with ye will (trust me truly) ere it be long, that the communitie of Rome had more Patrons and advocates like my selfe. As for me, I will neither beare my citizens any longer in hand to deceive them, nor be a Dictator in vaine, to effect nothing. Civile discord at home, and forraigne war abroad, caused the State to have neede of this office. Now, when peace is gotten without, behold it is crossed and hindered within: yet had I rather bee present at the sight of a mutinie & insurrection when I am a priuate person, than whiles I am a Dictator. Thus went he out of the counsell house, and yielded up his Dictatorship withall. The Commons saw plainly what the matter was, and how upon a discontentment and griefe that he tooke in their behalfe, for verie pittie and compassion of them, he gave over the place: and therefore, as if he had fully discharged himselfe of his faithfull word to them giuen, (for that there was no default in him, but it had ben performed indeed) they accompanied him along home to his house with heary affection, praising and commending him all the way they went. The Lords of the Senate began then to feare, least if the armie were broken up and discharged, there would be some secret conventicles, and new conspiracies contrived: therefore, albeit the musters were taken by the Dictator: yet because the souldiours had sworne allegiance to the Consuls, supposing they were still bounde to warfare by vertue of that oath, and pretending a colour that the Aequians renewed war, they commanded the legions to be led forth of the citie.

This hastened the sedition the sooner & set it forward. At first, as men said, they comploted and

A and laid their heads together about murdering and making awaie the Consuls, to the end they might be acquit of their oath unto them: but afterwards being better schooled and advised, that no mans conscience can be clered of scruple, & discharged of an oath once taken, by committing a sinfull act and working mischief, they withdrew themselves out of the way by the persuation of one *Scinius*, and without congé of the Consuls, departed as farre as mount Sacer, on the farther side of the river Anio, three miles from the citie. This is the rife report, and goeth more currant, than that whereof *Piso* is the author (namely, that the commons retired themselves to Auentine.) There, without anie head or captaine, they encamped and fortified themselves within a trench and rampiar, and kept quiet for certaine daies, neither taking nor doing harme; as having caried with them such things onely as were necessarie for the sustenance of their life. Great feare there was in the citie, and in this mutuall and reciprocall feare, all men were perplexed and to seeke what to doe. The commons forlorne of their fellow commoners doubted the violence of the Senatours: the Senatours againe stood in feare and jealousie of the commons that remained still behind; and were in suspence whither it were better they abode still among them, or followed after their fellows. For how long trow ye, will a multitude once disbanded, rest in quiet? Againe, in case any forraign warre should arise in the meane time, what might ensue therupon in the end? In conclusion, there was no hope behind to be looked for, but in the concord of citizens: and therefore the commons one way or other, either by reasonable conditions or unreasonable, were to be reconciled again and reduced into the citie, there was no remedie. So it was thought good and agreed upon, that one *Menenius Agrippa* (a faire spoken and eloquent man, gracious withall and welbeloved among the commons, for that he was from them descended) should be sent as an Orator to treat with them. Who being received into the campe, after that old and harsh kind of eloquence in those daies, spake as men faith to this effect, and told this tale and parable: Whilome (quoth he) when as in mans bodie, all the parts therof agreed not, as now they do in one, but each member had a severall intent & meaning, yea and a speech by it selfe: so it befel, that all other parts besides the belly, thought much & repined at that by their carefulnes, labor, & ministerie, all was gotten, & yet all little enough to serve it: and the bellie it selfe lying still in the mids of them, did nothing else but enioy the delightful pleasures brought unto her. Whereupon they mutined & conspired altogether in this wise, That neither the hands should reach & convey food into the mouth, nor the mouth receive it as it came, neyer the teeth grind & chew the same. In this mood & fit, whiles they were minded to famish the poore bellie, behold the other lims, yea & the whole bodie besides, pined, wasted, & fel into an extreme consumption. Then was it well seen, that even the very belly also did no small service, but fed the other parts, as it received food it selfe: seeing that by working and concocting the meat throughlie, it digested and distributeth by the veines into all parts, that fresh and perfect blood whereby we live, welike, and have our full strength. Comparing herewith, and making his application, to wit, how like this intestine and inward sedition of the bodie, was to the full stomacke of the commons, which they had taken and borne against the Senatours, he turned quite the peoples hearts. Then began some treatie of unitie and concord: and among other articles it was conditioned and granted, that the Communitie should have certaine sacred and inviolable magistrats of their owne among themselves, such as might have power to assist the Commons against the Consuls: Item, that it might not bee lawfull for any Senatour to beare that office. So there were created two Tribunes of the commons, *C. Licinius* and *L. Albinus*. And these elected three other fellow officers unto them. Of whom *Scinius*, the author of the sedition or insurrection was one, who were the other twaine is not for certaine knowne. Some say there were but two Tribunes created and no more in the mount Sacer, and that the sacred law was there made concerning their immunitie.

During this insurrection and revolt of the commons, *Sp. Cassius* & *Posthumus Cominius* entered their Consulships. In whose time a league was made with the people of Latium. For the establishing wherof, one of the Consuls staid behinde at Rome: the other was sent unto the Volscian warre, who discomfited and put to flight the Volscians of Antium, chasing and driving them into the towne Longula, which he wonne. And immediatlie he tooke Mucanites a towne of the Volscians, and after that with great force assaulted Corioli.

There was in campe, then among the flowre of gallant youths, one *Caius Martius*, a Noble yoong gentleman, right politicke of advise, active besides, and tall of his hands, who afterwards was surnamed *Coriolanus*. Whiles the Romane armie lay at siege before Corioli,

The first revolt of the commons of Rome into mount Sacer.

Agg. Menenius his Oration to the commons.

Tribunes of the commons first created.

The speech of Valerius to the Commons in the Senate.

and were amuzed whollie upon the townsmen within, whom they kept fast shut up, and feared no present danger at all from anie forraigne warre without: behold, all on a suddaine, the Volscian legions that came from Antium, assailed them: at which verie instant the enemy also sallied out of the towne. Which *Martius* seeing, who by good hap quartered and warded there, with a lustie band of elect men, not onely repressed and stopped the violence of those that issued and brake upon him, but also whiles the gate stood open, fiercely rushed in himselfe: and having made a foule slaughter of people thereby, at his first entrance into the citie, and caught up fire at a venture, flung it upon the houses that stood upon and about the walls. Whereupon arose a great outerie of the folke within the towne, together with lamentable weeping and wailing of women and children, as commonly is scene in such a fright. Which at the very first, both hardened the Romanes, and also troubled the Volscians: and no marvell, seeing the citie taken before their face, for which they were come to rescue. Thus were the Volscians of Antium defeated, and the town Corioli won. And *Martius* through his praise, so much obfured and stopped the light of the Consul his fame, that had it not been engraven in brasse for a remembrance and monument, That there was a league with the Latines, and the same made by *Sp. Cassius* alone (for that his companion was absent) there had been no record at all, but forgotten quite it had been, that ever *Sp. Coninius* warred with the Volscians.

The same yeare died *Mementius Agrippa*, a man all his life time before beloved indifferently of the Senators and the Commons: but after the insurrection, much more deere unto the Commons than before. This truchman, this mediator for civile attennement, this Embassadour and messenger from the Senators to the commons, this reconciler and reducer of the commons home againe into the citie, had not at his death sufficient to defray the charges of his funerals: the commons therefore made a purse and a contribution of a * Sextant by the poll, and were at the cost to interre and burie him worshipfully.

After this were made Consuls, *T. Geganius*, and *P. Minutius*. In which yeare when all was quiet abroad for any warre, and the dissention at home healed up cleane, and skinned: another calamitie farre more greivous entred the citie. First a dearth of corne, and all manner of victuals, by reason that the grounds upon the departure of the commons were forelet and untilled. Hereupon ensued famine, even such as usually is incident to men besieged. And verily the meinie of bondservants, yea and the commons too, had utterly perished for hunger, if the Consuls had not in time made the better provision: by sending purveyours all abroad to buy up corne, not only into Hetruria, by coasting along the river on the right hand from Hestia, and on the left hand by sea, (passing through the Volscians countie) even as far as Cumes: but also into Sicilie, there to lay for graine. Such was the hatred of the borderers, that Rome was enforced to have need of succour and releefe from a farre. Now when they had bought certain corne at Cumes, it was no sooner embarked, but the ships were staied and arrested there, by *Aristodemus* the tyrant, for the goods of the *Tarquines*, whose heire in remainder he was. In the Volscian countie and Pomptinum, they could buy none for money. There, the very Purveyours themselves were in danger of violence, by the men of the countie. Out of Tuscan there came come up the Tyber, wherewith the commons were sustained and refreshed. And considering the streights they were in for want of victuals, they had been fore distressed and vexed with warres besides, and that in a very ill time, and unseasonable for them: but that the Volscians, who now were in readinesse, and upon the point to make warre, had a pestilence that raigned hote among them. Which heave crosse and affliction, the enemies were so discouraged with, that when the plague began to stay, even then they continued still afraid.

The Romanes both at Velitree augmented the number of the inhabitants, and also at Norbansending a new Colonie into the mountaines, to be a fortreffe and strength for all the territorie of Pomptinum. Moreover, when *M. Minutius*, and *A. Sempronius* were Consuls, great store of corne was brought out of Sicilie: and it was debated in the Senate house, at what price the commons should be served therewith. Many thought the time was now come to wring the commons, and keep them under, and to recover againe those roialties, which by their departure were forcibly wrested and dismembred from the nobilitie. But above all others *Martius Coriolanus*, an utter and capitall enemy to the Tribunes power and authoritie, If they will (quoth hee) have their corne and victuals at the old price, let them restore unto the Senators their auncient right and prechenience. Why see I (as one brought under the yoke of servitude, and put as it were unto my ranfome, by robbers and thieves) these Magistrates of the Commons,

A mons? why see I *Sicinius* so mightie? Shall I endure these indignities longer than I needs must? I that could not beare *Tarquinius* to be King, shall I brooke and suffer *Sicinius*? Let him depart aside now, and take his commons with him: the way is open to mount Sacer and other hills: let them carrie away with them the corne out of our possessions and Lordships, as they did three yeares ago: let them enjoy, take for their use, and spend the store, which they in their foolerie and furie haue provided. I dare be bold to say, that when they are by this calamitie once tamed, they will rather till and husband the ground themselves, than with weapon in hand, and by way of insurrection, forbid and hinder the tillage thereof. I cannot so soone say, whether it had beene as meete, as I suppose it was possible and easie to effect, that the Senators by offering more gentle conditions in the prices of corne and victuals, might haue eased themselves of the Tribunes authoritie over them; and also haue beene disburdened of those impositions which maugre their heads, were laide upon them: Well, this seemed to the Senate a sharpe censure and severe sentence of *Coriolanus*, and for verie anger also it had like to have caused the Commons to rise up in armes: For they muttered and gave it out in these tearmes, That now they were laide at and assailed with fainine like enemies, defrauded and bereft of their meat and pittance: that the outlandish corne, the onely sustenance and food which fortune had ministred unto them beyond all hope, was snatched and plucked from their mouths, unlesse the Tribunes be delivered & yielded prisoners hand and foot bound to *C. Martius*, unlesse he might have his penniworths of the backe and shoulders of the commons of Rome. For he was now start up & become their tormentor and hangman, to command them either to death, or to servitude. As he went out of the counsell house, they had run upon him with violence, but that the Tribunes, as good lucke was, served him with proceffe in time, to appeare at a day, and come to his answer. Herewith, their furious anger was suppressed. For now everie man saw, that he was himselfe to be the judge and lord of his enemies life and death. *Martius* at the first scorned the Tribunes thundering threats, & gave the hearing, as though he made smal reckoning thereof, saying, That their authoritie had power granted by limitation, only to aid, and not to punish: that the Tribunes were Tribunes to the commons, and not to the Senators. But so spitefully were the Commons bent, and all so set upon mischief, that there was no other remedie, but one man must pay for it, to save and excuse the rest of the Nobles. Howbeit, the Senators did what they could to withstand them: by opposing hatred and displeasure againe, and making all meanes, what either privately they were able of themselves, or jointly by their whole Order and degree, to procure. And first, this course they assaied to stop and overthrow the suite commended; namely, by setting their followers and retainers in sundrie places to deale with the commons severallie one by one, and what they could to affright them from meetings and assemblies together. Afterwards, they came all forth at once into the Forum or common place. A man that had scene them would have said they had beene the parties themselves in trouble and accused, readie to hold up their hand at the barre: such praying, such a beseeching they made of the commons, in the behalfe of this one citizen, this onelic Senator; that if they would not in their love acquit him for their sakes, as innocent and unguiltie, yet they would give him unto them as an offender and faultie person. In conclusion, when his daie came, he made default and appeared not, yet continued they still in their angrie mood against him. And being condemned in his absence, for contumacie, departed into banishment to the Volscians, menacing his own countie as he went, and carying even then with him the revenging stomacke of an enemy. The Volscians at his comming received him courteously, and friendlie intreated him everie daie more than other, as they perceived his anger more and more toward his countie men, by many complaints he made of them, & threats withall that he chisoones gave out against them in their hearing. He made his abode and sojourned in the house of *Accius Tullus*. Who at that time was a mightie great man among the Volscians, and one that ever bare mortall mallice unto the Romanes. And whiles the one of them was provoked with an old cancred grudge, and the other set on and pricked forward upon a fresh quarrell and occasion of anger, they both laide their heads together and complotted to make warre upon the Romanes. This onelic thing stood in their waie to crosse their designs: They thought verilie their Commons would hardlie or uneth at all be brought, to rise and take armes againe, which they had so often unhappilie attempted: And besides, their courages were well cooled, and their stomacks abated, by the losse of their youth in manie and sundrie warres often times afore, and now at last, by the late pestilence and mortalitie. They were therefore to go cunninglie to worke; that for as much as the old hatred

The murmuring
of the commons
against Corio-
lanus.

The birth of
Mentius Agrippa
the common pur-
veyor.

* The six paces
of the Sextant
were the price
of the poll.

Corio-
lanus
the Tribune.

against

against the Romanes was growne out and worne away, their hearts upon some new anger might be chaufed and galled againe. There were by chance at that time in Rome, the great Games and Plaies in hand, to be set out a new the second time, the occasion whereof was this: A certaine ho uholder one morning betimes before the shewes and games began, had beaten with rods a poore slave of his under the forke which he caried on his shoulders, and driven him along through the mids of the *Circus* or Theatre: and with that began the plaies, as if there had bene no matter therein of scruple or religion. But not long after, one *T. Latinus* a meane commoner had a dreame or vision: In which he thought that *Jupiter* complained and said, that the dancer before the plaies pleased him never a whit: and unlesse those games were newlie exhibited againe, and that verie statelie and sumptuouslie, some great danger should befall the citie: willing him withall, to make relation heereof unto the Consuls. The man albeit in truth he was not without some sense and feeling of religion & the feare of God: yet made he no such great scruple at the matter, but that the reverence he had of the majestie and countenance of the magistrates surmounted and dashed it cleane: for feare least haplie he should become a talking stocke in mens mouthes, and be mocked for his labour. But this delaie and sleeping of the matter, he bought full decree. For within few daies his sonne happened to die. And because he should be out of doubt what was the cause of this his losse and iuddaine misfortune, whiles he was troubled in spirit, with anguish and sorrow, behold, the same vision appeared to him againe in his sleepe, and seemed to aske him whicher he had not yet sufficientlie paid for this disobedience and contempt of God? threatening moreover, that in case he made no greater hast to certifie the Consuls therof, there was a greater judgement and plaguetoward, and that verie neere. Now was the thing more evident than before, and past all peradventure. Howbeit he neglected & drave it off still, until he was himselfe overtaken with a grievous disease, and brought to great weaknes in all his joints. Then verilie the wrath of the gods taught him to be wiser. And being overwearied with harmes past, and in feare of more presentlie to ensue, he conferred with his kinsfolke and friends to be advised by them. When he had declared unto them what he had seene and heard, namely, how *Jupiter* had so often appeared unto him in his sleepe, and that the fearefull displeasure and threatnings of the heavenlie gods were shewed plainlie by sundrie mischances fallen upon him: by the full consent of all them that were about him, he was brought in a litter to the Consuls, into the *Forum* or common place, from whence by the Consuls commaundement he was caried into the Counsell house. Where, when he had made report unto the Senatours of the selfesame things, to the exceeding wonder and admiration of them all, see another strange miracle: He that was brought into the Senate house a lame creple of all his limbs, after he had once delivered his errand, returned home to his house (as it is recorded) found upon his feete. Herupon the Senate decreed, That the Games should be set out as magnificentlie as could be devised.

To these solemnities resorted, by the motion and persuation of *Accius Tullius*, a great number of Volscians. But before they were begun, *Tullius* according to the complot between him and *Martius* at home, made a step or errand unto the Consuls at Rome, saying, that he would willinglie commune and treat with them apart, of important affairs concerning the State. When avoidance was made, and everie man gone, he began in this wise: Loth I am (quoth he) if otherwise I could chuse, to speake ought but well of my countrymen and fellow citizens. Yet come I not to complaine of anie action of theirs already passed, but to give a caveat, and provide that nothing be praised hereafter. The nature and disposition (I may tell you) of our people, is too too unconstant and unstaied, more ywis than I would they were, a great deale: that have we found and felt to our great cost and manifold damage, wec I say, who verilie at this day by your long sufferance, and not by good desert of ours, do stand in good termes of peace and safene. There is now here a great multitude of Volscians, the Plaies and Games readie to be represented and celebrate. Your citie will be whollie amused in the beholding therof: I remember upon the like occasion, what was sometimes enterprised and wrought in this citie by the youth of the Sabines; and my heart doth tremble and quake for feare, least some inconsiderate, rash and foolish part be plaied by ours: thus much, O ye Consuls, I thought good in our behalfe and yours both, to give you ynking of before hand. As for me, I am minded presentlie to go from hence home, least I being heere seene, might be thought in some word or deed accessarie unto them, & so culpable. Having made this speech he departed. When the Consuls had declared in the Senate this thing so doubtfull, and yet proceeding from the mouth of so sure and certaine

Accius Tullius
to the Romanes
Consuls.

A an author: behold, the credite of the man (as commonly it is seene) rather than the likelihood of the matter, caused them to be warie and circumspect, yea, although there was no such need or cause at all. Whereupon the Senate made an Act, that the Volscians should be jogging out of the citie. And divers criers or Bedles were sent out sundrie waies, to command them to avoyd & be packing before night. At the first, the Volscians were onely much affrighted, and ranne everie man to and fro into his Inne to fetch away his things. But afterwards in the way homeward, they began to thinke more and more of it, and to grow melancholic: thinking it a great indignitie, that like polluted and profaned persons, they should be driven from the Games, on festival holidays, discarded (as a man would say) and excommunicate out of the companie both of God and man. Thus as they went along all on a row, as it were in one continued and joyned traine, *Tullius* (who was gone afore as far as the Ferentine head) received the formost and chiefe of them, as every one came, & entertained them with complaints & words of indignation, & drew both them who willingly gave eare to his words so fitly framed & tending to stir more coles, and also by their meanes the rest of the multitude, into a plain field, lying hard vnder the high way side. Vnto whom, assembled together as it were to here a sermon, he thus began to speake: Admit (quoth he) you could forget the old wrongs and abuses offered you by the people of Rome, the losses and overthrowes of the Volscian Nation, yea and all other quarrels whatsoever; how can ye put up this daies spightfull reproch and dishonour received at their handes? who to our great dishonour and shame, have begun their solemne Games? Perceiued you not how they have triumphed ouer you to day? how as ye departed, ye were a spectacle and pageant to all men, citizens and strangers, and to so many neighbour nations adjoining? how your wives and children were brought as it were in a shew, to make them sport, and to laugh at? what conceit was in their heads (think ye) that heard the voyce of the Bedle? what thought they that beheld you as you dislodged? what imagined they that happened to meete this ignominious troupe as they marched? Even this & no other, that there was some wicked sinne among us, not to be named, whereby we should as malefactors, have stained & polluted their games if we had ben present at the sight of them, and have committed some hainous act, that would require by some satisfaction of sacrifice to be purged: & for that cause were driven from having any conversation, fellowship, and societie of good and godly men? Over and besides, how can you choose but thinke of this, That we enjoy our liues still, onely because we hastned our remoove, (if this may be called a remoove, and not rather a plaine taking of a flight and running away.) And yet you reckon this no enemy citie, where, if ye had staied but one day longer, you had died for it everie one. Defiance is giuen already, and war denounced against you; but if ye be men indeede of courage, to their great cost and mischief that have denounced it. Thus being of themselves kindled inough with indignation, and by these words enflamed and set on fire, they went everie man his way from thence home: and so effectually sollicitated each one the people where he dwelt, that in fine the whole nation of the Volscians revolted and rebelled. To mannage this war, were chosen Generall commaunders by one consent of all the citties, *Accius Tullius*, and *Cn. Martius* the banished Romane: in whome of the twaine they reposed greater hope, and this their hope failed them not. So as it soone appeared that the puissance of the state of Rome, consisted more in the dexteritie of good captaines, than in strong armies of souldiours. For first he went to ** Circeios*, ** Monte Cingillo*, from whence he expelled the Romane Coloners, and delivered the citie cleere and free unto the Volscians. Then by crosse waies he passed into the Latine streete, called *Via Latina*: and regained from the Romanes, these their townes newly gotten afore, *Satricum*, *Longula*, *Pollutia* & *Corioli*. After this he wan *Lanuvium* againe, & so forward he forced ** Corbio*, *Vitelia*, *Trebia*, *Labicos*, and *Pedum*. And last of all from *Pedum*, he marched on toward the citie of Rome, and at *Cluilæ Fosse*, five miles off, he encamped and forraied the territorie about, sending with the forreiers certaine guides, to keepe them from spoyling and doing harme in the Noblemens lands: were it that he were more spightfull to the Commons, or that thereby some discord might arise, between the Comminaltie and the Senatours: which doubtlesse had soone growne, so mightily had the Tribunes already by their complaints and accusations, provoked the Commons forward, (who of themselves were shrewd inough) against the heads and magistrates of the citie, but that the feare of forraine dangers, the greatest bond of ciuile concord that can be, held them in and knit their hearts together, were they never so jealous, suspected, and hatefull afore one to the other. Herein onely was all their difference, that the Senate and Consuls, reposed hope in nothing else save onely in warre: the commons on the other side were

Accius Tullius to
his countrymen.

* Civis indor-
na Vigue.

Coriolanus be-
legeth Rome.

were desirous of any thing whatsoever, but warre.

Now were *S. Nautius* and *Sex. Furius* Consuls: who as they were surveying and mustering the legions, and disposing of a good *Corpus de guard* upon the wals, and other places wherein they thought it expedient to keep a standing watch and ward: behold a mightie number called and cried hard for peace, & with their sedicious clamors, put them in exceeding feare: yea & afterwards, forced them to assemble the Senatehouse together, and to propose concerning the sending of certaine embassadors to *Cn. Marius*. The Lords of the Senate seeing evidently the commons hearts to faile them, accepted and granted the motion propounded. Whereupon were Oratours sent unto *Marius* to treat for peace. At whose hands they received this heave and stout answer: If so be the Volsciens had their lands restored to them againe; then there might be some parle and treatie of peace: but if they will needs at their pleasure still enjoy that bootie which by war they have gotten, then would he in remembrance of private wrongs done unto him by his cuntrymen, as also of the friendship and courtesie shewed him by strangers that had given him entertainment, do his best to make it knowne unto the world, that his courage and stomacke is incensed, and not abated and quailed by his banishment. Then were the same Embassadors sent againe the second time, but they might not be admitted once to set foote within the campe. It is reported moreover that the verie priests in their *Pontificalibus*, in their rich vestiments and goodly ornaments, went with supplication to the tents of the enemies, and turned his heart no more than the embassadors had done before them. Then the dames of the citie came flocking all about *Veturia* the mother, and *Volumnia* the wife of *Coriolanus*. Whether this proceeded from any publike counsell and was done in pollicie, or came onely of womens feare, I find but little in any records. But howsoever it came about, this one thing is certaine, they perswaded so effectually with them, that both *Veturia* an aged woman, and also *Volumnia* with her two little sonnes that she had by *Marius*, went toward the enemies campe, to see if women by their praies and teares, might save the citie, which men with speare and shield could not defend. When they were come into the camp, & word brought to *Coriolanus*, that there was an exceeding great traine of women thither arrived: at the first, he, as one that had relented, neither for that publike maiestie in the Embassadors, nor yet at the religious reverence, which he both conceived in mind, & saw with his eyes in the clergie, stood much more stidly bent against the teares of seely women. But afterwards one of his familiar friends, who had seen and knowne *Veturia* there, mourning and bewailing exceedingly above the rest, as she stood betwixt her daughter in law and her little nephewes: If mine eyes be matches (quoth hee) and deceive me not, here is your mother, your wife, and children. Whereat, *Coriolanus*, faring like a man well neare beside himselfe, arose from his seate, and ran to meete his mother, and to embrace her. But the woman falling in steede of praies into a fit of choller: Let me know (quoth she) before I suffer thee to embrace me, whether I am come to an enemy or to a sonne, whether I be in thy campe as a captive prisoner, or as a naturall mother. And have I lived indeede so long, and rubbed on still in this miserable old age of mine for this, to see thee first a banished man, and after that to become an enemy? Couldst thou finde in thine heart to waite and spoyle that courtrey which bred thee, which fostered thee, and brought thee up? And be it that thou hither marched with a cruell intent and full of threats, would not thine anger and fell mood flake, when thou didst set foote within the borders and marches thereof? And being come within the sight of Rome, arose not this in thy mind & thought, Within those wals yonder is my house, there are my house goods, my mother, my wife, my children? Why then, belike if I had never been a mother, and borne a child, Rome had not been assaulted. And if I had no sonne at all, I might have died well ynough in my native courtrey, whiles it remained free. But as for me, neither can I suffer ought, more for thy dishonestie and shame; nor more to mine owne calamitie and miserie than this: and most wretched cause though I be, yet long time so I cannot continue. But for these here, looke thou well to it, I advise thee, and have pittie of them, who if thou goe on as thou beginnest, are like to feele untimely death, or indure long captivitie. Then his wife and children hung about him, and clipped him: whereat the women fell a weeping on all sides, bewailing their owne case and the state of their courtrey. So as at length the man was overcome. And after he had taken them in his armes likewise, he let them goe: and himselfe dislodged and removed his campe backward from the citie. When he had withdrawn the legions out of the territorie of Rome, he garth himselfe, men said, such hatred and displeasure for this action, that it cost him his life: and murdered he was, some report one way,

some

A some another. But I find in *Fabius* a most ancient writer, that he lived untill he was an old man: who reporteth this of him: That oftentimes in his latter daies he used to utter this speech, *A heave case and most wretched, for an aged man to live banisht*. The men of Rome envied not those women their due deserved praies. So devoid was the world in those daies, of depraving and detracting the glorie of others. For in memoriall hereof to all posteritie, there was a temple built and dedicated to *Fortuna Muliebris*. i. Womens fortune.

Fortuna Muliebris.

After all this, the Volscians joined the *Aequians* unto them, and returned into the territorie of Rome. But the *Aequians* would no longer abide *Accius* to bee their Commander. And upon this strife between the Volscians and *Aequians*, whither of them should appoint a Generall over the armie raised jointly of them both, first they grew to a mutinie, and afterwards to a cruell battell. Such was the good fortune of the people of Rome, that two armies of their enemies, were thus by civile discord and contention, no lesse mortall than obstinate, overthrowne and brought to naught. Consuls then, were *T. Sicinius* and *C. Aquilius*. To *Sicinius* were allotted the Volscians, and to *Aquilius* the Hernikes (who also were out and up in armes) for their severall province. That yeare were the Hernikes vanquished, but with the Volscians they fought so, as they departed on even hand, giving and taking the like.

After them were *Sp. Cassius*, and *Proculus Virginius* made Consuls. Then was there a league concluded with the Hernikes, and two third parts of their lands were taken from them. Whereof the one moiety, *Cassius* the Consul was minded to distribute among the Latins, the other among the Commoners. To this donation hee laid too also a good portion of ground, which being commons by right, he found much fault, that it was in the tenure and possession of private persons. This act of his made diverse of the Senatours, namely, such as were great landed men and interested therein, to startle for feare of hazarding their estate. Over and besides, the Senatours all in generall were in great perplexitie, least that the Consull by this largesse, should rise by popular favor to such greates, as might prejudice their free hold, yea and endanger the very main chance of publick libertie. And this was the first time that the law *Agraria* was published: and forward unto this present lower, it was never debated of, but with exceeding great stirs and troubles of the State. The other Consull withstood this largesse, with the generall consent of the Senatours, and without contradiction of some commoners: who at the very first began to mislike, and utterly abhorre, that the donation was so commune, and from the naturall citizens, extended to their allies and confederates. Moreover, they might oftentimes heare even the Consull himselfe *Virginius*, openly in his solemn Orationes before the people, to deliver by way of prophesie, and as it were to prognosticate, *That this was a pestilent largesse of his brother Consull, and that those grounds would in the end enthrall the takers thereof, and that it was the very high way to set up a kingdome againe. For to what other intent (I pray you) were their allies, and the nation of the Latines associate in the same? To what purpose either, was a third part of the lands won by conquest, given againe to the Hernikes professed enemies but a while before, but that these nations might have Cassius to be such another captaine of theirs, as Coriolanus was.* And thus by dissuading and crossing the law *Agraria*, he became now to be popular and gracious with the people. Then both Consuls strived a vie, who might please & gratifie the Commons most. *Virginius*, by giving out that he would maintaine and suffer the lands to be divided, so they were assigned to none but to the citizens of Rome: *Cassius* againe, who in the largesse of the lands, seemed to court and currie favor with the allies, and thereby was of the citizens lesse regarded and reputed, to the end, that by some other benefite he might regaine the hearts of his cuntrymen, was of opinion, and made a motive, that the monie which was received for the Sicilian corne, should be repaid unto the people. But the Commons refused and abhorred that, as a verie bribe & readie bait for a scepter and crowne. So greatly were all his gifts, for the deepe rooted suspicion and jealousie of his aspiring to a kingdome, loathed in the conceits of men, as if they had flowed in wealth, and been rich ynough. And for certaine it is recorded, that so soone as he left his Office, he was condemned and put to death. Some report, that his owne father did the execution: and that upon examination privately had at home within his house, he finding him faultie, whipped him first, and so killed him, and consecrated the goods and chattels of his son, as a Deodand to *Ceres*, whereof a Statue or Image was made, with this inscription or title, GIVEN OUT OF THE HOUSE OF CASSIUS. I find in some records (which soundeth neerer to the truth) that he was by the * *Quæstors* *Caso Fabius*, and *L. Valerius*, endited of treason, and being convicted, was by a verdict of the people condemned, and his house by order from the whole citie, rased and pulled downe.

And

The answer of
Coriolanus to the
Senate Orators.

The speech of
Veturia unto her
son, & Marius
Coriolanus.

The law *Agraria*
first published,
concerning the
division of wast
lands among the
commons.

Virginius against
the law *Agraria*.

Sp. Cassius put to
death for seeking
to be king.

* *Treasurers* of
the citie.

And at this day, it is the void yard that lieth before the temple of *Tellus*. But howsoever he had his triall and judgement, privately or openly, condemned he was when *Ser. Cornelius* and *Q. Fabius* were Consuls. Long continued not the peoples anger and spight against *Cassius*. So sweet was the law *Agraria* in it selfe, that when the author and upholder thereof was out of the world, they longed to have it on foot againe. Which desire of theirs was the rather set on fire, through the pinching niggardise of the Senatours, who having that yeare subdued the Volscians and Æquians, kept the souldiours fasting, and defrauded them of the spoile. For what prizes soever were gotten from the enemies, the Consull *Fabius* sold and brought into the Exchequer or chamber of the citie.

Now was the name of *Fabius* alreadie odious to the Communalitie, for the last Consuls sake: yet obtained the Senatours so much, and held their owne so, as *Casus Fabius* was created Consull with *L. Æmilius*. This made the Commons more malicious and bent to mischeefe. And sedition at home caused warre abroad. Foraine warre hush civile discord for a while. Both Senatours and Commons with one accord, under the conduct of *Æmilius*, fought fortunately with the rebellious Volscians and Æquians, and defeated them. Howbeit more enemies perished in the chase, than were slaine in the battell: so hotly the horsemen pursued them when they were once discomfited and gave not over. The same yeare was the temple of *Cassus*, consecrated in the Ides of Quintilis. It had been vowed aforetime in the Latines warre by *Posthumius* the Dictator. His sonne was created *Duumvir* for that purpose, and dedicated it.

This yeare also the Commons hearts were set upon the law *Agraria*, and longed afresh after the sweetnes therof. The Tribunes of the Communalitie graced and credited their popular authoritie, with propounding a law as popular and acceptable to the people. But the Senatours supposing verilie that the multitude was furious and outrageous enough and too much of themselves, without anie hire and reward, stood in great dread and horror of these largesses, as the verie allurements and provocations, of rash and headie attempts: and the stoutest champions of their side to withstand the lawe, were the Consuls. That part therefore and State of the citie had the better hand, not onelie this present yeare, but for the next ensuing. For they chose *M. Fabius*, *Casus* his brother for the one Consull, and *L. Valerius* for the other, a man of the twaine more odious in the eyes of the Commons, in regard of his late accusation of *Sp. Cassius*. In which yeare also there was strife and much adoe with the Tribunes. But both law and lawmakers with their glorious bragging and vaunting of their goodlie donative, which they could not effect, proved vaine and came to nothing. Upon this, the name of *Fabius*, who after three Consulships together one after another, by them born continuallie without intermission, were inured and tried in the broiles and contentions of Tribunes, was in great request and reputation: and in their house and familie remained still for a good while after, that dignitie, as an honour well and worthelie bestowed upon them. Then began the Veientian warre, and the Volscians likewise rebelled. But for anie warres abroad whatsoever, they had strength enough and to spare, if by jarres at home among their owne selues they had not abused the same.

Besides this disquietnes and affliction of all mens minds, occasioned by these dissensions, there hapned (to amend the matter well) prodigious, and strange tokens from heaven, daily in a manner threatening both in citie & countrie the heavichand of God. And when as the soothsayers and wizards were sent out unto, to search forth the cause of Gods wrath and indignation both in publike and private, as well by inspect of the inwards of sacrificed beasts, as by aspect of birds and fowles, they could assigne it to nothing else but this, that there was some error committed in their sacrifices and divine liturgie. Those fearefull and prodigious signes proceeded still so farre, that one *Oppia* a vestale Nun, convicted and condemned of incest, suffered death.

After this, followed *Q. Fabius* and *C. Tullius* Consuls. In which yeare the discord at home was nothing lesse, and the warre abroad farre greater. For the Æquians rose up in armes: the Veientians also entered the confines, and made much spoile. And whiles they were more and more careful about these warres what order to take, *Casus Fabius* and *Sp. Furius* were made Consuls. By this time the Æquians assaulted Artona a citie in Latium. And the Veientians having sped themselves with prizes and booties, made great cracks that they would give an assault upon the verie citie of Rome. These fearefull newes, which ought to have abated and taken downe the stomacks of the Commons, made them much more fierce & sel, and they returned of themselves unto their old biace of refusing warfare: but *Sp. Licinius* their Tribune, thinking now the time was come to enforce upon the Senatours the law *Agraria*, upon this exigent and extreme point

A of necessitie, had taken upon him to stop the levying and setting out of an armie. But he drew upon his owne head the whole hatred and displeasure of the Tribunes themselves and their authoritie. For the Consuls opposed themselves against him no more bitterlie than his owne companions in office: by whose assistance the Consuls went through with the muster. And for two warres at once, there were enrolled two armies. The one under the leading of *Fabius*, against the Æquians, the other, against the Veientians commaunded by *Furius*. Against whom there was nothing done worthe of remembrance. As for *Fabius*, he had somewhat more to doe with his owne men than with his enemies. That man himselfe alone was he, that being Consull upheld the Common-weale, which his armie for hatred of their Consull, had as much as in them lay, utterly betrayed. For when as he (above many other warlike feats and parts of a right worthie Generall, wherof he shewed singular prooffe, both in preparation, and also in managing of the warre) had to marshalled and ranged his battaile, that with sending out the horsemen onelie, he disordered and brake the ranks of his enemies host: behold, the footmen would not follow on after that disparay: neither, when the exhortation of their leader whom they hated, prevailed not, could their owne shame at leastwise, and the publicke dishonour for the present, no nor yet the imminent danger like to ensue (in case the enemy had taken heart againe and made head) force them to amend their pace one jot, and make more speed. Neither could he possibly make them (if to doe nothing else) so much as to march still in battaile array: but full against his commaundement they retire with their ensignes: and as men forie in their hearts and ill appaid; (he that had seene them would have said they had lost the field) cursing their Generall one while, and the valiant service of the horsemen another while, they returne to their Tents. Neither wist the Generall what way to remedie this so pestilent an example and dangerous precedent. Thus we may see, that brave men, of singular and excellent wits, have bene more to seeke and taile in their skill, how to governe a subject than to vanquish an enemy. The Consull returneth to Rome, having purchased more hatred of his froward and stubborne soldiours, than won honour by his martiall prowesse. Nevertheless, the Senatours prevailed so much that the Consulship kept residence still in the name of the *Fabij*. So, they created *M. Fabius* Consull, and joine with him *Cn. Manlius* for his colleague.

This yeare likewise, had one patrone and maintainer of the law *Agraria*, to wit, *Tiberius Pontificius* a Tribune. He taking the same toturfe, and following the steps of *Sp. Licinius*, hindered the musters for a while. And when the Senatours were herewith disquieted againe, then *Ap. Claudius* arose up and said, That the yeare before, the Tribunes power was overmatched, and the neck of it broken in prooffe, only for that present, but in example for ever hereafter: for as much as it was well seen then by experience, that of it selfe even among their own selves it fell a peeces and never will there want any time one good Tribune or other, that would be glad to get the start and victorie of his fellow, yea and the favour also of the better part, for to purchase the good of the weale-publike. And that there would be more Tribunes, if more were needfull, readie to assist the Consuls: and if there were but one, even that one were sufficient to stand against all the rest. So that, the Consuls and LL. of the Counsell would but do their indeavour, to win unto the State and Senate, some certaine of the Tribunes, if they might not compasse all. The Senatours being thus schooled and taught their lessons by *Appius*, both all in generall would courteously salute and friendly intreat the Tribunes, and also in particular as manie of them as had bene Consuls, according to that interest that each man had in any one of them privatelie, partlie by favour and friendship, and partlie by countenance and authoritie, prevailed so with them, that they were willing and well content to employ the Tribunes authoritie to the good and safetie of the Commonweale. So by the helpe of foure Tribunes, against one that hindered the good of all, the Consuls tooke muster of the soldiours. Then set they forward on their voiage to warre with the Veientians: unto whom from all parts of Hetruria they came to aide and succour; not so much for anie love that they bare to the Veientians, as in hope that the puissance of Rome through intestine and civile dissention, would decay and come to nought. For in all the Dietes and assemblies of the States of Hetruria, the Princes and Peeres gave it out and said, That the power and greatnes of the Romanes was everlasting, if through mutuall discord they warred not so among themselves: which hath bene found the onely bane of welthie & flourishing cities, wherby mightie Empires became mortal & subject to a final end. Which mischiefe (say they) this long time hath bene prevented and delaied, partly through the sage advise and prudent government of the Senate, partlie by the patience and long sufferance

T. Livius of Cassius
F. Fabius
D. Manlius
C. Tullius

The disobedience
of soldiers to
their captaines.

The politike
practise of
Appius Claudius
to shute the
Tribunes
authoritie.

The speeches of
the Tuscan pri-
nces in their
Counsaile.

of the Commons: but now they are come to a great extremitie. Devided they are, and of one citie become twaine: each part have their severall Magistrats and lawes by themselves. At the first, how ever they were wont to be at odds, and to fall out at the mustering of souldiours, yet in warre they would hold together, and obey their captaines. Howsoever they fared at home in the citie, were the State never so farre out of order, yet so long as martial discipline was on foot and tooke place, they might be reclaimed, and all troubles stayed. But now, the former use & custome of disobeying Magistrats within the citie, is taken up by the Romane souldiours, in the verie campe. For no longer since than the last warre of all, in the time of battell and conflict, their whole armie agreed of their owne accord, not forced by any extremitie that they were put unto, for to give the Veientians, as much as in them lay, even after they had lost the field, the entire victorie and honour of the day. For they abandoned their ensignes, left their Generall alone in the skirmish, and against his will, retired themselves into the campe. And surely, if they hold on still this course, Rome may be won by meanes of her owne souldiours: there needs no more to doe, but to proclaime and make a shew of warre: For even the verie deities and gods themselves would performe all the rest. Upon these hopes and deepe persuasions, the Tuscans, who afore were wont otherwhiles to have the better, and sometimes to take the worse in their warres, put themselves in armes. The Romane Consuls likewise were in feare of nothing els so much, as of their owne power, their owne force and weapons: being affrighted at the remembrance of that foule and shamefull example, and that lewd part played in the last warre: least peradventure, they should put it upon this point of hazard, as to be in danger of two battels at once. And therefore in so doubtfull and perillous a case, they held off fight, and kept themselves within their campe, if haply time and space would assuage their anger, bring them into the right way again, and reclaime them to good and reasonable order. The enemies herat, as well Veientians as the other Tuscans, made the greater halt, and were more sharpe set, and provoked them to the field: first by riding up and down before their campe, hard at the gates thereof, braving and challenging them forth, at the last, seeing they could not prevaile, they fell to rating and railing, one while upon the Consuls themselves, another while upon the whole armie, in these and such like tearmes: A gay matter indeed, and a proper devise to salve their cowardise, and under a colour of civile dissention to cloke their fearefulness: and the Consuls forsooth mistrust more the faithfulness and loialtie of their souldiours in service, than they doubted their valor and sufficiency of service. Marie, here is indeede a newkind of mutinie. What? Armed men to hold their peace, and sit still? Hitting them in their teeth besides, with their newstart-up rising, and late sprong base beginning, letting flie against them lies and truths, one with another, and spared not. For all this foule stirre they kept, flourishing and reviling them under their very trench, and hard at their gates, the Consuls themselves were not one jot troubled. But the foolish and ignorant multitude what with anger, and what for shame of these reprochfull tearmes, was much distempered: and one while wholly gave over to regard and thinke upon home troubles and dissentions, and had rather than their lives be revenged of their enemies: Anon againe, they would not in any case gratifie the Nobles and Consuls, nor wish them good successe. Thus the hatred both against the enemies without, and the Consuls within strove together in their hearts: untill at length, forrain occasions gat the masteire over them: so proudly, so insolently, the enemies scorned and made a game of them. Whereupon they came thicke by troups to the Generals pavilion, calling upon them for to fight, requiring to put forth the banner and signall of battell. The Consuls laid their heads together, and as taking good advisement, conferred on the matter a good while. To fight they were most willing and desirous: but this desire was to be kept back and dissimuled, and thereby augmented: to the end, that by holding off, by opposing themselves, and making some stay, they might set the souldiours on, & being once set on it, they might make them follow more eagerly at once. In conclusion, this answer was returned unto them: That they made too much hast: it was not yet full ripe, nor the time come, to give battell: they must hold themselves contented, and keepe within their tents: proclaiming moreover, that no man be so hardie as to fight: and whosoever attempted it, without their warrant and commission, they would proceed against him with all rigour, as a professed enemy. Thus were they dismissed: And the lesse willing they thought the Consuls were, the more eager were they, and set upon a batell. The enemies besides, when they had intelligence, that the Consuls were not disposed to fight, and had taken order to the contrarie, were inkindled and inflamed so much the more. For now they supposed they might brave it, and insult upon them safely without danger. For why? The Consuls durst not

A trust the souldiours with weapon in hand: now were their mutinies come to the height, and to break forth in extremities: now and never before the Romane Empire and Dominion was at an end. Prefuming confidently upon this ground, they run together unto the gates, redoubling a thousand villanous & opprobrious termes, and much ado they had to forbear assaulting the camp. Now could the Romans on the other side hold no longer, & endure this contumelie & indignitie, but came running from all parts of the camp unto the Consuls. And now not leasurably as before, make they request, and by mediation of their chiefe centurians, but all on once on every side plied them with outcries & clamors. Now was the matter come to ripenes, yet haist the Consuls and hold off. Then *Fabius*, seeing the tumult increased, & that for feare of a mutinie, his brother Consul had yielded already, caused silence to be made by sound of trumpet, & thus he spake: I know full well *O Manlius*, that these fellows are able to win the victorie: but that they will so do I know not, and they themselves have caused me to doubt. I have therefore set down my rest, & fully resolved not to give the signal of battaile, unlesse they sweare to returne out of the field with victorie. Once did the souldiours in battaile deceive a Cos. of Rome: but the gods in heaven shall they never deceive. Then *M. Flavoleius* a Centurion, one of the formost that called for battaile so instantlie, Returne will I (quoth hee) *O M. Fabius*, victor out of the field: and if I faile then I beseech father *Jupiter*, *Mars Gradivus* and other gods to make me a fearefull example, and shew their wrathfull displeasure upon me. The same oth after him tooke the whole armie, everie man against himselfe. Thus when they had sworne, the trumpet sounded. Then buckle they themselves toward battaile, full of anger, full of hope. Now they bid the Tuscans revile and raile their fill: now being at all points armed, they wished they had afore them man to man their enemies, those that were so livelie and lustie with their tongues. Right valiantly bare themselves that daie, as well the Commons as the Nobles. But the name of the *Fabij*, the *Fabij* I say, passed all the rest and wan the spurs. Who in this peece of service purposed to gaine againe the hearts of the Commons, which in many civile contentions were set against them. And so they embattailed themselves. The enemies likewise, both the Veientians & also the Tuscane legions were nothing behind, as making almost sure reckoning that they should be fought withall no more than the *Aequians* had beene. Nay, they were in hope of some greater disorder amongst them, and that, considering they were so malecontent, and the occasion so doubtfull, they would play a more shamefull part, and shew their leaders a beastlie cast. But it fell out farre otherwise. For never in any other warre afore, gave the Romanes a hotter charge upon the enemies: so much had they of the one side with spitefull taunts and reproaches needled them, and the Consuls on the other side with their long delays what them on. Scarce had the Tuscans any time to put themselves in battaile array, but at the verie first encounter and shooke, casting their javelins careleslie from them (I know not how) rather than levelling and launcing them against the enemy, they came presently pell-mell to hand strokes, and to deale with their swords, which is the cruelllest fight of all other. The *Fabij* among the formost in the forefront fought valiantlie, shewing their countymen a brave sight, and a noble example to follow. Where, *Q. Fabius* who had beene Consul the third yeare before, the leader and forwardest of them all, whiles he advanced himselfe and rushed amongst the thickest of the Veientians, and scuffled with many of them together, was not ware of his deadlie enemy so neere: but behold a certaine Tuscane a mightie man of strength and skilfull at his weapon, ran him through the breast with his sword. Which was not so soone drawne forth of his bodie, but *Fabius* fell downe headlong upon his wound and died. Both armies felt the fall of that one man: and therewith the Romanes recoiled. With that *M. Fabius* the Consul, stepped over his bodie as it lay along, and holding forth his target betwene: Why, souldiours (quoth he) is the oth ye tooke, to run away and retire thus into the campe? And are ye more afraid in deed, of these most dastardlie enemies, than of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, by whom ye sware? But I, who was not sworne at all, will either make returne with victorie, or else *O Q. Fabius*, fighting here by thee, I will live and die by thy side. To whom, *Casus Fabius*, who the yeare afore was Consul, replied againe: Thinke you brother, with these words to make them to fight? Nay, the gods are they that must doe it, by whom they have sworne. And let us like Noble knights, and for the honour of the *Fabian* house, stirre up and animate our souldiours by fighting rather than by exhorting. Thus rode the two *Fabij* with lance in rest into the forefront, and drew the whole battaile with them. The fight of one side being thus renewed, *Cn. Manlius* the Consul in the other wing, bestirred himselfe, and did for his part as valiantly: Where hapned almost the like fortune. For as in the

The speech of
Fabius to his
brother Consul.

one wing the souldiours followed *Q. Fabius*, so in this they cheerefully went with the Consull *G. Asinius*, chasing the enemies afore him as discomfited. And when he was fore wounded, and thereupon gone out of the battaile, his men supposing him to be slaine, drew backe, and had indeede lost ground and given way to the enemy, but that the other Consull with certaine corners of horsemen, galloped amaine into that quarter, and cried aloud that his fellow Consull was living: and that himselfe who had defeated the other poynt, was readie with victorie to assist them, and so upheld the medley, that now began to shrink. *Manlius* also to encourage his men, shewed himselfe againe in open fight. Thus the knowledge and preience of the two Consuls, made the souldiours take heart afresh. Herewithall besides, were the enemies battalions the thinner and weaker, because they trusting upon their exceeding number, had drawn out those that were to serve for succour and supply, and sent them away to assaile the campe. In the surprising whereof, finding no great adoe and small resistance, whiles they had more mind to rife for pillage, than to fight for the victorie, they lost time. In the meane space the Romanes *Triarii*, who were not able to hold out the first assault and entrance, having dispatched to the Consuls certaine messengers, to give knowledge in what termes they stood, cast themselves round into a ring, and retired themselves to the *Prætorium* or Generals lodging, and of themselves alone, made head and renewed the fight. Likewise *Manlius* the Consull being ridden back to the campe, at everie gate set certaine souldiours in guard: and so enclosed them within, that they could not get forth. The Tuskanes being in this desperate case, fared more like mad men than hardie souldiours. For when as they ranne here and there everie way, according as they had any hope to find issue & to escape, and had made sundrie offers & attempts in vain: behold one troupe of tall fellows in a plumpe, made no more ado, but knowing the Consull, who by reason of brave & goodly armor was a faire mark, charged upon his own person. The first volley of their shot, was received by those that stood about him, but their violence afterwards could not be endured. The Consull himselfe was wounded to death, and fell down in the place, & at the rest were discomfited. Whereupon the Tuskanes tooke more hart unto them, but the Romanes were so masked, that they ran all about the campe in great feare. And in extreame jeopardie had they been, but that the Lieutenants caught up the Consull his bodie, and made passage at one gate for the enemy. Through which they rushed forth, and dismarched disorderly, untill they light vpon the other Consull presently after his victorie: where they either fell againe upon the edge of the sword, or were scattered and put to flight. This brave victorie thus achieved, was heavey yet and sorrowfull for the death of two so noble personages. And therefore when the Senate had decreed a triumph, the Consull returned this answer, That willingly he could allow thereof in regard of the passing good service performed in that warre, in case an armie might triumph without a General. But as for himselfe, seeing that his house griued and mourned for the death of his brother *Q. Fabius*, and that the commonwealth was halfe fatherlesse as it were, for the losse of a Consull, he would not accept the lawrell so deformed and foully blemished, both with publike and private sorrow. This triumph thus by him refused, was more honourable than all the triumph in the world. By which wee may see that glorie despised in due time returneth otherwhiles in greater measure. Then solemnized he with great honour the obsequies one after another, first of his fellow Consull, and then of his owne brother. And he himselfe made the funerall orations for them both. But so as in yielding unto them their due commendations, he went himselfe away with the greater part. And not unmindefull of that rule which he had learned in the beginning of the Consullship, namely to win againe the harts & love of the Commons, he diuided the cure of his hurt and wounded souldiours among the Senators. With most of them the *Fabij* were charged, and of none were they better tended and looked unto, than of them. Whereupon the *Fabij* now waxed popular, and that, for no other policie and intent, but onely to do the common-wealth good: and therefore with the favour and good will of the commons, as well as of the Nobles, *Cæso Fabius* was created Consull, with *T. Virginiius*. Whose principall care above all was this, even before war, before musters, before all things els, that seeing now in some measure, there was good hope of concord begun already, and hearts of the Commons might be perfectly linked and united together with the Nobles, and that, with all speed possible. In the beginning therefore of this year, before that any Tribune of the Commons should prefer the law *Agraria*, he thought good and gave his advice, that the Nobles should prevent all, & go in hand first themselves to perform their part, and shew their bounty: namely in parting the lands gotten by conquest, and freely bestowing the same as equally

As might be, among the Commons. For it was meete & requisite that they should be possessed thereof, whose sweat of brows, nay, whose blood had paid for the purchase. But the Senators could not heare of that care, but misliked of the motion: yea, and some of them complained & said, that the lively spirit, & courageous disposition of *Cæso*, which sometimes he had, was now by reason of excessive glorie, grown to be toyish & full of vanities. And there an end of civile factions for a time.

But the Latines were much troubled with the reises and rodes of the Aequians. Thither was *Cæso* with an armie sent, who invaded and overran the verie cuntry of the Aequians, forraying and spoyling as he went. The Aequians thereupon retired, and put themselves into their townes, and kept close within the walles, whereby there was no memorable field fought. But at their enemies the Veientians hand, they received an overthrow, and that through the rashnesse of the other Consull: and had not *Cæso Fabius* come to the rescue in good time, the whole armie had bene utterly lost. From that time there was neither war nor peace with the Veientians: but their dealing was much what after the manner of robbing. For when the Romanes legions were abroad, they would leave the field, & take to their cities: when they perceived the legions were remooved and gone, they would make excursions and waste the cuntry. Thus plaid they mockholiday, and dalled with them, shifting off war with quietnesse, and quietnes againe with war, by turnes. So as, the Romanes could neither all wholly rest carelesse and secure for them, nor yet go through stich, and make an end once for all with them. Besides, other wars were either presently at hand, to wit, from the Aequians and the Volscians, who could no longer sit still, than untill their fresh grieffe, and paine of the last defeate was overpast; or else the

Sabines, never other but enemies, yea and all Hetruria, were like shortly to rise and take armes. But the Veientian a continuall enemy, rather than dangerous, provoked them to anger with reprochfull taunts, oftener than with any great perill or hurt. And yet as little as it was, it might no time be neglected, nor gave them leave to be employed in the meanwhile, otherwhere. Then came the whole house and kindred of the *Fabij* unto the Senat, and in the name of them all spake the Consull in this wise: My Lords of the Senate, the Veientian warre had neede rather of a resident garrison, as ye know well enough, to keepe the frontiers, than great forces for expedition. As for you, see ye to other warres. Let the *Fabij* alone to deale as private enemies with the Veientians. We dare undertake and warrant, that the State of Rome shall receive no dishonour nor danger there. We are fully minded and resolved at our owne proper cost and charges, to maintaine and mannage that war, as appropriate and peculiar to our name and familie: the citie shall be charged neither with men nor money there. Great thanks were given them for this their forwardnesse. The Consull being come out of the Senat house, was attended home with the whole generation of the *Fabij* who stood at the porch of the Counsell Court, expecting the Senates decree. And being commanded to be readie in armour well appointed the next day, and to give attendance at the Consuls doore, they departed from thence home to their owne houses. The bruit hereof spread all over the citie. All men extoll the *Fabij* up to the skie, saying, That one familie had taken upon them the whole burden of the citie. The Veientian war now, is become (say they) a private charge, and requireth the power and force onely that private persons could make. O that there were two such families more in Rome of that stomacke and valor: that one of them might take the Volscians in hand, and another the Aequians. Surely all the nations bordering hereabout might soone be subdued, and the people of Rome sit still the while and rest in peace. The day following, the *Fabij* armed themselves, mounted on horseback, and repaired to the *Rendex-vous* aforesaid, as they were commaunded. Then came the Consull forth, clad in a rich cote of armes, and standing in his porch, beheld his whole blood and lineage armed and marshalled in order, and being received in the mids of them, caused the guidon and Cornets to be advanced. Never marched there along the citie, an armie either lesse in number, or more renowned for their fame and the admiration of men. Three hundred men of armes they were and fixe, all nobly descended, of one stocke, of one race and name all. And of all them there was not one, that a sage and prudent Senate would have refused at any time as insufficient, to be a leader and commaunder in the field. Thus furnished with the force and strength that one onelie familie could make, they advanced forward, threatening and menacing the ruine and destruction of the Veientians. There followed a number and multitude of citizens: one private companie by themselves of kinsfolke, allies, friends, and feres, casting in their mindes no meane matters, neither of hope nor feare, but all exceeding measure and surpassing: another, of the common people, mooved with a carefull regard, and asto-

Cæso Fabius the Consull, to the Lords of the Senate.

The lineage of the *Fabij*, offer to maintain warre with the Veientians in their own persons, and at their proper charges.

nied againe in a favourable applause and admiration of their enterprife, crying with one voice, G
Hold on right valiant knights, On forth a Gods name in happie houre; God graunt luckie
speed, answerable to your magnanimous attempts and designements: and looke for, at our
hands from henceforth, Confullshps, triumphs, all rewards and honorable dignities whatsoever.
And all the way as they passed along the Capitoll, the castle, & other temples, they besought the
gods, as many as were presented to their eie, as many as they could conceive in their minds,
to vouchsafe that Squadron to be attended upon with good successe and fortunate felicitie, and
soone to returne home againe in safetie, to their native countrie and loving parents. But, alas the
while, in vaine were all these praiers made. Then set they forward on their journey, leaving *Ianus*
church on the right hand, taking the ungracious and unluckie way, from the gate *Carmentaris*,
untill at length they came to the river **Cremera*. That was thought a convenient place to forti- H
fie in, and there to plant a garrison. After this were *L. Aemilius* and *C. Servilius* made Consuls.
And so long as they adventured no farther than forraying the countrey, the *Fabij* were good
ynough, not onely to defend their hold and fort; but all the frontier parts and marches
where the Tuscane territorie adjoyneth to the Romane, they so scoured and traversed, betwene
the one confine & the other, that they kept all their owne in safetie, and mightily endamaged
the enemies. Then surceased they a while, but it was not long, from waisting and spoiling. By
which time both the Veientians had gathered a power out of *Hetruria*, and assaulted the fort of
Cremera, and also the Romane legions, under the conduct of the Consull *L. Aemilius*, encoun-
tered the Tuscans in open field. And yet the Veientians had hardly time ynough to put them-
selves in order of battell: so suddainly at the very first busking, while the files were entering into
array under their colours in the vauntgard, and the succours and supplies a placing and dispo- I
sing in the rereward, a corner of Romane horse, charged them so hotely on the flankes, that un-
neath had they roome and space, either to begin fight, or to keepe their standing sure. Thus were
they discomfited, and chased backe as farre as *Saxa rubra*, i. Red rockes, (for there they were en-
camped) where they humbly craved peace. Which when they had obtained (see their inbred
inconstancie so naturally engrafted) they were wearie of it, and repented thereof, before the Ro-
mane garrison could be withdrawn from *Cremera*. And so the *Fabij* once againe skirmished
with the Veientian nation, without preparation of greater warre. Neither made they inrodes on-
ly, and suddaine violent incursions into the territories, but sundrie times they encountred with
banners displayed, and joined battell in plaine field. And that one house and kindred of the Ro- K
mane people, carried oftentimes the victorie away, from that most mightie and rich citie (in
those daies) or all the Tuscans. This, tooke the Veientians at the first, for a foule disgrace and in-
dignitie. But afterwards they devised to lay traines, as occasion should serve, & entrap their fierce
and hardie enemy: and well apaid they were and rejoiced, that the *Fabij* upon the good successe
that still followed them, were become more bold and venturous. And therefore diverse times
when the Romanes were abroad a boothalling, they would drive cattell in their way, but yet so, as
they might seeme to light upon them by chance. The rusticall pezants made shew as if they fled
out of the countrey, and left the fields wast: yea and the companies of souldiours sent out to re-
strain and stay their spoiling, made semblant of running away, pretending oftener they were
afraid, than they had cause in deed. So as now the *Fabij* by this time, set so light by their enemies,
and thought so well of themselves, that they beleaved verily their power was invincible, and
might not be withstood in any ground, or at any time whatsoever. This conceit & hope of theirs
set them so aslope, and made them so bold, that espying upon a time cattell, farre from *Cremera*,
(for there was a large plaine betwene) although here and there they might descrie armed soul-
diours of their enemies, yet from their fort they ran downe, with bridle in their horse necke.
And when unadvisedly without foresight, they were past the ambush, which was laid covertly
about the very way that they were to passe, and were stragling here and there disorderly, driving
the cattell away, which gadded in and out, as their manner is when they be scared and affrighted,
then suddainly start the enemies all at once out of the ambushment: so as, both before and be-
hind, and on everie side they were beset and environned with enemies. At the first the very how-
ling and outcrie they made round about, terrified them: afterwards flew their shot from all sides.
And as the Tuscans gathered themselves together, the *Fabij* were soone hemmed within a
round battaillon of enemies, standing armed thicke and close one to another: and the nee-
der the enemies approached about them, in so much lesse roome were they enforced also to
cast themselves into a ring. Which, considering their arraies were thrust so thicke together in
so

*At this day
Tusce or Parie.

A so straight a compassse, made their small number appeare the lesse, and the multitude of the
Tuscans to carrie a greater shew. Then, forbearing to fight as they first intended, on everie
hand alike and with all at once, they made head to one onely place. Thereto they ende-
vour with might and maine, bodie and armour; and with a pointed battaile wedgewise pier-
ced through and made themselves passage. And they tooke the way that led to a little
hill, rising up with an easie ascent. From whence at first, they made resistance only and kept their
ground: but soone after, when by reason of the vantage of the hill, they had some time to
breath themselves, and to take heart againe after so great a fright, they forced the enemies also to
give backe that were mounting up the hill. And as few in number as they were, yet by the bene-
fit of the ground, they had gotten the better, if the Veientians had not set a compassse about
the hill side, and gained the verie top and pitch thereof. Thus became the enemy againe
to have the upper hand. And so were the *Fabij* slaine everie man, and not one of them es-
caped, yea and their Fort overthrowne and rased. Three hundred and six there were that died
as all writers doe agree. One onelic of the name was left behind at home, well neere 14 years
of age, for to renew and increase as out of a stocke, the name of the *Fabij*; and to prove in time
to come, the greatest prop and pillar that the people of Rome should have, in their dangers and
extremities many a time both at home and abroad.

But ere this heavey losse and overthrow happened, *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius* were Con-
suls. *Menenius* was sent forthwith against the Tuscans, puffed now up with pride for this their
victorie: with whom then also, he fought unfortunately and sped but ill. For the enemies surprised
C and got the Ianiculum, and the citie had surely bene besieged, considering that besides warre
they were greatlie distressed for want of victuals, (for the Tuscans were passed over the Tyber)
but that *Horatius* the Consull was called home from the Volscians. And so neere approached the
enemies in this warre, and preassed to the veriewals that first there was a skirmish on even hand
at the temple of * *Spes*: and another againe at the gate *Collina*. Where, albeit the Romanes * Ho. 2.
got but verie small ods of the enemy, yet did that conflict upon a little recoverie of wonted cou-
rage, prepare the souldiors to better service in the battailes ensuing.

Now were *A. Virginus* and *Sp. Servilius* created Consuls. The Veientians after this late dif-
feature, came no more into the field, yet they robbed and wasted still. And from the Ianiculum as
from a fortresse and place of safe retreat, they would make excursions out into the territorie of
Rome all about, and neither cattell nor countrey people could any where be in safetie for them.
D But afterwards, they were overtaken themselves in the same wile that they had caught the *Fabij*
with. For as they followed after certaine cattell, which were driven forth here and there of
purpose to draw and traine them abroad, they were plunged themselves headlong into an Am-
boiscado laid for them. And the more they were, the greater was their slaughter. Upon this foile,
their cruell and fell anger, gave the occasion and ouverture of a greater overthrow. For having
crossed the Tyber in the night season, they gave the attempt to make an assault upon the campe
of the Consull *Servilius*. But being discomfited, and many of them slaine, the rest retired them-
selves from thence, and with much a doe recovered the Ianicle. Streight after this, the Consull
also passed over Tyber, and encampeth himselfe stronglie hard under the Ianiculum. The mor-
E row morning by sunne rising, (so venturous he was by reason of his fortunate fight the day be-
fore, and more for the scarcetie of corne and victuals, which drave him to take, he cared not how
rash and dangerous courses, so they tended to more quicke and speedie expedition) full fond-
lic he advanced forward and marched up the steepe hill of the Ianicle, and charged the en-
emies hold: but being set backe himselfe from thence more shamefullie, than he had the day be-
fore repelled the enemies; yet by occasion that his fellow Consull came in the while to reskue,
he and his armie both were saved: and the Tuscans enclosed betwene both hostes, were forced
to turne their backs both to one and the other, and were killed everie mothers sonne. Thus by
a rash enterprife which (as good luke was) sped well, the Veientian warre came to an end. The
citie then, as it enjoyed peace, so it came againe to be better stored of corne and victuall: both
F for that there was some graine brought out of *Campania*, and also because the old store that
was hoorded up came abroad, by reason that no man now stood in feare of dearth to ensue,

Afterwards upon plentie and ease, they began to be busie againe, and their heads to worke,
seeking to broach old troubles at home, since they had none to occupie them abroad. The Tri-
bunes they fell to sollicite and infect the Commons, with their venome and poison, the law
Agraria: inciting them against the Nobles that gainesaid it: not in generall tearmes onely,
but

To Menenius
Agraria
led.

Sp. Servilius
was
traged.

Sp. Servilius
was
traged.

but also by touching particular persons. For, *Q. Cincinnatus* and *T. Genutius*, who were for the law *Agraria*, framed an inditement, and sued *T. Menenius*. And this was laid to his charge, to wit, the losse of the fort and garrison at Cremera: for that, he being Consull lay encamped not far from thence. But of this danger he soone stopped the course, both because the Nobles laboured and tooke his part, no lesse than they had done afore for *Coriolanus*: and also the affection and fauour that men bare to his father *Agrippa*, was not worne out, and cleane forgot. The Tribunes used moderation therefore in the penaltie, for having commensed a capitall action against him, and convicted him thereof, they set a fine on his head of *2000 Asses. Howbeit this cost him his life: for he grew, men say, into such a melancholike fit for shame of this disgrace, that he fel ther-upon from greefe of heart unto a pining sicknesse, which followed him to his dying day. Then, was there another accused and brought into trouble, to wit, *Sp. Servilius*, so soone as he was out of his Consullship, at what time as *C. Nautius* and *P. Valerius* were Consuls. In the beginning of whose year the Tribunes *L. Cadius* and *T. Statius*, called him straightwaies to his answer. Who sustained the violence of the Tribunes, not as *Menenius* did, by his owne intreatie and the prayers of the Nobles, but bare himselfe confidently upon his owne innocencie, and the good grace wherein he stood. Blamed he was likewise and charged, for the battell with the Tuscans at Laniculum. But being a man of an hot spirit and stout courage, as he caried himselfe before in the publicke danger, so now in his owne private perill, by refusing in a bold and stout speech that he made, not onely the Tribunes, but also the Communalitie, and casting in their teeth and reprooving them, for the condemnation and death of *T. Menenius*, by whose fathers meanes the Commons being in times past restored, had obtained first those very Magistrates and lawes, whereby at this day they exercise such rigour: he went through all his troubles, and with much boldnesse avoided the present jeopardie he stood in. The testimonie of his colleague *Virginus*, stood him in great stead, who produced forth as a witness, made him partener with himselfe, in all his worthe acts. But that processe of judgement which passed against *Menenius* (so altered were they now, and repented therefore) did him much more good, and stricke it dead sure.

When this broile and contention was ended at home, the Veientians warre began abroad; to whom the Sabines also had joined their power. Whereupon, the Consul *P. Valerius*, with the aid of the Latines and Hernikes, was sent out with an armie to Veij: & incontinently he fet upon the tents of the Sabines, as they lay encamped under the wals of their confederats, and put such a terror amongst them, that whiles they ran forth scattering by bands and companies, some at one gate, some at another, to repell the violent assault of the enemies, it happened that the gate which he first advanced his ensignes against, was woen. And within the trench, small fight there was, but more manslaughter. The tumult & noise hereof was heard from out of the campe into the citie. And the Veientians in great feare ran hastily to their weapons, as if Veij had been surprised. Some make speed to succour the Sabines: others do what they can to assaile the Romans, who were wholly busied about the pillage of the campe. For a prettie while they were put to some trouble, disordered, and withdrawne from their purpose: but afterwards, they themselves advanced their banners, & made head against the one side and the other. The horsemen withall, sent in by the Cossibroke the Tuscans array, & put them to flight. And thus in one houre two armies were defeated, two most puissant nations, & neere neighbors to the Romans, vanquished.

Sabines and Ve-
ntians vanquish-
ed.

While these exploits were performed about Veij, the Volscians and Equians, had encamped themselves in the countrey of Latium, and harried the marches thereof. Whom the Latins of themselves, with the helpe onely of the Hernikes, and without any leader or aid at all from the Romans, forced to abandon their tents: and besides the recoverie of their own goods again, atcheeved a great and rich bootie. Notwithstanding all this, the Consull *Nautius* was sent from Rome against the Volscians. They were not well pleased, I beleeve, with the manner of it, that their allies should wage war at all, with their owne power and direction, without the armie & conduct of the Romanes. Helpared not to worke all the mischeefe he could, all abuse and spight possible against the Volscians: yet could not they be brought to fight a set field. Then succeeded *L. Furius*, and *C. Manlius*, Consuls. To *Manlius* fell the charge of the Veientian province. Howbeit, war there was none at all. But at their owne sute, a truce was graunted unto them of fortie yeares. And they were enjoined to find corn and souldiours pay. Peace was not so soon procured abroad, but presently ensued discord at home. For at the intigation of the Tribunes, by occasion of the law *Agraria*, the Commons were set amadding. But the Consuls skared neither with the condemnation of *Menenius*, nor yet with the perill wherein *Servilius* stood, resisted all they could.

And

A And when the Consuls were once out of their office, *Genutius* a Tribune laid hold upon them, and arrested them: & *L. Aemilius* with *Opiter Virginus* enter their Consullship. In some Annales or yearely records I find *Vopiscus Iulius* Consull in steed of *Virginus*. But in this yeare, whoeuer then were Consuls, *Furius* & *Manlius* being indited before the people, went about araied in vile apparrell and mournfull weed to the younger sort of Senators, as well as to the Commons, perswading, advising, and warning them, to forbeare and refuse all dignities and offices of state, yea, and al charge of common-weale. And as for the Consuls rods borne afore them, their put-fled robes with purple, and chaire of estate, they should esteeme no otherwise of them, than of the pageants carried in a funerall pompe. And that with these gorgeous ornaments and en-signes, they were but delisted to death: much like to beasts adorned with sacred white ribbands and labels, appointed to sacrifice. But if the sweetenes of a Consullship were such, let them consider now withall, and perswade themselves, that it is become captivate and overswaied with the power of the Tribunes: and that the Consull, as if he were the Tribunes sergeant, must do all at his beck & command. For if he quetched never so little, if he seemed to regard the Senatours, or make account of any thing else in the whole State but of the communalitie, let him set before his eies the exile of *Cn. Martius*, the judgement & death of *Menenius*. The Nobles incen-ced with these speeches, from thenceforth began to consult and confer together, not openly and in publicke counsell, but privately, and apart from the privitie of many. And when they were resolved once upon this point, that those accused parties now in trouble, should be enlarged one way or other, by hooke or crook: then the cruellest advise, & hardest course that could be deliuc-C red, best pleased them: & for to put in execution the most audacious designements whatsoeuer, there wanted not one or other to give counsell. Well, the law day of triall came, and when as the Commons gave attendance devoutly in the Forum, in great expectations of the sequel & issue, they began at first to marvel much, that the Tribun *Genutius* came not down in place: & suspecting somewhat because of his long tarrying & delay, they imagined that he durst not for the great men and chiefe magistrats of the citie: & so they complained, that the common cause was for-lorne & betrayed. At the last, they that kept about the doore & porch of the Tribune his house, brought word that he was found at home stark dead. Which news being once noised through the assemblie, mark how an armie is disparkled & scattered, when their general is slain, even so in al the world, the Commons sunke aside every one, some one way, some another. But above all o-thers, the Tribunes were in bodily feare, being thus by their fellow taught, how little help or none at all, their sacred and redoubted lawes afforded. The nobles could not dissemble this their joy, nor use it with moderation, but shewed it excessively: and so little repented any one of them of the fact committed, that they avowed it and tooke it upon them, and would not seeme culpable in the action; but gaue it out in plaine termes, that the Tribunes by foule means were to be tamed, and their wings to be clipped in a mischiefe. Vpon this their victorie, so shamefull a precedent in time to come, there went out an edict for the publishing of a muster: and whiles the Tribunes were in this feare daunted, the Consuls without any contradiction, went through with it cleare. But then, were the Commons much more offended at their Tribunes silence and sitting still, than at the Consuls rule & imperious government: saying, Farewell freedome now, E farewell liberties and all: now is the old world come againe, and the Tribunes authoritie is both dead and buried together with *Genutius*. Now they were to go in hand and bethinke themselves of some other course, how they might withstand the Senatours proceedings: and seeing they were destitute of all other helpe to relie themselves upon, the onely way was for the Commons to trust to themselves, & stand upon their own guard. Whereas therefore, there gave atten-dance upon the Consuls 24. *Lictors* or *Vergers*, commoners all and no better, none more con-temptible and base minded, if they met with those that would set them at naught: they might thank themselves onely, & their own timorous conceits & imaginations, that such things were so dread & terrible. Thus having animated & provoked one another with these speeches: there wasa Sergeant sent from the Consuls to one *Volero Publilius* a commoner, who because he had ben a leader in the field of certain bands, pleaded his immunitie for being a common souldier againe. *Volero* calleth for helpe to the Tribunes: but there being no man to rescue him, the Consuls commaunded the man to be stript out of his cloths, & the rods to be made readie for to scourge him. Then quoth *Volero*, I appeale vnto the people, seeing the Tribunes had rather have a citizen and freeman of Rome beaten with rods in their pretence, than be murdered themselves by you in their beddes. But the more fiercely he cryed on still, the more cruelle fell the

Furius, and
Manlius are
indited.

Their Remon-
strance to the
people Nobles.

Genutius a Tri-
bune of the
commons per-
ished in his
house, by the
plot of the
Patricians.

Volero Publilius
is rescued to be
a souldier.

the Licitor to cut and skice his apparell for to uncase him. Then *Volero* being himselfe the stronger man, and assisted withall by some whome he called unto him, thrust the Sergeant from him: and where he perceived the mainest outcrie and loudest noise of his adherents, that fumed and chafed in his behalfe, thither retired he, to shroud himselfe among the thickest, crying: I appeale and beseech the Commons of their protection and succour. Helpe citizens, helpe fellowsouldiours. Never stay and waite for the Tribunes, untill they come, who have themselves neede of your assistance. Hereat folke were raised & gathered together, and addressed themselves as to a Battaille. A foule peece of worke was toward, full of exceeding danger, & like it was, that no man would have had regard either of common law or private honestie. When the Consuls in this so great a broile and storme of outrage came in, to prevent further mischief, they knew soone by experience how slenderly guarded against danger, the majestie of Rulers is, where force is wanting. For their Licitors were beaten, misused, and ill intreated, their rods broken all a peece, themselves driven out of the Common place, and forced to take the Senate house, doubting how farre forth *Volero* would proceede in the traine of his victorie. But when the riot was well appeased, they assembled the Senatours together, and complained there of their injuries received, the violence of the Commons, & the audacious presumption of *Volero*. After many opinions and sharpe censures delivered among them, the Ancients and Elders prevailed at length, who thought it not good to set the anger of the Nobles against the head-strong rashnes of the Commons. And the Commons so highly favoured and embraced *Volero*, that in their next election, they made him their Tribune for that yeare, wherein *L. Pinarius* and *P. Furius* were Consuls. Who contrarie to all mens expectation, that thought verily he would have exercised his tribuneship in molesting and vexing the Consuls of the former yeare, preferred the public cause before his owne private greivance, and gave nor the Consuls so much as one foule word. Onely he preferred a law unto the people, That the magistrats of the Comminaltie might be created in a ward-Leete, or assembly of the Tribes & wards. Thus under a title, which at the first sight seemed nothing hainous, passed a matter of no smal consequence, but such as abridged the Nobles of al power & authoritie, to create Tribunes whom they would, by the suffrages and voyces of their vassales and favorites. But when the Senatours resisted with all their might, the going forward of this Act most pleasing & plaussible to the Commons, and yet none might be found of the brotherhood of Tribunes, that by the authoritie either of Consuls or of Senatours could be brought to trumpe in his way by their negative voyce, which was indeede, the onely meanes to crosse it: the businesse, notwithstanding in itselfe so weightie to weeld, and so hard to be compassed, held out with much debating, the yeare through. The Commons then made *Volero* Tribune againe. The Senatours on the other side, suppling the matter would now come to a finall trial once for all, created for their Consull *Ap. Claudius*, the sonne of *Appius*: who even for the old contentions maintained by his father, was both hated of the Commons, and also hated them againe: and hee had for his compaign in government *T. Quintius*. At the verie beginning, no matter was treated of before that law. But as *Volero* was the first deviser and brocher of it, so his fellow *Leclorius* was the more earnest and hore maintainer thereof, as he came more fresh unto it. The stouter he was besides, by reason of his great militarie glorie, for that in those daies there was not a taller man of hands, nor more active than he. Now, when as *Volero* went straight to the substance of the law in hand, without any circumstance of words, and forbore to inveigh against the Consuls person, *Leclorius* beganne his speech with chalenging *Appius* and his house, as most proude, and cruelly affected to the Comminaltie of Rome: avouching earnestly, that the Nobles had made, not a Consull, but a butcherly tormentor, to afflict and mangle the Commons: but being a rough hewen souldiour, and not used to make Orations, his tongue could not frame to expresse his minde as freely as he would: And so his utterance failing him: Since that (quoth hee) *O Quirites*, I cannot so readilie deliver that in my speech, as I can make that good in deede which I have spoken: Be you heere to morrow, and in this verie place I will either get this law enacted, or I will lie in the dust and die for it before you all. The next day the Tribunes were gotten into the Temple or Hall first. The Consuls & Nobilitie abode still in the assemblee of the people, for to hinder the passing of the Lawe. Then commaunded *Leclorius* all the rest to avoid and depart, but those onely, that were to give their voyces. The yong Gentlemen of the Nobilitie stood still, and gave no place to the Tribunes officer. Then willed *Leclorius* some of them to be attached. But the Consull *Appius* replied again, That a Tribune had authoritie over none but Commoners: for as much as he, was a Magistrat,

A law proposed
that magistrats
of the commons
should be chosen
in a Tribes, Leete,
or ward Assem-
bly, called *Leclorius*.

Leclorius sought
death the prefer-
ence of *Publius*
his law.

not

A not of the people, but of the Commons. Neither could himselfe, of his absolute power (Consull though he was) observing the custome of his ancestors, command any man to avoid: for that the usual form of words ran thus, *May it please you my maisters, O Quirites, if you thinke good, to depart.* Soone was hee able, thus laying the law unto him, by way of scorne and contempt, to outface *Leclorius*, and put him downe. Whereupon the Tribune chafed, and set into an heat, sendeth an officer to the Consull: the Consull likewise, a Licitor to the Tribune, crying eftsoones aloud, that he was but a privar person without command, without magistracie. And doubtlesse the Tribune had been hardly used, but that both the whole assemblee rose up in a rage, and tooke part with the Tribune against the Consull: and also there was a concourse of the multitude, raised out of all parts of the citie into the common hall. *Appius* notwithstanding stood stiffely to it still, and abid the brunt of this tempestuous storme: neither had this broile staied without some bloodshed, in case *Quintius* the other Consull, had not set some of the Aldermen that had been Consuls, to get his brother Consull by force (if otherwise it might not bee) out of the hall, whiles himselfe was in hand, one while with the Commons, to appease their furie, by way of intreatie and with faire words, otherwhiles besought the Tribunes to breake up the assemblee, persuading with them to take more leisure in this their heat and anger: for that time and space would abridge nothing of their power, but would joine counsell and advise therto: concluding withall, that both Nobles should be ruled by the people, and the Consull ordered by the Nobles. Hardly and with much ado were the Commons quiered by *Quintius*, but farre more trouble had the Nobles to still the other Consull. At the length, when the assemblee of the people was dismissed, the Consuls called the Senat together. Where after much varietie of opinions, proceeding from feare and anger, according as the one or the other swaied among them: looke how much longer time they had to reclaime their mind from violent courses, and sagely with deliberation to consider of the matter: so much the more their hearts went against all contention, and farther strife: insomuch, as they yielded *Quintius* heartie thankes, that by his travaile betwene parties, the discord was well alliaied. And to *Appius* they were petitioners, that he would bee content, that the majestie of the Consull might bee no greater than would stand with the unitie and concord of the citizens. For whiles the Tribunes for their part would needes have all, and the Consuls on the other side draw all to them: betwene this plucking and haling, there was no strength left in the midst: and to conclude, the Commonweale was rent, tome, and dismembred betwene the rulers thereof: who strove rather for the managing and rule, than for the safetie and preservation of the State. Against whom *Appius* replied with a solemne protestation before God and man, and said, That the weale publicke was abandoned, forlorne, and betrayed by nothing els but foolish feare: that the Senate wanted not a Consull, but the Consull wanted Senatours: who now yielded to harder conditions, than they had before time in mount Sacer. Howbeit overweighed at length by the and generall consent and accord of all the Nobles, he was content: and so the law passed quietly, was by roiall consent authorised. Then and never before, were the Tribunes created in a congregation of the tribes, and by their voyces. *Piso* writeth, that there were three more made to the other, as if there had been but twaine before: and he nameth also the Tribunes, to wit, *Cn. Siccius*, *L. Numitorius*, *M. Duellius*, *Sp. Icilius*, and *L. Mucius*. Then had the Volscians and Aequians, betwene the civile sedition of the Romanes, and the beginning of warre, harried and wasted the cuntry: that in case the Commons had made an insurrection, they might have retired to them, as to a sure place of receit and refuge. But when all was hushed, and matters compovinded between the Nobles and Commons, they removed their campe backward. *Appius Claudius* was sent against the Volscians: and to *Quintius* fell the province of the Aequians. The same rigorous severitie continued *Appius* still in warfare, that he used at home in the citie: but so much more freely, for that he was not curbed nor held in by the Tribunes. The Commons he hated, more than his father had done afore, seeing he was overwaied, and had taken the foile at their hands: and being the onely Consull, opposed against the Tribunes power, yet mangle his head, the law passed cleare away, which the former Consuls his predecessors, with lesse ado, nor with so great hope and expectation of the Nobilitie, had ever hindered and staied. This his ire and indignation, gave an edge to that fell stomacke of his by kind, for to plague and punish his souldiours with imperious and lordly command. But so set they were to spume againe and disobey, that by no forcible meanes they could bee tamed, doing all things that they did, litherly, slowly, rekelesly and stubbornly. Neither bashed they for thame, nor stood in awe for feare. If his will was they should march on a pace, they would for the nonce go faire and softlie: If he

The foresaid law
enacted.

encou-

The marriage and
dissolution of
the soldiers to
Appius Claudius
their Generall.

encouraged them in proper person to plie their busines, they would all of them slacke their former service, wherunto they were entred of themselves: whiles he was in place, they would hang downe their heads and looke on the ground, as he passed by they would secretly curse him in their hearts. So as, that invincible stomacke of his against all hatred of the Commons, would now and then grieve heereat. And when he saw that all the shrewdnes and rigour that he used was in vaine, and that now he could do no good with his soldiours, he fell to checking the captains and centurions, saying, They had spoiled and marred the armie, terming them Tribunes of the Commons, and otherwhiles in taunting wise nicknaming them *Voleiros*. All this geere were the Volscians ware of, and therefore were they more eager and forward, hoping that *Appius* should finde the Romane armie as froward and disobedient, as they had beene against *Fabius*. And to say truth, they were more crooked and unrulie with *Appius* than with *Fabius* a great deale. For they were not onelie unwilling to have the victorie as *Fabius* his armie was, but also desirous to loose the victorie and be overcome. Being brought forth and set in battaile array, they shamefullieooke their heeles and fled into their tents: and never made head and resistance, before they saw the Volscians with banners displaid, advancing against the munitions of their campe, and a foule carnage committed upon the taile of their rereward. Then were they driven perforce to fight for verie necessitie, that the enemy thus farre forth victour, might be kept from the mure and trench: and yet so, as it was verie apparant, that the soldiours passed for nothing else, but only to save the campe for being won: for some of them rejoiced at their own losse and defeature. Wherat, the stout stomacke of *Appius* was nothing daunted, nor his heart broken: but he minded to deale cruelly with them, and therupon summoned a generall assemblee. Then the Lieutenants, Marshals and Colonels, came running unto him, advertising him in no case to trie maistries, and to enforce his authoritie, The verie ground and strength wherof resteth whollie in the accord of obedient people: adding moreover, that the soldiours commonlie gave out, that they would not go to the assemblee: but rather they might be heard everie where, calling upon them aloud, to dislodge and remoove out of the territorie of the Volscians: moreover that the enemy now Maister of the field, was but a while since advanced to the gates and rampier, and well neere possessed of them: whereby, they were not onelie to suspect, but might evidentlie see before their eyes, some great matter toward of dangerous consequence. Wherupon at last he was overruled, and (for as much as his soldiours therby should gaine nothing but delay of their punishment) remitted the assemblee for that time: and after proclamation made, to set forward in their journey the next day, and to depart in the morning verie earlie, he caused the trumpet to sound the remoove, and to march away. The armie being gone out of campe, and readie to be set in order of a march at length, the Volscians who wer gotten up by the same sound of the trumpet, played upon the taile of the rereward: the noise wherof passed from thence to the vaward, and so disorderd the ensignes, so troubled the ranks by reason of that fright, that neither could the direction and commandement of the captaines be heard, nor the armie be brought into battaile array. No man minded any thing at all but to run away: and disorderlie in plumpes, they fled backe over the dead carcasses and armours that lay on heapes, and so escaped. And never stay they their sight, untill the enemy gave over the chase. At the last, the Consull having called his soldiours together that were run away so scattering, (for with all the speed that he made after to call them backe, he could not reclaime them) encamped without his enemies ground in a place of securitie. Then he called them all together to an assemblee, and inveighed bitterlie, and not without iust cause, against the whole armie, as having betrayed the discipline of warre, & forsaken their colours: asking everie one of them what was become of their banners? And what they had done with their weapons? And as many soldiours as were unarmed, as many ensignebearers as had not their ensignes, the Centurions also and those that received double allowance, and forooke their bands and companies, he caused to be scourged with rods and to loose their heads. The whole number besides, were by lot tithed, and everie tenth man as it fell out, executed. But contrariwise, in the expedition against the *Aequians*, the Consull and his soldiours, strove to exceed one another in courtesie and kindnesses. *Quintus* was by nature mild and debonaire, and the crueltie of his brother Consull, that never sped well, made him take more joy in that his gentle disposition. Whiles the Generall and his armie comforted thus together, the *Aequians* durst not confront them, but suffered their enemies to range all abroad and forray the country: so as, in no former wars gat they greater booties from thence: and all was bestowed among the soldiours. Over and besides these gratuities, they had their due praises and solempne

Plaine faith they
had the Romans
do, while Carus
sig. de paur.

Quintus believed
of his boldness.

- A commendations, wherein soldiours take no lesse delight than in rewards and gifts. So, that armie returned home better affected to their Generall, and also to the Nobles for their Generals sake: reporting that the Senate had given to them a loving father, but to the other armie a lordly maister. This yeare thus spent with variable fortune abroad in war: with greivous discord as well at home as abroad, was above all most memorable and famous for the Tribe-Liet. A matter of more note, in respect of their victorie that entered into the action, than of consequence, in regard of commoditie that grew thereof. For the very Liet it selfe lost more credite by voiding the Nobles out of that assemblee, than either the Commons gat strength, or the Nobles did forgoe thereby. But more troublesome was the year following, whiles *L. Valerius* and *T. Aemilius* were Consuls, both for the variance of the three States about the law *Agraria*, and also for the arraignment of *Appius Claudius*. Whom, being a most bitter adversarie of that law, and a great maintainer and upholder of those that possessed & held the common lands, as if he had ben ever a third Consull, *M. Duellius*, and *Cn. Siccius* arrested & endited. Never before that day came to the bar, a person to be tried before the people, so odious unto the Commons: charged with so many wrongs done of his owne, so many of his fathers afore him, in regard whereof they were highly displeased and offended with him. The Nobles likewise had not lightly laboured so earnestly not strained themselves so much for any one, as for him. Who being the patron and protector of the Senate, the maintainer and upholder of their port and dignitie; a man ever opposed against all the troublesome broiles of Tribunes & Commons, was now delivered as a prey to the commons in their anger, and only for that he had overshot, & passed himselfe in heat of contention.
- C But of all the Senatours that ever were, *Appius Claudius* of himselfe alone was here, that cared not a rush, either for Tribune or Commoner, nor yet for his owne arraignment. No menacing threats of the Commons, no earnest praiers of the Senatours could once make him, I say not to change his apparrell, and in humble manner to seeke and crouch unto men for to bee good unto him: no nor so much, as when he came to answer for himselfe before the people, one whit to mollifie and let fall (as it were) that rough and sharpe kind of speech, that he was wont ordinarily to use. He kept the same sower countenance still, the very same frowardnesse and crabbednes of visage, the same spirit of boldnesse in his appologie and defence. Inso much, as many of the Commons were no lesse afraid of *Appius* standing prisoner, there arraigned at the barre, than they had ben of him, sitting as Consull in his yvorie chaire of estate. In pleading of his cause, he spake breefely & at once to the point, with the same accusatorie spirit, that he had ever used in all his pleas and actions. With his boldnes and resolute constancie, he so amased both Tribunes and Commons, that they themselves deferred the day of giving sentence, and suffered afterward the suite to hang and depend still undetermined. But not long after, even before the law day appointed was come, he sickened and died. Whose funerall praises when as the Tribunes went about to hinder, the Commons would not suffer, that the death of so worthie a man, should bee defrauded of the due honour and solempne obsequies, and gave audience as quietly and attentively to the commendation of the man now dead, as they did afore to his accusation while he was alive: and with a goodly traine attended his corpes to the grave.
- E The same yeare *Valerius* the Consull made a voiage with an armie against the *Aequians*, and seeing he could not traine the enemy forth to fight, he made a bravado to assaile the campe: but there fell such a terrible storme and tempest from heaven, with haile and thunderclaps, that hee was disappointed of his enterprize. And, that which made it more strange and wonderfull, hee had no sooner founded the retrait, but the weather proved so faire and calme againe, that hee made some scruple and matter of conscience, to give a second assault unto the trench, as if it had been defended by the speciall power and providence of God. So, all the heat of warre turned to the wasting onely of the countrey. The other Consull *Aemilius* warred with the *Sabines*. And even there also, because the enemies kept within their walled townes, the territories were spoiled: But afterwards, the *Sabines* raised with the firing, not onely of their villages and hamlets, but also of the good townes and burroughes, whereof in those partes there were many, and those well peopled, encountered the forraiers: and after a doubtfull skirmish, they departed asunder, and the morrow after raised their campe, & retired themselves backe into a place of more securitie: which the Consull taking for a sufficient argument and proove, that the enemies were defeated, left them so, and dislodged likewise, without any end of the warre.
- F During these warres, and whiles discord continued in the cite at home, were *T. Numitius Priscus* and *A. Virginus* created Consuls. Now seemed it that the Commons would no longer abide

Appius Claudius
arraigned at the
bar.

App. Claudius
died.

abide the deferring of the law *Agraria*. And as they were about to put it to a jumpe and to trie the utmost by extremitie, they took knowledge partlie by the smoke & flame of the villages on fire, and partly by the running away of the villagiers, that the Volscians were neere at hand. Which occurrent repressed and kept downe the sedition which was now come to ripenes, and readie to breake forth. For the Consuls forced by the Senate immediately to the war, by taking the serviceable youth with them out of the citie, reduced the rest of the Commons to more quietnesse. And the enemies verilie made no further attempt, but after they had given a false alarme and set the Romanes in a foolish feare, dismarched away as pedelic as they could. Then *Numitius* went to Antium against the Volscians, and *Virginius* against the *Æquians*: where having welner received a great losse & defeature by a train laid for him: such was the prowesse and manhood of the soldiours, that they recovered all againe, which by the negligence of the Consull had like to be lost. But better was the conduct and government of the armie against the Volscians. For there, at the first skirmish the enemies were disaraid, put to flight, and chased as far as to Antium, a citie (for that time) of right great puillance & importance. The Consull durst not assault it, but wan from the *Antiates* Cenon, another towne, but nothing so wealthy. Whiles the *Æquians* and Volscians thus amused the Romane armies and kept them occupied, the Sabines were come robbing and spoiling to the gates of the citie of Rome. But within few daies after, they themselves received more damage than they brought, by occasion that both Consuls with two armies were entred in great anger into their confines. In the end of the yeare some peace there was, but disquieted, as at all times before, with the variance betweene the Nobles and Commons. The Commons in a peevishe and angrie fit, would not be at the Election of the Consuls. So, by the Senatours onelic and their followers, there were elected Consuls, *T. Quinius* and *Q. Servilius*. The like yeare to the former these Consuls had, seditious and troublesome in the beginning: but afterwards upon forraine warre, quiet and still. For the Sabines with a running campe having passed over the plaines of Crustumium, and put all to fire and sword about the river Anio, were chased backe, well neere from the gate Collina and the wals: howbeit they drave away with them exceeding great booties both of people and cattel. Whom the Consull *Servilius* followed hard with a power readie to bid battaile, but could not overtake their maine armie in anie even ground meet to pitch a field in. Howbeit he harried and wasted the countrie all about, so as he left no corner cleere that felt not his fingers, and returned with purchase of many rich prizes of all sorts.

Likewise among the Volscians they sped wel & had a luckie hand by the good devoure both of captaine and souldier. First, they joined battaile upon a plaine, and fought with verie great slaughter, and exceeding much bloodshed on both sides. And the Romanes (who for their small number were more apt to feeble the losse) had lost ground and dismarched, if that the Consull by making a lie for a vantage, and crying that the enemies fled from the other wing, had not encouraged them and renewed the battel afresh. And so by giving a new charge, whiles they thought they had the better, they got the better in very deed. The Consull fearing again, by preasing too hard upon the armie, to enforce them to turne & make head, founded the retreat. Few daies passed between, wherein they rested quiet, as though there had been a secret truce agreed betweene them. In which mean space, a great sort of people from all parts of the Volscians and *Æquians* repaired to the camp, thinking verily, that if the Romanes were ware of them, they would depart in the night season. Whereupon, at the third watch they came to make an assault upon their campe. *Quinius* after he had quieted the tumult, which upon this suddaine alarme arose, and given commandement that the soldiours should keep themselves within their pavilions, brought forth a companie of *Hernicks* to guard the gates, and caused certaine cornetiers and trumpeters on horsebacke to wind and found before the trench and counterscarpe, and so to hold the enemy in suspense and expectation untill day light. The rest of the night, all was so quiet within the campe, that the Romanes had time enough and good opportunitie to take their repose and sleep. This shew of footmen in their harness, whom the Volscians imagined to be more than they were, and all Romanes: the neighing besides, and noise that the horses made by reason of their strange riders that they were not used unto, and the sound also of their trumpets and hornes that made them to set up their eares, and to stamp and fere outrageously, amused the enemies waiting ever when they would charge upon them. When it was day, the Romanes being in heart and fresh as having slept their fill, came forth and embattailed themselves, and at the first shooke, discomfited the Volscians, wearied with long standing and overwatched withall. And yet the enemies

The Consulle
of the Consull
Quintus.

A enemies rather gave ground and retired themselves, than seemed to be driven from their standings, because they had at their backs certaine hils, whereunto they might retire behind the Principia, and not breake their ranks, and so save themselves. The Consull seeing hee was come to a place of disadvantage, made a stand. The footmen hardly would be staied, calling and crying to the Consull to follow upon them seeing they were discomfited. The horsemen were more eager, riding all about the Consull, and with open mouth cried out, that they would advance before the ensignes. Whiles the Consull held off, in a manner what to do, for as he was assured of the valour of his souldiours, so hee finally trusted the ground; they all at once set up a shout, that they would set forward, come what would: and as they cried, so did they in good earnest. And pitching their javelins fast in the ground, that they might more nimble get up the steepe place, they tooke their full teefe, and ran up the hill. The Volscians having in their first brunt spent all their darts, and other shot which they had let flie, and made no spare, tooke up stones that lay under their feet, let drive at the Romanes as they clamb up, and so thicke and threefold they belowed them, that they annoied them sore, and beat them downe the hill. Thus the left wing of the Romanes was welneere overcharged, had not the Consull at the point, when as they were readie to recule, blamed them first for their rashnesse, and then for their cowardise, and made them for very shame to shake off all fear. First they stood to it stoutly, & kept their ground, and after, as their strength served them, considering the vantage of the place which the enemies had gotten, they adventured to set foot forward, and won ground with a fresh shout and outcrie. And taking their beire againe the second time, they straine all they can, and at length overcame the disadvantage of the place. Now when they were almost at the point to win the very pitch and ridge of the hill, the enemies turned backe. Whiles they ran on heapes in disaray, both they that fled, and they that followed, happened both at once in one companie into the enemies campe, which in that fright was won. The Volscians, as many of them as could escape, ran as fast as their legs would carie them to Antium. And to Antium likewise was the Roman armie conducted: and after a few daies siege, was surrendred upon no fresh & new force of assault, but for that presently upon their unfortunate conflict and losse of the campe, their harts were done, and utterly quailed.



THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the
Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the third Booke.



Editions about the lawes *Agraria*. The Capitoll taken and held by banished persons and slaves. They were slain, & recovered. A survey and Censment was taken twice. In the former there were found of Roman citizens 124214, besides orphan children, and such as had no children at all, as well men as women. In the other following there were 132419. Upon a great overthrow received in the war against the *Æquians*, L. Quintus Cincinnatus was made Dictator: & being in the country at his farme busie about his husbandrie, was sent for to the conduct of that war. He vanquished and subdued the enemies. The number of the Tribunes of the Commons, arose to ten, thirtie fixe yeares after their first institution. The lawes of Athens were set from thence by Embassadors, sent for that purpose: to the establishing and publishing whereof, there were ten personages elected in the roome of Consuls, which were called Decemvirs, without any other Magistrates: and this happened in the three hundred and second yeare after the foundation of Rome. And as the government of the State was translated from kings to Consuls: so was it now from the Consuls to the Decemvirs. They having proposed ten tables of lawes, and borne themselves modestly in that high dignitie, were therefore by the consent of the people, permitted to remaine still in office the second yeare. But after they had committed many insolent parts, they would not give over their roome of Magistracie, but held it still the third yeare: untill such time as their obstinate and intolerable rule came to an end, occasioned by the silitie lust of Appius Claudius: who being inamourved upon a virgine, suborned one to make claime unto her as his bondslave: whereupon her father Virginius was driven

of necessitie to catch up a knife from a butchers stall next by, and to kill his daughter: as having no other meanes to save G
her from the hands of him that purposed to abuse her bodie unlawfully. The Commons upon this foule example of filthie
lecherie, made an insurrection, and tooke the mount Aventine for their hold, and compelled the Decemvirs to leave their
place, and give over their government. Of whom Appius and one of his colleagues (which two had principally deserved pun-
ishment) were committed to prison, and there kept, the rest were driven into banishment. This booke containeth besides the
victorious warres against the Sabines, Volscians, and Equians. And the unholiest arbitrement or award of the people of
Rome, who being chosen Arbitrators betwene the Ardeates and the Aricines, awarded to themselves the land whereabout
the strife and controversy was.



FTER the winning of Antium, T. Aemilius and Q. Fabius were created
Consuls. This was that Fabius that onely remained alive of all the name
that perished at Cremera. Now had Aemilius in his former Consulship
persuaded to distribute certaine lands among the Commons. And
therefore in this second likewise, both the favorers of the law *Agroaria* were
in good hope of the foresaid law: and also the Tribunes supposing ve-
relie that now by the helpe of a Consull, that might be brought about
and obtained, which oftentimes had bene enterprised against the plea-
sure of the Consuls; tooke the matter in hand and gave the attempt: and withall, the Consull
still continued in the same mind. But the great landed men and many of the Nobles, finding
themselves grieved, and complaining that the chiefe and head magistrate of the citie busied
himselfe with the Tribunes suits, & was by large giving away of other mens possessions, become
popular and gracious with the people, turned the whole burthen and odious heaivy load of this
action, from the Tribunes upon the Consull his head. And a cruell broile was toward, had not
Fabius, by a device and pollicie to neither partie offensive, made an end of the matter with ex-
pedition. For whereas, there was certaine lands gotten by conquest from the Volscians the yeare
afore, under the conduct of T. Quintius: There might (said he) a colonie be brought to Antium,
a citie neere adjoyning, very commodious, and seated by the sea side: so should the Commons
without any grudging or complaints of the possessors or landlords, be seized of land, and the
citie rest in quiet and unitie. This opinion of his was accepted of all hands. And they created
three especiall officers or Triumvirs for the division of the said lands, to wit, T. Quintius, Aul.
Virginius, and P. Furius. Then proclamation was made, That whosoever would hold any of the
land, should give up their names in writing. But plentie, as the manner is, soone caused lothing:
for there were so few that presented themselves, that to make up the full number of the inhabi-
tants, they were faine to adjoine unto them certaine Volscians. The rest of the multitude had
rather (as it seemed) to keepe a calling for land at Rome, than be possessed of land elsewhere.
The Equians craved peace of Q. Fabius, who was come against them with an armie: and they
themselves by making a sodaine inrode into the territories of Latium, cancelled the same and
made it void. But the yeare next following, Q. Servilius (for he was Consull with Sp. Posthumus)
being sent against the Equians, kept a standing campe in the countrie about Latium. But by
the reason of a contagious disease or a plague, that rained in his armie, they were of necessitie
forced to keepe quiet within their tents. So their warre was differed unto the third yeare, when
as Q. Fabius and T. Quintius were Consuls. And for as much as Q. Fabius, had upon his vi-
ctorie before granted peace to the Equians, hee had an extraordinarie commission directed
unto him for the rule of that province. Who being thither gone with full assured hope, that
the verie fame of him, and noise of his armie, would quiet the Equians, sent Embassadors
to the Counsell of that nation, with this message: Q. Fabius the Consull, saith, that as he car-
ried before peace from the Equians unto Rome, so he bringeth now warre to the Equians from
Rome; having now his sword in the verie same hand, which he gave unto them before in friend-
lie manner unarmed. Whose trecherie it is and perjurie, that is the cause of this, the gods
can witness now, and in some measure will revenge hereafter. Nevertheless, he for his part,
however the case standeth, desireth that the Equians would yet bethinke themselves of their
owne accord and repent, rather than stand to the extremitie and abide those calamities and mi-
series that follow warres. If they would come in therefore and be sorie for that they have done,
their submission should be received, and they taken into the safe protection of his clemencie,
whereof already they had experience. But in case they persist stil in their disloyaltie, and take plea-
sure in being forsworne; be they well assured, that they should have the yre and wrath of the
gods more than their enemies to fight against them. These words so little or nothing at all moved

ved any men there, that the verie Embassadors had like to have bene verie hardlie used and evil
entreated, yea & an armie withall was sent forth as farre as Algidum against the Romanes. When
these tidings were brought to Rome, the indignitie of the thing and the shamefull maner thereof,
rather than any fearful perill otherwise, raised the other Consull out of the citie. So two Consular
or royall armies approched the enemy in order of battaile, readie to trie it out presently by the
dint of sword. But the day being (as it fell out) welneere spent, there cried one aloud from out of
the place where the enemy kept ward: This is to make a shew of war only (ye Romanes) and not to
warre indeede: yee set your battailons in array against night forsooth, that now draweth hard
on: we had need of more daiglhty wyis, for the businesse in hand, and to trie this quarrell. To
morrow therefore at sun rising, see you come again into the field, ye shall have fighting feare not,
your hands full. The souldiours nedled and gauled at these words, retired back into the campe un-
till the next day, thinking the night was long, that kept them from battaile: and so for that time
they refreshed their bodies with tooode and sleepe. On the morrow so soone as it was day, the Ro-
mane host being stirring somewhat more earlie, stood readie arranged in array: and at length
the Equians likewise shewed themselves in field. A sharpe fight there was on both sides, by
reason that both the Romane souldiours fought in anger and deadly hatred; and also the Equi-
ans upon prickt conscience, that bare them witness how they embarked themselves into this
danger, and were out of all hope ever to be trusted againe, were forced to hazard all upon a cast,
and venture the utmost. Yet were not the Equians able to endure long, the violent fight of
the Romanes, but were discomfited and put to flight. And being returned within their owne
Frontiers, the unrulie multitude for all this, were never the more inclined to peace, but reproo-
ved and blamed their Captaines, That they put the triall of the issue to a later field, in which kind
of fight the Romanes had singular skill, and surpassed them. As for the Equians, they were bet-
ter at robbing, spoyling, and hurrying, in making reises and inrodes: and a better and safer kinde
of service it was, here and there in sundrie places, to skirmish with forces divided, than reduce all
into one grosse armie, & to pitch a field. Leaving therefore a guard to defend the camp, they went
forth, and with such a tumult invaded the confines of Rome, that the verie terror thereof reached
unto the citie. This stirre, especially comming so sodainely and unlooked for, made the Ro-
manes feare the more. For who would ever have doubted and suspected, that their enemies so
lately vanquished, and in manner besieged within their owne campe, could possibly thinke up-
on entering into the lands of others, and to drive booties. Besides, the rustical peazants came in at
the gates, crying, and saying, That they were not pettie companies, & small handfuls of thieves
and robbers, but (such was their foolish feare, augmenting and making everie thing greater)
whole armies and legions of enemies were at hand, and marched apace with banners displayed
full against the Citie. From their mouths, they that were next made report unto others, and
as they heard newes from they knew not whom, so they set them abroad they cared not how,
but ever in the carriage they added somewhat of their owne, and coined lies good store. Here
was running, there was crying al arme, and generally such a confusion everie where, as if the ci-
tie had bene quite lost. By good happe Quintius the Consull was returned from Algidum to
Rome. That remedie cured all and staid the feare. When the tumult was appeased, he rebuked
the people for fearing those enemies whome heretofore they had vanquished, and placed
good guards over the gates. Then he assembled the Senat, and by the authoritie & assent of the
Nobles, proclaimed *Iustitium*, or a generall cessation or vacation in all courts of law: and went
himselfe forth in person with a power, to defend the marches, leaving Quintus Servilius Pro-
vost of the citie: but the enemy he found not in the territorie all about. The other Consull per-
formed his affaires passing well: who having certaine intelligence, which way the enemies would
come, set upon them laden with prey, and (by that meanes marching more heavilie in disorder)
made it a deere bootie unto them, even as much as their lives were worth. For few of them es-
caped the Ambush, and all the pillage was recovered. So the returne of Quintius into the Citie,
made an end of the publike Lawfeed, or above said vacation, which lasted but foure daies. Then
was a Cense or Assesment set of mens goods, and a muster or view taken of the number of Ci-
tizens, together with a solemne purging of the people, called *Lustrum*, celebrat by Quintius. And
there were numbered of citizens 124214 polles, over and above men and women that lived sin-
gle, or had no children, and all orphans beside. And among the Aequians afterward nothing
was done worth remembrance: for they betooke them to their strong townes, suffering their
territorie and villages to be consumed with fire, and spoyled. Thus the Consull, after hee had di-

vers times overturne the countrie of his enemies, with a cruell armie wasting and spoyling as he went, returned home to Rome with great honor and a huge bootie. Then were *Coss. Aulus Posthumius Albus*, and *Sp. Furius*. Some have written them *Fusij*, who indeede are rightly named *Furij*. Which I note, least any man should thinke they were sundrie men, whereas the varietie is onely in the name. No doubt there was, but that one of the *Coss.* would warre with the *Aequians*: and therefore the *Aequians* sought for aide of the *Ecetrane Volscians*. Which being gladly graunted and sent with speed, (such a perpetuall hatred bare these Cities alwaies against the Romanes) there was great preparation for warre in most forcible manner. The *Hernikes* having an inckling and knowledge thereof, certified the Romanes afore hand, that the *Ecetrans* were revolted and banded with the *Aequians*. The *Colonie Antium* likewise was had in jealousie, for that when the towne was lost, many people fled from thence to the *Aequians*, who all the time of the *Aequian* warre, served in the field, and proved the most hardie souldiours and fiercest of all others. And now when the *Aequians* were driven into their townes, that multitude being slipt away and retired to *Antium*, withdrew from the Romanes the allegiance of the Coloners and inhabitants there, who were already of their owne inclination unfound and not to be trusted. But before the matter was come to ripenesse, and they entred into any action, the Senate upon intelligence given that they intended onely, and were upon the poynt to revolt, gave the *Coss.* in charge to fend for the chiefe men and head persons of that colonie to Rome, and to enquire and learne of them in what tearmes *Antium* stood: who being come willingly inough, without any great intreatie, and convented by the *Consuls* before the Senate, made answer to their interrogatories in such maner, that they were sent away more suspected, than at their first comming: whereupon they resolved fully of warre. *Spurius Furius* one of the *Coss.* to whom that province by lot fell, having taken his voyage against the *Aequians*, found the enemy spoyling and wasting in the territorie of the *Herniks*: and being ignorant what number they were (for that in no one place they were all discovered together) he rashly joynd battaile, and hazarded his power, being in number and force inferior to the other. And at the first encounter he was driven backe, and retired into the campe: and yet was he not past all danger and in securitie there: for both the night following, and the next day after, the campe was so streightly beset, and so hotly assaulted, that he could not dispatch so much as a messenger from thence to Rome. The *Herniks* sent word both of the unfortunate fight, and also how the *Consull* and his armie were besieged. With which newes they so terrified the *LL.* of the *Consull*, that they granted *Posthumius* the other *Consull* the solemne commission, To SEE K
TO THE STATE, THAT IT SUSTAINED NO DANGER AND DAMAGE. The forme of which order and decree, hath bene alwaies accounted to signifie some great extremitie of the Commonwealth. And thought best it was, that the *Consull* himselfe in proper person, should abide at home to enroll in the muster booke, all those that were able to beare arms: that *T. Quintius* should be sent as *Pro-consull* or vice-consull, with a power of confederat Allies to raise the siege and rescue the campe: and for the furnishing of this armie, the *Latines*, the *Herniks*, and the *Colonie Antium*, were commaunded to send unto *Quintius*, Subitarie souldiers (for so they termed at that time, the aides and supplies taken up in haste and on a sodaine.) Many attempts were made, much skirmishing, & sundrie assaults for certain daies on each side were enterprised. For the enemies being more in number, assailed in divers places and sundrie waies to cut off and diminish the power of the Romanes, as not sufficient and able to make head at all turnes. For at one time they both made an assault upon the campe, and withall sent out certaine of their forces to wait the territorie of Rome, yea, and to give the venture upon the verie cittie, if they could espie any good oportunitie to offer it selfe. *L. Valerius* was left behind to defend the Cittie, and *Posthumius* the *Consull* was sent out to restraine and withstand the wasting of the marches. No poynt of care or trauaile on any hand was slaked, watch and ward both night and day was set in the Cittie, a good *Corps de guard* appointed afore the gates, and souldiers bestowed upon the walles: and (that which was needfull in so great an hurleburlie) for certain daies it was no Terme, or interdiction of Law was observed. In this meane while, *Furius* the *Cos.* who at the first had quietly endured the siege and made no resistance, suddenly and at unawares sallied out at the broad gate called *Decumana*, upon the enemies: and whereas he might have chased them, he made some stay of that, for feare lest on some other side, they would have given assault upon the campe. But *Furius* the Lieutenant (who also was the *Consull* his brother) engaged himselfe too farre, and upon a hot desire of pursuit and following the chase, neither sawe he his fellowes

A fellowes as they retired, ne yet the enemies as they came to charge him on the backe. Thus being shut out from all the rescue, after many assaies made (but all in vaine) to make way through vnto the campe, manfully fighting he was slaine. The *Consull* likewise hearing that his brother was environed all about with enemies, returned againe to fight; but as he ran more rashly than warily into the midst of the skirmish, hee was sore wounded, and being hardly and with much adoe saved by those that were about him, hee both disquieted and daunted the hearts of his owne men, and made his enemies more fierce, lustie, and courageous. Who were so animated and set on fire, both with the hurt of the *Consull*, and also with the death of his Lieutenant, that nothing afterwards could stand in their way: no force was able to slay them, but that they beat the Romanes againe into their campe: where they were besieged a fresh, being nowe both in hope, and also for strength worse than they were before. So that their maine State thus lying a bleeding, had vtterly perisht, but that *T. Quintius* with a supplie of strangers, namely, a power of *Latines* and *Hernikes*, came to the rescue in time: who charging the *Aequians* behind, whiles they were wholly busied in assailing the campe, shewing them within the Lieutenants head in a great braverie and pride, at the same instant caused a sallie out of the campe, by a signall that he gave them a far off, & so inclosed round about a great number of the enemies. Smal was the slaughter, but great was the flight & scattering of the *Aequians* in the territorie of Rome: upon whom (stragling here & there, and driving their booties afore them) *Posthumius*, who in divers convenient places had bestowed certaine companies and bands of souldiers, ran violentlie. And as they fled everie way in disaray, they lighted upon *Quintius* C as he with the hurt *Consull* returned with victorie. Then the *Consull* armie bravelie did their devoir, and had a goodly day of them; and was revenged both for their *Consull* wound, and also for the death of the lieutenant and the squadrons with him. Many losses and overthrowes were given and taken on each side for certaine daies. But in so ancient a matter as this was, hard it is for a man vpon his credit, to set downe precisely the certaine number, either how many fought, or how many were slaine. Howbeit *Valerius Antias* boldly reckoneth the exact numbers, namelic that there died of the Romanes in the *Herniks* countrie 5300: and of the *Aequian* robbers, who went up and downe spoyling and pilling in the territorie of Rome; there killed by *A. Posthumius* the *Cos.* 2400. The rest of the multitude, which laden with spoile fell into the hands of *Quintius*, were not so quit, nor escaped with the losse of so few mens lives: for of them the sword devoured 4000, and to account the number exactlie, 200 (quoth he) and 30 just. Then returned they on all hands to Rome, and the foresaid vacation or law-sterd ended. The skie was seene much on a light fire, and other strange wonders either appeared indeed, or presented to the fearfull people vaine apparitions, and fantastical illusions. How ever it was, for to avert the dangers by these prodigious and terrible tokens prefiged, there were proclaimed festivall holydaies for three daies together. During which time all the Churches were replenished with men and women, making supplications and praiers for the favour and mercie of the gods. The bands and squadrons of the *Latines* and *Herniks*, after great thanks given them by the Senate for their good service in this warre, were discharged and sent home. But the *Antiate* souldiers, 1000 in number, who after the battaile was fought came tardie, and too late for to succour, were dismissed in manner with ignominie and shame.

E Then was the great Liete or assemblie held, for the election of Magistrates: wherein *L. Ebutius* and *P. Servilius* were created *Consuls*: and on the * Calends of *Sexilis* (for on that day) began the year then, they entred their *Consulship*. A grievous & heavey time it was, and as it fortunied, a yeare of plague and great mortallitie, both in the citie and countrie, as well among brute beasts as men. And the receiving of the countrie peazants with their cattell into the citie, for feare of robbing and spoiling, encreased the contagiousnesse of the sicknesse so much the more. For, that confused medle of all sorts of beafts, both anioied and empoisoned the citizens with the uncouth and unusuall stinke, and also stifled with sultrie heat and overmuch watching the rusticall people, lying pestered together, and thrust up into close rowmes and straight lodgings. Then mutual recourse one to helpe and minister unto another, and the verie catching of the disease, set it all abroad. Thus whiles they had much ado to endure these present calamities, behold to mend the matter, all of a suddaine, the *Hernicke* Embassadors bring word, that the *Aequians* and *Volscians* having levied a power jointly together, were encamped within their limits: and from thence with a mightie armie wasted & harried their territorie. Now, besides that the small assemblie in the Senate house, was to these their allies an evident token

* The first daie of August.

that

that the citie was sore visited with the pestilence, they received also an heave answer from them, namely, That the Herniks themselves together with the helpe of the Latines, should defend their owne: as for the citie of Rome, it was with the heave hand and visitation of the gods, dispeopled by the plague: but in case the sicknesse decreased in some measure and tooke up in any time, they would willingly aid their confederates, as they did the yeare before, and as they had done at all times besides. Thus departed these allies, and for their ill news they brought thither, they carried with them home again a worse answer and message, to wit, That they should by themselves sustaine that war alone which hardly they were able to support, if they had the power of the Romans to assist them. Long staid not the enemy in the Hernikes countrey, but went forward from thence into the territorie of Rome, desolate already (God wot) without the injurie of war, and little need there was of calamitie that waies where meeting with no man at all, no not so much as any one unarmed, & passing over all the countrey, disarmed not only of garrisons to resist, but also of people for husbandrie & tillage, at length they came to the third stone, within three miles of Rome, to the broad port high way, called Gabina, leading to Gabes. The Romane Cos. *Ebutius*, was now departed this life, and his brother Cos. *Servilius*, lay lingering on at the point of death, in small hope of recoverie. Most of the peeres and principall ancients were infected, and sick in bed, so was the greater part of the Nobles, & welneere all the serviceable men of war: so as they were not able to set forth an expedition or voyage abroad, as meet was in so great a tumult, no nor scarce to keep any ordinarie set guard at home for the defence of the citie. The Senators, such as age & sicknes would permit, tooke the charge in proper persons of watch and ward. The *Ediles* of the Commons went the round, and had the charge to see all well & in good order: so that upon them now rested the whole government of the state, and the majestie of the Consuls regiment. Thus when all was forlorne, no head to direct, no strength of man to execute; the Tutelar gods, protectors of the citie, and the good fortune alone that ever waited upon her, preserved the maine chance. This made the Volscians and Aequians to carrie with them a mind and intent, rather to deale by way of robbings & spoilings, than to deale in any hostile manner like professed warriors: for so small hope had they, or none at all, of winning the citie; so little heart, so much as to approach the wals, that even the very roofes of houses, which they desired a far off, & the sight of the tombs and graves so neer at hand, turned their minds clean, and daunted their courages. So as over all the campe they began to mutter with themselves, What they meant to spend time idlie, and sit still without preading, in a wast and desert countrey; within the mortalitie and putrifaction of aire and corruption, both of people and cattell; when as they might as well invade those parts that stood cleare and sound, and namely the rich, plentifull, and fat fields of *Tusculum*: and therewith suddainly at once they plucked up their ensignes, and by crosse waies passed through the *Lavican* countries, even to the mountains of *Tusculum*: and thither turned they the whole force and tempest of the war. In the meane season the Hernikes and Latines moved not with pitie and compassion onely, but also for very shame, in case they had neither withstood their common enemies, marching to Rome with a cruel armie, nor relieved their besieged friends; joined their powers together, and set forward to Rome: where not finding the enemies, and following the bruit that went of them, and tracing their fresh trackes and footing, they encountered them as they came downe from the hillie country of *Tusculum*, into the vale of *Alba*: Where they made no saving bargain of it, but fought to their losse, so as their fidelitie unto their allies, had but bad successe for that present. And in Rome there was no lesse mortalitie of citizens by the sicknes, than there were massacres abroad of their allies by the edge of the sword. For the other Consull, who alone survived hitherto, now died. There left this life also, other noble personages, *M. Valerius*, *Titus Virginus*, *Augurs*; and *Ser. Sulpitius the Camio maximus*. But among the base and common sort, the violence of the disease raged and spread, I know not how farre. The Senate now destitute of all helpe and comfort of man, moved the people to devotion, to their beads, and praiers unto the gods. And commandement was given to all men with their wives and children, to goe in profession, to poure out their supplications, & crave mercie at gods hands. Thus being by publike authoritie called forth to performe that which every man was forced unto by his owne proper calamities, they filled all the temples and chappels. The dames and ancient matrons, lying groveling and sweeping the church stores and pavement with their haire and tresses, hanging lole downe, humble besought pardon of the gods, and an end once of the pestilence. Whereupon, were it that they had obtained the mercie of God, or that the more dangerous and contagious season of the yeare, was now well overpast, their bodies by little and little,

having

A having escaped the daunger of disease, began to recover and waxe more healthie.

Then set they their mindes about the care of the Common-weale, and after certaine interregines determined or ended, *P. Valerius Poplicola*, the third day of his Interregie or Regencie for the time, createth Consuls *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and *T. Veturius Geminus*, or *Ventusius* whether yee will: who * three daies before the Ides of *Sextilis*, began their Consulship. By which time the citie was growne so strong againe, that it was able not onely to maintaine a defensive warre, but also to enter the field and assaile others. When the Herniks therefore gave them advertisements that the enemies were passed over into their borders: they made no delay, but readily and willingly promised their aide; and levied two Consular armies: *Veturius* was sent against the Volscians, to beginne with them, and to waite within their owne countrey. *Tricipitinus* was opposed in the Frontiers of their confederates, to keepe them from invasion and wasting; and went no further forward than to the Hernikes. *Veturius* at his first encounter and confronting of his enemies, discomfited and put them to flight. But *Tricipitinus* while hee lay still encamped in the marches of the Hernikes, missed of the armie of the robbers: which was conducted over the mountaines of *Preneeste*, from whence they came downe into the champaigne, and spoiled the territories of *Preneeste* and *Gabes*: and from thence they fetched a compass about unto the mountaines of *Tusculum*. The Citie of Rome likewise was put in great feare, rather upon the sodaine occurrent of this alarme, than for any want of power to resist their violence. *Quintus Fabius* at that time was Prouost or President of the Citie, who put the youth in armour, disposed guards in places convenient, and made all safe and in good securitie. The enemies therefore who had raised a bootie out of the parts adjoyning, durst approach no neerer, but cast about with their armie and retired: and the further they went from their enemies citie, so much the more carelesse they were, untill they light upon the Cos. *Lucretius*, who by his espials and scouts, was afore that time acquainted what waies they would take, and was readie also to trie battaile. So with resolute and prepared hearts, they set upon them, that with the sodaine feare were amazed. And albeit they were in number fewer, yet they discomfited and put to flight a mightie multitude of them, and drave them within the hollow vallies, where because they had no readie way to get out, they kept them inclosed on everie side. In such sort, that the whole name and nation welneere of the Volscians, there utterly perished. In some Chronicles I find that there were 13470 slaine in the fight and chase, and 1250 taken prisoners alive, and 27 ensignes or banners brought away. It may well be that the number perhaps doth somewhat exceed the truth, yet a great slaughter certainly there was. The Consull having achieved this victorie, and gotten a mightie great prey, returned into the same standing campe againe. Then pitched both Consuls together, and the Volscians ioynly with the Aequians, rallied their forces thus decayed and weakened, into one place, and made one entire armie. This was the third field fought, in that one yeare, and by the same good fortune the Romanes won the victorie: and having vanquished the enemies, they were maisters also of the campe. Thus the citie of Rome recovered her selfe, and returned to her ancient good estate. But this happie successe in war, immediately stirred vp civile troubles at home. *C. Terentillus Arsa*, for that yeare a Tribune of the Commons, supposing in the absence of the Consuls, good opportunitie was offered to secon foote the Tribunes actions, and their proceedings: for certaine daies together gave not over before the Commons, to accuse the great pride and insolencie of the Nobles: but especially he inveighed against the Consuls regiment, as being too absolute, and in a free state intolerable. For in name only (quoth he) lesse odious and hatefull it is than that of the KK. but in fact in very deed, more grievous and cruell. For why? In steed of one lord, the citie hath received twaine, and those having authoritie beyond all measure, unlimited and infinite: who being themselves at their owne libertie and vnbrideled, turned the edge of all streight and dreadfull lawes, yea, and the rigor of all punishment, against the Commons. But least this their licentiousnesse should continue for ever, he was minded to preferre and publish a law, by vertue whereof there should be five men created, who should set downe certaine conditions, to limite and gage the authoritie of the Consuls: and looke what authoritie and comission the people graunted out over them, the same should the Consull exercise, and no more, and not rule of themselves, and vse their owne will and licentious lust in steede of law. This act being once published, and the Nobles fearing, least whiles the Consuls were away, they should be taken downe and yoked. *Quintus Fabius* President of the Citie, assembled the Senate, who so bitterly and sharply inveighed against the law and the law-giuer himselfe, that if both the Consuls themselves had stood about

C. Terentillus inveigheth against the regiment of the Consuls.

* Tricipitus.

* Valerius Poplicola.

The Oration of
C. Fabius against
the Tribunes of
the Commons.

the Tribune of purpose to contradict and crosse his proceedings, there had been no threats nor terrible menaces left for them, to have thundred out. For he laid fore vnto his charge, that he had lien in waite, and now having spied the time to fit his purpose, had given the venture to assaile the C. VV. and the State. And in case the gods in their wrathfull displeasure had sent among them such a Tribune as hee the yeare before, together with warre and pestilence, there had ben no remedie then, but he must have had his way, and then they had bene all undone. For when the Consuls both were dead, and the cittie lay bedrid as it were, in a miserable confusion of all things, he would have made lawes then: indeede, to the utter abolishing of the Consuls authoritie out of the Commonwealth, and bene a ringleader to Volscians and Aequians both, for to have assaulted the cittie. For what might not hee have lawfully done by vertue of his place? If the Consuls had either proudly or cruelly proceeded against any one Cittizen, hee might have entered an Action against them, and convented them forsooth before those verie iudges, of whome peradventure some one had bene by them hardlie dealt withall. This would have bene the course and ende of it. And hee that thus did, should not cause the Consuls authoritie and rule, but the Tribunes power to become odious and intollerable: which having bene of late well quieted and reconciled unto the Nobles, began now afresh to come unto the old biace, and to be troublesome againe. Neither intreated hee him not to goe on still as he had begun. But ye my masters (qd. *Fabius*) that are the rest of the Tribunes, we would request you to consider well this one point especially: That this power you have, was brought in for the succour and releefe of everie particular person, and not to the generall prejudice and undoing of all. Againe, that ye are created Tribunes of the Commons, not enemies of the Nobles. A hevie and lamentable case it is to us, odious and hatefull unto you, and will breed you much ill will and displeasure, in case the C. VV. now forlorne, should thus be invaded & assailed. Yee shall see nothing of your owne right, I assure you, nay you shall avoid much milke and hatred of men, in case ye be in hand and deale with your brother Tribune, to put off this matter and deferre it wholly untill the Consuls comming. Why, the verie Aequians and Volscians themselves the last yeare, when both our Consuls were dead of the plague, pressed not hardlie upon us, to prosecute any proud & cruell war against us. So, the Tribunes communed and persuaded with *Terentillus*: and this his commended suit or action being adjourned in outward shew, but in verie truth let fall quite and disanulled, the Consuls forthwith were sent for home. *Lucretius* returned enriched with a right great bootie, but with far greater honor and renowne. Who at his verie first comming wan himselfe more glorie, by laying abroad in *Mars* field all the prizes, that everie man for three daies space might know his owne and have it away. All the rest, that had no owners to come forth and make claime, was sold in port-sale. By all mens consent, the Consull was thought worthy of triumph: howbeit that matter was put off, by reason that the Tribune had not yet done with his law: which was the thing that the Consull thought meet should be first regarded. The matter was debated and treated for certaine daies, both in the Senate and also before the people. At last the Tribune yielded to the majestic of the Consull, and gave it over. Then was due honor rendred both to the Generall and also to the armie accordingly. He triumphed over the Volscians and Aequians: and in his triumph his owne legions followed after him. To the other Consull granted it was that he should in a kind of triumph called *Ovatio*, ride into the cittie, but without his soldiours. The yeare next ensuing, the law *Terentilla* was by the whole college or fellowship of the Tribunes revived and propounded againe: which put the new Consuls *P. Volumnius* and *Ser. Sulpitius* to some trouble. And in the same yeare the skie seemed to be on a light fire, and there was an exceeding earthquake. And that which the yeare afore was no credit given unto, was now for truth beleevd, to wit, That a cow did speake. Among other strange wonders it rained flesh: during which shewre, a huge number of foules flew among, and were reported to have snatcht it and caried it away as it was in falling. But that which fell downe and escaped their talions, lay scattered here and there for certaine daies in such sort, as the sent changed not at all, nor the flesh one jot taken and corrupted. Then the bookes (of *Sibylla*) were perused by the Duumvirs deputed over matters of religion: who foretold of some dangers to ensue by a companie of strangers, and gave warning to look least happily some assault should be made upon the highest places of the cittie, and therof a slaughter & massacre ensue. Amongst the rest, warning was given to abstaine from civile discord and mutinies: which the Tribunes found fault with, as a devised matter to hinder the law. Whereupon great debate and contention was like presentlie to grow. But behold, (that the revolution and course of troubles might

Prodigious fights

turne

A turne about everie yeare to the same point.) The Herniks bring newes that the Volscians and Aequians for all their wings were well clipped, and their forces greatly decayed, began to gather and leavie new armies: *Item*, That in Antium lay the whole weight and importance of the affairs, & all depended upon it: That the Antiat coloners held their counsels and had their meetings in open shew, at Ecetra, but Antium was the principall seat of the warre, and from thence came all preparations and forces whatsoever. As soone as these newes were reported in the Senate, order was given to muster soldiours: and that the Consuls should part betweene them the administration and managing of this warre, so as the one should have the charge against the Volscians, and the other against the Aequians. But the Tribunes rung it out openly in the common hall before the people, That this was but a made matter of the Volscian warre, and a tale devised by the Herniks, who were suborned and framed to play their parts in the Pageant, and to serve the turne of the Nobles. And that now verilie the freedome of the people of Rome was not oppressed or endangered by plaine prowess and vertue, but finely shifted off and dallied cunningly withall, by flie and craftie inventions. And for as much as now it was an unlikely thing and incredible, that the Volscians and Aequians after so great carnage committed upon them, whereby they were all in a manner killed up, should be able of themselves to wage warre, there were, forsooth, new enemies sought out: A faithfull Colonie neer adioyning, was now slandered and diffamed: warre was pretended for a shew against the guiltlesse and innocent Antiats, but in truth, intended with the verie commons of Rome, whom they ment to drive out of the cittie in all haste headlong, surcharged with hevie armour, and so (by turning out their poore fellow citizens into banishment, & sending them away, God knowes whether) to be avenged at length of the Tribunes. And thus the Law (say the Tribunes, for they must thinke their drift is to this end and to none other) should be troden vnder foote, vnlesse whiles all is entire and whole, and nothing done, whiles they remaine at home in their houses, whiles they be in their gownes, they take heede and looke well about them, that they be not dispossessed of the cittie, and take the yoke of servitude vpon their necks: assuring them that if their hearts onely served, they should want for no helpe: and that all the Tribunes agreed and were of one mind, that there was no cause of feare abroad, no forraigne warre to trouble them: last of all, that the very providence of the gods the yeare before assured them, that their libertie might with safetie be defended. These and such like remonstrances gave the Tribunes out. On the other part, the Consuls causing their chaires of estate to be set, even in their sight and presence, began to mulier. Thither ran the Tribunes downe in all hast, and drew the whole assemblie of people with them. And, to make as it were a prooffe and triall, some few by name were called, and straightwaies began a stir. For whomsoever the Sergeant by the Consull his commandement arrested, the Tribunes charged againe that hee should bee let goe. And neither side contained within the limits and compasse of their commission and rightfull authoritie: but presumed of their might and strong hand, to attaine unto their desired purpose. For even as the Tribunes had demeaned themselves in forbidding the muster, semblable the Senatours bestirred themselves to stop the law for going forward: which was propounded everie court day, and when the people might assemblie. And evermore the brawle began, when the Tribunes commanded the people to avoid the hall, for that the *Patritijs* would not endure thus to bee set out and excluded. Few or none of the auncients would bee present at these troublesome sturres, being such as were not to bee managed and ordered by sage counsell, but wholly left to the rashnes and boldnes of young and greene heads. The Consuls also were much absent, and forbore to be in place, for feare least in such a confused hurlyburly their majestic and dignitie, might have ben subject to some shamefull contumely and disgrace. But there was among them one *Ceso Quintius*, a lustie young gentleman and a stout, in regard both of his noble parentage, as also of the goodly tall personage and strength of his bodie. Besides these good parts that God had bestowed upon him, he had woon himselfe many ornaments by sundrie exploits atcheevd in wars: He had withall an eloquent speech and a good grace at the bar, so as, in one word, throughout the whole cittie, there was not one thought to bee more readie in tongue, or taller of his hands. This *Ceso* standing in the midst of the Nobles, higher to be seen above all the rest, as one that in his speech and strength, carried afore him the countenance and authoritie of all Dictators and Consuls, was the only man that bare off the brunts of Tribunes, and stormes of the common people. Many a time were the Tribunes driven out of common hall, the Communalitie defeated and put to flight by the conduct of this Captaine. Whosoever came within his reach, was sure to go away throughly beaten, & cleane stripped. So

The Tribunes oppose themselves against the Nobilitie.

Ceso Quintius a bitter adversarie of the Tribunes.

as

as it evidently appeared, if this course might have been allowed, the law had soone ben checked G and overthrowne. Now when all the other Tribunes besides, were herewith dismayed and well-neere daunted, *Aulus Virginius* alone, being one of their fellowship, was so bold, as to enter an action against *Cæso*, of a capitall crime. By which deed of his, he rather fired, than feared his hot and furious nature. For so much the more eagerly withstood he the law, coursed and troubled the Commons, and persecuted the Tribunes as it were with open warre. The plaintiffe in the meane time, suffered the defendant to run on still, and with many outrages to kindle more coales of ill will, and hatred upon his owne head, and to minister further matter of crimes to bee charged with. And all the while he ceased not to preferre the law aforesaid, nor so much of any hope to bring it to passe, as to provoke and set on worke, the giddie head and humourous vaine of *Cæso*. Whereby it came to passe, that many follies oftentimes were committed both in word & deed, H by the yonger sort: and evermore the blame light upon poore *Cæso*: he alone was alwaies charged, because he had been once suspected. But nevertheless hee gaine said and crossed the law. And *Aulus Virginius* ever and anone would entertaine the Commons with these and such like

speeches. See ye not alreadie (quoth he) O *Quirites*, that yee may not now have *Cæso* your Citizen, and the law which you desire both together. But what meane I to speak of the law? It is your libertie that hee infringeth and setteth himselfe against, and in pride and arrogance hee exceedeth all the *Tarquines* that ever were. But wait, ye were best, until he be made a Consull or Dictator, whom yee see alreadie being but a private person, to beare himselfe so greatly of his strength and boldnesse, as to lord it over you, and rule as a king. Many footed the Tribune and said the like, adding moreover, how they had ben well knocked & beaten at his hands: and were forward I ynough of themselves to set the Tribune on, to proceed in his commended action against him.

Now was the law day of iudiciall triall come: and it seemed abroad, that all men verily thought that the very foundation of their libertie consisted in the condemnation of *Cæso*. In conclusion, driven he was with much indignitie and shame, to creepe and crouch unto every man, submissely craving their favor one after another. There seconded him his kinsfolke and nearest friends, the best men of the citie. *Titus Quintius Capitolinus*, who had been thrice Consull, spake in his behalfe: and after he had reckoned up many honours and dignities, both of his owne, and also of his familie, affirmed, that neither in the house and race of *Quintij*, nor yet throughout the citie of Rome, was ever scene so great towardnesse, no such shew and likelihood of ripe and perfect vertue and prowess as in *Cæso*: saying, that hee had been first his souldiour, and served under him, and that with his owne eyes hee had scene him oftentimes fight valiantly hand to hand with his enemies in the field. Again, *Sp. Fufius* made this good report of him, That upon a time, when himselfe was in great distresse & extremitie, *Cæso* was sent unto him from *Quintius Capitolinus*, to helpe at a pinch: and that there was no one man, by whose good service, as hee thought, the Weale publicke at that time was more releved and restored, than by his. *L. Lucretius* the Consull last yeare before, glittering in his bright glorie so fresh and new, joined with the rest, avowing *Cæso* partaker with him in his praise-worthy acts, he recounted his brave combats, referred his noble exploits, both in his rodes and voiajes, and also in the pight field: advising and counselling them, that in any hand they would retaine still for to be a citizen of their owne citie, rather than of any other, this excellent young gentleman, furnished with all good gifts of nature and fortune, like to prove a singular stay of the publicke affaires, into what citie and state soever he should come. As for that heat and hastinesse (quoth he) which was in him misliked and offensive, age and time would daily diminish, and bereave him of it: grave and sage counsell, which now was wanting, would come on a pace everie day more than other. Seeing therefore his faults waxed old and faded, his vertues now were in their growth, flourishd, and grew ripe unto perfection; they should permit so brave, so rare a person, to live still among them, and be a good old man in this their citie. His father among the rest, *L. Quintius*, surnamed *Cincinnatus*, went another way to worke: who not by iterating still his praises, for feare of heaping more matter of envie and repine, but craving pardon for his wildnesse and youthfull demeanor; besought them for his sake at leastwise, to give the sonne as a present to his father, who neither in word M nor deede had ever offended any person. Some tooke no heede and gave a deafe care to his prayers, either for modesty and reverence, or for feare. Others complaining how they and theirs had ben beaten and hardly used at his hands, bewraied and shewed plainly by their shrewd and churlish answers what their judgment was. Beside, the common dislike and malice conceived against the defendant, there was one perilous matter and crime above all, that touched him

verie

A very neere. And that was this: *M. Volscius Fictor*, who certaine yeares before had been Tribune of the Commons, came in against him as a witness, and deposed, how that not long after the plague was in the citie, he happened upon a company of youtnes as they made a riot and robbery in the Suburra: where there arose a braule and a fray, in which his elder brother, a man well in yeares, and not throughly recovered of his sicknesse, was by a buffet with *Cæso* his fist felled to the ground, and laie there for dead: so as he was faine to be had home betwene mens armes; & as he deemed, of that blow he died: yet might not he, as haynous as the fact was, bring his action and prosecute the law, for feare of the Consuls of these last yeares. As *Volscius* thus informed, the whole court was moved therewith, in so much that *Cæso* escaped hardly, from being murdered, in that rage and fury of the people. Then *Virginius* commanded to lay hold

B on the man, and to have him away to prison. The *Patritij* againe by force resisted force. *T. Quintius* cried out, That he who was under arrest for to make his appearance, and answer at a day for his life, and who shortly should come to his triall and be judged, ought not before sentence of condemnation, and before he had pleaded for himselfe, thus violently be misused. The Tribune replied againe, That his meaning was not to punish him before he were condemned: howbeit, by his leaue he would be so bold as keepe him fast in prison, to be forth comming at the law daie; that he who had killed a man, might suffer therefore, according as the people of Rome should award. Then were the Tribunes called unto for their helpe, who by the meanes of an indifferent decree then made, shewed their lawfull favours with speede. By vertue whereof they forbade expressely, that he should not be imprisoned, but pronounced that it was their will and pleasure, that the defendant should personally appeare, and a piece of money be promised unto the people, in case he made default and failed of his appearance. Much question there was what summe of money should be thought reasonable to be promised. And the matter was put over to the Senate to be decided: and whilst the Senators sate thereupon, the defendant was kept still in ward within the common Haul. At length they thought good and set it downe, that he should put in sureties. And they bound each suretie in 3000 *Asics*. But how many of these

C should put in band, was left to the will and discretion of the Tribunes, who assigned and determined ten & no more. With so many sureties the plaintiffe bound the defendant personally and peremptorily to appeare at his daie. This man was the first Roman that went under speciall baile and put in good pledges to make his publike answer. Thus being enlarged out of the common

D hall and dismissed, the next night following, unawares to the Consull, he departed to the *Tufcanes* into exile. When the daie of this judgment was come, and that it was alleadged for his excuse, That he was out of the towne, and gone into banishment: yet nevertheless *Virginius* assembled the people about this matter: but his fellow Tribunes being called unto for their helpe, dismissed the court and licensed every man to depart. But the foresaid money was cruelly exacted at his fathers hands, so that he was driven to sell up all that ever he had, and for a long time to live apart as a person confined, on the other side of *Tyber*, in a poore blinde cottage out of the way. This processe of judgment, and the preferring of the law aforesaid together, busied the citie and kept it occupied. Quiet they were for any wars abroad. At what time the Tribunes like conquerors, seeing the Nobles appauled at the banishment of *Cæso*, supposed now their law was

E in manner fully established and enacted. And for as much as the more ancient Senators had dispossessed themselves as it were, of the Common weale, and medled not for their owne parts with the state: the younger sort and such especially as were of *Cæso* his crue and acquaintance, were kindled the more against the Commons, and abated not their courage: marry, this good thereby was done upon them, that in some measure they tempered and ruled their furious affections and violent outrage. The first time after the exile of *Cæso*, that the law began againe to be proposed, they being well appointed and banded together, backed also with a mighty company of their friends and favorites, set upon the Tribunes: taking the occasion when they charged them to depart out of the hall, in such manner, that no one of them above his fellows was singular, nor carried home with him any speciall praise or blame more than another: but the

F Commons complained that for one *Cæso*, there were now start up a thousand. All the daies betwene, wherein the Tribunes medled not with their law, none more quiet, none more peaceable than even they themselves. Courteously they would salute and speake unto the Commons, at all other times they would invite them home to their houses and make them good cheere, assist them and be present with them in the common hall, suffer the Tribunes themselves without any interruption or impeachment to keepe their courts and hold their assemblies whatsoever:

K

shewing

* 9 lib. 7 fo. c. d. f. c. l.

shewing themselves at no time to any of them either publicly or privately fierce and cruell, but G
onely when they went in hand with the law, for otherwise the young Gentlemen were popular
enough. And not onely in other causes made the Tribunes good dispatch, and went quietly
through all their businesse: but also the same men were chosen againe for the next year follow-
ing without any one foule & crosse word: so far were they from being offered any forcible violence:
and thus by soft handling and gentle dealing, they had now by little & little won the Commons,
and made them as it were come to hand. And so by these fine fetches and devises, for one whole
yeare the law was shifted off, and pretily avoided. The citie being now in more quiet state,
C. Claudius the sonne of Appius and P. Valerius Poplicola, came to be Consuls. And no news this
new yeare: for the same care still, either about preferring or admitting the law, held the city occu-
pied. As much as the punic Nobles insinuated themselves more into the favour and familia- H
rity of the Commons: so much more eagerly againe on the other side, did the Tribunes labour
and endeavour with complaints and slanders, to bring them into suspicion and jealousie with the
Commons. Saying, that there was a conspiracie intended & contrived: that Cato was in Rome:
that there were plots laid to murder the Tribunes, and to massacre the Commons: that they
were set on worke by some great ones, even the Auncients of the Nobles, utterly to abolish the
Tribunes authority out of the C.W. and to bring and reduce the city to the same passe againe,
as it had been before the taking and keeping hold in the Mount Sacer. Besides all this, war was
feared from the Volscians and Equians (so ordinary it was, and so duly once every yeare it came
about:) yea and withall, another mischief newly sprong, and unlooked for.

A rabble of banished persons, Outlawes and Bondslaves, to the number of 4500. having to
their Capitaine one Ap. Herdonius a Sabine, surprisid in the night the Capitoll and Cattle,
and were masters thereof. Who immediatly killed in the castle as many as would not be of their
conspiracie and take armour with them. The rest, amid this hurlyburly ran headlong downe in-
to the Market place for feare. The al' arme was given on all hands: and no crye heard, but *Arme,*
Arme, the enemies are in towne. The Consuls were affraid to put the Commons in armes, and
they doubted also to let them be unarmed, not knowing what suddaine occurrent this should be,
that thus had entered and possessed the city: whether it were forraigne or domesticall, arising
from the malice and hatred of the people, or from the treacherie and falshood of their servants.
Yet they devised to appease the uprore: and as they were busie to repress it, the more other-
while they stirred up new: for the frightened and amased multitude, could not be ordered by any
commandement. Howbeit at length they resolved to suffer them to take armes, and not all in
generall, but onely (for that they knewe not what their enemies were) to have a sufficient and
trusty guard about them, ready at all affaires and dangers whatsoever. In this carefull suspence
and doubt, who were their enemies, and what their number was, they passed the rest of the night,
disposing strong watch and warde in all meete and convenient places of the city. But the
day light disclosed the warre and the Capitaine thereof. Appius Herdonius from out of the
Capitoll proclaimed freedom to all bondmen that would come and follow him: taking upon
him forsooth to defend the cause of most miserable caitifs: namely, to restore home againe unto
their native countrie all such exiled persons, as had bene wrongfully expelled, and also to take
away the heave yoke of slavery and bondage. Which thing he could wish it might be effected
and brought about with the good will & helping hand of the people of Rome. But in case there
were no hope and comfort there, then he would assay the Volscians and Equians, yea and pro-
cure what meanes he could, by all hard courses and extremities whatsoever. Now the Nobles and
Coff, began to see more into the matter: and besides those dangers that were in view, & presently
threatened, they feared some practise from the Veientians or the Sabines: and least, there being
already so many enemies in the citie, the legions of the Sabines & Tuscanes should combine to-
gether, and come upon them. Over and besides, least their old enemies and perpetual, the Vols-
cians and Aeq. should now at once, not, as aforetime, invade their borders and drive booties, but give
an attempt upon the very city, which was already in some part, taken and possessed by enemies.
Many & sundry were their feares. But of all other the dread and jealousie of their own bondslaves
presented unto them most imminent & present danger: for feare, least every man harboured his
enemy at home in his own house, whom neither he could trust securely, nor yet mistrust with-
out some jeopardy: fearing least being once discredited, he might proove the more malicious
and bent to doe a mischief. And to such streightes they were driven, that with all their con-
cord and agreement, they hardly were able to remedy the matter, and to stop the extremitie. So
greatly

The Capitoll
of Rome
in the
night.

The prison
of Appius
Herdonius,
captaine
of the slaves.

A greatly the future troubles like to ensue, exceeded those that presently appeared and were in
sight, that no man feared either Tribunes or Commons. That milde and gentle kinde of mala-
die, in comparison of others, and rising alwaies by occasion of rest from all other, seemed then
by reason of a forreine terrour, stilled cleane and brought asleepe. And yet see, that was the only
thing in a manner that lay hardest upon them, ready to beare downe to the ground their state,
which now began already to shrinke and reele. For so furiously and madly were the Tribunes
bent, that they stily would stand to it, and beare men in hand, That it was no warre, but a vaine
illusion, and colour of war, and no other, that had seized on the Capitoll: for nothing els but to
withdraw the mindes of the Commons from intending and following their law: and that a sort
of clients, followers, and favorites of the Nobility and Gentrie were gathered together, who if
they might once perceive that the law were passed, and that all the sturre they had made, tooke
no effect, would slip away soone & be gone, in more silence y wis, than they thither came. Where-
upon they called the people away from their armour and weapons, and summoned them to an
assembly, to go through with their law and enact it now or never. In the meane time the Coss.
held a counsell, fearing a greater mischief like to ensue from the Tribunes, than the enemies had
wrought in the night season. And when word was brought that armes were laid away, and that
the people had abandoned their quarters where they were set in guard, then P. Valer., leaving his
colleague to keep the Senat together, departed hastily out of the court & went straight into the
temple to the Tribunes. What worke is here my Maisters (qd, he) you that are Tribunes? Are ye
about to overthrow the State indeed, under the conduct of Ap. Herdonius? and who was not able
to solicit & do any thing with your bondslaves and servants, was his hap so good as to corrupt
and inveigle your selves? Is this your pleasure and to your good liking, while the enemy is
over our heads, to have our armour laid aside, and lawes preferred? Then turning his speech to
the whole multitude: If ye take no regard nor care (o Quirites) of the citie, if ye passe not for
your selves, yet have some reverence, and stand in feare of the gods of your native cuntry,
which by your enemies are now taken prisoners and captivate: Imp. Opt. Max. that most boun-
tiful and almighty god, Quene Juno and Minerva, with all the rest of gods goddesses (and
heavenly hallows) are besieged: Outlawes and bondslaves are encamped about your Tutelar
gods, and have in possession the protectours and patrones of your city. Is this, thinke ye, the
forme of a wise and well governed citie? is it in good case in deepe, and as it ought to be? So
many enemies not onely within the walls, but also aloft upon the cliffe within the Cattle, over-
looking and commanding both Hall and Court: and all the while, the people assemble in the
hall, Senatours sit in Court, like as when we enjoyed peace and were at rest, the Senatour he
delivereth his opinion at the counsell boord: the citizens of Rome besides, are busie in their
scrutinies and giving their voices. And had it not been more meet and decent that both No-
bility and Cominallty, Consuls and Tribunes, God and Man, all armed together, should set to
their helping hand, should run up into the Capitoll to deliver, save, and set in quiet that most
stately and sacred house of Imp. Opt. Max.? O Father Romulus, vouchsafe, I beseech thee, that
minde and that courage unto thy successours and posterity, whereby sometime thou didst re-
cover and win againe this forresse from these same Sabines, betrayed and lost by corruption, &
for a summe of gold: command them to enter even that way, which thou first leddest, and thy
valorous armie followed after. Lo, I the Consull, so far forth as a mortall man possibly may,
will follow thee an immortal god, and thy footesteps. The conclusion of his speech was this,
That as he put himselfe in armes, so all the Romans shall doe the like. And in case any man went
about to hinder this, he would without regard of Consuls rule and dignity, or Tribunes autho-
rity and might, pause for no sacred or inviolable lawes: but what or wheresoever he were, in Ca-
pitoll, in market place, all as one, take him for an enemy, and deale accordingly. Let the Tri-
bunes (for as much as they forbad to take armes against Ap. Herdonius) commaunde hardly,
and spare not, to arme against P. Valerius the Consull: It should be well seene that he would
dare and doe that by the Tribunes, which the first of his house and name sometime had done by
the KK. A great broile was toward, and no other like, but that they would have gone to-
gether by the eares, and that the mutinie of the Romanes, would have been a goodly spectacle
to the enemies for to beholde. But all this while, neither could the lawe be preferred, nor the
Consull go up into the Capitoll. The night at length staied these braules begun, and hushtr all,
The Tribunes fearing the armed forces of the Consuls, yielded to the darknesse of the night,
and gave over. Now when the principall authours of the discord were once gone out of the way,

The Consull
of P. Valerius
to the people.

the Nobles went about to the Commons; intruding themselves into their companies as they were met in knots together: where they would enter into talk and discourse with them, according to the present occasions and the time; admonishing them to take heed into what danger they brought the State. For as much as now (quoth they) it is not a matter of debate between the Senators and Commons: but both Senators and Commoners, the castle and strongest hold of the citie, the temples of the gods, their houses both publicke and private, were readie to be yeelded unto the enemies. Whiles these things were practising in the common place, for to appeale the diffention: the Consuls for feare, least the Sabines or the Veientians, enemies both, should stirre and rise, were gone to the gates, and all about the wals. The same night came tidings also to Tusculum of the taking of the castle, the surprising of the Capitoll, and likewise of the troublesome state wherein the citie stood. At that time was *L. Mamilius*, Dictator of Tusculum: he forthwith called a Senate together, brought in the messengers of the foresaid newes, and thought it very expedient and needfull not to wait untill there came Embassadors from Rome to crave their aid: for that the present perill it selfe alone, the urgent necessitie, their social gods, and the faithfull bond of league, required no lesse at their hands, than to send succor: adding moreover, that the gods would never give them the like occasion and oportunitie again; to graunt the Romanes; to bind and oblige unto them by a sound benefite and pleasure done; so mightie a citie, and so neere a neighbour. Whereupon it was decreed, to rescue them with all speed. The able men of service were taken up and enrolled; munition and armour given them in their hands: who advancing toward Rome by break of day, seemed a farre off to be enemies, and were taken for the Acquians or Volscians. But afterwards, when this foolish feare was overcome, they were received into the citie: and marched downe in order of battell to the market place. Where, at the very same time *Pub. Valerius* having left his fellow Consul to guard and fortifie the gates, was setting his men in array. The authoritie of the man had prevailed with the people, for he promised & assured them, that if the Capitoll were once recovered, and the citie set in quiet, if they would suffer him to be informed what fatterous and secret mischeefe was underhand practised by the Tribunes under colour of this law, he would in remembrance of his ancestors, & of his * surname (which in regard of the affectionat love unto the people, by a speciall care, as it were by inheritance from his forefathers, was recommended unto him) not hinder & trouble the meetings and assemblies of the Commons, nor crosse and thwart their proceedings. They followed him therefore as their cheefetaine, gaue say the Tribunes what they could (for all would not serve) advanced forward, and marched up against the rising of the Capitoll hill. The Tusculane legion stucke close unto them, and followed after. Citizens and Associates both, did their best, and strove who should regaine the Capitoll first, and have the honour of that day. Each captaine exhorted and encouraged his men. Then began the enemies to feare, and wist not well what to trust unto, but onely the situation of the place. The Romanes and their allies seeing their feare, came forward and advanced their standards against them. Now by this time were they broken into the porch of the temple. Where *P. Valerius* fighting manfully among the foremost in the vaward, was slaine. *P. Volumnius* a Consular man, saw him when he fell: who gave his men in charge to cover his bodie, and stept himselfe into the Consuls roome, and fought in his stead. The souldiours for heat and eagernesie of fight, tooke no regard, and came to no knowledge of this so great mischance, but got the victorie, ere they knew that they fought without their captaine. Many of the outlawes were there slaine, and polluted the temple with their blood. Many taken alive prisoners, and *Herdonius* himselfe was slaine outright. So the Capitoll was againe recovered. The captives, as they were either bond or free, were executed every one according to their condition and place. The Tusculanes had thanks given them. The Capitoll was cleansed, purged, and hallowed anew. The Commons, as it is reported, cast * Quadrants or mites into the Consull his house, that hee might with greater pompe of funerals be brought to the ground.

When all was appeased and in quiet, the Tribunes were earnest with the Nobles to performe the promise of *P. Valerius*: they were instant also with *Claudius*, to assoile the soule, and keepe it from blame of his fellow Consull late deceased: and to permit the law to be set on foot, and goe forward. The Consull flatly denied to suffer them to meddle with the law, before he had substituted a fellow in his place. And these contentions held unto the time of the grand Election, for the substituting of a new Consull. And in the moneth December, after much suit, and labouring of the Nobles, was *L. Quintus Cincinnatus*, the father of *Casus*, created Consull, and presently to enter

A enter into his office. The Commons herewith were much troubled and stricken dead, now that they were to have an angrie Consull, and mightie withall: considering the favour of the Nobles wherein he stood, and his owne vertue and prowess besides: by reason also of his three sonnes, of whom there was not one, that for hautesse of mind came behind *Casus*, and for wisdom, discretion, and moderation (when time and occasion served) went farre beyond him. Who being once entered into his office, in all his publicke speeches and orations, continually ceased not as well to bridle, restraine and keepe in the Communalitie, as also to chastise sharply the Senate, through the remissenesse of which degree, and want of courage, it was come to passe, that the Tribunes became now to continue still in office, and not as in the Commonwealth of the people of Rome, but as in some unrulie and disordered house, with their lavish tongue rained as it were, and ruled the roff: saying, That together with his sonne *Casus* all vertue and constancie, all commendable qualities that graced young gentlemen both in warre and peace, were chafed and utterly banished out of the citie of Rome. In lieu whereof, bablers, mutinous persons, & sowers of sedition and diffention, are become Tribunes the second, yea, and the third time: who by indirect courses and leaud practises live losely in the citie, like princes and kings. That same *Aulus Virginius* there, (quoth he) hath he deserved lesse punishment than *Ap. Herdonius*, because he was not in the Capitoll with the rable of other rebels? Nay much more a good deale, if a man will weigh the matter aright and truly. *Herdonius*, (if there were nothing else) yet by professing himselfe to be an enemy, advertised you, and gave you warning in a manner to arme your selves. But he, by bearing you downe so confidently, that there was no warre, what did he els but disarme you, and as it were, take your weapons from you, and offer you naked to the devotion and mercie of your bondmen and outlawes? And have yee (under correction bee it spoken, and saving the reverence and honor of *C. Claudius* here, and *P. Valerius* that dead) advanced your engines up the Capitoll hill, before you had rid the market place and common hall of these enemies? It is a shame (before God and man I speake it) when our enemies were in the castle and Capitoll, when the captaine and ringleader of outlawes and slaves, abode and lodged within the chappels and sanctuaries of *Iup. Opti. Max.* to the prophonation and polluting of all, that they at Tusculum should take them to their weapons before us of Rome, and that it should be doubted, whether *L. Mamilius* the Tusculane General, or *P. Valerius*, and *C. Claudius*, the Roman Consuls, should save the fortresse of Rome: and that wee, who heretofore would not suffer the Latines in their owne defence, when they had their enemies in their borders, so much as once to take weapon in hand, should now our selves have ben surprised and destroyed, had not they, the verie same Latines of their owne accord, put themselves into armour for our sakes. Is this your succoring and helping the Commons, (O yee Tribunes) for to expose and cast them unarmed before the enemy, to have their throats cut? Ywis, if the meanest or basest person of your communalitie, which you have dismembred from the whole bodie of the people besides, and made it, as it were the native cuntry of your owne, and a Commonwealth peculiar onely to your selves; If any one of them I say, should bring you word, that his house were beset round about, with a meinie of servants and slaves in armour, you would thinke it meet that hee were aided and succoured: And when *Iup. Opti. Max.* was besieged with a power of armed outlawes and bondslaves, was he not worthe of mans helpe? And yet these men would be counted and held for *Sacresancti*, i. Sacred and inviolable, with whom the very gods themselves are not sacred and inviolate. And notwithstanding, that yee are thus overcharged and stained with sins both against God and man, yee goe up and downe, and say, That this yeare you will get your law to passe, and make it sure. Pardie, if ye prefer it againe, then I must needs say the Commonweale is ill bested, and had a shrewd turne that day whereon I was created Consull, yea and worse a good deale, than at what time *P. Valerius* the Consull was slaine. But now first and foremost (quoth he) O Quirites, my colleague and I both, are minded to lead forth our legions immediatly against the Volscians and the Acquians; how the divine providence of God hath appointed it, I know not, but surely we find the gods more gracious and favorable unto us in our wars ordinarily, than in time of peace. And in what danger we had stood of those nations, in case they had known that the Capitoll was in the hands and possession of outlawes, better it is to guesse by that which is past, than to trie indeed by present experience. The Consull his oration moved & galled the Commons. The Nobles took hart, & were in a good beleef, that the world was well mended, and the state better reformed. The other Cos. more hartly to follow than to lead, and who was well content that his fellow had broken the yee before, & taken in hand to deale first in so weighty a matter, willingly challenged

The Orator of
St. Quintus Cinc-
in arms, repro-
ving the Senate
and Commons of
Rome.

* *Patricius*.

P. Valerius in the
Consull's house.

Hee beinge there,
the Consull's
house.

* Quadrants, a
piece of brasse,
where the money
was cast, and
was called a
quadrant.

lenged unto himselfe the charge to performe the part and office of a Consull, in the execution and accomplishment of those designements. But then the Tribunes made a game therat, & setting light at the Consull his words, inferred againe and demanded, how the Consuls would lead out an armie, and no man suffer them to muster souldiors. Marry (quoth *Quintius*) we need no mustering at all: for, at what time as *P. Valerius* armed the Commons to recover again the Capitoll, they were all swome unto him, and tooke their oath in this forme, *To assemble together at the Consull his commandement, and not depart from their colors without his leave and licence.* Wee will and charge you all therfore, that have taken this oath to present your selves to morrow, with your armor, at the lake of *Regillus* without faile. Then the Tribunes began to cavil and wrangle, and would needes have the people discharged in their conscience of that oath: alleading how when they tooke that militarie sacrament, *Quintius* was but a privat person. There was not as yet, that neglect and contempt of the gods entered into the world, which now reigneth every where and is so rife: neither did men interpret their oathes, and construe lawes, to serve their own purpose, but rather attemperd and framed their lives and demeanour therunto. The Tribunes therfore, seeing no hope to hinder the thing, began themselves to treat about seding forward the army: and the rather, because there ran a rumour abroad, that the Augurs were commaunded to attend at the lake *Regillus*: and that by them a place should be halowed and consecrate there, wherein the Consuls might duly commune and conferre with the people, concerning all matters, according to the sight of birdes: to the end that whatsoever at Rome had passed under a lawe, extorted by the violent force of the Tribunes; the same might there in a lawfull assembly and generall Session, be abrogated & made void by the suffrages of the souldiors, who all no doubt would accord to that, which should stand with the Consuls pleasure. For by reason that there was no appeale in force without the citie, above one mile, the Tribunes themselves also, if they came thither, should be subject as well as the multitude besides of the people, to the commandement of the Consuls. These matters scared them indeed and put them in a bodily feare: but the greatest thing above all the rest that disquieted their hearts was this, that *Quintius* oftentimes had given out and said, That he would not call an assembly of the people for the election of Consull, for that the city was growen so farre out of frame and temper, that it might not be reformed and cured with ordinary and usuall remedies: but that the Common-wealth had more need of a Dictator, that whosoever went about to trouble the state of the city, might well know that there was an absolute Dictatorship, that checked all appeales. The Senate was assembled at that time in the Capitoll; thither came the Tribunes with their Commons greatly disquieted and troubled. The multitude cried out and besought one while the Consuls of their favour, another while the LL. of the Senate of their protection; but could nor once remoove the Consull from his opinion (such a pitch had he taken) before the Tribunes gave their word & faithfull promise, that they would be wholly ruled and ordered by the Senators. Then the Consull propounded the demands and petitions of the Tribunes and Commons, and the Senate enacted these orders and decrees. First, that neither the Tribunes should that yeare presere their lawe: nor the Consuls lead out of the city any armie. Item from thence forth, the Senate deemed it not to stande with the weale publike, that Magistrates should continue still in place from yeare to yeare, & that the same persons should be more than once chosen Tribunes. The Consuls for their part, were overruled and ordered by the Senators. But, say and gainsay what the Consuls would, the same Tribunes were chosen anew: and the Nobles also because they would not be one ace behind hand with the Commons, would needes choose *L. Quintius* likewise for their Consull againe. But all the yeare through was not the Consull more earnest and vehement in any action and speech whatsoever than in this. Should I mervaille my Lords of the counsell (quoth he) that you beare no stroke with the Cominallty, and your authority is so little worth among them? Why, you, even your owne selves set light thereby: seeing, forsooth, the Commons brake the ordinance of the Senate, touching the continuitie of Magistrates; ye also, because ye would not seeme to yeeld one yuch in rashnesse and folly to the multitude, are as readie and willing to infringe the same: as who would say, this were to have more rule and authority in a citie, namely, to use more levitie, inconstancie, and licentiousnesse. For it is a point of much more lightnes and vanitie, I assure you, For men to disanull the actes and decrees of their owne making, than of others. Yee that be Senators and Fathers of the C. VV. imitate, and spare not, the ignorant, leawd, and inconsiderate multitude: ye that should give good examples to others, sinne ye hardly your selves, and doe amisse by the precedent of others; neither then let others by your example doe well: so long

A long as I, for my part, take not after the Tribunes, nor suffer my selfe to be declared Cos. against an expresse act of the Senat. As to you, *O Claudius*, I would exhort you, that both your selfe would restrain the people of Rome of this their licentiousnesse, that thus they have not their swinge: and also that you would perswade your selfe thus much of me, That so farre off will I be from thinking my honour by you impaired, that rather I will take my glory to be encreased by the despising & refusing of a dignitie; & the ill wil and envie abated & diminished, that might grow upon the continuation thereof. Whereupon, both the Consuls jointly together made an edict and proclamation, That no man should (by his voice) nominate *Quintius*, Consull: and if any man did, they would not allow of his election. So there were created Consuls: *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the third time, and *L. Cornelius Maluginensis*.

B In this yeare was held a selling and numbring of the citizens: But touching the Lustum, there was some scruple of conscience; because the Capitoll had been taken, and the Consull slain. When *Q. Fabius* and *Lucius Cornelius* were thus Consuls, sodenly in the very beginning of their yeare began great troubles: for the Tribunes on the one side, as their guile was, set the Commons a worke: the Latines and Hernicks on the other side, sent word of great wars from the Volscians and Aequians: That the Volscian legions were already at Antium, and the Colonie it selfe greatly suspected to rebell. Yet hardly could the Tribunes be brought to agree, that preparation should be made aforehand to prevent this warre. But upon these newes, the Consuls parted betwene themselves the charge of all affaires. *Fabius* was appointed to lead forth an armie to Antium: and *Cornelius*, to abide at Rome for the defence of the city, for feare least some part of their enemies, as the Aequians manner was, should in a running campe make rodes and harry the territories about. The Hernicks and Latines, were by vertue of the league, charged with the finding of certaine souldiors, so as the whole army should consist of ij. parts of confederates and onethird of citizens. When, at the day appointed the Allies were come, the Consull pitched downe his tentes without the gate Capena: from whence when he had taken a generall muster and purged his armie, he marched toward Antium, and encamped himselfe not far, either from the towne, or the standing campe of his enemies: where the Volscians seeing no forces yet come unto them from the Aequians, had no heart to fight, but made preparation how they might keepe themselves quiet and safe, within their mure and rampire. The morrow after, *Fabius* made not one entire battaile of Allies and citizens mingled together, but three battaillons severally by themselves, of three sundry nations, & raunged them along all about the counterscarpe and trench of his enemies. Himselfe was in the midst with the Romane legions, and gave commandement to observe heedfully and make the signall: that the Allies also should both begin battaile and also retire, when he sounded the retreat. In like sort he placed the horfmen behind the Principia at the backe of each battaile. Thus in three sundry parts he assailed the campe, and invironed it round about, and charging lustely hard upon them on every side, he beat the Volscians downe from their rampier, for they were not able to endure his violence. And having gotten over all their trenches and fortifications, he drave the fearefull multitude cleane out of their hold, that now were retired to a side and corner of the campe. The horfmen might not easily get over the trench, and stood still of purpose to behold the fight, and to marke them when they should flie: but having once gotten them in the open fieldes, they chased them as they ran away on heapes: and by killing them in their fearefull flight, deserved their part in that victorie. Great was the execution both within the campe, and also without the rampiers, as they fled: but greater was the pillage, for that the enemies had much ado to carry their armour away with them, and but that they throwded themselves as they fled in the woods, they had perished every man. During these exploits about Antium, the Aequians having sent before them the tallest and lustiest young men they had, surprised the castle of Tusculum, upon a fodaine and at unawares in the night season: and with the rest of their power they were encamped not far from the wals of Tusculum, intending to intercept and stay the armie of their enemies. Tidings hereof came in post to Rome, and from Rome to the campe before Antium, which troubled the Romanes as much as if newes had beene brought, that the Capitoll was taken. So fresh in remembrance was the late desert of the Tusculans: and the like jeopardy seemed to challenge and redemand semblable aide and succour. *Fabius* setting all other things aside, caused the booty in all hast to be conveyed out of the campe to Antium: where having left an indifferent garde, he hasteneth apace in order of battaile to Tusculum. By reason whereof, the souldiors could take nothing with them, but their armour, and such baked or boyled meats as were at hand ready.

die. The Consull (*Cornelius*) sent a convoy of victuals unto them from Rome. Thus for certaine months continued the warre at Tusculum. The Consull (*Fabius*) with one part of his host assailed the campe of the Aequians: for the other part he had let the Tusculans have, to win again their fortresse. Against all force it was impregnable, but in the ende famine constrained the enemies to abandon it. To which extremity being at length driven, they were by the Tusculans disarmed and compelled to passe naked under the yoke. Who as they fled homeward with shame enough, were overtaken of the Romane Consull in Algidum, and put to the sword every one. After this victory, he encamped with the rest of his armie at Columen, for so the place is named. The other Consull likewise, seeing that there was no danger threatening the wals of Rome, now that the enemy was discomfited and repulsed, departed himselfe from the citie. So the Consuls entering two waies the borders of their enemies, made sharpe war and spoiled the Volscians of the one side, and the Aequians on the other. I finde in most writers that the Antiates in this yeare rebelled: and that *L. Cornelius* the Consull managed that warre, and won the towne. But for as much as there is no mention made of that matter in any ancient writers, I dare not avouch it for a certaine truth.

This warre was no sooner brought to an end, but the domestickall Tribunes warre at home put the Nobles in feare: for the Tribunes cried out that this was cautelous and fraudulent dealing, thus to keepe the armies abroad, for nothing els but to disappoint them for publishing the law. Yet nevertheless, since they had begun it, they would not give over, but go through with it and see an end. Howbeit *P. Lucretius*, President of the cittie for the time, prevailed thus much with them, That all Tribunitian actions should hang and be deferred untill the coming of the Consuls. There was besides a new occasion arose of fresh trouble. *A. Cornelius* and *Quintus Servilius* Questours, gave summons to *M. Volscius* to make his answer at a day, who laide to his charge that he without all doubt, had borne false witness against *Cæso*. For by many presumptions and evidences it appeared, that neither *Volscius* his brother, from the first time that he fell sicke and tooke his bed, was at any time seene openly in the streetes, or so much as to have sit up, and mended any whit, but of that disease which held him many monethes, he languished and consumed away to death: nor about that time, wherein the deponent supposed the deede was done, was *Cæso* once seene at Rome: it being plainly affirmed and proved by those who served together with him in the warres, that he was ordinarily all the time fighting vnder his colours as well as they, without any passport or licence to depart. And to make this good, many there were that of themselves privately challenged *Volscius*, and offered to traverse the law and to be tried by any indifferent and competent judges. But when as he durst not abide the triall and to be judged, all these things put together, and so consonant one to the other, made men doubt no more of the condemnation of *Volscius* than of *Cæso*, which was grounded upon the bare testimony of *Volscius*. The Tribunes were only the stay; who said plainly they would not suffer the Questours to holde any sessions or judicall court, for the triall of the defendant, before they had a solemne assembly about their law. So were both these matters put off unto the Consuls coming. Who being entred with triumph into the city, with their victorious armie, and no wordes made of the law, many men thought the Tribunes were cleane daunted and stricken dead. But they (for that the yeare now was at an end) aspiring to be Tribunes the fourth time, left all their hoat contention for the law, and reserved themselves wholly to argue and reason at the assembly for the Election of new Magistrates. And albeit the Consuls had bent all their might and maine against the continuity of the Tribuneship, as earnestly, as if a law had been propounded, tending to the impairing and abridging of their majesty, yet got the Tribunes the matrie, and had the hand of them in the end. In this yeare peace was granted upon request and petition, unto the Aequians. And the Seßing, which the yeare before began, was now finished. And this was counted the tenth generall Survey and solemne purging of the cittie from the foundation thereof. There were numbered in the Censé-booke, of citizens 132419 polles. A glorious and honourable yeare it was unto the Consuls, both at home and in warre. For they not onely procured peace abroad, but also the Cittie was, if not in perfect concord and unitie, yet in lesse trouble than at other times. *L. Minutius*, and *L. Quintius*, that were created Consuls, entred upon the reliques of the two matters begun the former yeare. And much after one sort, as the Consuls crossed the going forward of the law, so the Tribunes hindered the judicall proceeding against *Volscius*. But the new Questours were men of more power and greater authoritie. For, together with *M. Valerius*, the sonne of *Valerius*, and nephew of *Falsus*, was *T. Quintius Capitolinus* created Questour,

A a man that had ben thrice Consull. Forasmuch therefore, as *Cæso*, the worthiest gentleman of all other, and the very ornament of the youth of Rome, could not be restored again, neither to the house of the *Quintii*, nor to the Commonweale, he pursued of meere pietie, with just and lawful warre, that false witness, who would not suffer on any hand the innocent person to have the libertie to plead in his owne defence. And when *Virginius*, most of all the other Tribunes, was earnest to publish the law, the Consuls had two months respite given them to consider thereof, and looke into it thoroughly: to the end, that when they had advertised the people what secret fraud and inconvenience was hidden and lurked therein, they might afterwards suffer them to proceed to a scrutiny, and gather voices accordingly. This space between granted, brought the citie into a good and quiet state.

B But the Aequians would not abide, that long it should continue so. Who having broken the league, which the yeare before was made with the Romanes, chose *Gracchus Clulius* for their governour and Generall, who was in those daies the greatest man amongst the Aequians. Vnder the conduct of this *Gracchus*, they enter first in warlike manner the countrey of Lanuvium, and from thence into the territorie of Tusculum, spoiling and ransacking as they went: and being loaden with preyes and booties, they pitch their tents in Algidum. Thither repaired from Rome into their campe, *Q. Fabius P. Valerius*, & *A. Posthumus* as embassadors, to complain of wrongs received, and to demand amends and satisfaction according to covenant. The Generall of the Aequians seemed to graunt them audience, and willed them to declare what message and commission they had from the Senate of Rome, unto the oke; for that himselfe had some other matters to dispatch the while. Now there grew a mightie great Oke hard by the Generall his pavilion, spreading his boughes even over it, and the shadow thereof served for a coole sitting place. Then one of the Embassadors, as he went his way: Let both this sacred Oke (quoth he) & what divine power forever is seated in this place, hear and know, that by you first the league is broken, who now regard our present complaints, and shortly assist our valiant armies, when we shall prosecute and revenge at once the disloyall breach, both of Gods lawes and mans. So soone as the Embassadors were returned to Rome, the Senate gave direction, that one of the Consuls should lead forth an armie against *Gracchus*, into Algidum, and the other to have in commission, to wast the borders of the Aequians. The Tribunes, as their manner was, hindered the muster, and peradventure had staied it altogether, but for a new fearefull occurrent that suddenly came in the necke of the other. For a mightie power of Sabines were approached well-neere to the wals of the citie, robbing, spoiling, and destroying all afore them with sword and fire. The territorie was piteously round about laid desolate, and the citie therewith sore terrified. Then the Commons stomackes came downe, and gently they tooke weapon in hand: and (say what the Tribunes would against it) two great armies were enrolled. *Quintius* had the leading of the one against the Sabines: and being encamped at Eretum, with small rodes and incursions, and those for the most part by night, made such foule worke and wast in the Sabines countrey, that in comparison thereof, the lands about Rome, seemed as if they had not bene once touched. *Minutius* in his exploits, had neither like good successe, nor yet egall courage and valour of heart. For having pitched his tents not far from the enemy, and received no great foile and losse at his hands to speake of, yet hee kept himselfe for feare within the campe. Which when the enemies perceived, they grew more bold (as commonly the cowardise of one increaseth the courage of another) and assailed the campe in the night season: but seeing that plain force finally prevailed, the morrow after they raised mounts, and cast trenches round about. But before they had with their countermures and rampires stopped up all passages, five horsemen being sent even amongst the guards of the enemies, brought newes to Rome, that the Consull with his armie was besieged. Nothing could there have happened so little thought of, and unlooked for: whereupon there was such feare, trembling, and quaking, as if the enemies had besieged not the campe, but the very citie. *Nautius* the Consull they send for, and because they thought him like to do but small good, they agreed therfore to create a Dictator, who might restore again the distressed state of the C.W. And *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* by consent of all men was nominated.

C Now a world and wonder it is to hear them speak, that in regard of riches despise all things else; and suppose there can be no great honor and vertue, but where wealth and riches doe flow in excess. This *L. Quintius*, the only hope of the Romanes, the man who was to set upright their Empire now distressed, occupied then a peece of ground, to the quantitie of some foure acres, called at this day *Quintia prata*, i. *Quintius* his meddowes, on the other side of Tyber, over against that

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Quintius nominated Dictator, found all going, lay ground with his owne hands.

very

very place, where now the Arsenall and Shipdocks are, and there was hee found digging a ditch, and bearing hard on his spade, or els a plowing the ground, I wote not whether, but busie and earnest about some rustical worke, no doubt he was: and after salutations passed on both sides, betwene him and the Embassadors that were sent, he was requested by them, that he would put on his best gown, and (that which might turne to the good of himselfe and the Commonweale) heare a message from the Senat. First, he marvelled what the matter should be, and eftsoones asking of them if all were well, he willett his wife *Racilia* to bring him forth his Senators robe straightway, out of his forie cottage: which he put on his back (but first he brushed off the dust, and wiped away his sweat, & made himselfe somewhat manly) & then came forth unto them, who in joyous manner, by way of congratulation, stiled him by the name of Dictator: calling hard upon him to repaire unto the citie, and declaring in how doubtfull tearmes the armie stood. Then was there a barge provided readie for *Quintius*, at the citties cost: and being ferried over the river, his three sonnes met him and received him first, then other of his kinsfolke and friends; and after them the more part of the Senators. Thus attended with this frequent companie, and with the Sergeants going before, was he brought to his house. Great concourse there was also of the Commons: but nothing so joyous were they, to see *Quintius*, supposing that government of his overgreat and absolute, and himselfe a man in time of his rule, too imperious. And for that night verilie, nothing was done, but a good standing watch kept in the citie. The morrow after, the Dictatour being come into the common place of assemblie before day-light, appointed Generall of the horse, *L. Tarquinius*, of Noble blood descended: a man who for meere povertie had ever served on foot, but of all the flower of Rome was reputed and taken to bee a brave servitour, and an excellent fouldiour. Then *Quintius* with his Generall of horsemen, mounteth up into the pulpit aloft: proclaimeth a publicke vacation or Lawtied: commandeth all shop windowes through the citie to bee shut, and chargeth that no man should follow any private businesse of his owne. Then, as manie as were of age to fight, were willed to shew themselves in their armour, before the sunne set, in *Mars* field, everie one with victuals dressed for five daies, and with twelve forked stakes a peece, for to pitch in the rampart. And that whosoever were above that age, and were unwelddie, and not meet for service, should dresse and provide victuals for the next fouldiour unto him, whiles hee himselfe made readie his armour, and sought for stakes aforesaid. Thus ran the young and able men to and fro, to furnish themselves with stakes, and tooke wheresoever they could find, and whatsoever was next hand: no man was forbidden, and so they were all readie with heart and good will, according to the Dictator his proclamation. Then went the Dictator forth with the legions of footmen, the Maister of the horse likewise with his men of armes, in such good order & array, as might not onely serve for a speedie march to rid ground, but also for a set battell if occasion served. In both regiments they spared not to encourage and exhort their fouldiours, according as the present time required: willing them to set foot forward, to mend their pace & make speed, that by night time they might reach to their enemies: and not (say they) before there was great need: for that the Romane Confull and armie were besieged, and had now three daies already been pent up fast inclosed: and what might happen in one day or one night, no man knew: for oftentimes in the twinkling of an eie, & in the very turning of an hand, there fall out accidents of right great moment and importance. On afore apace, Ensigne crieth one: follow fouldiour, thus another. Thus went they also lustily forward, and all to gratifie and pleasure their captains. So that by midnight they were come into *Algidum*: and so soone as they perceived their enemies to be neere at hand, they pitched downe their ensignes. Then the Dictator rode about as farre forth as he could see in the darke, and having viewed well the situation, coasting, and fashion of the campe, commanded the Marshalls and Colonels to give direction, That all the carriage and baggage, should bee laid up together in one place, and that the fouldiours with their armour and stakes only, should come againe into their ranks. What he commanded was soone done. Then in the same order that he marched, he draweth out his host in length, & compasseth the campe of his enemies, and commandeth them all (upon a signall or watchword given) to set up a shout, and presently upon the shout to cast a trench, and every man sticke downe his pale in the rampier. Having given this charge, straightwaies the signall followed. The fouldiours doe that which they were bidden: the shout was heard over all the campe of the enemies, yea and into the Confull his campe: causing in the one great feare, in the other exceeding joy. The Romanes rejoicing one with another to heare the shout of their fellow citizens and countymen,

with

A with a conceit of their coming to rescue, begin of themselves from their sentinels and *Corps de guard*, to threaten and terrifie their enemies. The Conful set them forward and said, there was now no staying for the matter, nor delais to be made: for that it appeared by that arme, that not only their friends were come with succours, but also had begon to skirmish: and that it was all to nothing, that their enemies campe, was already on the outward side assaulted. Whereupon, he commandeth his fouldiours to arme, and to follow hard after him. Thus in the night began the skirmish, and the legions of the Dictator by their outcry and shouting made signification, that the enemies on that side also were driven to their shifts and in great hazard. By this time the *Aequians* had addressed themselves to impeach them in their trenching and making of their rampier, to the end they might not be compassed about: but the arme was given and the skirmish already begun by their enemies within: fearing therefore, lest they would breake through the midst of their campe, they turned from the pioners & workmen without, to them that fought within, and thereby gave the other leave to plie their worke and labour all the night long at their pleasure: and so they maintained skirmish with the Cof, until daie light. Now by the breake of day, they were entrenched on every side by the Dictator, and were scarce able to hold out battaile with one of the armies. Then the host of *Quintius*, which presently upon the finishing of the trench returned to their weapons, entered upon the mures and rampiers of the enemies. Here began a fresh conflict againe, and yet the former nothing abated. The enemies then, seeing themselves thus distressed and so hardly driven on every side, left fighting and fell to intreating: they besought the Cof, on one side, and the Dictator on the other, that they would not get the victorie by effusion of blood and cruell massacre, but would permit them to go their waies naked without their weapons. The Confull he posted them off to the Dictator: who being in great wrath & displeasure, would not be contented without their shame and ignominie besides. But commanded that *Cluilius* their general, with other Colonels and Captaines should be brought bound unto him. Item he enjoyed them to abandon and quit the towne of *Corbio*: as for the *Aequians* blood, he sought not for it, he had no neede thereof: they might depart with their lives. Howbeit, because he would have it now at length, maugre their heads, confessed, that their nation was vanquished and subdued; his will and pleasure was, they should passe al under the yoke or gallows: the manner whereof is this. They tooke three speares or javelins, and set two of them pitched in the ground endlong, and the third overthwart fastned to the other. Under this kind of gallows the Dictator compelled the *Aequians* to go. Thus having gotten the tents of his enemies full of all kind of store (for naked he sent them under the yoke) the whole pillage he bestowed upon his own fouldiours only: and rebuking sharply the Consuls armie and the Cof, himselfe, Yee shal (quoth he) fouldiours, go without your part of bootie won of the enemy, whose bootie ye had like your selves to have been. And as for thee, *O L. Minutius*, until thou begin to have the heart and courage becomming a Conful, thou shalt be a Lieutenant onely over these legions. So *Minutius* being discharged of his Consulship, remained still as he was commanded, with the armie. But so well were men content in those daies, willingly to yeeld obedience to them that better could command, That this armie in remembrance hereof, as of a favour received, rather then of a disgrace offered, both ordained for the Dictatour a coronet of gold of one pound weight: and also when he went homeward, saluted him by the name of their Patron. At Rome the Senate being assembled together by *Q. Fabius* Provost of the citie, decreed that *Quintius* should enter the citie in triumph with his armie marching in battail array as he came. Before his chariot were led the commanders of his enemies: the ensignes are carried afore, then followed the armie laden with spoile and pillage. Great cheere and banquets were set out, men say, upon tables at every mans dore. Thus making merry, they followed the chariot with songs of triumph, with sports and merrie conceits, as they are wont to doe at their great and solemne feasts. The same day *L. Mamilius* the *Tusculane*, with the approbation & good liking of all men, was enfranchised citizen of Rome. And forthwith would the Dictat, have resigned up his office, but that the court, held for the triall of *M. Volscius*, endited of bearing false witness, staid him: and in truth, the Tribunes would have hindered the judiciall proceeding against him, if they had not stood in awe of the Dictatour. But *Volscius* was convicted and had sentence, and departed to *Lanuvium* in exile. And *Quintius* having taken the Dictatorship for six moneths, gave it over the sixteenth day after he entered into it. About the same time the Confull *Nautius* fought valiantlie with the *Sabines* at *Erenum*: who besides the wasting of their fields, had an overthrow in fight. *Fabius* was sent into *Algidum*, to succede in the roome of *Minutius*. In the end of

36 lb. angel
gold.
L. Quintius tri-
umpheth.

the

the yeare, the Tribunes began to stir, about their law: but because the two armies were absent, the Senatours prevailed so much at that time, that no bills were propounded unto the people. The Commons likewise obtained, that they might create the selfesame Tribunes, now the fifth time. The report goeth, that there were scene in the Capitol, wolves chased away by hounds: for which strange sight, the Capitoll was purged. And these were the acts of that yeare. Then followed Consuls *Q. Minutius* and *M. Horatius Pulvillus*.

In the beginning of which yeare, whiles all was quiet abroad, the same Tribunes and the same law caused disention and sedition at home: which would have grown to a farther mischief, in such heates men were, had not word been brought, as it were of set purpose, that the garizon at Corbio was surprized in the night by the *Æquians* and put to the sword: wherupon the Consuls called the Senate together: and order was given, that they should lead a Subitarie armie, and with a running campe invade *Algidum*. Then was the strife about the law laid aside cleane, and a new contention arose about the musters. But the Consuls with all their authoritie, were overswaied of the Commons, by the help and assistance of the Tribunes. At what time a new trouble put them in feare: for intelligence came, that a power of *Sabines* were come downe alreadie into the territories of Rome, for to fetch booties and make spoile: and from thence advanced against the citie. Vpon which feare, the Tribunes were content that souldiours should be prest, yet not without this covenant indented: That for as much as they had now themselves these five yeares been trifled off and deluded, and that this Protectorship of theirs stood the Commons in little steed, in regard of their small number, therefore, there should from thenceforth be ten created Tribunes of the Communalitie. The Nobles were so neere driven and to such streights, that will they, nill they, yeeld they must thereto: with this provizo, that they should never after elect the same men Tribunes twise. And for feare that this act should after the warre was once past, turne to nothing, like as others had done before, they went in hand immediatly, to call a Court for the election of the Tribunes. So in the 36. yeare, from the first Tribunes of the Commons chosen, there were ten created; out of every Classis, two. And by an act it was provided, that in such sort they should be created ever after. The Multers then being taken and souldiours enrolled, *Minutius* went with a power against the *Sabines*: but found not the enemy. And *Horatius*, because the *Æquians* after they had put the garizon at Corbio to the sword, had won *Hortana* besides, fought with them in *Algidum*. Many a man there he slew, and drave his enemies not onely out of *Algidum*, but also out of Corbio and *Hortana*. As for Corbio he utterly rased it, for betraying the garizon there. After this, were *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Virginius* made Consuls. At quiet they were both at home and abroad. But great scarcitie there was of corne, by reason of the untemperate and unseasonable raine that fell. A bill there was preferred, That the mount *Aventine* should be turned to Commons. And the same Tribunes were made againe: who, all the yeare following, when *T. Romulus* and *C. Veturius* were Consuls, in all their Haules and assemblies, still published the law: saying, It was a shame, that their number was thus increased to no purpose, in case their affaires should lie dead in their two yeares, as they had done in the whole v. yeares past. While they were earnestly debating these things, fearful messengers came in all hast from *Tusculum*, with newes, that the *Æquians* were in the territorie of *Tusculum*. The fresh desert of that nation would not suffer the Romanes for shame to defer their helping hand. Wherupon both Consuls were sent with an armie, and met with the enemies in *Algidum* in their wonted haunt and accustomed place, where they encountered & struck a battaile: in which were slaine about 7000. enemies. The rest were put to flight. A huge bootie there was gotten, which the Consuls sold outright, by reason of the want of money in their common treasure. But this caused the souldiours to repine and grudge, and in the end ministred matter unto the Tribunes, to accuse the Consuls unto the Commons. As soone therefore as they were out of their office, when *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Aternius* were Consuls: *Romulus* was arrested and put in suite by *C. Claudius Cicero*, Tribune of the Commons. And *Veturius* was likewise troubled by *L. Valerius* an *Edile* or *Varden* of the Commons. Condemned they were both the one and the other, to the great indignation of the Nobles. *Romulus* was fined in 10000 Asles: *Veturius* in 15000. But for all this hard hap and calamitie that befell to those former Consuls, the new were never a jore more remisse and coole in the quarrell: saying, Weill may we also be cast and condemned: and both Commons and Tribunes never the neerer to compasse and enact their law. Then the Tribunes giving over the law, which now by propounding onely to use, was waxen stale and old; began more gently to deale with the Senatours, praying them to make an

A end once of all strife and contention. And in case that the laws of the Commons so disliked and displeased them, they requested them to suffer certaine Lawmakers to be created indifferently out of the Communalitie, as well as of the Nobilitie, who might devise acts commodious and profitable to both parts, and for the equall libertie and freedome of all. As for the substance it selfe of this motion, the Senatours refused not: but they flatly said, that none but of the Nobilitie should have the making of those laws. Seeing then they agreed thus about the lawes, and differed only and squared about the Lawgiver, there were Embassadors sent to Athens, *Sp. Posthumius Albus*, *A. Manlius*, and *P. Sulpitius Camerinus*: who were commanded to exemplifie and copie out the famous and worthy lawes of *Solon*: to search out and learne the ordinances, customes, and rites of other citties in Greece. For any outward warres, this yeare was quiet, and the yeare following more quiet, when *P. Curvatus* and *Sex. Quinctilius* were Consuls, by reason of the continual silence of the Tribunes: which, as the expectation of the Embassadors that were gone to Athens, and of strange and forraine lawes, first and principally procured: so, two mightie calamities that rose both at once, to wit, famine and pestilence, noisome and loadsome both to man and beast, afterwards continued. By meanes whereof, the fields lay wast and desolate, the citie was dispeopled with continuall burials: many right worshipfull and honourable houses, thereby mourned. *Sergius Cornelius*, the Flamine of *Quirinus* died thereof. *C. Horatius Pulvillus* the Augur went of it likewise: in whose roome the Augurs (his confreers) chose *C. Veturius*: and the rather, because he had been condemned by the people. *Quinctilius* the Consull departed also this life, and foure Tribunes of the Commons. So that this was a yeare, with manifold losses and calamities foule destined. But for enemies, all was quiet. After this were *C. Menenius*, and *P. Sestius Capitolinus* made Consuls. In which yeare likewise there was no warre abroad, marry at home some troubles arose. By this time were the Embassadors returned with the Athenian lawes. And therefore the Tribunes were so much the more earnest & urgent, that once at length they would set on, to describe and put downe some lawes. And agreed it was, that there should be created Decemvirs, above all appeale: and for the yeare being, there should no other officers and magistrates be in place. Now, whether any of these might be of the Commons or no, that was a question: and hereupon some debate and controversie continued for a good while. At the last, the Nobles went away with it, and had the preheminence, upon this condition, that neither the law *scilicet*, concerning the *Aventine* mount, nor other sacred lawes should be repealed. Thus in the three hundred and second yeare after that Rome was built, was the forme of the citties government changed the second time, and from the Consuls to the Decemviri, was the soveraign rule translated, like as before, from the kings to the Consuls.

This change was lesse notable, in that it long continued not. The beginning of this Magistracie was faire and goodly to see to, but grew too rancke, and exceeded in overmuch licentiousnesse. The sooner therefore it faded and fell away, and the former government was taken up again, and both the name and jurisdiction of Consuls returned, and was conferred upon twaine. The Decemvirs created were these: *Sp. Claudius*, *T. Genucius*, *P. Sestius*, *L. Veturius*, *C. Julius*, *A. Manlius*, *P. Sulpitius*, *P. Curvatus*, *T. Romulus*, *Sp. Posthumius*, *Claudius* and *Genucius*, because they had been Consuls elect for that yeare, had this dignitie bestowed upon them, in lieu of the other. And *Sestius*, one of the Consuls the year before, because he had preferred this matter unto the Senatours, against his fellow Consuls will. Next to these were counted the three Embassadors that went to Athens, both for that they should be rewarded with this honourable dignitie, for their embassage into so farre and remote a cuntry, and also because men were perswaded, that by reason of their insight and skill in forraine ordinances of strange nations, they might be well employed in setting downe, and making of new. The rest made up the number. They say, that in the last scrutines and suffrages at this election, choise was made of those that were more aged, and farther steeped in yeares, to the end they might not so fiercely and stoutly gainesay and crosse the opinions and constitutions of the other. In this new state of government, *Appius* was the man that bare the greatest stroke, he ruled the rest and swaied all the rest, so highly stood he in grace and favour with the people. He had so altered his nature, and became such a new man, that all on a suddaine, of a cruell and terrible persecutor of the commons, he proved a very *Publicola*, and courter of the Communalitie, and one that lay for to get every gale of popular love and favour that might be had. Everie one sat his tenth day in place of judgement, and ministered justice in their severall turnes unto the people. On which day, the twelve knitches of rods were born by the *Lictors* before the soveraigne judge: as for his nine brethren, they had each of them one

Embassadors sent into Greece for to search out the laws.

Ten Magistrats called Decemvirs, in presence of the making of lawes.

serjeant to give attendance. In this agreement among themselves, (which accord otherwhiles G when they were private persons, had been hurtfull unto them) rested only and wholly the greatest equitie towards others. A prooffe and argument of this their moderation, it shall be sufficient to observe now in the example and instance of one onely matter: For whereas they were created absolute, and past all appeale, it fortuned, that in the house of *P. Sestius*, a Nobleman, there was a dead bodie found buried, and brought forth openly into the publicke assemblie of the people. The thing being no lesse apparent in view, than hainous and horrible in fact, *C. Claudius* a Decemvir, brought *Sestius* in question therefore, put him in suit to answer at a certain day, and became plaintife unto the people, and accused that defendant, whose competent judge he was by order of law. And so he yeelded of his owne right: adding so much to the freedom of the people, as was taken from the power of his owne jurisdiction and government. When as now both high and low gave out, that this authoritie was sound and uncorrupt, and set as it were from Oracle, and Gods owne mouth, and all men willing to accept of justice at their hands: then set they to it, and went about the making and giving of lawes. And with great expectation of men, they set out ^{the ten tables of} ~~the~~ ^{Romane Lawes.} Tables, and called the people to a generall assemblie, commanding them in a good hower, and in the name of God to go, and (that which might turne to the good, to the benefite, & happines of the Commonweale, of themselves, their children and posteritie) to read the law there published: protesting, that they so farre as ten men could withall their wisdom foresee and provide for, had devised indifferent lawes, and equall for all sorts of calling, as well the best as the meanest. But for as much as the wits and heads of many men, were of deeper reach to see farther into things, they gave them good leave, to cast in their minds, and ponder with themselves each particular, yea and to reason together from point to point, and thereof to deliver their opinion openly, what was short and wanting, or what was superfluous, in everie article: and looke what lawes the consent of all men seemed to bring in, those should the people accept, and none other: that it might appear they were not so much to approve of them, and give their assent after they were propounded, as to propose and preferre them their own selves. And when as they were thought sufficiently corrected, according to the speeches of men, and as every one spake to the severall titles and chapters of the lawes, as they were set forth: then in the high court of parliament, assembled of all the Centuries and degrees of men, the laws of ten Tables were enacted and established. Which even at this day, among that infinite number of statutes, heaped and huddled one upon another, are the verie well-spring and fountaine of all justice, both publicke and private. After this, there ran a rumour abroad, That two tables were yet wanting, which if they were put unto the rest, then might the complete bodie as it were of the whole Romane law be finished and made perfite. The expectation thereof, now that the great Lic-day drew neere for the Election, made men very desirous to create Decemvirs againe, the second time. Now the Commons abroad, besides that they hated the verie name of Consuls, as well as of Kings, sought not greatly for the protection of the Tribunes: seeing that the Decemvirs one after another, yeelded in their prerogative, and admitted in some sort the appeale. But after that the solemne assemblie for the chusing of Decemvirs, was published against the **Trinundinum*, or third market day next ensuing, to such an heighth was the ambition and desire of this dignitie growne, that the verie cheefe men, and principall heads of the cittie (for feare, I beleeve, least the possession of so great a government, in case they were not invested themselves in the place, should lie open unto some unmeet and unworthie persons) went about and made court to everie man, suing in humble manner to those verie Commons, with whom they had been at strife and variance, for that honour and dignitie, which they themselves had with all their power and might impugned. The worthinesse and reputation of men of those yeares, and having borne and gone through such offices, being now come in question, & submitted to the choise and judgement of others, pricked on *Ap. Claudius*, and set him forward. So as a man could hardly know whether to reckon him among the Decemvirs, or those that stood to be Decemvirs againe. For otherwhiles he was more like one that sued for an office, than him that presently bare office: blaming personages of best qualitie in the citie, and laying hard to their charge: but extolling the vaine & basest of the Competitors. Himselfe in person sorting among M the *Duillij* and *teijij*, and such like as favoured the Tribunes, went swinging and squaring in the common place, using them as instruments to vendicate himselfe forth to the common people. So long, as at length his verie brethren in office, who untill that time had bene singularly addicted and affectionated unto him, cast their eyes upon him, and began to marke, and marvaile much what his meaning was: reasoning thus among themselves: Surely there is no found- nesse

A nesse nor goodnesse herein, but all meere dissimulation and hypocrisie. Certes, it is not for nought, that in such pride of his, there should appeare so much courtesie. What? to force his owne nature too much within compasse: to debase himselfe, and suffer private men to bee his fellowes, was a signe of one, that made not so much hast to forgoe a dignitie and promotion, as sought meanes to keepe it still: Openly they durst not presume to checke and withstand his ambitious desire, but assailed by pleasing and soothing him up, to repress and bridle his foolish affection. And seeing he was the youngest of his companie, they all with one accord laid upon him the charge, to hold the high court for the Election of Decemvirs. Their drift and policie was, that he should not elect his owne selfe: a thing, which unlesse it were the Tribunes againe, (and that was a most dangerous precedent and example) no man ever had don before. And he, with all his heart accepting thereof, made profession that he would be President of that honourable court and Session, and praised to the gods that he might performe it for the benefit of the weale publicke. And so, tooke the vantage of that opportunity, to set forward his owne designe, which they meant should have stopped and crossed the same. And after he had by secret packing and canvassing with the other competitor, and given the repulse unto the two *Quintij* (*Capitolinus*, and *Cincinthus*) and put beside the quishion his owne Vnckle by the fathers side (*C. Claudius*, a most stout and resolute champion of the Nobilitie) with other citizens of like marke and qualitie: he createth Decemvirs, such as were not for worth, port, and haviour, to them comparable, and his owne sweete selfe with the first. Which as there was no man thought he ever would have done, so all good men misliked when it was done. With him were C elected *M. Cornelius Maluginensis*, *M. Sergius. L. Minutius. Q. Fabius Vibulanus. Q. Petilius. T. Antonius Merenda. Cajo Duillius. Sp. Oppius Cornicen. M. Rabuleius*. And there an end of *Appius* playing another mans part. Off went his maske and visour now, and so from thenceforth, he began to shew himselfe in his owne likeness, and to live in his kinde: yea and to frame his new companions to the bent of his bow, even before they were entred into office. Daie by daie had they their secret meetings by themselves apart from all other: and being once hereby furnished with ungratious and proud designments, which they had closely complotted together, they could no longer hold and dissimule their pride. Few might have access to them: feld would they be spoken with, shewing themselves strange, surly, and churlish to those that came unto them. Thus drew they the time on, unto the * Ides of Maie, which was the usuall and solemne daie then, of entering into offices of government. In the very beginning wherof, they made the first day of their magistracie noted, by an intimation and evident shew of exceeding terror. For whereas the Decemvirs their predecessors, had observed this order, That one alone should have the rods of State borne before him, and that these regall ornaments should passe round through them all in course one after another: Behold, these came all of them abroad, and each of them had his xij. bundles of rods caried before him. So that these Lic-tors, 120 in number, with their rods and axes too, fastned within the rods, tooke up and filled the whole *Forum* of common place, as they went. And for as much as they were created absolutely, and their commissiō ran without all appeale, men made this exposition, That to go with their axes or without was all one, and made no matter at all. Thus there was a shew and representation of ten KK. And this terror grew more & more E not with the meanest and basest sort only, but also with the chiefe and best of the Patritians: supposing that they sought to pick a quarell, and to minister occasion and ouerture to some massacre: that if any man should offer either in the Senate or among the people, to speake one word concerning libertie, forthwith there should be exemplarie whipping and heading, to the terror of all others. For, besides that, from the people there was no remedie and succour to be had, by reason that the appeale unto them was quite disanulled and taken away: the Decemvirs themselves, drew so all in one line together, and were so combined and linked, that there was no hope at all, that one would thwart and crosse that which another did: whereas the former Decemvirs could well abide, that their judgements and sentences should be censured and corrected, by the appellation or appeale to one of their brethren in commissiō: yea and in some cases put off F some matters from themselves to be decided by the people, which seemed properly to belong unto their owne jurisdiction. For a while, the feare was to all indifferent: but by little and little, the Commons onely began to seele the finart. The Nobles were forborne and escaped cleare and scotfree: the meane persons went to the wals, and with them they dealt according to their lust and pleasure right cruelly. The person wholly they regarded, and never respected the cause, as with whom favour and friendship prevailed as much as equity and right should have done. At

Two tables more
added to the
previous ones.

* 15 day of May.

home in their houses, they determined of matters how they should passe: and in open place G they pronounced sentence accordingly. If a man had appealed to one of their bench, from him unto whom he fled for reliefe, he went his waies again by weeping crosse, repenting that he stood not to the order and injunction awarded by the former. It was thought and spoken also abroad, but the first author would not be known, That they had conspired together, nor for the present time onely to doe wrong and injurie, but also were confedered betwene themselves privily, yea and had bound it with an oath, to call no assembly at all for the electing of newe magistrates: but being now once invested in the soveraigne rule, to hold the possession of the Decemvirship for ever. The Commons then began to looke about them, to behold and advise well the countenances of the Nobles, to see if they could from them, catch some good gale of wind, some hope againe of libertie, at whose hands they fearing bondage, had brought the common- H weale to this hard passe. The LL. of the Senate hated the Decemvirs, they hated also the Commons. They liked not of things as they went, and yet were persuaded that the Commons were well enough served, and deserved no better: who gaping greedily after libertie were now fallen and plunged into servitude and thraldome. Helpe they would not with the least of their fingers, but rather heape more wrongs upon them: that having a wearisome and tedious loathing of the present state, they might fall to a longing desire after two Consuls, and with the old world were come againe. By this time now was the better part of the yeare gone and past: and the two tables of laws were annexed to the other ten of the former yeare: which if they might be once confirmed and ratified by a parliament of the Centuries, there remained nothing behind, for which the common-weale should need these magistrates: but expected it was certainly, that the assembly I for Election of Consuls should out of hand be published and proclaimed. Marry, there was one thing hammered in the Commons heads, By what meanes they might revive againe the Tribunes authoritie, the very grand bulwark of their freedome, & a thing that now had discontinued and lien dead. But all this while there was not a word of the new Election. And the Decemvirs, who at the first presented usually unto the Commons sight, a crew of those that favoured the Tribunes, for to attend upon their persons, (a thing right plausible and pleasing unto the people:) were guarded now, with certaine tall pensioners of their Nobilitie: whole troupes of them stood about their Tribunal seats and places of judgment. These made havock and spoile of the Commons and their goods: and looke what the mind of a mightie man stood unto and lusted after, it was his hap to have it, whatsoever. Nay, there was no spare now made of their backs and sides: X some were scourged with rods, some lost their heads by the ax. And because this crueltie should not go unrewarded; lightly there was none executed, if he were worth any thing, but his goods went after, and were begged or given away. The youth of the Nobilitie, by this kind of hire well fleshed; not onely opposed not themselves to withstand these wrongfull dealings and hard courses, but carried it afore them, openly professing and avowing that they wished rather their own licentiousnes, than the liberty of al. The *Ides of May were now come about, and no new magistrates elected in the others roome. Forth come the Decemvirs, (who to say a truth and to give them their right, were no other than privat persons) neither with mindes abated for the exercising of their imperious rule, nor with fewer regal ensignes, to set out & shew their honor and dig- L nity. When the people saw that, they made no other reckoning, but this was plaine usurping of the Kings government, and no better: And now farewell freedome for ever and a day. For neither had they presently, nor hereafter were they like to have any man to recover it againe. So that now, not they onely let fall their hearts and were discouraged in themselves, but also grew to be contemptible in the eyes of their neighbour-nations: who disdained highly, that they should have soveraintie of rule, who were not free themselves, nor enjoyed their owne libertie. For the Sabines with a strong power invaded the Territories of Rome: and when they had harried farre and neere, and driven away booties both of people and of cataille, without impeach- ment, they gathered their armie together againe, that had raunged here and there up & downe, and retired to Eretum, where they encampe themselves: laying this for a ground, and building their hope upon the discord at Rome, that it would stay their mustering. Not only the newes M that came hereof, but the flying of the countrie pezants, put the whole citie in great feare. The Decemvirs fall to consulting what were best to doe. And whiles they were to seeke what course to take, and betwene the hatred of the Nobles and the Commons utterly forlorne and destitute, there happened also another fearfull trouble in the taile of the former. The Equians from another side were encamped in Algidum. And from Tusculum Embassadors brought tidings

A tidings that their countrie was wasted with excursions from thence, wherupon they craved their help and aide. These fearefull occurrents so troubled and perplexed the Decemvirs, that considering the citie was now beset at once with warres from two places, their stomacks were come downe to consult with the Senate. They commanded therefore the Senatours to be summoned to the Curia. And well they wist, what a great fit and storme of anger, displeasure and blame was toward them, that they would burden them and lay to their charge, how they were the onely cause both of the countrie wasted already, and of the perils like presently to ensue: looking for no other, but that there would be given an attempt and shrewd push, to abolish utterly their government, unless they stuck closely together to it, and by extending their authoritie sharply upon some few of the stoutest, quaille and crulhe the attempts of others. After the voice B of the Bell was heard in the Forum or common place, citing the Senatours to repaire into the Council house to the Decemvirs: the noveltie and strangenesse of the matter, (because they had laid downe for along time the manner of calling them to counsell) caused the Commons to mar- vaille and muse what was befallen, that they should after such discontinuance, take up a thing so forlet and out of use. And thus they conceived of it, that they were much beholding to their enemies, and might thanke war for this, that any auncient guise and custome of a free citie was come up and in ure againe. They looked about on every side of the Forum, to see if they might es- C pie a Senatour: but few or none could they heare off, any where. Then looked they into the Curia, and beheld, none at all appeared about the Decemvirs. Wherof, their owne selves, even the Decemvirs could gather no otherwise, but that in the conceipt and consent of all men, their go- vernment was become odious: and the Commons also thus collected and interpreted, That the Senatours met not together, because privat men (such as the Decemvirs were indeed) had no au- thoritie to assemble a Senate. And now, said they, is the way and enurance made to recover their libertie againe, if for be the Commons would joine with the Senate: and as the Nobles being called, meet not together in counsell, so the Commons likewise would refuse to be mustered. In this wise muttered and whispered the Commons. And in truth, scarcely was there any one of the Senatours about the common place, and but few within the citie: for very grieve and indigni- tie to see that things went as they did, they had withdrawn themselves into the countrie to their lands: and forgetting the state of the common-weale, they became carefull of their owne privat D affaires: thinking themselves so farre forth freed from oppression and wrong, as they were remote and sequestred from the societie, meeting and conference, with so lordly and imperious rulers. When they would not assemble at their summons, the officers were sent unto their houses, both for to streine and take away strenges for their contumacie and disobedience: and also to enquire and learne, whether they refused to come at their commandement, of set purpose or no. And word they bring backe, that the Senatours were in the countrie. The Decemvirs were better paid to heare that, than if answer had come that they were at home and refused to obey. Then they gave commandement that they should be sent for: and they warned a Senate house against the next day following: where they assembled in more number than they looked for. Whereupon the Commons supposed that their libertie was bought and sold and utterly betrayed by the No- E bles, for that the Senate had yielded obedience to them (that now by right were out of their of- fice) as if they had given lawfull summons, who being private men had no power at all, so to do. But they shewed more obeisance and submission (as we have heard say) in coming to the coun- sell house, than any disposition to deliver their mindes and opinions there, to the liking & plea- sures of the Decemvirs. First, L. Valerius Potius, as it is recorded, after that Appius Claudius had proposed unto them the cause of their meeting, before they were required their advise in order and course, claimed the libertie of the house, to speak in the behalfe of the common-weale. But when as the Decemvirs denied it flatly, yea and forbad him with threats, upon paine of their high displeasure: he inferred againe and menaced, that he would go forth unto the Commons, and so began a broile and tumult. M. Horatius Barbatus likewise tooke part with him, and was nothing behind in stoutnesse to maintaine the quarell, terming them the ten Tarquines: and are ye avised (quoth he) how the Kings were in times past expelled by the Valerij and Hora- F rij? And yet the name it was not of Kings, that men were so wearie of and loathed in those daies. For why? It was right lawfull to call Jupiter by that name: wherby Romulus also the found- er of this Citie, and other Princes his successours have beene called: yea and the name hath beene used and is retained still as a solemne title, in the sacred rites of holy Kirke. Nay, it was the pride and oppression of the king, that then was odious, and nothing els: which en- L iij ormities

M. Horatius Bar-
batus against the
Decemvirs.

A King Sacrifice
instituted in the
free states.

omnibus, if they were in those daies in the king himselfe, a lawfull prince, or in the king his sonne. G.
 intolerable, who can abide and endure the same in so many private persons? I advise you there-
 fore to take heed how you debarre men of their libertie of speech in counsell house, least ye drive
 them thereby to speake their mind and complaine without the counsell house. Neither see I any
 reason at all, why it were not as lawfull for me a private man, to assemble the people to sit and
 once, as for you to call the Senate together to a counsell. Make triall whensoever ye will, ye shall
 find how much more forcible our iust greefe will be, in recovering our libertie againe, than this
 greedie desire of yours, in holding and upholding still your usurped, and tyrannicall
 rule. You have propounded here unto us, forsooth, concerning the Sabines warre: as who would
 say, the people of Rome can be at greater warre with any than with those, who having been crea-
 ted Magistrates onely for the publishing and enacting of certaine lawes, have left now neither H
 law nor justice at all within the citie. VVho have taken away their *Comices*, i. Courts and *Lictes*
 of Election, their yearly Magistrates, the successeive change and course of bearing rule, the on-
 ly thing that maketh *Isonomie*, and equalitie of freedome: VVho being but private men, are
 possessed both of regall ornaments, and also of roiall government. After the expulsion of the
 kings, the Magistrates that succeeded were of the Nobilitie: in processe of time, upon the rising
 of the Commons and their departure, there were officers chosen out of the Communitie. I de-
 mand of you, and I would gladly know, of whither State and bodie are ye? Are ye, I pray you,
 popular, and of the common people? VVhat have ye ever done with advise and approbation of
 the people? Are ye Nobles and Peeres? who now for a whole yeares space almost, have held no
 counsell of Senators. And now that ye have assembled them, you restraîne them from speaking I
 for the Weale publicke. Well, presume not too much, neither beare your selves upon the timo-
 rousnesse of others. For, truite me truly, the indignities that men already suffer, seeme more ike-
 some and unsupportable, than whatsoever els they can doubt and feare hereafter. As *Horatius*
 spake these words aloud, and the Decemvirs could not bethinke themselves of some indifferent
 and meane course, either in anger to be revenged, or in lenitie to pardon and put up all, nor wist
 whereto this matter might tend and proceed in the end: then *C. Claudius*, uncle to *Appius* the
 Decemvir, began to speake, rather by way of praier and intreatie, than in checking and reproo-
 ving wise, and besought *Appius* for his brothers soule sake, who was his owne father, to remem-
 ber and regard more that civile societie wherein he was borne, than this ungracious and wicked
 confederacie, contracted with his fellow Decemvirs. And this request I make (quoth he) tende- K
 ring your private estate more than the Commonweale. As for her, if she might not by faire
 means, and with their good wils, obtaine her owne due and right, she would by foule waies, and
 in spite of their hearts recover it in the end. And for as much as, of much debate & strife there
 ensue commonly heats of anger and cankered rancour, I am in dread and horror what the sequell
 and illie will be of these jarrs. Now when as the Decemvirs would not permit the rest to speake,
 but only to the point propofed & occasion of their meeting, yet they were abashed to interrupt
 the speech of *Claudius* & to cut him off: but suffered him to go on untill he made an end. And in
 conclusion his opinion and sentence was, that he would not (to abide by it) agree, that any Act of
 the Senate should for that time passe in that behalfe. And all that were present tooke his words
 so, as if *Claudius* deemed no otherwise of the Decemvirs, than of private men. Many of them al-
 so, such especially as had been Consuls, were of his mind, and said as much. Another opinion
 there was, more rough and sharpe in outward shew, but faire lesse forcible and effectually in deed:
 assisting and willing the Nobles, to make no more adoe, but to goe together and chuse an In-
 terregent. For this man seemed yet, to account and judge them Magistrates, (bad though they
 were) that had called a Senate, and held them in counsell: whereas the former, that would not
 abide any Act to passe, reckoned them but for private persons. Thus when the Decemvirs cause
 began to shrink and goe downward, *L. Cornelius Maluginensis*, brother to *Cornelius* the De-
 cemvir, being reserved of purpose to give his opinion in the last place of all the Consular Sena-
 tors, such as had been Consuls, pretending a care that he had of the warre, tooke part with his
 brother and his Colleagues, saying, that he marvelled much by what misfortune or destinie it M
 happened, that the Decemvirs should be challenged and oppugned, especially by those that had
 stood for the Decemvirship, or by their friends and associates: and how it came about, that in so
 many moneths space, whiles the citie was at rest and without feare of warre, no man made que-
 stion or doubt, whether they that were in place, and governed the State, were lawfull Magistrates
 or no: and now at last, when the enemies are in manner at the gates, they should sow civile dif-
 sention,

A sention, unlesse this were the meaning of it, that in a troubled state it would not be so clearly seen
 and perceived, what they went about. But no man is able (quod he) to set down a true doome, and al-
 ledge a ruled case in so great a matter as this is, to men, whose minds are busied and wholly pos-
 sessed of a greater care. And therefore my opinion is, that concerning that point which *Valerius*
 and *Horatius* charged the Decemvirs with, namely, That before the Ides of May their govern-
 ment was determined, and they out of office; the Senate should discusse and debate, when as the
 warres now at hand were dispatched, and the Commonweale brought once againe to quietnes.
 And that *Appius Claudius* should make this reckoning even now aforehand, and know, that hee
 is to render a reason of that high court of parliament, which for the election of Decemvirs hee
 called and held, being a Decemvir himselfe: namely, VVhether they were created for one yeare
 only, or to continue still, untill the other laws which yet are wanting, were ratified and confirmed.
 B As for the present time, he thought good that all other matters should surcease, and bee passed
 over, save the warre only: the rumour wherof, if they thought to be false, and that they were but
 tales that not only the messengers, but also the Embassadors of the Tuscules reported, then
 his advise was to send out espials, who upon their discoverie might bring more certaine tidings.
 But in case they gave credence to messengers and Embassadors both, then with all speed possi-
 ble to muster, and the Decemvirs to have the conduct of the armies, and to lead them whither
 they thought meet: and that nothing els should be thought upon before this. VVhich opinion
 of his, that it might prevaile and take effect, the punie Senators by importunate canvassing, ob-
 tained. Then *Valerius* and *Horatius* both, rose up the second time more fierce and eager than be-
 fore, calling upon them alowd, that they might bee permitted to speake concerning the Com-
 monweale: and in case they might not bee suffered by reason of the side, to have the libertie of
 speech in the counsell house, they would speake their mind without, before the people. For nei-
 ther could private men (as they were) debarre them in Senate house, or in open assembly;
 and to give place unto their imaginarie, and pretended imperiall ensignes, they would never be
 brought. Then *Appius* supposing the matter wel-neere come to this passe, that unlesse the vio-
 lence were resisted with like boldnesse, their rule was at an end, and their authoritie conquered:
 Yee were not best (quoth he) to speake but to the matter, whereupon we sit in consultation. And
 when *Valerius* replied againe, and said plainly, That he would not hold his tongue for a pri-
 vate mans commaundment: *Appius* sent a Sergeant unto him. Whereupon, *Valerius* cried
 D for helpe to the Quirites, from the porch of the Counsell house. Then *L. Cornelius* clasp-
 ing *Appius* about the middle, without regard to content him whose good hee pretended,
 staid the strife. So by the mediation of *Cornelius*, leave was graunted to *Valerius* for to say
 his mind at his owne pleasure. But, for as much as his libertie proceeded no farther, than to
 some few words, the Decemvirs held on their purpose still, and had their desire. The Nobles
 also, such as had been Consuls, and the Ancients, upon an old cankered hatred that they bare still
 against the Tribunes authoritie, whereunto they supposed the Commons were much more de-
 voted and affected, than unto the government of the Consuls, were rather inclined and willing
 that the Decemvirs of their owne accord should themselves afterwards forgoe their office, than
 that upon hatred and malice received against them, the Commons should take heart of grasse,
 E and hold up head againe. For if with gentle handling of the matter, without stir and clamour of
 the people, the regiment returned againe unto the Consuls, it would haply come to passe, that
 either by means of warres comming betwene, or through the moderation of the Consuls in
 their government, the Commons might in time forget the Tribunes quite.

Thus whiles the Nobles were silent and made no more words, a muster was proclaimed, and
 the younger sort of the people, seeing the government of the Decemvirs absolute and without
 appeale, made answer to their names. And when the legions were enrolled, the Decemvirs took
 order and agreed betwene themselves, who should goe forth to the wars, and who should have
 the command of the forces. The cheefe and principall of the Decemvirs were *Q. Fabius*, and
Appius Claudius. And for that there seemed greater warre at home than abroad, the Decemvirs
 F supposed the violent nature of *Appius*, fitter to repress all troubles and mutinies in the citie;
 and considering withall the disposition of *Fabius*, to be lesse constant and resolute in goodnesse, than
 active and quick in militarie service, (for this man having been in times past of great worth, both
 at home, and also in warre; the Decemvirship, and the conditions of his colleagues together, had
 so greatly changed, that he chose rather to bee like *Appius* than himselfe) to him therefore was
 imposed the charge of the warre against the Sabines, together with *M. Rabulcius* and *Q. Peti-
 lius*

lius joined in commission with him. *M. Cornelius* was sent into Algidum, with *L. Minutius*, *T. Antonius*, *Cato Duilius*, and *M. Sergius*. And they ordaine and appoint *Sp. Oppius* as assistant to *Appius Claudius*, for the defence and government of the cittie, and to have the full authoritie of all the ten Decemvirs. But the Common-weale sped no better abroad in warfare, than it fared at home. The onely fault in the Generals was this, That they had made themselves odious to their souldiors and citizens: all the weight els lay in the souldiors themselves. Who to the end that nothing might go well forward and prosper under the leading and conduct of the Decemvirs, suffered themselves to their owne shame, and dishonor of their capitaines, to be defeated: for the armies were both by the Sabines at Eretum, and also by the *Æquians* in Algidum discomfited. They that fled from Eretum in the dead of the night, had encamped and fortified upon an high ground nearer unto the cittie of Rome, betwene Fidene and Crustumina. And when the enemy pursued them still and provoked them to fight, they would never come forth into the plaine and even ground, to encounter with them in a pight battaile, but stood upon their guard and defended themselves, trusting in the situation of the place & their rampier, and nothing upon their owne manhood and force of armes. But in Algidum they committed a more foule and beastly fault, and received withall a greater losse and overthrow: inasmuch as having lost their campe with all their tents, the souldiors being turned out of bag and baggage, their harnais and implements of necessarie use, retired for refuge to Tusculum, hoping there to be entertained as guests, and to live upon the protection, mercie and devotion of their hostis and freinds: who failed and deceived not their expectation. But to Rome there came such fearefull news, that the Senatours and Nobles laying apart now all hatred against the Decemvirs, thought good to keepe watch and ward in the cittie: and commanded as many as were able to beare armes, to keepe the wals and guard the gates: they gave order also to send harnais and armour to supply their want at Tusculum: moreover, That the Decemvirs should abandon the castle at Tusculum, and with their souldiors take the field and keepe the campe: That they likewise should dislodge and remove from Fidene, that lay fortified there, and remove into the countrie of the Sabines: so that by making wars upon the enemies first, they might scare and divert them from pursuing their intent of giving assault unto the cittie of Rome. Besides these damages and foiles sustained at the enemies hands, the Decemvirs committed both in warre abroad, and also in the cittie at home, two most wicked and horrible facts. For whereas one *L. Siccius*, during their aboad in the Sabines countrie (upon an odious conceit & malice against the Decemvirs) had gone up and down, and in secret talke whispered in the eares of the common souldiors, some mention of creating Tribunes, and of another insurrection and departure: him the Decemvirs dispatch afore, to espie out a convenient plot of ground to encampe in. Now they had given those souldiors in charge, whom they sent to accompanie him in that expedition, to set upon him in some fit place of advantage and to kill him. And kill him they did, but to their owne cost: for whiles he fought in his owne defence, some of those that laid for his mischiefe, died for it, and lay along about him for companie: for being a right stout and strong man of his hands, he stood to it courageously: and notwithstanding he was beset round about, he defended himselfe very manfully. The rest that escaped bring word into the camp, that *Siccius* was fallen unawares into an ambushment, and whiles he fought lustily, was with certaine other of the souldiors slaine. At the first, credit was given to him that brought the newes. But afterwards, when as there was a band of souldiors thither sent by the permission of the Decemvirs, to burie them that there lay dead: they observing none of their bodies there, to be disarmed and dispoiled, and *Siccius* lying in the midst in his armour, and all the rest of the dead with their faces towards him: no corps of enemy, nor footing of them departing thencefro, brought away with them his dead carcasfe, and made report, that undoubtedly and past all peradventure, he was murdered by his owne companie. Hereupon was the whole campe fulfilled with hatred and detestation of this fact, and generally it was agreed, that *Siccius* forthwith should be conveyed to Rome, had not the Decemvirs made hast to solemnise his funerals souldiorlike, at the public charges of the common treasure. So, entered was he with exceeding sorrow and mourning of the souldiors, but to the most shamefull obloquie and infamie of the Decemvirs, amongst the common sort.

Now followeth the other heinous deede committed within the cittie: which began of wanton lust, and had as foule and shamefull an end, as that, which upon the carnall abusing and bloudie death of *Lucretia*, cast the *Tarquines* out of the cittie, and deprived them of their regall dignitie:

- A dignitie: that both *KK* and Decemvirs, might have not only the like successe and issue, but also one and the selfesame cause, of loosing their rule & dominion. *Appius Claudius* enamoured upon a virgin, a commoners daughter, lusted to the abuse and spoile of her bodie. The father of the maiden *L. Virginus*, was of good calling, and in place of credit in the camp that lay in Algidum, and had the leading there of a companie: a man of honest example and conversation of life, both at home and also abroad in warfare. His wife likewise of vertuous disposition: so were their children nurtred and taught accordingly. He had espoused and affianced his daughter in marriage to one *L. Icilius*, a man of stout courage (as having been Tribune) and whose vertue and valour, had been well tried and approved in the quarrell and defence of the comminaltie. This damsell in the prime of her yeares, passing faire and beautifull withall, *Appius* (I say) cast a fancie and liking unto, and so burned in love of her, that he assaied with gifts and faire promises to win her good will. But seeing all guarded and surely fenced with maidenly shamefastnes and honestie, he bent his mind wholly to cruell and proud violence. He suborneth and setteth on a favourite and follower of his, one *M. Claudius*, to make challenge and lay claime unto her as his bondmaid: and not to give place nor yeeld her unto them, that required to have her at libertie out of his hands, during the suite, and untill she brought prooffe of her freedom: supposing, because the father of the virgin was absent, he had good opportunitie to worke this feate, and compass his intended injurie. As the maiden therefore was coming into the market place, (for there were the schooles for peties kept, of reading and writing) the Decemvirs man (a broker to serve his masters lust) laid hold upon her, avowing that she was his bondservants daughter, and therefore his bondmaid: commanding her to follow him, and threatening besides, that if she made any staies, he would have her away perforce. The feartull girle hereat was amazed, and her nurse withall cride to the *Quirites* for helpe: wherupon the people came running & flocked together all about them. Now was the name of *Virginus* her father, and likewise of *Icilius* her spouse, verie gracious and popular: so that the love and favour wherein they stood, raised friends and acquaintance: and the indignitie of the thing besides, moved the wole multitude to tender the cause of the damosell. When as therefore she was now past danger of violence, the partie that made claime unto her, said there was no need that the people thus should gather together, for his meaning was to proceede onely by order of law, and not with any violent course. And so he cited her to the court, minding to commens his action against her, and put her in suite. Then they that were present to assist her, persuaded her to follow. Now when they were come before *Appius*, sitting judicially upon his tribunall seate, the plaintife or challenger aforesaid, declareth against her, and telleth a tale full well known to the judge himselfe, being the authour and deviser of the whole matter and argument: Namely, that the maiden was borne in his house, and by stealth was from thence conveyed home to *Virginus*, and so was his supposed and reputed daughter: this he averred to have certaine knowledge of, by pregnant evidences and witnesses: and would make prooffe thereof to be most true, and let *Virginus* himselfe be the judge, whom the greater part of this wrong deeply touched: in the meane while, it was but meete and reason, that the bondmaid should go with her master. The friends and advocats of the damosell, having alleaged and pleaded in her behalfe, that *Virginus* was absent and employed in the affaires of common-weale: and if he had word therof, would not faile but be at home within two daies: that it was no reason, that whiles a father was away, he should be in contention and controversie about his children: they required of *Appius* therefore to defer and put off the hearing of the whole matter, untill her fathers coming; and that according to a law by himselfe in that case made and provided, he would grant her to be at large and stand at libertie, for to bring in proofes that she was not bond: and that he would not suffer a maiden of those yeares, ripe and readie for a husband, to be more in hazard and danger of her good name, than prejudiced in the triall of her freedom. *Appius* made a long preface and discourse before his decree, namely, how much he favoured and rendered the cause of libertie, and to that effect, alledged the selfesame law which the friends of *Virginus* pretended for their purpose and demand. But so furre forth, and no otherwise, should there be in that law assured safeguard of freedom, as the case altered not in circumstance of causes and persons. For, this privilege and benefit held onely in those that were claimed to bee free, where any man whosoever might goe to law and plead. As for her, who was in her fathers hand and at his disposition, there was no other man els, unto whom the Maister that maketh challenge, is to yeeld the right of his possession. His pleasure therefore was, and thus he decreed, That the father should be sent for:

for: and that in the meane season, hee that made title to her, should not bee prejudiced thereby, G
 but that he might lead away the wench, promising and assuming to have her forthcomming, and
 to present her in court, at the returne of him who is pretended and nominated to bee: her father.
 Against this injurious decree, when as many men rather muttered and murmured, than any one
 durst resist and contradict it, *P. Numitorius*, the maidens uncle by the mothers side, and *Scilius*
 her espoused husband, happened to come in place: and having way made them through the
 throng and presse, the multitude thought verily, that by the comming, especially of *Scilius*, *Ap-
 pius* might have been resisted and crossed. But then the Licitor pronounced that *Appius* had pas-
 sed an order and decree already, and put *Scilius* backe: who cried out aloud, (for so manifest
 and horrible a wrong had been y enough to have mooved a very Saint, and set on fire a right mild
 natured person) Nay *Appius* (quoth he) thou hadst more need to set me backe with force of arms, H
 if thou wouldst goe cleare away, and not be spoken to, for that which thou wouldst doe in huck-
 ker macker. This maid, I tell thee, I meane shall goe with me: I purpose to have her to my selfe, an
 honest and pure virgine, and enjoy her in lawfull marriage, as my wedded wife: call therefore un-
 to thee all the Licitors besides (thou were best) that belong to thy companions: cause both rods
 and axes to be made ready: I tell thee, *Scilius* his espoused wife, shall not abide in any place with-
 out hir fathers house. What? although yee have taken from the Commons of Rome the Trib-
 unes assistance and protection, and the priviledge of Appeale, two principall bulwarkes for de-
 fence of their libertie: yee are not therefore allowed to rule and tyrannise, and to fulfill your lust
 upon our children & wives too. Exercise your rigour and crueltie, and spare not, upon our backs
 and sides in scourging us, yea upon our necks and heads also, in taking them from our shoulders: I
 so yee forbear to assaile our chastitie and honestie. Wherunto, if any violence shall be offered,
 I will for my part, call for the helpe of the Quirites here present, in the behalfe of my spouse: and
Virginus for himselfe will call to the souldiours, in regard of his onely daughter: we will crie for
 helpe of God and man: and cost it shall our lives before thou goe away with this decree, and
 put it in execution. I require and charge thee, O *Appius* therefore, to be well advised, and looke
 how farr thou doest proceed. Let *Virginus* when he is come, see to his daughter, how he dealeth
 about her: and let him know thus much for certaine, that if he give place to this plainties asser-
 tion, and forgoe the present possession of her, he shall goe seeke his estate and propertie that he
 hath in his daughter. As for me, in this quarrell of maintaining the freedome of my spouse, I wil
 lose my life, before I faile in my faithfull promise to her made. Hereat the whole multitude was
 moved, and like it was, that some mutinie and fray would presently have ensued. For the Licitors
 had hemmed in *Scilius* on everie side. Howbeit they proceeded no farther than to big words and
 high threats: whiles *Appius* laid hard to *Scilius*, That he did not this so much in the behalfe and de-
 fence of *Virginus*, as, (being himselfe an unrule person, and even already breathing forth a Trib-
 unes spirit) sought meanes, and picked occasion of an uprore and sedition. Howbeit for his part,
 he would not that day minister unto him any matter thereof. And that he might now well know,
 that he did not this to feed his malapert saucinesse, but in regard of the absence of *Virginus*, and
 for the name of a father, and the tender respect of freedome, hee would not that day sit to heare
 and determine the matter, nor award a definitive judgement in that case: but would request *Mar-
 cius Claudius*, to suspend his action, and to forbear and yeeld so much of his owne right, as to suffer
 the maiden to be bailed and goe under sureties, and to be at her libertie untill the next day. But
 in case her father appeared not in court the morrow after, he gave *Scilius*, and such as hee was, to
 wit and understand, that neither the law should want the patronage of the maker, nor the De-
 cemvir faile in courage and resolution: neither would hee call together his fellowes officers and
 sergeants, for to keep under such seditious and turbulent spirits as he was: but would content him
 selfe with his owne Licitors, and doe well ynough. The time now of effecting this injurie, being
 thus deferred, and the maidens advocates gone aside, they agreed first of all upon this point, that
 a brother of *Scilius*, and a sonne of *Numitorius*, two lustie and nimble young men, should be dis-
 patched straight from thence to the gate: and that with all speed possible *Virginus* should bee
 sent for home from the campe: for that it stood the maiden upon, as much as her whole estate
 and life was worth: that he would be present and ready in due time the day following, to preserve
 her from this hard course, and wrongfull proceeding. According as they were bidden, they set
 forward, and spared no horticest, untill they brought tidings hereof to her father. All this while
 the plaintie that made challenge to the maiden, was very instant with *Scilius* to baile her, and put
 in sureties. And he again made answer, That he went about it as fast as he could, and did nothing
 els:

A els: but indeed, trifling out the time for the nonce, untill the messengers that were sent to the
 campe, were gotten afore well onward on their way. Then the whole multitude on all sides held
 up their hands, in token that they offered themselves everie one unto *Scilius*, ready to become
 bound. Whereupon, he burst out into tears for tender heart. Gramercie (quoth he) my maisters
 all, to morrow I will use your helping hand: for this time I am sped of sureties ynough. So was
Virginus set at libertie, and bailed by the suretiship of her kinsfolke. Then *Appius*, after hee had
 staied a while, because hee would not seeme to have sitten for that matter alone, when hee saw all
 other suits and causes omitted, in regard they had to it, and no man comming to him for ju-
 stice, he arose, gat him home to his house, & wrote unto his brethren Decemvirs into the campe,
 that they should not give *Virginus* his passport, but keepe him fast in durance, and in ward. This
 wicked practise (as God would have it) came short. For *Virginus* already had gotten his dis-
 charge, and was departed forward on his journey, in the evening by the setting of the first
 watch. And verie earely in the morning came the letters for to stay him, but all in vaine.
 For *Virginus* by breake of day was arrived: by which time the whole cittie resorted into the
 common place, standing and waiting wistly for his comming. And thither, he himselfe being in
 soiled and simple array, brought his daughter in her old worne clothes, accompanied with cer-
 taine wives, and a great number of advocats and friends: Then and there began he to go from
 one man to another, and to labour them hard: and not onely besought their assistance by way
 of intreatie and praier, but also required it as due and deserved: saying, that he stood daily in
 field ready to fight in defence of their wives and children: neither could there be reported of
 C any man more hardie exploits and valiant pieces of service in warre, than of himselfe. But what
 booteth or availeth all this (quoth he) to save the cittie from enemies, in case our children be
 forced to abide the utmost extremities that befall unto citties taken by the enemies? thus went
 he about preaching as it were from one man to another. Semblably *Scilius* cast soorth and re-
 doubled like speeches freely and spared not. But the traine of women, with their still & silent wee-
 ping, moved men more than any words uttered. All this notwithstanding, *Appius* in his obsti-
 nat mind (so disquieted was he & wholly possessed with a forcible spirit of humorous madnesse
 rather than of amorous passion) ascended up into the tribunall. Where, as the plaintie first of
 himselfe was framing some short complaint, that by reason of partiall favour and making of
 great friends, he could not have law and justice the day past: before that either he had made an
 end of his demand, or given leisure to *Virginus* for to put in his answer accordingly: *Appius*
 D interrupted the speech, and began himselfe. What preamble it was that he made before his
 decree, peradventure some auntient writers have for truth recorded. But for as much as I can-
 not any where find, in so shamefull a decree, that which carrieth but a shew and soundeth like a
 truth: therefore, that only which is of all agreed upon, I thought best to set downe, even the sen-
 tence barely without any preface at all namely, *That he iudged her in the behalfe of the Plaintie to be
 his bond-servant*. First, all men there, wondered at this unworthie & foule act: and being stricken
 therewith astonied, for a good while after, stood still and held their peace. But afterwards, when as
M. Claudius, went to lay hand on the maiden, amongst the dames that stood about her, and was
 received with a piteous lamentation, and crye of the women: Then *Virginus* beckning with his
 hands and shaking them at *Appius*: To *Scilius* (quoth he) have I betrothed my daughter and not
 E to thee O *Appius*: brought her up I have for honest and chaste wedlock, & not for uncleane and
 filthie whordome: to be a wife another day, and not an harlot. Is this the manner of it, like bruit
 and wild beasts without all regard, to leape and run upon you care not whom, and to fulfill your
 fleshly lust? How these that be here will suffer such pranks, I know not: but they that are in camp
 with sword in hand, I hope, will never put them up. Now when as he that challenged the maiden
 was by a knot of women and advocates that stood about her repelled back, then proclaimed the
 bedell and commanded silence. And the Decemvir having his head intoxicated, and altogether
 carried away with unbridled lust, brake forth and said, That he had certaine intelligence and was
 informed of a truth, by manifest and assured evidences, (and not induced and led thereto by the
 reviling taunts of *Scilius* yesterday, and the violent proceedings of *Virginus*, whereof he had the
 people of Rome to beare witness, and which might give some light and presumptions) That the
 night past, there were meetings and conventicles in the cittie, and all to raise a mutinie and insur-
 rection: and therefore, he not ignorant of such a broile and riot toward, was come downe into
 the common place with a guard of armed men: not minding to hurt any one that would keepe
 the peace, but onely by vertue of the majestic of government and authoritie, to repress such as
 troubled

*Virginus his
 words to Appius.*

troubled the peaceable state of the citie: therefore it were best for them to be still and quiet. Go G
Sergeant (quoth he) cause the people to avoid the place, and make roome for the master to lay
hand upon his bondslave: and after he had thundred out these wordes full of ire and wrath, the
multitude of themselves gave backe and made way: so the poore silly wench stood all forlorne
and left as a prey to their injurious clutches. Then *Virginius* seeing all past helpe and no other
remedie: Well *Appius* (quoth he) pardon me first I beseech thee, if upon a fatherly affection
and griefe of heart, I have let fall some shrewd and curst words against thee more than was be-
seeming: Then give me leave here before the virgin, to enquire of her nourse the truth of this
matter, that if I have fathered her untruly, I may goe hence better apaid & satisfied in my mind.
Leave being granted, he led his daughter and the nourse apart from the rest, neare to the church
of *Venus Cloacina*, hard at the shops, called at this daie *Nova Taberna*, i. the new shops or
standings: and there having caught a knife from a butcher, he thus spake: My sweete daughter,
no other meanes have I but this onely to set thee free: and so he strike the damsell to the heart:
and looking presently to the judgment seat, Here with this blood I sacrifice thee *Appius*, & thy
head to the divell. *Appius* with the crye that arose upon so horrible a fact, being much troubled,
commanded *Virginius* to be apprehended: but he with bloudie blade in hand, made way where
he went, untill with a number that followed him apace to beare him companie, he recovered the
gate. *Julius* and *Nymitorius*ooke up the bloudlesse corps, and held it aloft to the people: bla-
ming and cursing the wickednesse of *Appius*: pitying the unhappie and unfortunate beautie of
the damsell: and bewailing the hard exigent and extremitie of the father. The Matrones fol-
lowed after and cried: Is this the condition and fortune allotted unto parents for getting & bear-
ing children? Is this the hire and guerdon of chastitie and virginity: with other like speeches,
which in such a case, women in their griefe of mind use to utter: whose sorrow as it is more hea-
vie, proceeding from weake and tender hearts, so it yeeldeth and affordeth more pittifull and
lamentable words, as they make their plaints & dolorous mones. But the men, and *Scilius* above
the rest, had no other talke but of the Tribunes authoritie, and the appeale unto the bodie of the
people, how they were taken away from them, and of other publike indignities and common
disscontentments. The whole multitude partly upon the hainousnesse of this wicked acte, and
partly for hope by this occasion to recover againe their liberties, were all up at once in an up-
rore. *Appius* one while commanded *Scilius* to be called, another while for his disobedience
and contumacie to be attached and convented before him. At the length, seeing no way made
unto the Apparitours, for to come by him, passed himselfe with a crew of tall gentlemen of the
Nobilitie that were of his guard through the throng, and commanded to have him away to pri-
son. By which time, there were gotten about *Scilius* not onely the multitude, but the chiefe cap-
taines and ringleaders of the multitude, *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius*: who having thrust the ser-
jeant backe, said withall, that if *Appius* had any thing to charge him with by order of law, they
would baile *Scilius*, and maintaine his cause against him, who was but a privat person: but if he
went about to offer violence, he should soone meet with his matches. Hereupon grew a fierce
braule and boile. The Decemvirs officer setteth upon *Valerius* and *Horatius* to lay hold up-
on them: but his rods were by the multitude broken to fitters. Then *Appius* getteth him up
into the common place of audience, for to speake unto the people. *Horatius* and *Valerius* fol-
low after him up, to doe the semblable. Them the assembly heard with patience, but they his-
sed at *Appius* and cried out against him. Then *Valerius*ooke upon him, and commanded the
Lictors to give attendance no longer upon a privat person. Whereupon, *Appius* his heart was
done and his courage quailed: & so standing in fear of his life, he was faine to cover his face and
to withdraw himselfe in disguised manner, & tooke an house over his head, neare unto the com-
mon place (unknown to his adversaries) there to save himselfe. *Sp. Oppius*, for to rescue & succour
his colleague, rushed from another side into the place: and there he might see force & might, to
have gotten the upper hand of authoritie. After many devises and consultations, wherwith he
was distracted, & framing himselfe to yeeld consent on every side, at length by the advise & per-
suasions of many there about him, in great fear he commanded the Senat to be called together. M
This appealed the multitude, for that they were in hope that (by meanes of the Senatours, who
many of them, seemed to milike the acts and proceedings of the Decemvirs) that government
of theirs should come to an end. The Senat devised and tooke order, not to provoke the Com-
mons too farre: and withall to have a more provident and speciall eye, that the coming of *Vir-
ginius* into the campe, bred no mutinie in the armie. Vherupon were sent certaine of the punie
Senatours

- A Senatours unto the hoast, that lay encamped upon the hill *Vecilius*, who advertised the Decem-
virs from the Senat, to endeavour all they could to keep the souldiours in good order, from com-
motion and sedition. But there *Virginius* raised a greater uprore and tumult than hee had left
behind him in the citie. For besides that, he was seene coming with a cruce and traine almost of
four hundred men, who incensed with the indignitie of the late accident, accompanied him vo-
luntarie from the citie, his naked drawne knife, and himselfe bespreint and embriued with bloud,
caused the whole campe to turne their eyes upon him. Moreover, their gownes seene in sundrie
places within the campe, made a greater shew of citizens in number than was indeede. Being de-
manded of them what newes, and what the matter was, hee wept, and for a good while held his
peace. At the last, when as now the multitude, that for feare ran confusedly together, began to
stand still and keepe silence: he declared orderly from the beginning to the end, every thing in
particular, as it was done. Then lifting up his hands to heaven, and calling to all his compani-
ons and fellow souldiours, hee besought them not to impute that foule act unto him, whereof in
truth *Appius Claudius* was the authour and cause: nor to detest and abhorre him as a parricide
and murderer of his owne children: saying, that his daughters life was more deare unto him than
his owne, if she might have lived free and honestly. But when he saw her once haled by force, as a
bondmaid to be ravished and made a strumpet, he thought it better to be bereft of his children
by death, than by contumelie and reproch: and so upon meere pittifulnesse incurred the shew
and apparance of crueltie. And but that hee repofed some hope in the aid of his fellow souldi-
ors, trusting that they would be revenged for his daughters death, he would not have remained
C a livesman after her. I know well (saith he) that you also have daughters, sisters, and wives of your
owne: And it is not the death of my child that hath killed and mortified the lust of *Appius*, but
rather the longer it escapeth unpunished, the more outrageous and unbridled would it be. So
that by the calamitie of another man, yee are well taught and warned to beware of the like inju-
rie. As for me, I have buried my wife before, who died on Gods hand: and now my daughter, for
that she might not finish the course of her daies, with the safetie of her maidenhead and chasti-
tie, hath died, I confesse, a pittifull and lamentable, but yet an honest kind of death. As to *Appius*,
(quoth he) now can he not fulfill his lust in this my house: and for any other violence of his what-
soever, I carrie the same mind and heart still, to defend mine owne bodie, wherewith I have alrea-
die saved my daughters. Now let other men looke to themselves and their children, as well as
D they can. As *Virginius* uttered these speeches aloud, the whole multitude with one accord cried
and protested, they would not faile, but both revenge his greefe, and maintaine their owne free-
dome. The citizens also in their side gownes, intermingled among the souldiours, made the selfe-
same complaints: shewing how much more horrible those things were in the eye to bee seene in
fact, than they could found unto the eare by bare relation: and withall reported, how at Rome
the matter was welneere dispatched already, for that there were certaine come after them, even
hard at their heeles from thence, who brought word that *Appius* had like to have been murde-
red, and was departed into exile: and so far prevailed they with them, that they gave the arme,
plucked up their standards, and tooke their way to Rome. The Decemvirs being sore troubled,
both at these present occurrents which they evidently saw, and also to heare these newes, in what
bad tearmes all things stood at Rome, ran up and downe, here one, and there another, into sun-
drie parts of the campe, for to appease the tumult. When they went to worke mildly and gently,
they had not a word of them againe: but if any one laid his commaundement upon them, and
extended his authoritie, they would beard them and answer, That they were men, and more than
that, men in armes and souldiours. Thus march they in order of battell toward the citie, and take
the mount *Aventine*, and there settle themselves. And as they encountered any, all their song
was this, to exhort and encourage the Commons to recover their franchises, and to create Tri-
bunes of the Communitie. Not a word was heard els, tending to any violence. *Oppius* assem-
bled the Senat together: where it was agreed, not to proceed by way of rigour in any case: for
as much as they themselves had given the occasion of sedition. But three ancient personages,
such as had been Consuls, were sent Commissioners in Embassage, as it were, *Sp. Tarpeius*, *C. Ju-
lius*, and *P. Sulpitius* with commission, to demanda of them in the name of the Senat, by
whose commandement they had abandoned the campe, or what their intent was thus in warlike
maner to keepe the *Aventine*: and why leaving to war with their enemies, they had thus invaded
their native cuntry? They were not to seek of an answer, only there wanted a man to give the an-
swere: for as yet they were growne to no certaine head, upon whom they might relie: and singly
M by

The complaint
and more of Vir-
ginius in the
campe.

Virginius pier-
ced, killed by
his father
Virginius.

by themselves they durst not incur the hatred and dangerous displeasure that might ensue. G
 This onely the multitude with one voice cried aloud; to send *L. Valerius*, and *Marcus Horatius*
 unto them, for to those they would make a resolute answer. The Commissioners being dismiss-
 ed, *Virginus* puteth the souldiours in mind, and advertiseth them, how erewhile, in a matter
 not of the greates importance, they were in feare and perplexitie, because the multitude was
 without an head; and how an answer was returned, although not altogether unprofitable and
 besides the purpose, yet agreed upon at a venture, and not proceeding from any publicke coun-
 sell. But now his opinion was, that there should bee ten chosen to beare soveraigne rule: who for
 the honour of warfare and souldierie, should be called militarie Tribunes. And when this digni-
 tie was to him offered first, Nay (quoth he) reserve still these your good persuasions and judg-
 ments of me, unto more happie daies and favourable times both to me and you. For neither H
 doth the remembrance of my daughter suffer me to take joy of any honour in this life, nor (as
 the state standeth now troubled) is it good for you to have them to be your Magistrates, who of
 all other are most exposed to ill will and displeasure, and in neere danger to be hardly thought
 of. If I may serve you in any stead, you may make bold, and have no lesse use of mee, remaining
 still a private person. So they create Tribunes militarie, ten in number. But all this while was the
 armie as unquiet in the Sabines countrie. For even there also, by the instigation of *Isilius* and
Numitorius, the souldiours fell away from the Decemvirs and departed. For their minds were
 no lesse troubled and disquieted with the remembrance renewed, of the late murder of *Sicius*,
 than kindled and set on fire by the fresh newes of the death of *Virginus*, so villanously, so shame-
 lessly laid unto and challenged, and all to satisfy the lust of another, *Isilius*, so soon as he heard
 say, that there were ten militarie Tribunes created in Aventine, fearing least the Election in the
 citie should follow the prerogative of the militarie Election in the campe, as a precedent to
 create the selfsame men Tribunes of the Commons, being a man well seene and experienced in
 these popular affaires, and reaching himselfe at the same dignitie and promotion, wrought so
 with his adherents and friends, that before they went to the citie, they should likewise elect the
 selfsame number with equall authoritie. Who entred the citie with banners displayed, at the
 gate Collina, and marched through the mids thereof in warlike order, up to the Aventine. And
 there joining and uniting themselves unto the other armie, they gave in charge to the twentie
 militarie Tribunes, to create out of their number twaine for soveraigne governours to rule all.
 So they elected *Marcus Oppius*, and *Sexius Manlius*.

The Senatours being in great care for the common-weale, sate in counsell every daie: where
 they spent time oftner in wrangling and jarring, than in sage advise and politicke counsell. The
 murdering of *Sicius*, the wanton lust and loose life of *Appius*, the shamefull disgraces received
 in the warres, were laid in the Decemvirs dish. At length they concluded that *Valerius* and *Ho-*
ratius should go to the Aventine. But they refused and would not go, but upon condition that
 the Decemvirs would give up the ensignes and ornaments of that magistracie and government,
 which by right they should have forgone and departed from a full yeare before. The Decemvirs
 were grieved and complained, thus to be set downe and made no better than privat men, and
 said flatly they would not be deposed from their place of rule, before those lawes were fully ena-
 cted and confirmed, for which at first time they were created. The Commons having intelli-
 gence by *M. Duilius*, (who had been a Tribune of the Commons) that by reason of continual
 debate and contention in the Senat house, there was nothing done and agreed upon, removed
 from the Aventine unto mount Sacer. For *Duilius* ceased not to suggest, and plainly affirme
 unto them, that the Senatours and Auncients of the citie would never sadly thinke upon any
 care and provision to be made, untill they saw the citie abandoned and desolate: moreover,
 That the mount Sacer would put them in mind of the constant resolution of the Commons;
 and that they should well knowe, that matters would never be settled and brought to concord,
 without they restored unto them their power and authoritie againe. So they take their waie by
Nomentana Via, which at that time was named *Ficulensis*, & encamped themselves in the moun-
 taine Sacer; doing no harme to any creature as they passed along: following therein the mode-
 stie of their forefathers. The whole communaltie followed after the host: there was not one
 who for age was able to travaile on foote, that drew backe & tarried behind. Their children and
 wives beare them companie, in piteous wise moning themselves, and asking them: wherto they
 would leave them behind in that citie, where neither their honest chastitie might be guarded,
 nor yet their libertie secured and kept safe. When as now, by reason of his uncooth and strange
 desolation,

This speech of
Virginus, refer-
 ring a dignitie.

A desolation, all seemed at Rome wast and void, and none to bee seene in the publicke place,
 besides a few of aged men: and when the Senatours were called into the Senat house, the com-
 mon place appeared emptie, naked, and forlorne: then there were more besides *Horatius* and
Valerius that cried out and said. What looke yee for still my LL. of the counsell? What? and
 if the Decemvirs will make no end of their peevish frowardnesse, will yee let things run at sixe
 and seven, untill all come tumbling downe, or be of a light fire? And what goodly dominion is
 this, that you huggle so in your armes, that you clip and hold so fast? Will yee minister justice
 and give lawes to emptie houses and bare wals? Are yee not abashed and ashamed, that there
 should be seene in the Place, a greater number welneere of your Licitors and officers, than of grow-
 ned citizens, and of all other men whatsoever? How and if the enemies should come against
 the citie, what would yee doe? Nay, what if shortly the Commons should march in armes, see-
 ing we weigh their insurrection and departure so lightly? Will yee, together with the ruine and
 downefall of the citie, end your rule, and not afore? Well, to be plaine, yee must either have no
 Commons at all, or els allow them to have their Tribunes againe: there is no meane, there is no
 other remedie. Sooner shall we want our Magistrates of the Nobilitie, than they will be without
 their Patrones and Officers of the Communaltie. They wrung and wrestled from our forefathers
 that power and authoritie fire new, and whereof they had as then, no prooffe and experience:
 how thinke yee then, that having tasted now the sweetnesse of it, they will endure the want there-
 of? especially seeing, that we our own selves are not of so temperate carriage in our government
 and command over them, but that they have need of some succour and releefe. And when these
 C and such like reasons were on all hands often alledged and laid abroad, the Decemvirs over-
 weighed with the generall consent & unities of the house, promised: That seeing it was so thought
 good, they would be wholly ordered and ruled by the Senatours. This onely they besought at
 their hands, and admonished them of, by way of a proviso, that they would take order for the
 safetie and securitie of their persons: and not by sheading their blood, to flesh the Commons,
 and to nuzzle them up, and acquaint them with exercising crueltie upon the Nobles and Sena-
 tours. Then were *Valerius* and *Horatius* sent with commission to reclaime & call home the Com-
 mons, upon such conditions and capitulations, as they should thinke convenient: yea, and to
 set all things in good order and make a finall composition, with a speciall charge to provide for
 the safeguard of the Decemvirs, against the raging ire and violence of the multitude. These me-
 diatours took their journey, and were received into the campe with exceeding joy of the Com-
 mons, as being doubtlesse, their very favours and redeemers, approved both in the beginning of
 their troubles, and now also at the very end and upshot of all in regard whereof, they were wel-
 comed with thanksgiving. *Isilius* was the mouth of the multitude, and their proloquutor. Who
 when they came to debate and reason about the articles of covenants, and that these Delegates
 and Committees, required of the Commons, What the demands & points were that they stood
 upon? Being already provided aforehand of purpose what to say, demanded such conditions,
 as it was well seene, that they reposed more hope, and relied themselves rather in equitie, and in-
 differencie, than in force of arms. For they require, *Imprimis*, to have the Tribunes power on foot
 againe; and the appealing unto the people revived: which before the creation of the Decemvirs
 E had been the onely helps and succours of the Commons. *Item*, that no man should bee called
 in question, nor any way touched in life, lim, or goods, for gathering the souldiours or Commons
 together by way of commotion, for recovering againe their liberties and franchises. Only, their
 demand concerning the punishment to be inflicted upon the Decemvirs, favoured of crueltie.
 For they deemed it meet and reason, that they should bee yeelded into their hands, and then
 they threatened to burne them quicke with fire. To these articles the Committees spake in this
 wise. As for those capitulations, which upon counsell and deliberate advise yee have articulated,
 they are so reasonable and indifferent, that without your suit, they ought to have been offered un-
 to you frankly and freely: for yee request to enjoy such things as concerne the defence of your
 libertie and freedom, and maintaine not your licentiousnesse, to the offence and hurt of others.
 F But as to your ire and wrath, it is to be pardoned, rather than to be followed and yeelded unto: as
 who, under colour of hatred and detestation of crueltie, run headlong into crueltie: and before,
 in a manner, that yee bee set free your selves, yee will bee rulers and lords over your adversaries.
 Alas the while, and will our citie never be at rest, and cease from punishing: but that either the
 Nobles will scourge the Commons of Rome, or the Commons whip the Nobles? As for you, yee
 had more need of a shield ywis, than a sword. Humbled hee is ynough, and too much humbled,
 M ij who

The remonstra-
 ces of *Isilius*
 and *Valerius*,
 with others in
 the Senat, ag-
 ainst the Decemvirs.

The demands of
 the Commons in
 mount Sacer.

The answer of
Valerius and *Ho-*
ratius to the
 Commons

who liveth in a cittie on even hand, and equall with others, under the same lawes, neither doing
 taking wrong. And if ever at any time you meane to shew your selves dread and to be feared,
 when you have once recovered your Magistrates and ordinances againe, when ye have the law
 in your owne hands, to censure and judge according to your owne discretion, then may yee give
 your doome of our lives and goods, as each cause requireth. Now for this time it sufficeth, that
 yee claime and have your freedome againe. Hereupon they all submitted themselves to the
 deputed Delegates, permitting them to doe what they would. Who seeing they had brought all
 matters to so good a conclusion, promised to returne with al speed. So they took their leave. And
 when they had declared to the Senatours the demands of the Commons, all the rest of the De-
 cemvirs, perceiving no mention at all made of their punishment (a thing more than they look-
 ed or hoped for) denied no one point thereof. But *Appius*, a man of a fell and cruell na-
 ture, and who above all the other was most odious, and lay open to the malice of the people,
 and measuring the hatred of others toward himselfe, by his owne rancour that hee bare
 against other men: I wot well (quoth he) what ill fortune will betide me shortly: and I see plain-
 ly, that our adversaries hold off to bicker and buckle with us, no longer than untill they have
 weapons given them in their hands. To satisfie this their malice and hatred, we must part with
 our blood: nothing else will content them. For mine owne part, to renounce my Decem-
 virship I weigh not: neither passe I how soone I doe it. Then was an Act made by the Senat, that
 the Decemvirs out of hand should surrender their place: & that *Q. Furius* the Archbishop or
 High priest, should create Tribunes of the Commons: provided alwaies expressly, that the mu-
 tinitie of the foulidors, and insurrection of the Commons, should turne no man to displeasure
 and harme. These Actes being passed, and the Counsell risen, the Decemvirs came abroad
 into the open place of assemblies, and there to the exceeding joy of all men, they resigned up
 all their power and authoritie. Tidings hereof were carried to the Commons, by the mediators
 aforesaid: and looke, what people soever remained behind in the cittie, went now forth to ac-
 companie them. As this multitude passed along forward, they were encountred upon the way,
 with another joyfull companie from out of the camp. Who rejoyced mutually one in the be-
 halfe of the other, that both freedome and concord were restored to the cittie againe. Then the
 mediators in the generall assembly of them all spake and said: To the great good, happinesse and
 felicitie of you and of the C. VV. be it spoken, Returne in Gods name into your owne countrie, to
 your houses, wives and children: but see, that as ye have demeaned your selves modestly in your
 way hither, hurting and spoiling no mans lands and possessions, notwithstanding the neede ye
 were driven unto of so many things: so ye carry the same moderation and stay of your selves
 homeward into the cittie. Go into the Aventine from whence ye came: and there for good
 lucke sake, where ye laid the first foundation and ground-woke of your libertie, create yet shall
 your Tribunes of the Commons. There, will the high priest be readie and give attendance, to
 call an assembly for the ground Election. Great was the accord, alacritie and cheerefulnessse,
 that they shewed in approving all that was propounded. So from thence they turne their stan-
 dards and ensignes, and as they marched to Rome, they strove avie with all they met on the way,
 who could shew most joy and gladnesse: they passe on through the cittie armed as they were, yet
 peaceably and without noise, untill they came into the Aventine. Where the chiefe priest im-
 mediately held the * *Comices*, in which they created for Tr. of the C. first and formost *L. Virgi-
 nius*, next after him *L. Icilius* and *P. Numitorius*, Vuckle by the mothers side of *Virginia*: all au-
 thours of their insurrection and departure: then, *C. Sicinius*, descended from him in right line
 who was the first Trib. of Comm. created in mount Sacer, (as we finde in records) and *M. Du-
 illius*, who before the choosung of Decemvirs, had right worthely and notably borne the Tri-
 buneship, and in all combats & bickerments with the Decemvirs, stuck close to the comminalltie
 and never failed them. After these, were elected, more for hope than any former desert, *M. Titi-
 nius*, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Apronius*, *Ap. Iulius*, *C. Oppius*. Then *C. Icilius* immediately in the very en-
 trance into the Tribuneship, preferred a bill unto the Commons, and the Commons enacted
 it, That the departure and insurrection of the common people against the Decemvirs, should
 not be laied to any mans charge, nor bring him into trouble. Then without farther delay *M.
 Duillius* went through with an Act of his own, to wit, That there should be Consuls created, with
 reservation of libertie to appeale unto the people. All these things passed in the *Comices* of
 the Commons, assembled in the meddowes named *Flaminia*, which now they call *Circus Fla-
 minius*.

Then

A Then, by an Interregent were Consuls created, *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius*, who presently be-
 gan their government. Whose popular Consulship, as it was without wrong doing to the Sena-
 tours and Nobles, so it was not without some offence committed of their part: For whatsoever
 was provided for the liberties of the Commons, they supposed it abridged somewhat of their
 power and authoritie. And first and formost, whereas it was a question and controvercie not well
 cleared in law, Whether the Nobles were bound to stand to the Acts of the Commons: they
 made alaw now in a general Session, by the suffrages of the Centuries, That what ordinance soever
 the Commons (being parted by Tribes) had by their voices granted, it should comprise and bind
 the whole bodie of the people. By which law, the Tribunes actes were armed with a most sharpe
 and keene weapon to strike withall. Moreover, The other consular law concerning Appeale, the
 onely fort and strength of libertie, which by the Decemvirs absolute power had been over-
 thrown, they not onely revive againe, but also fortifie the same for the time to come, by making
 a new law, forbidding expressly that no man should create any magistrate absolutely without
 the libertie of Appealing: & whosoever should create any such, he might rightfully and lawfully
 be killed, and that murder should not be counted a capitall crime. And when they had suffi-
 ciently strengthened the Commons, on the one side with the benefit of appealing, and on the
 other side with the Tribunes power: in favour of the Tribunes themselves, that they also might
 seeme sacrosanct and inviolable (a thing now almost grown out of remembrance) they renewed
 that high privilege, with certain solemne ceremonies, which having ben of long time forlet and
 neglected, were now brought up againe and put in ure. And they ordained them to be inviolate,
 as well in a reverent regard of religion & scruple of conscience, as also by a speciall law in that be-
 halfe provided: namely, that whosoever hurt either Tribunes of the Commons, *Ediles*, Judges,
 or Decemvirs, his head should bee accursed and devoted to *Jupiter*, and his familie sold in por-
 tualle at the church of *Ceres*, *Liber* and * *Libera*. By vertue of this Act, the great Expositours of the
 law, denie that any man is sacrosanct or inviolable: but (say they) it is enacted only, That
 whosoever hurt any of them, shall be accursed. And therefore, an *Edile* may be attached and led
 away to prison by superiour Magistrates. Which although it be not warranted by law (for hee is
 hurt, who by this law ought not to be hurt) yet it is a good argument to prove, that an *Edile* is
 not inviolable. Marry, as for the Tribunes, they were indeed by vertue of an ancient oath of the
 Commons, at what time as they first created that power and authoritie, inviolable: as they would
 seeme to expound and make construction of the law. Others have bene, that thus open and
 interpret the law, That in this selfesame Act of *Horatius*, the Consuls also, yea and Pretours too,
 (because they are created by the same *auspicia* or birdsignes that the Consuls be) were comprised,
 and had the benefite thereof. For a Consull is called by the name of a Iudge. But that expo-
 sition is confuted, for that in those daies it was not the manner to tearme the Consull a Iudge, but
 the Pretor onely. And thus much concerning the Consular lawes.

The same Consuls also brought up this order and custome, that all the Acts of the Senat
 should be brought into the church of *Ceres*, and presented unto the *Ediles* of the Commons:
 which aforesaid were suppressed and smothered, yea and corrupted or perverted at the will and
 pleasure of the Consuls. After all this, *M. Duillius* a Tribune of the Commons, propounded
 unto the Commons a law, and they let it passe and graunted it, That whosoever should leave the
 Communalitie destitute of their Tribunes, or create any Magistrate absolute without Appeale,
 should be scourged, and lose his head for it. All these Acts, as they passed against the wils and
 minds of the Nobles: so they went cleane without their contradiction: for that, all this while hi-
 therto, there was no rigour and severitie that seemed to extend and reach to any one particular
 person among them. But afterwards, when as both the Tribunes power, and also the Commons
 freedome, were once well and surely grounded: then the Tribunes, supposing now it was full time,
 that they might safely and without perill give the onset upon them, severally one by one, made
 choise of *Virginius* to be the first accuser or plaintiffe, and *Appius Claudius* the first defendant.
 And *Virginius* had not so soone arrested *Appius* to answer at a day, and *Appius* come downe in-
 to the Common place, guarded with a companie of tall yong gentlemen of the Nobilitie: but
 presently upon the sight of him and his guard about him, the remembrance of that most cruell
 and detestable tyrannie was refreshed and renewed. Then *Virginius*: Speeches (quoth hee) and
 Orations were devised for doubtfull causes: and therefore will I neither spend time in accusing
 him before you, from whose crueltie yee have by force of armes delivered your selves: nor suf-
 fer this wretch, over and besides his other wicked pranks, to shew in the defence of himselfe his
 audacious

M iij

audacious

Consuls created
againe.* Proferpina, p.
eurum, Amos.
C. C.Virginius his ac-
cusation of
Appius.

audacious impudence. Therefore, as touching all other lewd parts of thine and wicked designes, O *Appius*, which thou hast for these two years ungraciously & impiously enterprised and practised one in the neck of another, I wil do thee some favor, & pardon thee: but for one crime only, unless thou canst acquite thy selfe the better, namely, that thou being the judge, against all order of law, didst not grant unto the party defendant, the benefit of liberty to go at large, during the time of the suit depending, untill she might bring proofes of her freedome, for this, I say, I command thee to prison. Now had *Appius* no hope at all, either in the Tribunes helping hand, or in the dome and judgment of the people. Howbeit he both called upon the Tribunes for succour: and also seeing himselfe tugged and halsted away by the officer, & no man to staie his hand; I appeale (quoth he) unto the people. This one word in maintenance of freedome, being heard to come out of that mouth, that lately had given sentence on his side, that impeached the freedome of one, and challenged the partie for bond, caused silence. And when every man to himselfe secretly muttered in this wise: I see well (when all is done) there are Gods in heaven, and such gods as neglect not the affaires of mortall men. Pride and crueltie (although it bee long first) at length will surely have a fall, and throughly be punished. Lo, how he is now faine to appeale, who aforetime abolished and tooke away all appeale: he humbly craveth reliefe of the people, who heretofore trod under foot all rights and franchises of the people: and see how he is carried to prison, destitute and deprived of the benefit of libertie, who awarded and adjudged a free bodie to bondage and servitude. Amidst these words I say, that might be overheard in that confused humming of the assembly; *Appius* also was perceived to call unto the people of Rome for reliefe and mercie. He reckoned up withall, the deserts of his auncestours in the behalfe of the C.VV. both at home in the cittie, & abroad in the wars: he alleaged his own unhappy affection (when time was) to the cominaltie of Rome, and partaking with them: and namely how with the exceeding displeasure of the Nobilitie, he resigned up his Consulship, & all for to bring in and establish, equall & indifferent laws to both parties. He rehearsed moreover his own laws, which notwithstanding they remained still in force and strength, he, the lawgiver himselfe, was going to prison. But concerning his owne proper parts and deserts good or bad, he would then make triall thereof, (he said) when he should be permitted judicially to make his defence: as for the present time, he pleaded the common benefit of the cittie, to wit, that being a Citizen, he might at the appointed daie, speake for himselfe, and stand to the dome of the people: neither feared he the hatred and malice of men so much, as to repose no hope at all in the equitie and mercie of his neighbours and fellow citizens. But and if he were cast into prison and not suffered to come unto his answer, then he would once againe call upon the Tribunes of the Commons for their help, and admonish them, not to follow and imitate them, whom they would seem to hate. And in case the Tribunes will be known and avow, that they are linked in the same bond and covenant, to abolish and take away the benefit of calling unto any one of them by way of mediation, (against which they have charged and blamed the Decemvirs for complotting and agreeing together) then he said, that he appealed unto the people, and had recourse for succour unto the laws concerning appeale, made as well by Consuls as Tribunes, that present yeare and no longer ago. For who may ever hereafter (quoth he) have benefit of appeale, if it be not lawfull for me, who stand yet not condemned, nor attainted, and have not pleaded for my selfe: what commoner, what meane person may find reliefe by those laws, if *Appius Claudius* may not? It will be seene in me, and mine example shall be a precedent and prooffe to others, Whether by these new statutes, lordly rule, or equall libertie be established: whether the calling for helpe by way of mediation and intercession, or by plaine appealing against the wrongfull proceedings of magistrates, be granted in very deepe, or but onely pretended in bare shew, under vaine colourable pretences and foolish letters patents. Against all this, *Virginius* made his rejoinder and said, That *Appius* was the man alone exempt out of all benefit of lawes, and excluded from all civile and humane societie. Let men but looke backe toward the tribunall seate, the very well head as it were and receptacle, the fortress and hold of all wickednesse: whereon that perpetuall Decemvir practising his crueltie upon the goods, the bodies and lives of free citizens, menacing whipping cheere and hangmans worke unto all persons; a contemner both of God and man, garded with a crew of executioners and butcherly tormentours, rather than Serjeants, proceeding on from spoile and bloudshed to set his heart on lecherie and carnal lust, plucked a maiden by birth free, from out of the very armes of her father, as if she had ben taken captive in war; and that, in the sight of the people of Rome, and gave her away to one of his followers, even to a groome

Appius with the people before the Decemvirs.

The replication of Virginius upon Appius.

A a groome of his bedchamber. Where, by a cruell decree of his, and detestable sentence, adjudging her bond, he caused the father to lay violent hands upon his owne daughter: where he commanded, the espoused husband and Vnckle of the Virgin (that tooke up her bodie halfe dead) to be had away to the Gaol, as being more displeased with them, for disappointing and putting him beside his purpose of abusing and spoiling her, than for the murder upon her by them committed. Adding moreover and besides, That he had built a prison, which hee used to tearme The habitation and dwelling house of the Commons of Rome. And therefore, plead hee estoones, and as often as hee will, his appeale, I will not give over (quoth *Virginius*) but as often tender a judge betweene, and be able to prove, that he gave not sentence, and pronounced her free, but bond: but in case hee will not abide to bee censured by a competent judge, then I command him to be carried to prison, as attaint and convicted. Thus was he committed to ward: and as there was none misliked of this proceeding, so everie man was greatly troubled in spirit, to see so great a personage punished, & the very Commons themselves thought their libertie too large and excessive. The Tribune set him downe a day (before hand) to plead for himselfe & make his answer.

Appius committed to prison.

Amidst these affaires, there came to Rome Embassadors from the Latines and Hernicks, to congratulate, and to shew their joy and great contentment, for the unie and concord betweene the Nobles and the Commons: in token whereof, they brought as a present unto *Sup. Opt. Max.* a crowne of gould, not very massie in weight, but according to their abilitie, which was not much, yet answerable to their devotion: which men performed rather with religion and zeale in those daies, than in portly shew and magnificence. By relation and intelligence from them they were certified also, that the *Æquians* and *Volsicians* prepared warre with all the power they could make. Whereupon, the Consuls were commanded to part their provinces betweene them: To *Horatius* befell the Sabines, and to *Valerius* the *Æquians* and *Volsicians*. And when they had proclaimed musters against these warres, such was the forward affection and favour of the Commons, that not onely the younger folke, but also a great sort of those that by law were dispensed with, and discharged from warfare, and lived of their pensions, offered their voluntarie service, and were readie to enter their names into the muster-masters booke: whereby the armie was not onely in number greater, but also for the goodnesse of men, more puissant, as having the old, beaten, and experienced souldiers among them. But before they went out of the cittie, the Decemviral lawes, (which now are knowne by the name of the twelve Tables,) they set up openly to be seene, engraven in brasse. Some writers have delivered, that the *Ædiles* performed this office, as they had it in charge from the Tribunes. *C. Claudius*, who upon a detestation and deepe hatred of the Decemvirs leaud and wicked enormities, but especially above all others, of the insolent pride of his brothers sonne, which hee could no longer abide, had removed and departed to Regillus, his old native countrie. Hee being now a very aged man, returned to sue and intreat for his deliverance out of danger, whose vices hee abhorred: and in sullied weed and poore array, accompanied with those of his linage, and other his followers and vassals, went through the common place, and laboured everie man one by one, beseeching them not to set that brand of ignominie, and bring such a stain upon the house and name of the *Claudij*, as that they should bee thought worthe of imprisonment and yrons: nor suffer a man of most honourable qualitie, a singular patterne of Nobilitie to his posteritie in time to come, the law-maker and founder of the Romane lawes, to lie in chaines amongst fellows, night-theeves & robbers by the high way side: but to turne away their minds a while from anger and wrath, and incline to a due regard and consideration of matters: and rather at the suite and earnest petitions of so many of the *Claudij*, to forgive them one man, than for the hatred of one man, to reject the praiers of so many suppliants. As for himselfe, he protested that he did thus much for kinred and names sake. Neither was he reconciled unto him, and they made friends again: yet could he wish, that his adverse fortune & poore condition were relieved. Concluding with this in the end, That as their libertie was recovered againe by vertue and prowess, so the concord of all degrees and estates might be established sure by clemencie. Some there were whom he mooved, more in regard of his owne kinnesse and love, than in any respect of him for whom he spake. But *Virginius* praied them, To take pittie and compassion rather, of him and his daughter, and to give care to the praiers and supplications, not of the *Claudij*, who have had the day, and tyrannised over the Commons, but to the neerest friends of *Virginius*, the three Tribunes, who being created for the aid and succour of the Commons, doe now themselves implore and beseech the helpe and assistance

The lawes called the twelve tables.

C. Claudius 14e petition in the behalfe of App. Claudius.

stance

Appius killed his
owne selfe.

stance of the Commons. And verily these tears were thought more reasonable, and like to speed. G Thus when *Appius* saw all meane of hope cut off, before the foresaid day appointed was come, killed his owne selfe. Soone after this, *Sp. Oppius*, who of all the rest next unto *Appius*, was most hated: for that hee was in the citie at the very time when this unjust doome and sentence of his colleague happened to be pronounced, was attached by *P. Numitorius*. But *Oppius* was the worse thought of and more prejudiced, by occasion of an injurie by himselfe done, than for not stopping the wrong intended by *Appius* to *Virginia*. For a witnesse was produced to depose against him, one, who having served in the warres seven and twentie yeares, had bene rewarded and honoured extraordinarily eight times. This valiant servitour, thus adorned with those gifts & markes of valour, in the view and sight of the people of Rome rent his garments, and shewed his backe and sides, & the skin all broken with scourging: beseeching no other favor, but if *Oppius* the partie accused, could justly charge him with any trepasse and offence by him committed, he should not spare him, but now a private person as hee was, exercise and redouble his crueltie upon him once againe. Well, *Oppius* likewise was had to prison: and there before the law day, ended his life. The goods of *Appius* and *Oppius* both, the Tribunes did confiscate. Their comparteners also and fellow Decemvirs fled their countrie and were banished, and all their goods also were forfeit and confiscate. And not so much as *M. Claudius*, the partie that laid claime unto *Virginia* escaped, but he was arrested to answer at a certaine day, and was condemned. Howbeit *Virginius* of himselfe released him his life, and would not take the extremitie, so he was sent away and confined to Tybur, as it were into banishment. Thus the poore spirit and ghost of *Virginia*, more hapie after her death than fortunate during her life, having wandered abroad, and haunted so many houses for due revenge of her adversaries: at last, when there was not one guiltie person of them left unpunished, gave over her walking, and rested quiet.

Now were the Nobles in exceeding feare, beholding the same countenance already in the Tribunes, which they had observed in the Decemvirs. But then *M. Duilius*, a Tribune of the Commons, wisely and politickly restraining and keeping within a meane this excessive power of theirs: We have ynough (quoth he) both of our owne libertie, and also of revenge of our enemies: and therefore I will not suffer for this yeare, any man more to be arrested or imprisoned. For I doe not like that old faults done and past, and now as it were cancelled and rased out, should be revived againe, and brought in question, since that by the punishment of the Decemvirs, satisfaction hath been made for the new: and the continuall care and diligence of the Consuls both twaine, for the maintenance of your freedome assureth me, that nothing will be committed hereafter, that may require and need the power of the Tribunes. This moderation at the first hand of the Tribune, put the Nobles out of their feare: but made the Consuls to bee thought the worse of, (for that they had been so addicted, wholly to the Communalitie) in that a Magistrate of the Commons had more regard of the safetie and libertie of the Nobles, than the proper Magistrate of the Nobilitie: and because the adverse part had their full of revenge and punishment of the Nobles, before it did appeare that the Consuls would once seem to stop the course & streame of their licentiousnesse. And many there were who gave it out, that the Consuls bare themselves too remisse and slacke in the matter, and little respected the good and credite of the Nobles, in that they had approved and confirmed the Acts that were proposed by the Tribunes. And no question, troubled as the state was then of the C.V. they were forced to give place, and doe according to the necessitie of the time.

When the Consuls had set all things in good order within the citie, and surely grounded the state of the Communalitie, they went either of them into their owne province. *Valerius* against the armies of the *Aequians* and *Volscians*, which now had joined together in *Algidum*: where full politickly he held off, and stood upon his defence onely: for if out of hand he had put it to the hazard of a battell, I cannot tell, but I greatly doubt (considering how the hearts of Romans and enemies both, were affected, presently upon the unfortunate conduct of the Decemvirs) it would have turned to their great losse, and cost them an overthrow. Hee therefore having encamped a mile off from the enemies, kept his souldiours within the campe. The enemies raunged in battaille array, tooke up the whole ground betweene both camps, and when they made bravadoes, and challenged them to come forth and fight, not one Roman would answer them againe. At length the *Volscians* and *Aequians*, wearied with long standing still, and in vaine expecting battell, thinking verily, that the honour was in manner yielded unto them, departed: some into the countrie of the *Hernikes*, other some to the territories of the *Latines*, for to raise booties and make spoile: leaving

A leaving behind them rather a competent guard for defence of the campe, than a sufficient power to maintaine a field-fight. Which when the Consull perceived, he paid them againe with the like measure of feare, as they before had from them received; and with his armie readie embattailed, biddeth them battaille: who being privie to themselves what forces were wanting, forbore to fight: whereupon the Romanes presently tooke a better heart unto them, and made account that their enemies were overcome, being in such a feare within their rampier. When they had stood thus a whole daie readie to fight, they retired backe in the evening and gave place to the night. And the Romanes full of good hope, refreshed their bodies and made much of themselves, but the enemies nothing so hartie and courageous, send out messengers every way in fearefull haile, to call againe the forraiers. Such as were neare at hand came running backe into the campe: those that were farther off, could not be found nor met withall. Now when it was once day light, the Romanes issue forth of the campe, intending to give an assault upon the rampier, unlesse they would come forth and fight. But when it was farre forth daie, and the enemies stirred not at all, the Consull commanded to advance with their ensignes. The *Aequians* and *Volscians* seeing their battaille comming forward, began to chafe and take foule disdaine, for very shame that their rampier and trench should protect victorious armies within the campe, rather than their weapons and valour defend them in plaine and open field: and were earnest likewise themselves with their Generals for the signall of battaille, and at length after much importunitie obtained it. Now were some of them falled out at the gates already: and others followed hard after at their heeles, keeping their array, and every man comming orderly into his file and ranke. By which time, the Romanes Cos. before the battaille of the enemies stood surely furnished with their full strength, came on still and gave the onser: charged them before they were all come forth, yea and ere they were well marshalled that came abroad, being a multitude, waving (as it were) to and fro every way for feare, and looking about themselves, and to their fellows: & to masker their troubled heads the more, hee assaileth them with a great shout and maine violence. At first the enemies gave back: but after they had gathered their spirits together, and were come againe to themselves, and that their captaines on every side rated them, and asked them whether they would yield unto them, whome before they had overcome, the fight began againe to bee renewed. The Consull on the other part, willed the Romanes to remember, that this was the first day, wherein they being newly set free, were to fight likewise for the freed citie of Rome: and therefore they were to win a victory for themselves, and not after victorie gotten, to be a prize for any more Decemvirs to prey upon. For they fought not now under the conduct and standard of *Appius*, but of the Consull *Valerius*: who as he was descended from the deliverers of the people of Rome, so he was one of them himselfe: exhorting them to shew now, that in former battailes of late daies, it was long of the leaders and not of the souldiours, that they achieved no victories: saying, it were a foule shame for them, to have had more stomacke against their owne neighbours and citizens, than heart against their enemies; and to have stood more in feare of servitude at home, than of bondage abroad. As for *Virginia*, shee was but one, whose honestie and chastitie was in time of peace hazarded: and *Appius* it was onely, and none but hee, that in regard of his unbridled and dissolute lust, was the dangerous citizen. But if the fortune of warre should faile on our side, and goe against us, then shall our children all bee in jeopardie, to bee abused and spoiled at the hands of many thousands of enemies. Vnwillling I am (quoth hee) to boden such miseries, and to offe the citie unto those calamities, which both *Sup.* and our stockfather *Mars*, forbid and forsend to light upon it, founded upon so lucky signes and happy foretokens, at the first beginning: I put you in mind rather of the *Aventine* hill, and mount *Sacer*: that where within these few moneths you recovered your freedome, thither ye may carry backe again your Empire, safe and sound, unsteined and unfoyled: that all the world may see that Roman souldiours are as forward and nobly minded after the banishing of the Decemvirs, as they were before their creation: and that by the bringing in of equall and indifferent lawes, the manhood and prowess of the people of Rome, is no whit decayed nor diminished. Having uttered these words among the ensignes of the footmen, he made speed to the corners of the horsemen. Go to, brave galls (quoth he) excell the footmen in valour and chivalrie, like as ye exceede them in honor and degree. At the very first shooke and encounter, the footmen forced the enemy to recule: and being now reculed to your hand, set spurs to, gallop after them apace, and chafe them out of the plaine field: they will never abide your violent charge: for even already they are at a bay, and stand rather at a stay, than make any resistance. Hereupon they gird out lustily, and run their

The Orator of
Valerius the
Consull to his
souldiours.

horses

horses among the enemies, disordered already and in disarray by the service of the footmen. And having broken through their ranks, and passed forth even to the reward; certain of them cast about in the void and open ground, and when the enemies were about on all sides to flee, they turned most of them away from their campe, and overriding them, they got betweene them and home, and scared them wholly from thence. The footmen and the Consull himselfe, with the whole strength of the maine battaile, made forward to the campe, assailed the tents, won them, and besides a great slaughter, obtained a bootie farre greater.

When newes of this battaile was brought, not onely into the cittie, but also unto the other armie into the Sabines countrie, it was received in the cittie with joy onely and solemnitie: but in the campe it set the souldiours hearts on edge, and enkindled them to strive for the like honour and renowne. Now had *Horatius* already, partly by sending his souldiours forth, to make reises and outrodes: and partly by training and proving them in light skirmishes, insured and acquainted them to trust unto themselves, and have confidence in their owne good service, rather than to remember the shamefull disgrace & foile, received under the leading of the Decemvirs. And even those final bickerings had done them much good already against they should venture upon a fier field, and hardened them in assured hope to win the victorie. The Sabines againe for their part, still lustie upon their good successe the yeare before, ceased not to provoke and urge their enemies: estoones asking them what they meant after the guise of robbers, to run in and out in small companies, so to trifle out the time, and thus by peece meale to make of one entire battaile many petie and small skirmishes? Why rather fought they not one field for all, and without more ado, hazard all upon a cast, and commit the whole to the triall of fortune, to see unto what side she will incline. Then the Romanes, besides that of themselves they had gathered hart and courage yough, were with the indignitie of this challenge also set on fire: considering, that when the other armie was at the point now, with victorie to returne into the cittie, their enemies began to insult and crowe over them with reprochfull tearmes: and if now they were not meet and even with them, when should they ever bee able to make their parts good? So soone as the Consull perceived the souldiours thus to mutter and mumble within the campe, hee assembled them all together, and thus he spake: Sirs (quoth he) what successe hath bene, and how the service hath sped in Algidum, I suppose you have already heard, namely, such as becomed the armie of a free itate and people. By the pollicie of my fellow Consull, and the manhood of his souldiours together, achieved is the victorie. As for my selfe, that course will I take, and that resolute

mind will I carrie, which you my souldiours shall afford unto me. The warre may be drawne out in length profitable: it may be also dispatched and ended speedily. If protracted it shall be, look how I have begun already to traine you, with the same discipline still I will exercise you, and bring to passe, that your hope and prowesse may increase every day more than other. If your hearts now serve you well, and that you like to fight it out, Go on in the name of God, and in token of your willing hart and valorous prowesse, now set up such a crye and shout, as you will make when you first joine battaile, and give the charge. After that they had with exceeding cheerefulness shouted aloud: God bleesse us all (quoth he) I will fulfill your desire, and bring you forth to morrow into the field for to fight. So the rest of that day was bestowed in making their hamish and weapons readie. When morrow was come, the Sabines so soone as they perceived the Romanes raunged in battaile array, came forth also themselves, as readie and desirous of fight, as they. Here was a battaile strucke, such as might becomed two annies, that trusted on both sides in their owne valour, and made full account of that daies honour. The one eager and greedie to recover their ancient glorie, wonted evenmore to have the upper hand, the other proudly bearing themselves, upon a new victorie lately achieved. The Sabines besides, mended their strength well with a stratageme, for when they had equally divided their battaillons every way, they reserved two thousand drawne out of the rest, extraordinary without the rankes apart. Who in the verie time of the conflict, should hotely charge the left point of the Romanes: they advancing overthwart with their ensignes; and flanking them on the same side, pressed threwdly upon that one point, and overcharged it, well neare environned all about. Then the horsemen of two legions, 600 almost in number, alight on foote from their horsebackes, and as their fellowes were even now readie to recule, rush forward with all speed to the forefront: and withall, made head against the enemy. And first, they put life unto them againe, for that they entred equally with the footmen into danger and bare even part thereof: afterwards, for very shame, they gave more boldnesse and animated them to fight. For abashed they

A they were, that horsemen should be put to double service in both kinds of fight, on horse and on foote: and professed footmen not able to countervail the horsemen, who had taken them to their feete. So they advance forward to the battaile, which on their part was abandoned, & make hast to recover the ground which they had lost. And with a trice at one instant, not onely the fight was renewed, but also a battaillon of the Sabines began to shrink. The horsemen closely among the ranks and files of the footmen, gat againe to their horses, and from thence rode speedily unto the other side, reporting to their fellowes the victorie: and withall, sharply charged the enemies, who now were affrighted, because the stronger wing of their side was discomfited: neither were there any in this battaile also, that were seene to performe better service than they. The Consull, as an overseer, beheld all the maner of it, praising those that stood to it manfully and rebuking where they fought but faintly. They were not so soone chastised and reproved, but presently they bare themselves like hardie men and did right good service: and looke how much that praise excited some, so much shame stirred up other. Then with a fresh shout and outcrie, they bent their whole force on all sides, and compelled the enemies to turne their backs: who were not able after this, to abide the violence of the Romanes. The Sabines, scattered here and there all over the fields, left their tents for a spoile to their enemies: where the Romanes recovered againe not the goods of their Allies, as before in Algidum, but their very own, which they had lost by the harrying and spoiling of their lands.

For this two-fold victorie achieved in two sundrie battailes, the Senate right sparingly, (such was their miserie) decreed in the name and behalfe of the Consuls, one daies thanksgiving and proceffion, and no more. But the people, the second day likewise, without order and warrant from authoritie, solemnised the same in great numbers. And this popular proceffion, disorderly as it was and without formalitie, was with more good will and better affection of men celebrated, than the other. The Consuls of set purpose (as it was agreed afore) came within the compasse of those two daies into the cittie: and summoned the Senat to assemble in Mars field: where, as they were about to make some speech of their exploits and worthie actes, the chiefe and principall lords of the Senat, complained and shewed themselves grieved, that the Senat was assembled for the nonce, among the souldiours, to strike a terror into them. Whereupon the Consuls, because they would give no occasion of quarrell and faultfinding, called away the Senat from thence into Prata Flaminia, where now the temple of Apollo standeth: a

D place, which even then they called *Circus Apollinaris*: where they being denied triumph with one voice and generall consent of the Nobles: *L. Scellius*, a Tribune of the Commons, propounded unto the people, to know what they thought of the Consuls triumph. And among many that stepped forth to crosse and dissuade the bill, *C. Claudius* above all others cried out aloud, that the Consull intended to triumph over the Nobles and not over their enemies: and that they sought a thanks by way of recompence for a privat favour done to the Tribune, and not for an honourable reward, for any vertue and worthie act. For never (quoth he) aforetime, was there held any treatie of triumph before the people: but evermore it was referred to the Senat, to consider and determine of that honour. Neither had the Kings at any time, impaired the majestie of that highest court and degree: what should the Tribunes then meddle so much, and have their hand in all matters by vertue of their authoritie, as to suffer no publike counsell at all to remaine in force? For a cittie can never be counted free, nor lawes equall and indifferent, but when each degree and estate retaineth still their own priviledge, and hold their proper preeminence. When the rest of the principall Senatours had spoken much to the same effect, all the Tribes notwithstanding in generally, allowed by their suffrages that which the Tribune had propounded. This was the first time that ever any triumph was granted by the voices of the people, without the authoritie and assent of the Senatours. But this victorie of the Tribunes and the cominaltie, had like to have turned to a dangerous surfeit of licentious libertie: by reason that the Tribunes conspired together and were fully agreed, to be chosen Tribunes againe: and to the end that their owne ambition should be lesse seene above others, they alleaded to the Consull for a sufficient reason (that they likewise should continue still in place of government) the agreement and consent of the Senatours: through whose holding together and drawing in one line, the liberties of the Commons, to the great disgrace and reproch of the Consuls, were infringed and indammaged. For what would come of it, say they, if before the late lawes were fully established, the (new) Consuls with their factious banding, should set upon the new Tribunes: for we must not looke to have alwaies such as the *Horatij* and *Valerij*, to be Consuls, men that would not regard their own weale before

C. Claudius
against the Tri-
umph of the
Consuls

before the freedome of the comminatie. As it happened very well for that time, it fell to *M. Du-*
tilius his lot especially, to be chiefe president of the Comices and Election: who like a prudent
 and wise man, foreseeing the hartburning and hatred, like presently to ensue, upon the continu-
 ance of the same magistrates still in place, said flatly, that of the old Tribunes he would not pro-
 pound any one: and when his brethren in office labored earnestly with him, to permit the Tribes
 to go to a free scrutinie, or els yeeld up the charge to him allotted, of holding the assembly, unto
 his brethren, who would keepe the same and manage the matter, according to law rather than
 to the will and pleasure of the Nobles: *Duillius* then, seeing their earnest contention, caused the
 Consuls to be called into their owne pures and seates, and demaunded their mindes concerning
 the Election of the Consuls: and when they answered that they would create new, he having once
 gotten them to be the authors of a popular sentence, and not popular themselves, went forth to-
 gether with them into the assembly of the people. Now when the Consuls were brought out
 into their presence, & were asked the question, what they would doe, in case the people of Rome
 should elect them Consuls the second time, and that, in remembrance of their libertie received
 and recovered by their meanes, and for their good service in warre, and worthie actes by them
 performed: he finding them constant in the same mind still, and nothing altered from their res-
 olution: after hee had commended the Consuls, for their steadfast perseverance unto the
 last (as altogether unlike to the Decemvirs) went presently to the new Election. And when
 he had created five Tribunes onely, seeing there were not other competitours enough to
 reach unto sufficient voices of the Tribes, in comparison of the other nine Tribunes his
 colleagues who openly stood to be chosen againe: he brake up the assembly, and from that time
 forward called no more about any Election. For he said, That he had fulfilled the law in that be-
 halfe, which without setting downe any precise and definite number of Tribunes, so that there
 were some left behind and roomes void, gave authoritie to those that were created, to chuse
 and take unto them more colleagues, to make up the number. And therewith he recited the words
 of the law, which run in this forme. If I shall propound ten TRIBUNES OF THE
 COMMONS TO BE CREATED, AND THEY SHALL THAT PRESENT DAY MAKE FEWER
 THAN TEN: THEY BY VIRTUE OF THIS LAVV, SHALL BE ACCOUNTED TRIBUNES,
 VVHOM THOSE ELECTED SHALL CHUSE AND TAKE UNTO THEM FOR THEIR FEL-
 LOWES, AND AS LAVVFULL SHALL THEY BE HELD, AS THOSE VVHOM THIS DAY YEE
 SHAL CREATE TRIBUNES OF THE COMMONS. Thus when *Duillius* persisted still reso-
 lute unto the end, saying, That in any case the state might not beare xv. Tribunes; and having
 thus conquered the greedie ambition of his colleagues: with great favour and the good liking
 as well of the Nobilitie as the Cominatie, he gave up his roome. The new Tribunes now in the
 electing and making choise of their companions, curried favour with the Senators, and framed
 themselves to their will and pleasure, in chusing to them two of the Nobilitie, and those that had
 been Consuls, to wit *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Aternius*. And Consuls there were created *Sp. Her-*
minius and *T. Virginius Calimontanus*. Who bearing themselves in a meane betweene Com-
 mons and Nobles, and not greatly inclining to one side or other, had peace as well at home as
 abroad. *L. Trebonius* a Tribune of the Commons, being highly offended with the Senators
 and spitefully bent against them, and saying withall, that in the cooptation of the rest of the Tri-
 bunes, he had been cunningly overtraught by them, and betrayed by his colleagues, proposed
 a law, That whosoever hereafter propounded unto the Commons any Tribunes to be elected,
 should not give over, but still propound, untill he made up the full number of ten. Thus con-
 tinued he all his Tribuneship in persecuting and molesting the Nobles, never letting them to be
 quiet: wherupon he was surnamed * *Asper*.

* Rougher
 more.

After this, *M. Geganus Macrinus*, and *C. Iulius* being created Consuls, appeased the con-
 tentious orations of the Tribunes, which were begon and raised against the young Genle-
 men of the Nobilitie, so as without any bitter invectives against that authoritie of the Tribunes,
 they preserved still the soveraigne majestie of the Nobles: and by meanes of decreeing musters
 against the warres of the Volscians and Equians, staied the Commons, and kept the Citie
 from all sedition and discord: saying, That by civile unitie, all would be at quiet abroad: whereas
 through discord of citizens, forreiners tooke heart. The care likewise of outward peace, was the
 cause of inward and intestine concord. But evermore the one state disquieted the moderation
 of the other: for whiles the Commons were still and in good temper, the punie Senators be-
 gan to offer them wrong & hard measure. And when the Tribunes would have assisted the weaker
 side,

A side, at first it bootted little, and small good they did: but afterwards they themselves escaped not
 without abuse and hurt: and especially in their latter monthes, when as they received injuries;
 both by reason of the meetings and packing together of the mightier sort, and also for that to-
 ward the end of the yeare, the edge and vigor commonly of all authoritie waxeth dull and grow-
 eth feeble and weake. So that now the Commons had little or no confidence at all in the Tri-
 buneship, unlesse they might have such as *teilius* to be Tribunes: and as for these two yeares last
 past, they had them but in bare name, and not to any effect and purpose. The elders and an-
 cient fathers of the Senat on the other side, as they beleaved verily that their youth were too coc-
 ked and lustie: so they were of this mind, That if there needs must be trespasse and excessse, they
 had leiffer those of their owne degree and core should exceede measure, and have greater sto-
 make, than their adversaries. So ticklish and dangerous a thing it is to keepe a meane in main-
 tenance of libertie: whiles under a colour of wishing and desiring equalitie, every man advan-
 ceth and listeth up himselfe so, as that he thrusteth and beareth downe another: and in preten-
 ding a care and regard that men should not stand in awe and feare of them, they make them-
 selves dread and fearefull to others, and so the wrong that we put off and shove from our selves,
 we impose upon others, As if there were no remedy, but that we must either doe, or suffer
 injurie.

Then were made Consuls, *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fourth time, and *Agrippa Furius*: who
 found neither sedition within, nor warre without. But yet both the one and the other was neare
 at hand. For now could no longer the diffention of the citizens be held in, but needs it must
 C breake out. And both Tribunes and Commons rose against the Nobles. For in all the folk-
 mores and meetings of the people, one or other alwaies of the Nobles and Senatours were ser-
 ved with processe: wherupon grew fresh troubles and new contentions. At the first noife wherof,
 as if the signall of battaile had been given, and the al'arme stricken up, the Æquians and Volsci-
 ans tooke armes: and withall, their leaders and captaines (such as gaped greedely after spoile and
 pillage) had borne them in hand and perswaded them to beleewe, That for these two yeares past,
 they could not go through with their musters proclaimed: for that the Commons refused to
 obey, and brake their allegiance: which was the onely cause, that there were no forces sent out
 against them. Besides, say they, The use and manner of their warfare, is now with their licen-
 tious loosenesse, discontinued and cleane decayed: Rome was now no more a common-wealth
 and countrie to her citizens: For, all their anger, quarrels and malice, that they bare aforetime
 D against forreine nations, was now turned upon their owne selves: so that at this time they had fit
 occasion and good opportunitie to surprise them, blinded as wolves with mutuall rage & wood-
 nes one against another. Hereupon they joyned their whole power, and first wasted the coun-
 trie of Latium: and afterwards seeing none to encounter them and make defence (to the exceed-
 ing joie of those that were the authors of this warre) they came harrying and spoiling al the way
 to the very wals of Rome, even before the gate Esquilina, there braving and vaunting in re-
 proachfull and scomfull termes before the whole citie, telling them how they had laid their
 fields & territories wast. From whence they retired themselves without revenge and losse, driving
 their booties afore them, and marched along to Corbio. *Quintius* the Consull seeing this, as-
 E sembled the people, and there (as I have heard) he made to them a speech in this wise. Albeit
 I am not privie to my selfe, and my conscience accuseth me not of any fault, O *Quirites*, yet am
 I exceedingly abashed and ashamed to come forth into this assembly of yours: that ever you
 should know, or the posteritie hereafter understand, how the Æquians and Volscians (who of late
 daies were hardly comparable to the Hernicks) came when *T. Quintius* was the fourth time Consul,
 in warlike manner with banner displaid to the wals of the citie of Rome, and went their waies
 againe cleare and without any hurt by them received. This shamefull dishonour, if I had known
 it would have light so just in this yeare (and yet for this good while the world hath so gone, and
 such hath been the course of our life and conversation, that my mind ever gave me there was no
 goodnesse toward) I would have avoided this place of dignitie, either by banishment or death, if
 F there had been no other way to escape it. And might indeed have Rome been taken in the time
 of my Consullship, if those weapons which were under our gates had been in the hands of valo-
 rous men? Then had I indeed enjoied sufficient honour already, then had I lived long ynough,
 and a little too long, and might have died well when I was but the third time Consull. But who
 were they, I pray you, whom these most base and cowardly enemies of ours, despised and set so
 light by? Were we they that are your Consuls, or you (*Quirites*) the people of Rome? If we were

The Oration of
 Quintius the
 Consull, to the
 people of Rome

in the fault, take from us as insufficient & unworthy persons, our rule and government: and if that be not enough, let us over and besides be well punished, and abide the smart. But if the blame be in you Quirites, let neither God nor man chastise your trespass and offence, only do you repent your selves, and be sorie therefore. It was not your cowardise that they scorned and despised, neither was it their owne valour wherein they trusted. For why? they having ben so often defeated and driven out of the campe and the field, fined with forfeiture of lands, forced to go under the galloes, and brought into servitude, knew very well both themselves and you also. No no, the variance and discord betweene our owne states and degrees, is the onely bane, and nothing els, of this citie: the jarres and debates, I say, betweene the Nobles and the Commons. Whiles neither we have any gage or stay of rule and commaund, nor you know meane of freedome and libertie: while you are wearie of Noblemen rulers, and we likewise of the Commoners Magistrates, they have gotten heart, and waxe bold. Now, (Gods will) what meane you to doe, and what would you have? Tribunes of the Commons yee longed and hunkered after: for quietnesse and concord sake, we let you have your longing. Decemvirs you had a great misse of, & them you desired: we granted and permitted them to be created. Wearie you were anone, and all too wearie of Decemvirs: we forced them to forgo their office. And when your anger continued stil against them, being become private persons againe, we suffred to be put to death, and to be exiled, most noble and right honorable men. When you would needs elect a new your Tribunes of the Commons, you chose them at your pleasure. To create Consuls from out of your owne faction, although we knew it hurtfull and prejudiciall to the Nobles, yet have we seene that dignitie proper to Nobilitie, given away as it were, and made common with the Communitie. The assistance of Tribunes, the appealing to the people, the lawes and Acts devised by the Commons, to bee tendered and imposed upon the Nobles, to bind them thereto: and that, under the pretence and colour of *respublice*, or equall and indifferent lawes, our owne rights and privileges should be overthrowne, we have abidden, and doe still endure. When will there be an end once of discord and dissension? Shall we never have one citie of it? Shall we never have this to bee the common countie of us all? We can be content much better to be at quiet, when we are vanquished, than whiles we are victors. And is it not ynough for you, that you are dread and feared of us? but still you seeke for more? Against us it was, that you tooke the mount Aventine, against us it was that you held and leapt the mountaine Sacer. For when the gate Esquilina, was well-near surprised by the enemye, and when the Volscians our enemies were readie to climbe our trench and banckes, and to scale our wals, none of you there was to be seene, for to remove and set them farther off. Against us ye play the men, against us ye can be armed. Well then, go to: When ye have here beset the Senatoules, taken up the market place and common hall with souldiers, filled the gaole with Noblemen, and those of the cheefest and best qualitie, then with like courage and stoutnesse of heart, sallie forth of the gate Esquilina. Or if you dare not venture so much, behold and view all afore you from the wals, discover your lands and territories with fire and sword wasted and consumed, your goods and cattell had and driven away as booties and prizes, your fermes and horses burning and smoking in every quarter. But all this time the Commonweale onely (you thinke) by this meane is in worse plight and poorer case, the villages fired, the citie besieged, and the enemye goeth his way with the honour of the warre. And in what taking, I pray you, is your own private estate the while? Tidings will come anon to every man particularly, from out of his owne livings and possessions, of his proper losses: and what have you at home (if a man may aske) to make supplie againe? Will the Tribunes make you restitution, and amends for all your damages? You shall have words of them your fill. They will not sticke to speake, to raile, and let siee slanders freely before you against the heads of the citie. Lawes upon lawes you shall have huddled thicke and threefold. Assemblies, convocations, and seditious invectives good store. But from these their folkemotes, never came there any of you home to his house, richer of one gray goat or single denier, nor in better state to live than before. Was there ever any one carried ought from thence to his wife and children, but hatred and mallice, displeasure and rancour, grudges & hartburnings, both publicke and private: from which at all times ye have been shielded and defended, if not with your own vertue and innocencie, yet by the helpe and aid of others. But certes, when ye served in wars under the conduct of us your Consuls, and followed not the leading of your Tribunes: when you served I say in campe, and not in the hall and common place: when in battaile your enemies quaked to heare you shout, and not in your folkemotes, the Romanes were in dread of your *uas* and outcries: then you wan prizes, and conquered lands from your enemies, then you returned home with triumph

A to your houses, full of riches and wealth, full of honour and renowne, as well publicke as private. Where as now, you suffer your enemies to depart, fraught and loaden with your goods. Sticke to your Warde-Leetes, as if you were nailed and fast pinned to them: dwell still in your hall, and lead your lives continually there: yet must you needs war when all is done, sie from it as fast as you can. Greeved if you indeed, and thought you it a trouble and a painful thing, to take an expedition so farre as into the Volscians and Aequians countie? Lo, the warre is come even un to your gates: if it be not put from thence, it will anon be within the wals, it will scale the castle and arid Capitoll, it will follow you, even into your houses. Two yeares ago, the Senat gave order and commanded, that there should be souldiers mustered, and an armie conducted into Algidum. But we sit still at home and doe nothing, but chide and scold (as it were) one at another, like curst and shrewd women, contenting our selves, and joying in a present peace: and little seeing, that of that rest, there will come sundrie warres againe, and that right shortly. I know full well, there are speeches more pleasing and plausible than these. But to speake the plain truth for your good, rather than to flatter and sooth for your pleasure, if mine own nature and disposition did not reach and admonish me, even very necessitie doth force and constrain me. Willing would I be, and most willing, O Quirites, to please you: but much more would I have you to be in safetie, think whatsoever ye will of me. It falleth out commonly, as a thing that cometh by kind, that who so speaketh to a multitude in his owne cause, and for himselfe, is better liked, and heard with more applause, than hee whose mind aimeth at nothing els but a publicke weale. Vnlesse peradventure you thinke these common flatterers, these clawbackes, and men-pleasers, which give you no rest, neither in warre nor peace, doe stirre you up and provoke you for your good. But will you have the truth? yee being once solicited and pricked on by them, serve their times in good stead, either for their honor or gaine. And because they see themselves to bee of no worth and regard, while the states doe agree, they desire to play small game, rather than to sit out: to be captaines of misrule and leaudnesse, rather than of nothing: and in one word, to be the heads, the ring-leaders and guides of troubles and dissentions. Whereof, if you be so blest and happie, as to be wearie now at length, and will betake you selves to the auncient manners and fashions, both of your owne, and of your auncestors, in lieu of these new fangles, I will refuse no punishment: nay, let me be put to the most shamefull death that is, if I do not before many daies passe over my head, defeat, discomfit and put to flight these robbers and harriers of our fields, and send them packing out of their owne campe, and finally translate and remove this terror of warre, wherewith ye now are so affrighted and altonied, from our gates and wals, even unto their owne townes and cities. Sildome at any time els, had there been a speech delivered by a popular Tribune, more acceptable unto the Commons, than was the sharpe Oration at this present of a most severe Consull. Yea and the very youth, which amid such terrors of warre, had ben wont to refuse souldiery, the onely keene and sharpe weapon they had to fight withall against the Nobles, now desired warre and to be in armes. Over and besides, the countie kernes that fled (to Rome,) such also as were spoiled & wounded in the villages about, reported more foule and cruell outrages in their cares, than were presented unto their eies, and set all the citie in an hoat and angrie broile. Now when the Senatours were assembled together in the Counsell house, then verely they all cast their eies upon *Quintius*, beholding and regarding him well, as the onely patrone and maintainer of the majestie of Rome: but the chiefe peeres and Lordes of the Senate spake out and said: That hee had made an oration, becomming the soveraigne government of a Consull, becomming so many Consullships by him already borne, becomming the whole course of his life, that had passed off through many honourable dignities, and yet alwaies deserved more. As for other Consuls, they either in flattering and sooothing up the Commons, had betrayed the dignitie of the Nobles: or els in seeking by hard courses to maintaine the rights, preheminiencies and royalties of their state, and to tame the multitude, have thereby made them more fell and untractable. But *T. Quintius*, he hath made a speech, respective and tending, as well to the royall dignitie of the Nobles, as to the concord and unitie of the States, and principally regarding the condition of the times.

F They would request him therefore, together with his brother Consull, to take in hand the care of the common-weale. They would request the Tribunes likewise, to joine in one accord with the Consuls, and shew themselves willing and forward, to have the warre kept off and put back from their cittie wals: and in so fearefull and dangerous a case, to reclaime their Commons to their due obedience to their Nobles: saying moreover, That the native countie, the common mother of them all, calleth unto the Tribunes and craveth their aid, now that the territories are wa-

field, and the citie at hand to be assaulted. Whereupon, they all agreed generally to decree a muster, and presently to make a levie of souldiours. And when the Consuls, had pronounced before the whole people then and there assembled, that it was no time as then to heare excuses, but that all the younger sort, should betimes the next morning by day light, be readie to attend in Mars field: and that after the warre was ended, they would find out and appoint a time, to enquire into their allegations and reasons, that entred not their names: and that he should be taken for a traitour and rebell, whose excuse they allowed not: the whole manhood and youth of the citie shewed themselves the morrow after in readinesse. Each cohort or regiment chose their centinieres or captaines, and every Regiment had two Senatours for their provost marshals. All this was performed (by report) with such speed and expedition, that on the very same daie, the standards and ensignes were by the Questors had forth of the Armorie and chamber of the citie and brought into Mars field: and by the fourth houre (or ten a clocke) the same day, set forward and advanced out of the field. And this new armie, with a few bands of old souldiours, who willingly of their owne accord followed them, marched on, and rested, at ten miles end. The day following they discovered their enemies, and at Corbio encamped close unto them. And by the third day, there was no stay on both hands, but they must needs encounter and fight. For why? The Romanes for anger were sharpe set: the enemies againe, upon a guiltie conscience that they had so often rebelled, were grown desperate. Now, whereas in the Roman armie the two Consuls were in egall commission, yet gave *Agrippa* place unto his brother *Quintius*, and yeelded unto him the entire and absolute command. A course most profitable in the managing and execution of great affaires. And being thus preferred, he againe in curtesie answered and requited the others gentleness and inclination to submission, in this wise, by imparting unto him all his counsels: by parting with him all his honour and praise, and by making him his equall, who was indeede his inferiour and underling. In the battaile, *Quintius* commanded the right point, *Agrippa* led the left: *Sp. Posthumius Albus*, the Lieutenant generall, had the conduct of the maine battaile. And *P. Sulpitius* the other Lieutenant, they set over the horsemen. The footmen of the right point fought most valiantly, and the Volscians received them with equall valour. *Sp. Sulpitius* with his men of armes, brake through the maine battaile of the enemies: and albeit he might have retired himselfe the same way againe unto his companie, before that the enemies could bring their ranks againe into order, that were disraied: yet he thought it better to charge them upon their backs. And in one moment he had discomfited and quite defeated his enemies, by assailing them behind, and thus affrighting them on both sides, but that the Volscian and Equian horsemen recharged him, held him plaie in his owne fight, and so kept him occupied a good while. Thereat, *Sulpitius* said, it was no time now to linger and to drive off, but to betirre themselves, crying out aloud, that they were environed round, enclosed within their enemies, & excluded from their owne fellowes, unlesse they set to, and bent their whole force, quickly to dispatch the horse fight: and that it would not serve, to put the horsemen to flight and save their lives: but kill both horse and man, that none might ride backe againe from thence into the battaile to renew the fight. And to make head and resistance against him and his horsemen, they were never able, since that the maine thicke battaile of footmen had given him ground already. Good care they gave to his words, and soone harkned to his direction: & with one entire assault they gave a fierce charge, and defeated the whole power of the Cavallerie, unhorsed and dismounted a number of them, and with their javelins goared both them and their horses. And theres an ende of the horse service. Then they set upon the battaile of the footmen, and dispatched messengers unto the Consuls with newes, what they had done: where also by that time, the battaile of the enemies began to shrink. And when tidings came unto the Romanes that were already upon the point of victorie, they verely were more encouraged: but the Equians that were about to recule, were stricken with greater feare. In the maine battaile first began the overthrow, namely, whereas the men of armes before had broken the array. After them, the left point also began to be distressed and driven backe, by *Quintius* the Consul. But in the right there was hardest hold, and most a doe. Where, *Agrippa* being a tall man of his handes and young withall, seeing in every part of the battaile things go better than where he was: caught the ensignes from the enigne-bearers, advanced them forward his owne selfe, yea and fell to flinging some of them against the thickest of his enemies. For feare therefore of so shamefull a disgrace, the souldiours betirre themselves, and freshly assailed the enemy. And so on all hands alike, they achieved the victorie and won the field. Then came a messenger from *Quintius*, and brought word

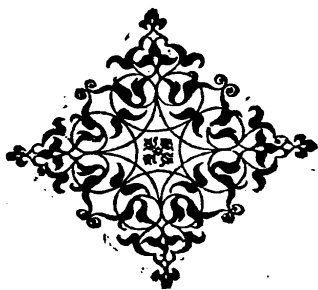
A word, that he had the better hand, and was now readie to give an assault upon the campe, but would not breake in, and enter thereinto before he knew for certaine, that they in the left point, also had gotten the upper hand, and made an end of the battell. In case therefore he had discomfited the enemy, he should joine his forces to him, that the whole armie altogether might gaine the spoile and pillage of the tents. So *Agrippa*, who also for his part was victor, came to his brother Consul and the campe of the enemies, and met with mutuall congratulation one to the other. There, finding but a few to defend, whom they discomfited in the turning of an hand, they brake into the rampier and munitions, without conflict or skirmish: and so besides the recovery of their owne goods againe, which they had lost by the overrunning of the country, they gained also a rich bootie, and retired back with their whole armie. I cannot learn, that either they themselves required triumph, or the Senat offered them any: and no cause appeareth upon record, why they should either refuse, or not hope for that honor. For mine own part, so far as I can guesse in so long distance of times, seeing that *Valerius* and *Horatius*, who over and besides the conquest of the Volscians and the Equians, had the honour also of dispatching and finishing the Sabines warre, were denied triumph at the Senates hand; these Consuls might not with modestie, sue for the same having performed but halfe the good service of the others: least if they had gotten it graunted, there might have seemed more regard had of the persons, than of the deserts.

But this noble and honourable victorie over the enemies abroad, thus achieved, was obscured and foule distained with a shamefull dome of the people, in a controversie of their allies, about the bounds and meeres of certaine lands. The inhabitants of Aricia and Ardea, having warred oftentimes one with the other, about some lands in question betweene them, and by giving and taking fundrie foiles and overthrows outwearied, chose the people of Rome their Vintire, to decide and determine this quarell. And when they were come with their counsell to plead the case, the Magistrates graunted a court of Assises of the people. Where was much arguing and dispute on both sides before them: and after the witnesses were deposed, and that at length the Tribes should be called to the scrutinie, and the people give their voices: there steps forth an old father, one *P. Scaptius*, a Commoner. And I (quoth he) for my part, O Consuls, if it be lawfull to speake for the good of the State, will not suffer the people to erre, and be deceived in this question. When as the Consuls denied him audience, as being an old foole, and of no credit: and commanded him (as he cried still that the publicke cause of the citie was betrayed) to behad away, he calleth for the assistance of the Tribunes. The Tribunes then, who lightly are ever overruled by the multitude, rather than able to rule them, yeelded unto the Commons: That for as much as they were desirous to heare what the old man could say, *Scaptius* should speake his mind at large. Then setteth he the tale on end, and beginneth thus: I am (quoth he) fourescore winters old, and three on the head of it: and even upon that very ground, for which all this strife and variance is, I served as a souldior, when I was no young man neither, but one that had been prest to warres, and received pay twentie yeares afore. And it was, I remember well, during the siege before Corioli. Hither am I now come, to give evidence of a thing by long continuance of time, worn out cleane and forgotten of other men, but fresh in my knowledge and remembrance: to wit, that the lands thus litigious, and in controversie, had been sometime within the confines of the Coriolanes: and after the winning of Corioli, were seised by right of conquest, to the Commons of the people of Rome. I marvel much therefore, by what custome and prescription, the Ardeates and Aricines, who never had right and interest, and were not possessed of the land, (so long as Corioli stood in prosperitie) should hope to defeat the people of Rome thereof, whom being the LL. in fee of the ground, they had chosen for their Arbitrator. As for mee, I have but a small while to live, and one foot already is in grave: and yet I cannot find in my heart, but (to that land, which whileme, I being a young and lustie souldior, did my best to fight for, and conquered with sword in hand) make claime now that I am aged, by word of mouth, the one lie meanes left mee to recover it. I advise the people therefore in good sadnesse, that in a vaine respect of bootlesse modestie, they condemne not their owne cause, nor give away their right. The Consuls marking well what audience was given to *Scaptius*, and that he was heard not onely with silence, but also with good liking and contentment, cried out upon this abominable practise: calling both heaven and earth to witnesse, and therewith sent for the Lordes of the counsell: and joyning with them, went to the Tribunes, fell in hand with them, and instantly besought them not to go forward with this most leud action for the present, & a more shamefull precedent for the time to come: namely, that Vmpiers and daies-men, should convert the thing in

A controversie betweene the Ardeates and Aricines, decided by the people of Rome.

The evidence given by old Scaptius

„ suit unto their own and proper vanrage: especially considering, that, Admit it were a lawfull thing
 „ for a judge himselfe to have an eie and regard to his own commoditie: yet would there not be so
 „ much gained and gotten by comming thus betweene, and interverting the land, as there would
 „ be damage and hinderance another way, in alienating by those hard courtes, the hearts of their
 „ good friends and Allies. For the losses (verely) and cracks of name and credit, are such as may not
 „ be valued at any price. And should the embassadours indeed, say they, go their waies home with
 „ this goodly catch? and make report abroad how they have sped? should our confederats heare
 „ this? should our enemies come by the knowledge thereof? with what griefe the one? with what
 „ joy the other? Thinke ye that our neighbour nations will impute, attribute, and ascribe this, unto
 „ the speech made by *Scaptius*, a prating old busie body & one that loveth to heare himselfe speake
 „ in assemblies? Nay this is certaine: well may *Scaptius* be famous and much talked of, in the
 „ playing of this pageant: but the people of Rome shall incurre the obloquie, to have acted the
 „ part under the visour of *Scaptius*, of a cunning promoter, and a false interceptour to him-
 „ selfe, of other mens right in suite. For, what judge at any time in a private matter, hath done
 „ the like, as to award the thing in question, unto himselfe? Why, even *Scaptius*, past all shame
 „ and grace as he is, would never have done it. These and such like words, spake both Consuls and
 „ Senatours aloud in all their hearing. But the covetousnesse of men, and *Scaptius* that first set
 „ them a longing and their teeth a watering, prevailed more than they all. The Tribes were cal-
 „ led to the Scrutinie of their voices, & gave judgment, That the lands pertained to the common
 „ Teiritorie of the people of Rome. Neither can it be denied, but it would have so appeared in-
 „ deed, in case it had been tried before other judges. But now, for all the goodnesse of the
 „ cause, is not the ignominie of the arbitrement one jot the lesse: Nay, the *Aricines*
 „ and *Ardeates* themselves, thought not more shamefully and hardly of
 „ it, than the very Senatours and Peeres of Rome. The rest
 „ of the yeare continued quiet, from all trou-
 „ bles as well domestickall as
 „ forraine.



THE

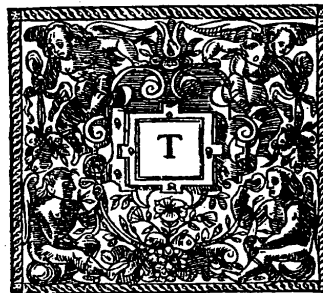
THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIVS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the
Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the fourth Booke.



The law concerning marriage betwene the Nobles and the Commons, was proposed, and with
 much ado enacted by the Tribunes of the Communalitie: not withstanding, the Nobles with-
 stood it. Tribunes militarie with full authoritie of Consuls, were created. Under this kind of
 Magistracie was the State ruled for certaine yeares, both in cittie and in warre. The lands of
 the *Ardeates*, which had been awarded from them by an arbitrement of the people of Rome,
 were restored againe unto them, and Colonies sent to inhabit the same. In the time of a great
 dearth and famine at Rome, one *Sp. Maelius*, a Roman knight, dealt come amongst the people
 freely, at his owne proper charges: by which deed he won the favor of the Commons: and there-
 by aspiring to be king, was at the commandment of *Quintius Cincinnatus*, the Dictator, slaine, by the hands of *C. Ser-
 vilus Hala*, General of the Horsemen. *L. Minutius*, who disclosed the treason, had their Statues or Images ere-
 cted at the *Rostra*, or the common Crosse of the cittie, because they died in the service of the Commonwealth. *Cornelius Cos-
 sus* a Colonell, having slaine with his owne hand *Tolumnius*, the king of the *Veintians*, won and bare away the second
 of all spoiles. *M. Aemilius Aemilius* the Dictator, limited the government of the Consularship, within the compasse of one year
 and six months, which before that time continued five yeares: and for that act, was shamefully disgraced by the Consuls.
Fidenes was conquered and subdued, and thither were Colonies sent to dwell. Whom the men of *Fidenes* slew, and revolted
 from the people of Rome: and by *M. Aemilius Aemilius* the Dictator were subdued, and the cittie forced. The conspiracie
 of the bondslaves was suppressed. *Posthumius* a Tribune militarie, was for his crueltie slaine by his owne soldiors. The sold-
 iors then first, and never before, had their pay out of the common treasure. Moreover, this booke containeth the warres
 against the *Volsicians* and *Veintians*, the *Fidenates* and *Falisci*.



Here succeeded Consuls after these, *M. Genutius*
 and *P. Curiatius*. A yeare full of broiles, both at home
 and abroad. For in the beginning of the yeare, both
Canuleius, a Tribune of the Commons, proposed a law,
 concerning alliance of the Patritians with Commons,
 by way of marriage. Whereby the Nobles supposed their
 blood to be defiled, and the rightes and privileges
 of families and houses confounded. Also, whereas at first
 the Tribunes by little and little had moved, That one
 of the Consuls might bee created out of the Commons:
 now the matter proceeded so far, that of ten Tribunes
 that then were, the other nine propounded this in plaine
 termes for a law, That it might be in the peoples power
 to chuse both the Coss, (if they would) either out of Commons or Nobilitie. Mary, if that should
 come to passe, the Nobles thought indeed that the soveraigne rule and authoritie, was not only
 made common with the basest sort, but also translated altogether from the great men and best
 of the cittie, to the comminalltie. Glad were the Senatours therefore to heare say, that the people
 of *Ardea*, for the wrongfull awarding away of their lands from them, were revolted: and that the
Veintians had wasted the frontiers of the Romanes: and that the *Volsicians* and *Aequians* grud-
 ged and muttered for the fortifying of *Verrugo*. So much preferred they any warre, miserable
 though it were and dangerous, before a shamefull and dishonourable peace. Having heard
 therefore these newes, and taken them in the worst manner: to the end that amidst the ru-
 mour

mour and bruite of so many warres, the Tribunitian troublesome suites might staie and bee dead for the time: they command musters to be taken, souldiours to be levied, all furniture of war, and all manner of force to be prepared, and (if it might be) with more indevor, than it had been when *T. Quintus* was Consul. Then *C. Canuleius*, after some hoat words which he spake aloud in the Senate, namely that the Consuls by frighing the Commons, went about but in vaine, to avert them from the regard of their new lawes: and that so long as he had any breath in his bodie, they should never go through with muster, unlesse the Commons had first ratified those things, which by him and his brethren had been propounded: forthwith assembled the people together. Thus at one instant the Consuls animated the Senate against the Tribune, and the Tribune incited the people against the Consuls. The Consuls gave it out plainly and said, that no longer now might these furious courses of the Tribunes be endured. Now were they come to the very height & extremitie, and raised more war in effect, at home, than the enemies abroad. Which thing (no doubt) happened not so much through the fault of the Commons, as of the Nobles, not of the Tribunes more, than of the Consuls. For looke what thing was best rewarded in a citie, the same alwaies most increased: thus men in peace (we see) prove excellent, thus in warre they come to bee singular. In Rome (say they) seditions sped ever best, and have been reputed both to each one in particular, and to all in generall most honourable. But let the Senat call to mind the dignitie which they themselves had received from their fathers, & compare it with that which they were like to leave to their children: and see, whether they may boast as the cominaltie doth, how that their condition is much bettered and more glorious than before. Well, neither is there any end now, nor ever will be, so long as the authours of seditions be as highly advanced, as the seditions themselves are prosperous and fortunate. See what matters and how great hath *Canuleius* attempted! He would bring in a minglemangle and confusion of kindreds and houles, a perturbation in the managing both of publike and private affaires: that nothing might be sincere and intire, nothing pure and undefiled: that all difference and distinction being taken away, no man might know either himselfe or his. For what thing doth these mixtures of states and degrees by mariages draw after them, without all order and difference: but that like bruit beasts in a manner, Commons and Nobles may go and couple together: so that the children betwene them borne, shall not be able to tell of what blood he is descended, and to what religion he doth belong, being a mungrell, as it were, the one halfe a Noble, the other a Commoner: and not well suiting and according with himselfe? They thought it not enough (belike) that all divine and humane lawes, were confused and shuffled together: for now these mutinous persons, these busie heads and troublers of the common people, addresse themselves to shoot at the Consulship. At first, they sounded in privat speeches and secret enticements, only, how to compasse, That one of the Consuls might be created out of the bodie of the Commons: but now they go roundly to worke, and carrie it before them: they are so bold to prefer laws (sterbooth) that the people might make them both, either Nobles or Commons, at their good pleasure. Wherby (no doubt) they would make choise from out of the Commons, of the most seditious persons of all other. We shall have then the *Canuleians* and *Scilians* to bee our Coss. But *Jupiter* (that great good god) forbid, that ever the royal & imperial majestie, should come to that low & desperate passe: die they would a thousand deaths rather, than suffer so great a shame & indignitie: knowing this assuredly, that their ancitours also, if they had once suspected or foreseene, that by granting the cominaltie every thing as they desired, they would not have proved more bonair and buxome towards them, but rather more churlish & untractable: and when they had obtained their first suites, to proceed still to demanda worfe and worfe, one thing after another: they would sooner have indured at the first, any contesting and debate whatsoever, than suffered those hard conditions to be imposed and put upon them: and because they had once relented, that Tribunes should be created, therefore to grant them againe the second time. So that as now, there is no ho with them, nor end of quarrels will be none, so long as in one and the selfesame citie, Tribunes and Senatours remaine together. Nay verely, either this state must be put downe, or that office utterly adolished. And better late than never, to withstand and meet with their rash and desperat boldnesse. What? shall they without controllment, first sowe discord at home, and then stir up forreine wars abroad? and afterwards, against those wars which themselves have raised, debar and hinder the citie, for to take armes and defend it selfe? and when as they, have as good as sent for the enemies to come to their dores, then, not suffer an

armie

- A armie to be levied against them. But let *Canuleius* (if he dare) speake these wordes out in the Senat, That unlesse the Nobles suffer his laws, as if he were a Conquerer, to be admitted and received, he will stay the mustering? For what els is that, but to threaten that he will sell and betray his countrie, and suffer it to be assailed and lost? What encouragement will such a word give as that, I say not, to the cominaltie of Rome, but to the Volscians, Aequians and Veientians? Will not they hope, under the conduct of *Canuleius*, to be able to scale the Capitoll and the castle, if so be the Tribunes shall take from the Nobilitie their courageous hearts, as they have bereaved them already of their right, their honour and dignitie? Let him know therefore, that the Consuls are readie, first to shew themselves to be captaines and leaders, against the mischievous practices of their own citizens, before they will make head against the armed forces of their enemies?
- B Whils these matters were debated of with great contention & heat in the Senat house, *Canuleius* for the maintenance of his laws, and to crosse the Consuls, made this Oration unto the people. How greedily the Nobles have despised you! O Quirites, how unworthie they have ever thought you, to live among them within the wals of one citie, me thinks I have, as often heretofore, so now especially & most of all perceived: in that they have risen up altogether so fiercely to check and withstand our proposed lawes. Wherein, what pretend we els, but to tell them and put them in mind, That we are, as well as they, citizens: and although we are not of the same wealth, yet we inhabit the same countrie with them? In the one, we request mariages: a thing to borderers, yea and to forrainer nations usually granted: and to speake of our selves, we also have afforded even to our conquered enemies, the benefit of our citie, which is far more than marriage. In the other, we move no new matter, but onely claime againe and challenge that, which is the peoples right, to wit, that the people of Rome may bestow their offices and dignities, upon whom they please. What reason have they then, I pray you, to set all on an uprore, as if heaven and earth should go together? and what is the cause, that erewhile I had like to have had violence offered unto me in the Senate? What moved them to breake out and say, they could not forbear nor keepe their hands from me, and threaten to abuse and violate the sacred authoritie of the Tribunes? Set case that the people of Rome may have their free voices & suffrages, to elect the Consuls whom they will, and that no Commoner be denied, so he be worthie of the highest place, for to obtaine the soveraigne dignitie. How then? cannot this citie possible stand any longer? and is our Empire come to an end for ever? And all one it is (belike) and importeth as much, to disabie a Commoner, for being made Consul, as if a man inferred, that a bondman or a freed libertine should become Consul. Perceive you not yet (my Maisters) in what contempt you live? They would, if they might, bereave you in some measure of this day light: that yee breath and speake, that yee have the shapen of men, they thinke much, they repine, and it goes to their heart. And what els? They give it out flatly and say (if God will) it is unlawfull, that a Commoner should be a Consul. I beseech you heare me a litle. If we may not be allowed to read the Chronicles, nor to peruse the Highpriests records and registers, know we not those things then, that even all strangers know? namely, That Consuls entred in place of kings, & succeeded them, and have no other right, preheminance or dignitie at all, than kings had before? Thinke yee that men have never heard, that *Numa Pompilius*, a man not so much as a cittizen of Rome, much lesse then, as the peoples voices, and the assent of the Nobles, created king of Rome? Also, afterwards, how *L. Tarquinius*, who was no Romane borne, no nor yet so much as an Italian, but the sonne of *Demaratus* the Corinthian, a stranger inhabitant at Tarquines, and from thence removing, albeit king *Anco* his sonnes were living, attained likewise to the crowne? Moreover, how *Servius Tullius* after him, the sonne of a captive woman of Corniculum, whose father was unknowne, whose mother a bondwoman, through wit and vertue, obtained & held the kingdome? For what should I speake of *T. Tatius* the Sabine, whom *Romulus* himselfe, the father and founder of this citie, admitted to raigne together with him? Well, so long as no stocke was disdained, no race rejected, wherein appeared sparkes of vertue, the Romane Empire became mightie, and flourished. Some yee then at this day, a Consul out of the Comminaltie, when our forefathers despised nor kings that were aliens and strangers? No, nor when the kings were expelled, was this citie denied and shut against forreiners, that were valorous, and men of action. The kinred and whole name (I am sure) of the *Claudij*, after the kings were exiled, we not onely admitted into our citie, from out of the Sabines, but also received into the number of the Patritians and Noble men.

men.

men. And may a meere forrainger indeed become a Nobleman, and so a Consull? And shall a citizen of Rome, if he be of the Communalitie, be wholly disabled and out of all hope for ever being Consull? Tell me I pray you, Thinke ye it not possible, that a valiant and hardie man, approved both in warre and peace, being one of the Commons, may prove like to *Numa*, *L. Tarquinius*, or *Servius Tullius*; and if he doe, whether shall we suffer him to governe the Commonweale or no? And whether will ye have our Consuls, such rather as the Decemvirs (the most wretched and wicked persons under the sunne, who, by your leave, were at that time of the Nobilitie) than strangers and new commers, which of all the Kings were simply the very best? But forsooth, presently after the KK. were depofed and expelled, there was not one of the Com. a Consull. What of that? ought no new thing to be ordained, and which hath not been already taken up afore? For many things have not yet been practised, (as in a state newly incorporat) ought not such then to be put in use, if they be thought expedient? While *Romulus* reigned, there were no Bishops nor Augurs: by *Numa Pompilius* they were created. There was no Sessing of the people at all in the citie, no description of Hundreds and Clases. By *S. Tullius* they were instituted. Coss. were never heard of before: when the KK. were driven out, they were elected. The time was, when neither the absolute rule nor yet the name of a Dictator was knowne. In our fathers daies it first began. Tribunes, Ediles, Questors there have been none: it was ordained they should be made. Within this ten yeares, we have both created and also abolished out of the common-weale, Decemvirs for the making and penning of our lawes. And who doubteth, but in a citie founded for ever to endure, and increasing still infinitely, there will be brought in new governments, new priesthoods and sacerdotall dignities, new privileges both of kindreds and privat persons? And even this one thing in question, to wit, that the Com. and Nobles might not joine in marriage, were not the Decemvirs they that first within these few yeares made that Edict? A most shamefull ensample and precedent in a free state, and tending to the manifest wrong of the Commons. Can there be any greater or more notorious injurie, than that there should be in a citie one part and member, as defiled and polluted, thought unworthie of the bond of marriage? What els is this, but to suffer exile and confining within the same wals, when they debarre us that we should not be either allied in affinitie or knit in kindred? They provide (forsooth) and take order that bloud should not be mixed, nor families confused. How then? If this doe pollute this gentrie of yours, which most of you descended from the Sabines & Albanes, have not by right linc from the Patritians, but by coopration and election into the number of the Nobles, as being chosen either by the favour and grace of the Kings, or els by the peoples voices after the KK. were expelled: could not your wisedomes have kept your bloud uncorrupt by some private meanes and provision: namely by taking heed neither to espouse wives from among the Commons, nor to suffer your daughters and sisters to be married to any other than Nobles? No commoner (ye might be sure) would have forced a daughter of any noble house: no, these insolencies of lascivious lust are appropriat to gentlemen onely of the Nobilitie: none of us would have compelled any of you against his will, to make covenant and contract of matrimonie. But ywis, that by an expresse law it should be forbidden, and that marriage betweene Nobles and Commons should be condemned, that is it, which to the cominaltie is a plaine contumely and open injurie. And why conferre ye not and lay your heads together, that the rich may not marry with poore? That, which at all times and in all places, hath been a matter left unto particular policie & consideration, namely, That into what house soever a woman cast liking & fancie, there she might be married: and into what familie a man obliged himselfe by word, promise and covenant, from thence he might take a wife: even that, restraine ye within the bonds of a most proud and tyrannicall law: whereby ye might breake in sunder all civile societie, and of one citie make twaine. Why forbid ye not by a positive law, that a commoner should not dwell by a Nobleman, or go the same way that he doth, or frequent the same feast, or converse in the same market or common place of assenbly? For in effect what difference is there, if a gentleman marry a commoners daughter, or a commoner espouse a gentlewoman? What right I pray you or condition of state is thereby changed? surely the children still take after the father. Neither seeke we for any thing els by matching with you, but only this, that we may be reckoned in the number of men and of citizens. Neither is there any cause, why you should so contend and stand upon it (unlesse it doe you good to crosse and take a pleasure to exercise your selves in working us disgrace and shame.) Finally I would gladly know whether the soveraigne government of the state resteth

A resteth in you or in the people of Rome? When the Kings were driven out, got you thereby to your selves lordly soveraigntie, or purchased all men equall libertie? It must needs be granted, that the people of Rome may at their pleasure publish and ordaine a law. And will ye then as soone as any law whatsoever, is by them proposed, appoint a muster presently for their punishment? and as soone as I that am Tribune, shall begin to call the wards to give their voices, shall you that are Consuls, by and by swear all the younger sort, presse them to warfare, lead them forth unto the field, and menace the Commons, menace I say, the Tribune also? What? If ye had not twice already good experience, howe little these goodly threats of yours prevailed against the Com. when they agreed and stucke together, it were somewhat. Will ye say, that ye forbore to strive, ye tendered our good, and for pittie spared us? Nay rather, to say a truth, was not this the cause that no fray was made, For that the stronger side was also the more coole and modest of the twaine? Neither (*O Quirites*) will there now, I warrant you, bee any combat, nor blowes dealt: they will alwaies assay and sound, what stomackes and hearts ye have, but never will they feele your fists, and trie how keene your swords be. Therefore to these wars (be they falsely pretended, or truly indeede reported) O ye Consuls, the Commons are readie prest to follow you: provided alwaies, that by granting them libertie of mutuall marriage, ye will make at length this citie one: that they may be linked, joyned and united unto you, by privat alliance and affinitie: that hardie and valiant men may have hope and possibilitie, to honours and dignities: that they may be allowed fellowship and societie in the Commonweale: Finally, that (which is due unto equall libertie) they may one with another in alternative course, obey annually and as great as ye will. There is not one shall give his name, nor one shall take armes, nor one shall fight for those proud Lords, with whome they can have neither fellowship of dignitie in the common-weale, nor alliance of marriage in privat estate. Now when as the Consuls also were come forth into the open assenbly of the people, and that they fell on all hands from continued and long orations, to short dispute and altercation: the Tribune demanded why a commoner might not attaine to a Consulship? Vnto whom the Consull returned an answer, as to the substance perhaps truly, so for the present contention not very wisely and to the purpose: Namely, because that no commoner had the Auspices: which was the cause why the Decemvirs ordained distinct marriages, least upon a doubtfull and mingled issue, there should follow a troubled confusion of the Auspices. But hereat, the Commons stormed and stamped most of all: that as odious men unto the immortall gods, they were flatly denied and deemed unworthie to observe the flight and singing of birds. And never gave they over their heates of clamorous debate (whiles the Commons had gotten unto them a most sharpe Tribune to set them a worke, and were themselves in obstinacie no whit behind him) untill at length the Nobles were overcome and driven to graunt, that the law as touching marriage should passe: supposing by that meanes especially, that the other Tribunes would either cleane give over their suite for making commoners Consuls, or at least wile put it off, untill the warre were ended: and that the Commons in the meane while being well pleased and contented with marriage among the Nobles, would be willing and readie to levie a muster. *Canulius* for this his victorie over the Nobles, and for the favours he gat among the Commons, became a great & mighty man. Whereupon, the other Tribunes were kindled to the like combate: and for the proceeding of their law also, indovoured with all their might and maine. And albeit the rumor of the warre encreased daily more and more, yet they hinder the levie of souldiors. The Consuls seeing now that no decree and order could passe the Senat house, by reason that the Tribunes interposed their negative voice: tooke counsaile together with the chiefe of the Nobilitie at home in their privat houses. And wel they saw that they must yeeld either the victorie to their enemies, or the buckler to their own citizens. Of all the Senators that had ben Coss. only *Valerius* and *Horatius* were not present at these counsailes. *C. Claudius* his opinion was, That the Consuls should put themselves in arms against the Tribunes: But the two *Quintij*, *Cincinnatus* and *Capitolinus*, abhorred all bloudshed and violent proceedings against those, whom by a solemne covenant made with the Commons, they had received and accepted for to be as sacrosainct and unviolable. But in these counsailes they grew to this point in the end, that they suffered militarie Tribunes of equall power with the Consuls, to be created indifferently from out of the Commons and Nobles: provided alwaies, that

as touching creation of the Consuls, there should be no alteration from the old manner aforetime. And herewith were both Tribunes and Commons well satisfied and contented. A generall assembly therfore was proclaimed for the chusing of three Tribunes in Consuls authoritie, which being once published: forthwith as many as had spoken or done ought tending to sedition, and above all others those that had been Tribunes of the people, began in their whited robes to take hold of men and run too and fro about the common place labouring for this dignitie. At the first, the Nobles partly in dispaire of obtaining the place (seeing the Commons to set a flore) partly for disdain and indignation to beare any honourable office jointly with them of so base condition, were scared and affrighted from standing therfore: at the last (but they were forced thereto first by the heads and the chiefe Lords of the Senate) they were content to be competitous and suiters for the dignitie: least they might seeme to be fully excluded forth of the possession of the Common-weale, and leave it entirely for the Commons. The event and effect of this Court, shewed plainly, that mens minds are otherwise affected in contending about libertie and dignitie, than presently after such contentions laid away, they are in weighing and judging aright without passion and affection. For the people satisfied herewith, that there was some account made of the Commoners, and that they were not shut out, elected militarie Tribunes all of the Nobles. This modestie, this equitie, this noble mind, where shall a man nowadaies find in one person, which then was to be scene in the whole people? In the three hundredth and tenth yeare after the citie of Rome was founded, were the first militarie Tribunes created, that bare office in the roome of the Consuls, to wit, *A. Sempronius Aratinus*, *L. Attilius*, and *C. Caelius*: in whose government, concord at home caused also peace abroad. There bee writers, who affirme, That upon occasion of the Veientian warre, and the rebellion of the Ardeates, because two Consuls were not able to manage so many warres at once, therefore were three militarie Tribunes chosen: without making any mention of the law published, concerning election of Consuls of the Commons: and that they were invested both in the jurisdiction, and also in the ornaments of the Consuls. Howbeit, the exercise of that government, stood not fast and sure, nor continued long. For within three moneths after that they entred, they forewent their office, by a decree of the Augurs, as if there had been some error in their creation. It was alledged that *C. Caelius*, who was President of that court of Election, had taken his quarters amiss for the observation of the luckie signes by flight of birds, and not according to the Augurs skill.

There came from the Ardeates to Rome, Embassadors, complaining of wrong received, in these termes: That if it might be redressed, and amends made, and their grounds restored, they seemed willing to abide still in league and amitie. Answer was made them by the Senat, that the judgement of the people, already passed, could not bee reversed by the Senate, if it were for nothing els but for concord sake and agreement of the States: besides, they had neither any precedent to lead them thereto, nor law and authoritie to warrant them. Marrie, if the Ardeates would wait their times, and put to the Senates arbitrement and discretion, the redresse and easement of their injurie pretended, it would come to passe, that in proesse of time they should not repent of governing their passions, and brideling their choler: and should well know, that the Nobles had a good regard, that there should no wrong bee offered unto their friends, as they were careful, that if any were offered, it should not long continue. Thus the Embassadors, promising, to make a true report, unto their citizens of the matter, wholly as it was: were friendly dismissed, and had their discharge.

The Senatours seeing now the Commonweale, without any sovereign magistrat of the chaire and of State, went together, and made an Interregent: and whiles they strove whether Consuls or Tribunes should be created, the Interregent continued many daies. The Interregent and the Senate laboured, that there should be an Election of Consuls: the Tribunes on the other side, and their Communitie, were for the Tribunes Consular. But the Senatours prevailed, because both the people seeing they were to conferre the one office or the other, upon the Nobles, furceased to strive any more: and also the cheefe of the Commons, chose rather to have that Election, wherein they should not be once propounded, than wherein they were sure to take the repulse, as unworthie. The Tribunes also gave over to contend any longer to no purpose, and without effect, seeming thereby somewhat to gratifie and pleasure the L.L. of the Senate. So *T. Quintius Barbatus* the Interregent, chose for Consuls *L. Papyrius Mugilanus*, and *L. Sempronius Aratinus*. Whiles these were Consuls, the league with the Ardeates was renewed. And this is the onely evi-

dence and prooffe, that they were Consuls that yeare, for that neither in the auncient yearely records, nor in the kalenders of the magistrates, they are found at all. I take it, because the militarie Tribunes were created in the beginning of that yeare: and therefore, although these Consuls were in their stead chosen, yet their names were left out, as if the other had remained in office the whole yeare.

Licinius Macer affirmeth, that they are mentioned both in the composition with the Ardeates, and also in the linnen bookes or registers in the church of *Iuno Montia*. Albeit there had ben so many terrors and bravadoes, threatened from the borderers, yet both abroad & at home, all was quiet. And whether Tribunes onely, or Consuls also chosen in the roome of Tribunes governed in this yeare; certaine it is, that the next following, had Consuls *M. Geganius Macerinus* the second time, and *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fifth time. This was the very yeare when the Censors office came up first. A thing that rose of a small beginning: which notwithstanding afterwards, increased to that height, that it had government of the manners and discipline of the Romanes: and under the jurisdiction thereof, the Senate and Centuries of the order of knights, the distinction of worship and shamefull disgrace, were reduced. Likewise, the survey of publicke and private Edifices, yea, and the tributes, revenues & subsidies of the people of Rome were at the disposition, ordering, & discretion of that office. The beginning of which thing arose upon this occasion: For that the people in many years space had not ben affected and numbered, and seeing the Cense could be deferred no longer, nor the Consuls (by reason of warres, from so many nations imminent) had leisure to goe about and accomplish that busines: the Senat therfore made a motion, that the charge being painfull, and not for the majestic of Consuls to busie themselves in, required a speciall Magistrate, and a peculiar officer by it selfe. Under whome should attend the Secretaries and Clarke: who likewise should have the keeping and charge of the rolles and publick records: and at whose discretion should passe the shewes & instruments of all Assesiments. The Senatours therefore accepted gladly of this ouerture, although it were but a trifling matter: yet because there should be the more Magistrates of the Nobilitie. Supposing (I wene) it would come to passe, as (it proved indeed) that shortly the power and wealth of those, who bare the office, should win more authoritie and credite unto the thing. Yea, and the Tribunes also made no great adoe, but suffered it to passe, being an office (as it was in truth, no other at that time) rather of necessitie and attendance, than of shew, port, or honour: because they would not seeme to be cross and peevish in every small matter. When as therefore this dignitie was of the principall of the citie refused, the people by their voices chose to that Office, *Papyrius* and *Sempronius*, of whose Consulship there was some doubt: to the end, that by that office they might supplie and make up the defect and misse of a Consulship. And of the exercise and function it selfe, Censors were they called.

Whiles these things were a doing at Rome, there came Embassadors from Ardea, craving as well in regard of their most auncient amitie, as also of the late league renewed, their helping hand for their cittie, welnigh undone and overthrown. For, peace (which wisely and by right good advise they had kept and maintained with the people of Rome) they might not enjoy at home, by reason of inward debate and domestick quarrels. The cause and beginning whereof, as it is reported, arose from siding and factions, which have been and will be to most States more pernicious, than forraine warres, than famine or plague, or other adversities, which men attribute to the anger and wrath of God, as the extremitie of all publicke calamities whatsoever. There was a maiden, a Commoners daughter & no better, by birth, but for her rare beautie of singular note and passing renowne: whom two young men were suiters unto. The one of the same condition or estate that the maiden was of, and who relied upon her guardians and tutors, who also were of that degree and calling: the other a gentleman, enamoured on her, onely for her beautie. As for him, he had the good wils of the best in the citie, by whose meanes the strife of partaking, entred even into the house of the damosell. For the Gentleman in the mothers judgement, was the more welcome and better liked of, whose desire was, that the maiden should be preferred by marriage, and be most worshipfully bestowed. The Guardians also banded themselves, and laboured for their partie. But when as the matter might not be ended within dopes, it came to suit in law. And when the reasons and allegations were heard, both of the mother, and also of the Guardians, the Iudges pronounced sentence of marriage to bee at the disposition of the mother. But might prevailed more than right. For the Tutors aforesaid, openly in the market place of the citie,

Attilius Tribunes first created, the Consuls following.

Consuls chosen againe.

Censors first created.

tie, having amongst those of their bend and faction, complained of that injurious award, with a troupe of men by force, set the maiden out of the mothers house. Against whom arose a stronger power of the gentry, and followed the young Gentleman, who was incensed and set on fire upon this injurie offered. Whereupon ensued a cruell fray. The Commons being defeated, went forth (farre unlike to the Commons of Rome) armed as they were out of the citie, and tooke for their hold a hill, and invaded the lands of the Nobles with fire and sword: and having gathered to them a multitude of Artificers and handicrafts men, whom in hope of spoile they had called forth, they purpose and prepare to besiege the citie also, which aforesaid had been altogether unacquainted with the like sturres. In such sort, as no kind of calamitie that followeth warre, was wanting: as if the poore citie had been tainted, infected, and poisoned with the furious madnesse of two brainesicke young men, seeing a wofull and deadly marriage, with the utter ruin and destruction of their native countrie. And neither part thought it ynough to warre and fight at home among themselves. For the Nobles solicited the Romanes for to rescue their besieged citie: the Commons stirred up the Volscians, to helpe to force and sacke the citie. The Volscians under the conduct of *Aequus Cluilius* came first to Ardea, and against the walls of their enemies, raised a countermine, and cast a trench, and blocked the towne round about. Which tidings being brought to Rome, forthwith *M. Geganius* Consul, went forth with an armie, and incamped himselfe three miles from the enemies: and the day being now farre spent & drawing toward night, he commaundeth his souldiours to refresh and make much of themselves, and take their rest: and afterwards at the releefe of the fourth watch, he brought forth his ensignes, set his men to worke, and sped his businesse once begun, so that by the sun-rising, the Volscians might see themselves invested more streightly by the Romanes, then the citie beleagured by them. And on another side the Consull had joined a sconce to the wall of Ardea, by which way his souldiours might go and come in safetie. The captaine of the Volscians, who had to that day prepared no victuals, but sustained his armie onely with the corne which he had for the present from day to day robbed by foraying the countrie, seeing himselfe intrenched, and of a suddain to be destitute of all things, called the Consull forth to emparel, saying. That if the Romanes comming was to raise the siege, he would remove and dislodge from thence. To which againe the Consull made this replie, That vanquished men were to take, and not to make articles of conditions: neither should they, as they were come at their pleasure to assault the allies of the Romanes, so depart againe when they list to Volsci. He commaundeth therefore to yeeld their Generall, to lay down their weapons, confessing themselves overcome, and to be at his devotion. Otherwise he would bee a bitter and mortall enemy unto them, whether they departed or tarried still, and carrie home to Rome the victorie of the Volscians, rather than their faithlesse peace. The Volscians, when they had assailed that small hope they had in their weapons (for all hope else was cut off) besides all other things that were crosse unto them, encountred in a place of great disadvantage for fight, but worse for flight: and seeing themselves on every side beaten downe and slaine, turned from fighting to intreating, delivered up their captaine, yelded their weapons, were driven under the gallows, and in their single doublet and hose with great shame and calamitie, were let go and sent away. And sitting them downe to rest themselves, not farre from the towne Tusculum, the Tusculanes upon an old grudge and hatred against them, set upon them thus disarmed and naked as they were at unawares, and were so meet with them, that scarcely there remained any one to carrie newes of their ill day and unfortunate overthrow. Then the Romanes appeased the troubles at Ardea: beheaded the cheefe captaines of that commotion, and confiscated their goods to the common chift and chamber of the Ardeates. And so by this great favour and benefite of the people of Rome, they supposed the injurie of the former arbitrement was done away and recompensed. But yet the Senate of Rome, thought somewhat behind still for the cancelling of the memorie of a publicke avarice. The Consull returned, triumphing into the citie, leading *Cluilius* the captaine of the Volscians before his chariot, with the spoile borne afore him of the enemies, whom he had disarmed, and brought under the yoke. *Quintus* the Consull againe for his part, in his long robe and gowne of peace, countervailed (a thing not usually seene) the glorie of his Colleague in his bright armour: who had so great regard at home to intertaine concord and peace among the citizens, by ministring justice indifferently, as wel to the highest as the lowest, that the Senatours reputed him a severe Consull, and the Commons accounted him as meeke and gentle a person. And more he wooon at the Tribunes hands by countenance and reputation, than

A than by contention and debate. His five Consulships wherein he carried himselfe after one and the selfesame manner and order: the course of his whole life, ever Consull-like, caused his person to be in a manner more revered than his honourable place. By this meanes, whiles these were Consuls, no words were made of militarie Tribunes. Then created they for Consuls *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *Posthumius Ebutius Cornicen*. These Consuls, by how much greater & more glorious the acts both at home and abroad, were achieved by those, whom they saw they were to succeed (and surely that yeare was right memorable among the borderers, as well allies as enemies, and namely, because the Ardeates in so hard distresse, were by them succoured) so much the more earnestly endeavoured for their part, to rase out of mens minds the infamie of that judgement aforesaid, and made an Act and decree of the Senate in this forme, THAT FORASMUCH AS THE CITIE OF THE ARDEATES, BY REASON OF CIVILE TROUBLES, WAS DISPEOPLED AND BROUGHT TO A SMALL NUMBEER OF CITIZENS, THERE SHOULD BE ENROLLED CERTAINE INHABITANTS TO BE SENT THITHER FOR A GARISON, AND DEFENCE AGAINST THE VOLSCIANS. This was openly ingrossed in publicke Tables, and Instruments, for a policie, that their secret intent and purpose of reverfing and disannulling the arbitrement, might not be perceived by the Tribunes and the Commons. But they closely plotted, that when they had enrolled a farre greater number of Rutilians than of Romanes, for to inhabite Ardea, neither should any other lands be divided, but those which by that infamous and dishonest award were intercepted: nor that one foot or clot of ground should be assigned to any other Romane, before the whole lands were parted among all the Rutilians. Thus the domain that had been in question, returned againe to the Ardeates. The Triumvirs for the conveying of a Colonie to Ardea, were created these, *Agrippa Menenius*, *T. Cluilius Siculus*, and *M. Ebutius Helva*. Who, besides that, they offended the Commons by their readie service, and nothing popular, in regard, that they assigned and set out to their allies, that land which the people of Rome judged their owne, were not well thought of neither, by the cheefe of the Nobilitie: because in the execution of their charge, they did nothing of affection, and for favour. Howbeit they avoided all troubles and dangers that were toward them (albeit they were accused by the Tribunes before the people.) For when they had registred and placed the Coloners, they remained still themselves in the same Colonie, which they had as witness of their innocencie, and just dealing.

D In this yeare and the yeare following, when *Cains Furius Pacilius* and *Marcus Papyrius Crassus* were Consuls, there was peace at home and abroad. The plaies which had been vowed by the Decemvirs, according to the Senats decree, during the time of the Commons insurrection and departure from the Nobles, were this yeare set forth. *Petilius* sought for some occasion of sedition, but in vaine. Who being made Tribune the second time, albeit he harped still upon one string, and threatned the selfe same things that he had before, yet he could not bring about, that the Consuls should propose unto the Senat, concerning the division of lands among the Commons: and when as with great ado he had obtained thus much, that the Senatours should be moved and their opinions asked, whether they would have an election of Consuls or Tribunes (consular) determined it was at length, that Consuls should be chosen. So, that the menaces of the Tribune, that he would hinder the muster, was a ridiculous matter of game: seeing that when the borders were at quiet, there was no need either of warre or preparation for warre. After this great quietnesse of the state, followeth a yeare (wherein *Proculus Geganius Macerinus*, and *L. Menenius Lanatus* were Consuls) for sundrie calamities and perils memorable: namely Seditions, Famine, and hazard of receiving upon their necks the yoke of Kings rule againe, and that, by the sweetnes of a Largeesse. There wanted onely forreine warre: wherewith if the common-wealth had been afflicted too, hardly could the helpe of all the gods above, have recovered the State. These calamities began with hunger. But whether it were, for that the yeare was unseasonable for come, or that they were so droned of the plausible & seditious orations, and of the citie itselfe, that they forelet and neglected the Tillage of their ground, it is uncertaine. For both the one and the other is reported. The Lords of the Senat blamed the idleness of the Commons: and the Tribunes of the Commons laid the weight, one while upon the fraud and naughtinesse, another while upon the negligence & remissenes of the Consuls. At the last, the commoners enforced and drave the people (but not against the will of the Senate) to chuse *L. Minutius* Master of the provision or principall purveyor of come and victuals: a man who in that office proved

more luckie to preserve the libertie of the citie, than happy in the exercise or ministerie of his charge: albeit at the latter end, hee deserved and had, both praise and thanke, for bringing downe the price of corne. VVho, notwithstanding many embassages sent both by sea and land to the neighbor nations round about, and all to lide purpose (but that out of *Heiruria* ther was brought some little (sprinkling of corne) nothing eased and mended the Market: and therefore he turned againe to the dispensing or dealing the present dearth indifferently among all, by forcing every man to confesse what corne he had, to open his garners, to bring it forth, to vent and sell that, which he had more than would serve a month. But whereinby this practise, and by defrauding servants a portion of their daily foode, and by accusing the come-mungers and exposing them to the furious yre of the people, he had with all his hard courses and sharpe inquisitions rather laid open than eased the present neede and necessitie: many of the common people despairing of all hope, rather than they would live thus miserably tormented, pining and wearing away in hunger, covered their heads, and threw themselves headlong into Tyber. Then *Sp. Melius*, by calling a knight or gentleman of Rome, a man (as in those daies) exceeding rich, enterprised a thing, commodious I must needs say, but a dishonest precedent of dangerous consequence, and proceeding of a worse mind and intent of his. For having with his own money bought up the corne out of *Heiruria* by the meanes of his friends and vassals, whose ministerie he used: which thing (I beleve verely) was an hinderance that all the publike care and providence, tooke small effect, and nothing helped the generall want and scarcitie, he devised to bring up a free dole and distribution of corne: and to the end that when he had once by this benefit and liberalitie wooon the hearts of the Commons, then he might, what way soever he went carrying a port and majestie with him above the degree of a privat person, draw after him a traine of the people, promising him by their favour of support, undoubted and assured hope of a Consulship. But him selfe (as mans nature is unsatiable) not content herewith, aspired to higher matters than fortune promised him, and those unlawfull, and beyond his reach. And for as much as even the very Consulship was to be wrested from the Nobles against their wils, he plotted to make himselfe a King, and thought that, the only guerdon due for so deepe reaches and designs, and worthy that great contention and bickenment which he was to abide with much toile and sweate of browes. Now drew the Election on a pace for Consuls, which thing prevented him afore he had brought his devises to full ripenes and perfection. Consul was created *L. Quintius Capitolinus* the first time, a man most unfit for his turne, that should go about innovations and to change the state: & with him was joined *Agrippa Menenius*, surnamed *Lanatus*. And *L. Minutius* was either made again the master victualer, or els created he was at first without limitation of time, to continue so long as the case should require. For there is no certaintie thereof, but only the name of *Corre-malter*, recorded both years in the linnen Bookes or Registers among other magistrats. This *Minutius* was vigilant, and as carefull for the common-weale, as *Melius* for his privat wealth: and upon occasion that men of the same qualitie, to wit, the Commons, were conversant in both houses, namely in his owne and in the house of *Melius*, he came to the knowledge by their meanes, of *Melius* his treason: and declared unto the Senat the whole complot. Namely, That there was armour and weapons good store, carried into the house of *Melius*: that he kept conventicles there, & made seditious Orations, and that it was past all peradventure that he practised to be King. As for the time of working the feat and to put it into action, as yet it was not determined & certainly known: all other things were already agreed upon. Item that the Tribunes were bribed and hired to sell and betraye the libertie of the citie: That to certaine chieftaines of the multitude divers charges were appointed. And herewithall, he excused himselfe (and said) That because he would not be reputed the authour of any uncertaine or vaine intelligence, he uttered these matters somewhat with the least, and later well nere, than might stand with the common safetie of the Weale publike. Which newes after they were heard, and that on every side the chiefe Senatours had given both the Coss. of the former yeare a check, for that they had suffered those Largesses of corne, and tollerated meetings of the Commons in a privat house: and rebuked the new Consuls also, for that they had staid so long and waited till a matter of so great importance was by the come-master detected and declared unto the Senate, which required a Coss. to be not only the reformer, but also the reformer. Then *T. Quintius* answered, That the Consuls were blamed without just cause, who being bridled with the lawes of appealing, tending to the great prejudice and disanulling of their soveraigne government, had not commission suffi-

cient

A cient by vertue of their place, to punish the thing according to the hainousnesse and qualitie thereof, as they had courage and heart thereto: and that there was need now, not onely of a valiant and stout man, but also of one that was freed from all bonds of lawes and tied to none. And therefore he would name *L. Quintius* for Dictator: in whom there was courage answerable to that absolute authoritie. When all men liked well thereof: *Quintius* himselfe at the first refused: demanding what they ment, to object and expose him, an unweldie man and so fast slept in years, to so great a trouble, and manifest danger. Afterwards, when as they replied on all hands, and alledged how in that heart of his for all his age there was more valor, and in his head more pollicie than in all men besides; heaping on him right due and deserved praises, and commendations; and whilst the Consul also importuned him still and gave not over: then *Cincinnatus*, after he had praised to the Gods immortal, that his decrepit old age in so fearefull a case, might not turne either to the losse or dishonour of the common-wealth, was by the Consul pronounced Dictator. And he forthwith nominated *C. Servilius Hala* Generall of the horsemen. The morrow after, when he had set and disposed certaine guards, in divers places of the citie, and was come down into the Common place: the common people wondring at the strangenesse of the matter, had their eyes upon him: and the adherents and complices of *Melius*, and he himselfe their captaine, saw well that the force and power of this so great a magistrate was bent against them. But they that were not acquainted with those plots and designs, that tended to the setting up of a king, asked one another, what tumult or sodaine war, should require either a Dictators majestie, or that *Quintius* after fourscore yeares of age, should be the onely Ruler of the citie. With that, *Servilius* the Generall of the horsemen was by the Dictator sent to *Melius*: Who said unto him, The Dictator calleth thee. Wherat he being affraid, asked again, What he would? and *Servilius* said, That he was to make his answer and purgation, of a crime that *Minutius* had enformed against him, before the Senate. Then *Melius* began to retire himselfe backe into the rout of his followers, and looking about at the first, shrunke onely away from him, and refused to obey. At the last, the Apparitor at the Generall of the horsemens commandement, began to force him to go with him: but he being rescued by the standers by, found his feet and began to flie, & besought the aid of the communitie of Rome: saying, That the faction of the Nobles conspired his overthrow, and persecuted him for the good he had done unto the Commons, and for his liberalitie bestowed upon them: beseeching them to help him in that extremitie, and not to suffer him to be murdered afore their face and in their very sight. As he spake these words, *Hala Servilius* overtook him, and killed him outright: and being spreit with his blood thus slaine, and guarded with a crew of tall gentlemen of the Nobilitie, he bringeth word to the Dictator, how *Melius* being cited to come unto him, put backe the Apparitor, and raised the multitude: and now had suffered due punishments for his deserts. Then (quoth the Dictator) On forth in this valour and vertue of thine, *C. Servilius*, thou deservest great praise, and hast delivered the common-wealth this daie from Tyrannie. Then as the multitude murmured and made a sturre upon some doubt, what they should thinke of the fact, and what might bee the occasion thereof; he commanded them to assemble together, and openly avowed the deed, and pronounced that *Melius* was justly slaine: yea, albeit he had been cleere from seeking to be king: for that, being summoned and convented before the Dictator, and that by the Generall of the horsemen, he refused and came not: for my selfe (quoth he) was set judicially to examine and inquire of the cause: & upon the trial therof, *Melius* should have sped no worse than his cause deserved: but because he went about by violence to withdraw himself from judgement, by violence therefore was he restrained. Neither was he to be proceeded against as a citizen, who being borne in a free state, where justice & law were in force: and in that citie, wherout he was not ignorant that the KK. were sometimes expelled: and where in one & the same year, *Collatinus* sisters sons, and the sons of *C. Collatinus* Coss. for the detestation only of the name, being commanded to give up his office, suffered exile: in which citie, many yeares after *Sp. Cassius* for practising and plotting only to be King, suffered condigne punishment: wherein also of late time, the Decemvirs, for a tyrannicall pride, were deprived of their goods, banished their countie, and bereft of their lives. That in the same citie (I say) *Sp. Melius* should conceive any hope of reaching to a kingdom? And a man (I pray you) of what qualitie and condition? And yet, no gentilitie of birth, no dignities nor de-

The Oracion of
Quintius the
Dictator, to the
People of Rome.

ferres were sufficient to make way to any for lordly rule and tyrannie. Howbeit, the *Claudij* and *G. Cassij*, by reason of the Consulships and Decemvirships of their own, by reason of the honourable estate and reputation of their ancestors, & the worship and glory of their lineage, tooke upon them, became haucie and proud, and aspired to that, wherunto *Sp. Melius* had no such meanes to induce him: who might have fit him downe, well enough, and rather wished and praised to God, than hoped once for so much, as a Tribunehip of the Commons. And supposed he, being but a rich corne-mudgin, that with a quart (or measure of corne of two pounds) hee had bought the freedome of his fellow citizens? or thought he by casting morsels of bread and victuals afore the common sort, that the victorious people, conquerours of all nations about them, might be allured into thralldome? & whom the citie could hardly brook to be a Senator, him they should indure their King, to have the regall ensignes and the government of *Romulus*, the first founder of the citie, descended first from the gods, and to them ascended up againe; why, it was a thing not so wicked as monstrous. Neither was this act sufficiently satisfied for, with the shedding of his blood, unless the house and wals, within which so horrible madnes was conceived and forged, were cast down & rased: and unless these goods, which were tainted & infected with the prices and hire that should have purchased the kingdome, were forsaie and confiscate. He commanded therefore the Questors, to sell those goods, & to bring the mony into the common Treasurie. And then he caused forthwith his dwelling house to be overthrowne and made even with the ground, that the plot or floure thereof, might be a monument of a wicked attempt, smothered and stifled in the very hope and hatching thereof. This is the place which was called afterwards *Aequimulium*. As for *L. Minutius* he had an ox with gilded hornes given him for an honour and reward, without the gate *Trigemina*. The Commons therewith were not miscontented, for that to them he devided *Melius* his corn, at the price of one *Asse* a *Modius*. Among some authors I find, that this *Minutius* forooke the Nobles and went to the Commons, and was taken in to be the eleventh Tribune of the Commons, and appeased the mutinie that arose upon *Melius* his death. But it was not like that the Senators suffered the number of the Tribunes to be increased: and especially, that such an example should be given and taken up by a man of their coat: or that the comminallie would not keepe it still, if it had ben once allowed, or at least wile attempt it againe. But above al, this consuteth & reproveth the false title of Tribune set upon his image, for that a few years before, it was by a statute expressly provided, That Tribunes might not chuse and take unto them a colleague in office. *Q. Caelius*, and *Q. Iunius*, and *Sexius Titinius* were the only men of all the collidge of Tribunes, that propounded not the law for the honor of *Minutius*: but rather accused unto the Commons, both *Minutius* and *Sevilius*, and ceased not to make complaint of the cruell and unworthie death of *Melius*: and in fine prevailed so much, that there should be an Election for Militarie Tribunes rather than for Consuls: nothing doubting, but it shuld be chosen (for so many at that time might be created) some of the Commons also, by promising to revenge the death of *Melius*, might step in and be elected. The Commons for all they were tossed that yeare with many and sundrie troubles, chose no more than three Tribunes with Consuls authoritie; and among them, *L. Quintius* the sonne of *Cincinnatus*: Vpon the hard conceit and hatred of whose Dictatorship past, they thought to picke some occasion of quarrell and tumult: and *Mamercus Aemilius*, a man of great credit and reputation, was by voices preferred afore *Quintius*, and obtained the first place. And *L. Iulius* they created for the third.

Whiles these bare soveraigne rule, Fidene the Colonie of the Romanes, revolted to *Lars Tolumnius*, the king of the Veintians, and to the State of the Veintians. And besides their revolting, a more horrible fact they committed. For at the commandment of *Tolumnius*, they slew *C. Pulcinus*, & *C. Iulius*, *Sp. Nautius*, & *L. Roscius* the Roman Embassadors, who came to demand the cause of this their change and suddaine alteration. Some here doe excuse and elevate the act of the king, saying, that upon a luckie cast of dice he uttered a doubtfull speech, which was by the Fidenatians so taken, as though he seemed to bid the Embassadors to bee killed, and that (forsooth) was the occasion of murdering the Embassadors (a thing incredible, that at the coming in of the Fidenatians, his new allies, who were to consult with him and ask his advice, about a murder that should breake the law of Nations, his mind should not be turned away from earnest studying about his game) and so this hainous fact proveth to be but an error. More credible it is, that he had a further meaning and deeper reach: namely, that the people of the Fidenatians should

A should be bound unto him, and onely relie upon him, being attaint with the guiltinesse of so foule a murder, and not to looke and hope for any mercie or meed at the Romanes hands. The Statues of these Embassadors which were at Fidene murdered, were set up openly at the charges of the citie in the Rostra. *A publick crosse (as it were) or pulvis in Rome, out of which the Magistrates made Orations to the people, beautified with the beakheads of ships and their brassen pikes, called Rostra.* Thus was there like to be a cruel conflict with the Veintians, & Fidenates. Who besides that they were people confining on their frontiers, had also in the beginning of their war given so wicked & horrible a cause of quarell. Therefore when as the common people and their Tribunes, in regard of the care for the publicke State, were at quiet; there was no question, but that *M. Geganius Maccrinus* the third time, and *L. Sergius Fidenas* (named (I suppose) so, upon the war which afterwards under his conduct was fought) should be created Consuls. For this man first encountered with the king of the Veintians on this side *Anio*, & gat the victory: but not without much bloodshed of the Romanes. So that the greefe was greater for the losse of his owne souldiors, than the joy for the disconsisture of his enemies. And the Senate, as in all fearful times and dangerous occurrents, ordained *Mamercus Aemilius* to bee created Dictator. Who, out of the brotherhood of Tribunes militarie in Consuls authoritie, the yeare before, named for the Generall of his horsemen, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, who had bene a Tribune with him, a toward young Gentleman, and a worthie sonne of so worthie a father. To those souldiors that were by the Consul mustered and levied, were the old Centurions, experienced and skilfull warriors, adjoined: and the number of those, which in that last battaile were slaine, was supplied. The Dictator commanded to follow him as Lieutenants, *Quintius Capitolinus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*. This greater power and authoritie, and the man likewise nothing thereto inferiour, drave the enemies out of the Romane ground, & set them farther off, even beyond *Anio*. Who removing their campe still backward, seized upon the hils betweene Fidene and *Anio*: neither durst they come downe from thence into the open plaines, before that the Legions of the Faliscs came to succour. Then at length, the Tuscans encamped themselves under the wals of Fidene. And the Roman Dictator likewise rested and abode upon the bankes of the Confluent (where both rivers runne into one) and flanked himselfe thereby. And when he had cast up a trench & rampier afont, reaching across from the one river to the other, the morrow after he brought his power forth, & set them in order of battaile. The enemies were of sundrie minds. The Faliscians, who hardly could away long souldierie farre from home, and trusting withall in their owne selves, that they were good ynough, required battaile. The Veintians and Fidenates had more hope in drawing out the war on length. *Tolumnius*, albeit the advice of his owne men liked him better, yet because the Faliscians should not indure lingering warfare, sendeth a trumpet, and proclaimeth battaile against the morrow. The Dictator and the Romanes, for that the enemies for the present, shifted off fight, tooke more heart unto them: and on the next morning, when as now the souldiors gave out brave words, and menaced, That unless they might have battaile, they would assault both the campe and the towne: the armies of both parts came forth into the middest of the plaine, betweene the two camps. The Veintians, as being more in number and having to spare, sent covertly out certaine companies to fetch a compasse behind the hils, who in the time of the conflict should set upon the Romane campe. And in this order stood the maine armie of three nations together embattelled. The Veintians kept the right point, the Faliscians the left, and the Fidenates the middle of the battell. The Dictator in the right point advanced his standard against the Faliscians, and on the left *Capitolinus Quintius* charged the Veintians: and against the maine battell betweene both, marched the Coronell of the Cavallerie, with his cornets of horse. Thus as they stood arraunged in battaile array, for a prettie while was there silence on either side, and all quiet. For neither would the Tuscans begin first, unless they were urged: and the Dictator looked eftsoones backward toward the Capitoll of Rome, that the Augurs should set up a signall aloft (as it was agreed betweene them) so soone as the flight of fowles gave approbation accordingly: which he no sooner espied, but he put out presently the men of armes, with a great shout against the enemies. The armie of the footmen followed hard after in the taile, and seconded them with a lustie charge. But on no hand were the Tuscane legions able to abide the force of the Romanes. The Cavallerie stood hardest to it, and made head still. For the king himselfe, the best horseman and most valiant of them all, when as on every side his enemies charged & pressed fore upon him, rode afront them, held out and maintained fight. There chanced then to be among

among the Romane horsemen, a Tribune or Marshall, one *A. Cornelius Cossus*, a goodly tall man of bodie, and as valiant and strong withall. Who set before his eyes the noble house from whence he was descended, and carried this mind, as it was right honorable already by his ancestors, left him so to recommend the same to his posteritie more glorious & renowned. This man seeing the troupes of Romans, waving to and fro, for fear of the violence of *Tullius*, which way soever he bent and turned; and knowing him by his rich and roiall furniture, wherein hee bare himselfe like a brave knight, riding all over the battaile. Is this (quoth hee) the forsworne breaker of humane league, is this hee that hath violated the lawes of armes, and renowned. Now will I presently, if it be Gods will that any thing in the world shall remaine wholly and inviolate, be his priest, I will sacrifice & betake him to the ghosts of our Embassadors deceased. Herewith, setting spurs to his horse, with bent speare in rest, he rode full against that one enemy, singled from the rest; smote him, & dismounted him from his horse. Then bearing upon his staffe, alight presently on foot, & as the king was getting up again, he overthrew him backward with the boss of his target, and laid him streaking along, and after many wounds given him, at length fastened him with his speare to the very ground. And when as he was once dead, he disarmed and despoiled him, and strake off his head; and carrying it aloft on his lance, presented a fearefull spectacle to the enemies of their king slain, and so discomfited them. Thus was the strength of the horsemen defeated also, which onely had made the battaile doubtfull. The Dictator having put likewise the legions of footmen to flight, pursued them still, and drave them to their fort, killing them all the way in the chase. Many of the Fidenates which knew the coasts of the countrie, fled into the mountaines, and escaped. *Cossus* with his horsemen passed over Tyber, and brought home into the citie a great bootie out of the countrie of the Veientians. As this battaile was in fighting, there was a skirmish also in the Romane campe, with that part of the forces, which (as it is aforesaid) was sent by *Tullius* to surprize it. *Fabius Vibulanus* first defended the rampier, ordering his men all withinforth, in compasse like a garland; and while the enemies were wholly bent about the assault, he with the *Triarii* or souldiours of the rereward, suddenly issued forth at the gate, called *Principalis*, on the right hand, and gave an hot charge upon them. Upon which they were affrighted, but there ensued the lesse slaughter, because the number was smaller. Howbeit, they fled no lesse in disarray, than those in the very battaile. Thus the Dictator having prosperous successe every where, returned with triumph into the citie, by the decree of the Senate, and graunt of the people. In which triumph the greatest shew and goodliest sight of all, was *Cossus*, bearing the rich and roiall spoiles of the king, slaine by his owne hand. For of him the souldiours chanted diverse rude ballades without rime and metre, comparing him in their songs with *Romulus*. Which spoiles, with a solemne manner of dedication, he bestowed and hung up in the temple of *Iupiter Feretrius*, neare unto those of *Romulus*, which were the first and only spoiles, untill that time, called *Opima Spolia*. And as he went, he withdrew from the Dictators chariot, the eyes of all the people unto himselfe, and he in manner alone, carried away the magnificence and glorie of that festival day. The Dictator by order from the people, presented in the Capitoll for the honour of *Iupiter*, a golden crowne, weighing one pound weight, raised out of the common mony of the citie.

Thus have I set downe (as following all other writers before me) that *Aulus Cornelius Cossus*, a Colonell or Marshall, brought into the temple of *Iupiter Feretrius*, the second roiall spoiles. Howbeit, over and besides, that those spoiles onely are by right accounted *Opima*, or roiall, which a Generall hath taken from a Generall, and we acknowledge none for Generall, but him under whose conduct and high Commission a warre is managed, the very title also written upon the spoiles, doth check and reprove both them and me. The words wherof are these, THAT *COSSUS* BEING CONSVL, VVAN THOSE SPOILES. When I once heard say, that *Augustus Caesar* himselfe, the founder or repairer of all temples, entered into the house of *Iupiter Feretrius*, which hee reedified, being by injurie of long time fallen to decay, and read it so written in a linnen jake or curaze: I thought it little better than sacrilege, to discredite and cancell the testimonie of *Cossus* himselfe concerning his own spoiles, and of *Augustus Caesar*, the benefactor of that very temple. Which error, if it grow hereon, That so ancient records and Chronicles, and that the books of the Magistrates, which being of linnen, and laid up in the temple of *Moneta*, *Macer Licinius* doth estoones quote and cite as his authors, do represent unto us *A. Cornelius Cossus*, the seventh yeare after Consull, with *Titus Quintius Pennus*: let every man abound in his owne sence, and have

A have his opinion by himselfe freely. For more than all this may be alledged to prove, that so famous a battaile could not bee transferred to that yeare: because that for three yeares space about the Consulship of *Cossus*, there was no warre at all, in a manner, by reason of pestilence, and dearth of corne: so as some records, as it were, mourning, and bewraying the calamitie of the time, deliver unto us nothing but the bare names of the Consuls. In the third yeare, after that *Cossus* was Consull, hee was Militarie Tribune in Consuls authoritie, and in the same yeare Generall of the horsemen also: in which government hee fought another notable battaile with horsemen. But hereof a man may conjecture and guesse what he will. But (as I thinke) wee may toss these things of small importance, to and fro, according to every mans opinion: and when all is done, the author of this battaile his owne selfe, having set up these fresh and new spoiles in a holy place, in the sight of *Iupiter* himselfe standing thereby, to whom they were vowed, and *Romulus* also, two witnesses, not to bee despised nor abused with a false title, hath written himselfe, *A. CORNELIVS COSSVS CONSVL*.

When *Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis* and *Papyrius Crassus* were Consuls, the armies were led forth; the one into the Veientians countrie, and the other into the Faliscians, and booties both of people and cattail were from thence driven and caried away. As for the enemies themselves, no where in the countrie were they to be seene, nor any battaile was fought: and yet for all that, the townes were not assaulted, because the people at home died of the pestilence. And within the citie, *Sp. Melius* Tribune of the Commons sought occasions and pretences to move seditions, but without effect. Who supposing by the popular favor of his name to prevale and raise some mutinie, both arrested *Minutius* to make his answer, and also put up a bill for the confiscation of the goods of *Servilius Hala*: laying hard to *Minutius* his charge, that *Melius* was falsely accused and circumvented by him: and burdening *Servilius* with the murdering of a citizen uncondemned. All these surmises were with the people of lesse credit and importance, than the author himselfe. But the violence of the sicknesse still increasing more and more, troubled them: besides the fearefull and strange prodigious tokens: but especially, the fresh newes that divers houses in the countrie were by many earth-quakes cast downe. Whereupon the people went in solemne proceffion and made their supplications, whiles the Duumvir going afore pronounced the prayers, and the people said after him word for word. But the yeare following, when *C. Julius* the second time, and *L. Virginus* were Consuls, was more contagious by reason of the plague, and caused both in towne and countrie, so great a feare of utter desolation, that not onely there were none set forth in any rodes without the territorie of Rome to raise booties, whiles the Nobilitie and Commons had no mind of making warre: but the Fidenates also of their owne accord, who before time had kept themselves either within their townes, or mountaines, or fortresses, entered now into the lands about Rome, and forraied all the countrie. After this, having gotten also unto them a power of the Veientians (for the Faliscians could not be induced either by the calamitie of the Romaines, or prayers of their confederats, to take arms againe) these two nations passed over Anio, and not farre from the gate Collina displayed their ensignes. So the feare was no lesse within the citie than in the countrie. Then *Julius* the Consull bringeth the forces abroad, and placeth them upon the rampier and the wals: whiles *Virginus* assembled the Senate in the temple of *Quirinus*, for to aske their opinion. Where agreed it was, to create for Dictator, *A. Servilius*, surnamed (as some say) *Priscus*, or as other, *Struclius*. *Virginus* making no longer staie than untill he had consulted with his colleague, by his permission declared the Dictator in the night season. And he nominated for his Generall of the Cavalierie, *Posthumus Ebutius Helus*. The Dictator commaunded every man to be readie without the gate Collina, by the breake of day: and so many as were able to beare armes were in a readinesse. The standers and ensignes were taken forth of the treasure or chamber of the citie & brought to the Dictator. While these things were in doing, the enemies were retired and withdrawne to the higher grounds and places of advantage: and thither marched the Dictator with his armie in order of battell. And encountering with them not farre from Nomentum, he discomfited the legions of the Tuscans, and drave them into the towne of Fidenæ, and cast a trench about it. But neither could the towne be scaled for the high site thereof and the strong wals about it; and to laie sege unto it might not avale: for that they had corne not only to suffice the ordinarie need of men besieged, but also plentie to spare, of their old store and provision gathered afore hand. Thus the Dictator being without all hope both of winning it by assault, and also of forcing

cing them to yeeld by composition, purposed in certaine places for the neere nesse to him well knownen, at the backside of the citie which was slenderly guarded, most neglected, and for the naturall situation the furest, to undermine unto the castle. And he himselfe in places farthest off from thence, approached close under the wals, with his armie divided into foure parts, to succed one another by turnes in order: and so, by continuall skimming day and night, he kept the enemies at a bay & withdrew them from all perceiving and intelligence of the worke under ground: untill such time as by digging through the hill from the campe, therewas a way and passage made straight up into the castle. And when as the Tuscanes were wholly amused upon the vaine threatnings, and bravados of their enemies before them, nothing minding the present danger wherein they stood: behold, the al'arme of their enemies even over their heads, made an alerie, that the towne was taken. In this yeare *Cn. Furius Pacilius* and *M. Geganus Macerinus*, Censors, appointed and dedicated the Large Hall, named *Villa Publica* in Mars field: and there first by them was held the Sessing and numbring of the people. I find in *Macer Licinius*, that in the yeare following, the same Consuls were made againe, namely *Iulius* the third time and *Virginius* the second time. But *Valerius Antias* and *Q. Tubero*, do name *M. Manlius* and *Q. Sulpitius* for the Consuls that yeare. Howbeit in so different a report, both *Tubero* and *Macer* professe that they followed the linnen Records: and neither of them both conceale, that which the aun-cient writers have set downe, namely, That the same yeare were Tribunes militarie, in Consuls authoritie. *Licinius* without doubt is addicted to those linnen Registers, & *Tubero* is uncertaine of the truth. But among other antiquities, not knowne by reason of long time, this also is left in doubt and not cleared.

After the winning of Fidene, great was the feare in *Hetruria*: whilst not only the Veientians were feared, fearing the like destruction: but the Falisci also, remembering the warre begon first with them, albeit they were not assitant in their rebellion. When as therefore these two States had sent their embassadours abroad to the twelve Cities about them, and obtained a Diet or generall parliament of all *Hetruria* should be assembled at the temple of *Votumna*: the Senat, as if some great troubles were like thereof presently to ensue, thought good that *Mamercus Aemilius*, should be created Dictator the second time. By whom, *A. Posthumius Tubero* was named Generall of the horsemen. And with so much greater endeavour made they preparation of armes than in the last warre afore, by how much more danger there was from all *Hetruria* banded together, than had been from two nations combined & no more. But this busines was much more quieter than all men looked for. When as therefore news came by merchants, that the Veientians were flatly denied helpe, and bidden to end that warre by their own meanes and forces, which they had begon on their owne heads: nor seeke to imbarke them in the affociation of their miserie and adversitie, unto whom they had not imparted their mind and hope in their upright state, and when they were in their ruffe: then the Dictator, to the end he should not seeme to be created in vaine, seeing all matter of acquiring renowne by warre was cut off, desirous yet in time of peace, to doe some notable piece of worke for a monument, setteth in hand to abate and diminish the Censorship: either supposing it to be too high an office, or els offended not so much with the greatnesse of the honour, as with the continuance and length thereof. Having therefore assembled all the people together: For as much as the immortall Gods (quoth he) have undertaken to governe the common-weale abroad, and performed all safe and sure: I for my part concerning that which is to be done at home within the wals, will take order and provide for the freedome of the people of Rome. The greatest preservation and defence whereof, resteth in this, when offices of great command are not long enduring: but when they be limited by tyme of time which may not be restrained or gaged in jurisdiction. As for other magistracies they are from yeare to yeare: but this of the Censors continuing five yeares, is very heavy and grievous. And hard it is for men to live so many yeares, even a great part of their life, in danger of the same tulers still. Minded therefore I am, to propose a law, That the Censorship continue no longer than one yeare and six moneths. With great applause and consent of the people, the next day after, he both published the law and enacted it. And now that ye may (qd. he) & *Quirites*, know in very deed, how I mislike of these long lasting offices, here presently I render up my Dictatorship. Thus having given over his owne place, for a limitation to the rule of others, and absolutely ended one, with exceeding congratulation and favour of the people he was brought home to his house. The Censors taking it grievously that *Mamercus* had abridged an office of the people

A ple of Rome, displaced him from his own tribe, laying on him an eightfold taxe in the subsidie booke, disfranchised and disabled him from giving his voice, and made him no better than a Tributarie. Which disgrace (they say) he tooke with a noble stomach, looking rather to the cause of this shamefull note, than to the ignominie it selfe. Moreover the Lords of the Senat, albeit they were willing enough that the Censorship nailes should be pared and their power taken downe, were offended yet, with this example of the rigour and severitie of those in place: for as much as they all saw plainly, that they should be both longer time and oftner under Censors, than Censors themselves. But so great an indignation of the people (by report) grew hereof, that by the authoritie of no man but of *Mamercus* himselfe, could they be restrained from offering violence to the very persons of the Censors. And the Tribunes of the Commons, with their continuall orations and remonstrances, prohibited the Election of Consuls. When as the matter was well neare brought to the point of an interreigne, they obtained at length with much heave and shove, that there should be militarie Tribunes chosen, with Consular authoritie. But reward of this their victorie whereat they shot, could they get none: namely, that a commoner might be chosen for one. They were all of the Nobilitie that were created, to wit, *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, *M. Folius*, and *L. Sergius Fidenas*.

The plague that yeare was the occasion of quietnesse from all other troubles. A temple then was vowed to *Apollo* for the health of the people. Howbeit, great losse was there both in towne and countrie, by the mortalitie of men & moraine of cattail, one with another indifferently. And fearing least the husbandmen of the countrie should bee famished, they sent for come into *Hetruria* and the countie of *Pomptinum*, to *Cumes*, and at last even into *Sicilie*. And not a word all this while about the election of Consuls. So there were militarie Tribunes elected, with Consuls authoritie, all againe of the *Patritij*, namely, *L. Pinarius Mamercus*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, and *Sp. Posthumius Albus*. That yeare the violence of the sicknesse abated: neither was there any danger or feare of scarcitie of come, because they had made provision aforehand. Great sitting and consultation there was in the generall Diets of the Volscians and *Aequians*, and in *Hetruria* at the foresaid Temple of *Votumna* about making war. There, the matter was put off for one whole yeare: and by an act or decree it was provided, that no assembly or parliament during that time should be held: notwithstanding the people of the Veientians complained, but all in vaine, that the same fortune was like to happen unto *Veij*, which had fallen already upon *Fidene*, even the utter subversion of the state. In this meane season, at Rome the chiefe heads of the Commons having aspired and gaped now a long time, but still in vaine, after higher place of dignitie and honor, tooke their vantage whiles all was quiet abroad, and began to have their conventicles and meetings in the houses of the Tribunes, and there entertained secret counsels. Some complained that they were much despised of the common people: for whereas in so many yeares, there were Tribunes militarie created with Consuls authoritie, yet never was there any one of the comminatie advanced to that dignitie. Our forefathers (say they) in great wisdom and deep forecast, have done well to take order, that none of the Nobilitie at any time should have access to any office of the comminatie: for if that were not, the Commons should have had ere this, some of the *Patritij* for their Tribunes: so odious are we become to those of our owne cote, and are as little set by of the Commons as of the Nobles. Others excused the people, and laied the fault upon the Senators: by whose ambition, by whose craftie fetches and subtilt policies it came to passe, that the Commons were stopped from the high way to advancement and promotion. But if the Commons might have any respite or breathing time, and not be solicited and tempted by their praiers interlaced with threats: they would remember themselves and those of their owne calling, in giving of their voices: and having once gotten assistance unto them, would also winne the highest pitch and soveraigne type of authoritie. For the abolishing therefore of this ambitious seeking and standing for offices, they agree and resolve, that the Tribunes should preferre and publish a lawe, that no man might weare white more than ordinarie, or refresh the bright hew of his upper garment, while he sued for any dignitie. A small matter now a daies and may seeme scarcely worth the debating in serious counsell, which notwithstanding at that time, set both Nobles and Commons in a great heate of contention. Yet obtained the Tribunes so much, that this law passed: and it appeared, that the Commons when their bloud was once up, would affect their owne, and wholly incline to them in their suffrages. But to the end that they might not have their full scope and put it in practise, an Act of the Senat was, that there

Mamercus Aemilius
himselfe, riched
and made a censor
first.

Tribunes Militarie
in Consuls
room, chosen
against.

His house by
a Scitagem.

Villa Publica.

A Generall Diet
of the twelve
Cities of
Hetruria.

* Voted on this
day, in the
Temple of
Votumna.

The Election of
Mamercus Aemilius
to the
Censorship.

The Office of
Censors reduced
from the terme
of five yeares, to
one and an halfe.

there should be held an Election of Consuls. The occasion thereof, was a tumult or commotion: which, as the Latines and Hernicks advertised them, arose from the Equians and Volscians. *T. Quintius Cincinnatus*, the sonne of *Lucius* (surnamed also *Pennus*) and *C. Julius Mento* were elected Consuls. Neither was this fearefull newes of warre entertained any longer. For the enemies having by a sacred law (which amongst them was of greatest force to levie an armie) mustered their power, set forth two mightie armies from both parts, into Algidum, and there met. Where the Equians and Volscians, severally by themselves encamped strongly, and more earnestly studied the captaines to fortifie their camps, and to traine and exercise their souldiours, than at any time afore. Whereupon, the newes was more fearefull that the messengers brought to Rome. So the Senat agreed to create a Dictatour. For, although those nations oftentimes had been vanquished by them, yet now they rebelled in more forcible maner, and with preparation, than at any time before. Also, by reason of the late sickness, the youth and flower of the Romans was fore diminished. But above all, the private discord of the Consuls one with another, and the debate and difference in all their counsels, terrified them most. There bee that write, how these Consuls had but unluckie fortune, and lost a field in Algidum: and that it should be the cause of making a Dictatour. But this one thing is certaine, that howsoever els the Consuls disagreed, yet they jumped in one to crosse the wils of the Senatours, in that they would not nominate a Dictatour, untill such time as, after newes brought, still worse and worse, and yet the Consuls would not bee ruled by the Senatours: one *Quintus Servilius Priscus*, a man, who right worthily and honourably had borne the highest offices, made this speech: My Maisters, yee that are Tribunes of the Commons (quoth hee) in this exigent and desperate case, the Senat

The speech of Q. Servilius Priscus.

calleth for your assistance, that in so great hazard of the Commonweale, yee by vertue of your

authoritie, would force the Consuls peremptorily to make a Dictator. Which speech being once heard, the Tribunes supposing now they had good occasion offered, to stretch and extend their power to the full, departed aside: and in the name of their Colledge or societie, pronounced, That it was their pleasure and will, that the Consuls should be obedient unto the Senat: and in case they proceeded to doe farther, than the consent of that most honourable house would beare them out, they would command them to ward. The Consuls chose rather to bee overruled of them than of the Senat: saying yet withall, that the prerogative of the highest government was by the Senatours betrayed, and the Consulship made thrall and subject to the Tribunes power, if so be the Consuls might be compelled to doe ought by vigour of the Tribunes authoritie, and (than which, a private person could feare no more) bee sent also to ward, or committed to prison. The lot fell to *T. Quintius* (for in this also they could not agree betwene themselves) to nominate the Dictator: who named *A. Posthumius Tubertus*, his wives father, a grim sir, and a man of most severe and sterne government. By whom was *L. Julius* nominated for Generall of the Cavallerie. Herewithall was proclaimed a vacation or lawsteed, and that throughout the whole citie they should goe in hand with nothing but warre. The taking knowledge of such, as pretended to bee freed and exempt from souldierie, was put off untill the war was ended. So that they that were before doubtfull, suffered themselves to be enrolled: and souldiours were levied out from the Hernikes & Latines, who from both places obeyed the Dictator to their uttermost. All these things were dispatched with exceeding expedition. Then the Dictator having left *C. Julius* the Consull, for the defence of the citie, and *L. Julius* the Generall of the horsemen for all suddaine occasions incident unto warres, that they might not be to seek for any thing, whereof they had need in the campe, tooke with him *Aulus Cornelius* the High priest, and saying after him certaine prayers, word for word, he vowed great and stately plaies, in regard of this tumultuous and troublesome warre: and thus departing from the citie, and deviding his whole armie between himselfe and *Quintius* the Cos, at length he approached the enemies. And like as they had discovered the two camps of their enemies, a little space distant one from another, so they also, about a mile from the enemy, intrenched themselves: the Dictator nere to Tusculum, and the Consull to Lanuvium. So these four armies, and as many fortified camps, had a spacious and large plaine in the middle, sufficient not onely for small excursions to skirmish in, but also to display their armies of both sides. And all the time that they lay encamped one against another, they ceased not to make light skirmishes: for the Dictator was well content, that his men by making proofe, and comparing their strength and puissance with their enemies, and assaying by little and little to trie the event of these bickerments, should conceive aforehand some hope of the

A the entire and generall victorie.

The enemies therefore having no hope left, to speed well in a set field and pight battell, assailed by night the Consuls campe, and put all to the hazard of a doubtfull issue. The suddaine crie and al'arme, awakened not only the Consuls Sentinels, his *corps de gard*, and so his whole armie, but the Dictator also, out of their sleepe. And where need was of present helpe, there failed not the Consull, either in courage or counsell. Some souldiours ward & defend the gates, others compassed the trench, ranged in a round array. In the other campe of the Dictator, looke how much lesse stirre there was, so much more leasure had they, and studied what was most needfull to bee done. Forthwith aid was sent unto the Consull his campe, under the leading of *Sp. Posthumius Albus*, a lieutenant. The Dictator himselfe in person, with part of his power, fetching a small compass about, gained a place most apart from all noise and tumult, and from whence he might charge upon the backe of the enemies. And leaveth as Vicegerent in the leaguer *Q. Sulpitius*: and to *M. Fabius* a Lieutenant, he committeth the conduct of the horsemen, commanding him not before day to stirre with his horse, as being unrulie and hard to bee managed in tumults and troubles of the night. And all things els, that a provident and industrious captain in such a case might command and doe, that commanded hee, and did orderly. But for one thing above the rest, he shewed singular proofe of policie and courage, and worthie no meane praise: in that hee sent out first *M. Geganius* with certain chosen squadrons to assaile that campe of the enemies, from whence hee knew by his espials there was departed a greater part of the forces. Who after that hee surprised the enemies there, amused wholly upon the event of other mens danger, careless and secure for their own selves, and therefore neglecting their skouts and guards, wan their hold, in manner before the enemies knew well it was assailed, from whence the Dictator having descried a smoke (which was the signall agreed between them) crieth aloud, that the enemies campe was woon, and commaunded newes thereof to be carried everie way. Now it waxed broad day light, and all was clearly to bee seene: by which time both *Fabius* with the horsemen, had given the charge, and the Consull also had made a sallie out of the campe, upon the enemies that now already were feared. But the Dictator on the other side, charging upon the reward and the middle battaile, came on everie side with his footmen, and horsemen in traine of victorie against the enemies: who were forced to turne round and fight everie way, according to the dissonant outcries, and suddaine al'armes. Thus being environned round about, they had in the midst died for it everie one, and suffered punishment due for their rebellion, had not *Pectius Mestius*, one of the Volscians, a man more renowned for his valiant acts, than noble by his parentage, rebuked with a lowd voice his fellowes, being readie now to cast themselves into rings, & said: What will ye here without making your defence, without revenge, offer your selves to be devoured of the enemies sword? What do you with your armor and weapons? Why began yee warre first? Are you troublesome & unrulie in peace, & cowards in war? What hope have yee in standing still? Doe you looke for some god from heaven to protect and deliver you? You must make way by dint of sword. Go to then, and sticke to it like men, and that way whereas yee shall see me goe afore, follow yee after, as many of you as mind to see againe your home, your parents, your wives and children. It is neither wall, nor rampier and trench, but armed men that must withstand armed men. In valour yee are their matches, but in respect of necessitie, (which is the last and strongest engine of all other) ye are the better. When he had these words spoken, and done accordingly, with a fresh shout they followed after, and made head to that quarter whereas *Posthumius Albus* had placed against them his cohorts: and compelled the victors to lose ground, untill such time as the Dictator came to succour his men, thus distressed and now readie to recule: and so hee bent thither all the force of the whole battaile. In one only man, *Mestius*, rested all the hope and fortune of the enemies. Many a man was there hurt on both parts, and many a one slain outright, and left dead in the place. So as now the verie Roman Commanders, fought not without bloudshed. Onely *Posthumius* being smitten with a stone, which had broken and brused his head, went out of the medley: for neither the Dictator, wounded as he was in the shoulder, nor yet *Fabius*, albeit his thigh was almost nailed to his horse, nor the Consull, for all his arme was quite cut off, once retired or departed out of that dangerous combat. But *Mestius* amidst the enemies that there lay dead on the earth, with a guard about him of most hardie & tall men, passed through in forcible maner, and escaped clear to the Volscians leaguer, which as yet was not lost: and so the whole battaile enclined thither. The Consull, after

The speech of Pectius Mestius to his fellow souldiours.

The valour of Pectius Mestius, a Volscian.

he had chased them, scattered in plumpes here and there, even as farre as to the trench, assailed the very campe and the rampier. Thither also bringeth the Dictatour his power on another side. Neither was the assault lesse hote there, than the fight was sharpe afore. It is said moreover, that the Consull threw an ensign within the rampier, to animate the souldiours, that they might more eagerly get up after it: and so by recovering the banner againe, was the first breach and entrance made. Thus the Dictatour having broken through the mure, came to close fight and handstrokes even within the campe. Then began the enemies every where to fling from them their weapons, and to yeeld themselves prisoners. So being themselves and their pavillions taken, they were all sold, but those of Senators calling. Part of the pillage was restored to the Latines and Herniks, namely, to as many as knew their own goods: part therof the Dictatour sold in portsale. And leaving to the Consull the charge of the campe, rode himselfe triumphing into the citie, and gave over his office. Of which his noble and famous Dictatorship, they blemish the memoriall, who write, that *A. Posthumius* (the Dictatour his sonne, for that upon advantage offered of a fortunate service, he departed without leave from his quarter and guard) was after his victorie achieved, by his fathers commaundement beheaded. But I list not to beleve it. And lawfull it is for me so to doe, among so diverse opinions: and a good prooffe it is on my side, that such imperious and rigorous proceedings were called *Imperia Manliana*, & not *Posthumiana*. For like it is, that he who had given the first example of such crueltie, should have gotten afore all others, that noted title of crueltie. Besides, *Manlius* it was, that was surnamed *Imperious*. But *Posthumius* is not marked with any odious note at all.

C. Iulius Consull, in the absence of his Colleague, without any casting of lots, dedicated the temple of *Apollo*. *Quintius* having discharged his armie, when hee was returned into the citie, took not that well. But it was no boot to complaine in the Senate house. Moreover in this notable yeare, so full of brave and worthie acts, there is recorded one thing, that was thought in those daies nothing pertinent to the state of Rome, namely, that the Carthaginians (so great & mortall enemies in time to come) passed the seas then first: and (upon the occasion of civile dissention and discord among the Sicilians) with a power landed in Sicilie, for to take part with a side and faction. In the citie of Rome the Tribunes of the Commons laboured, that Militarie Tribunes might be with Consuls authoritie chosen: but it could not be obtained. Consuls were made, *L. Papyrius Crassus*, and *L. Iulius*. The *Aequians* Embassadours suing to the Senate for a league, and for that league, pretending excuses to yeeld themselves, and bee in subjection, obtained a truce onely for eight yeares. The *Volsicians* after their overthrow in *Algidum*, fell to continuall debate and contention, whiles some perswaded peace, and others war: so long, untill at length they grew to brawles and mutinies. So on everie side the Romanes were at rest. The Consuls understanding that the Tribunes of the Commons were complotted (for one false brother among them bewraied and detected all) to put up a bill, and make a law, concerning the estimation of fines and penalties (a thing right pleasing and acceptable to the people) they themselves prevented them, and preferred it. Then were Consuls, *L. Sergius Fidenas*, the second time, and *Hostius Lucretius Tricipitinus*. In whose yeare nothing was there done worthie of rehearse. After them succeeded Consuls, *A. Cornelius Cossus*, and *Titus Quintius Pennus* the second time. The Veientians made rodes into the lands of the Romanes. And a rumour went, that some of the Fidenatian youths were accessarie unto them, and had their hands therein. For which were appointed as Commissioners to make inquisition, *L. Sergius*, *Quintus Servilius*, and *Mamercus Aemilius*. Some of them were confined to *Hortia*, for that they could make no found excuse, and justifie their absence for certaine daies out of Fidene. So the number of the inhabitants there, was encreased; and their lands, who were slaine in the warres, assigned unto them.

In that yeare hapned an exceeding great drouth. For not onely there wanted raine water from above, but also the very earth lacking her naturall moisture, scarcely sufficed to maintaine the running streame in maine rivers. The scarcitie of water besides about springs that were dried up, and the small rills and brookes caused a great death and mortallitie of cattail for default of drinke: whereof some died of the scab: by contagion whereof the people also were diseased generally. The maladie first began among the rusticall sort, the bond-slaves and hines: and afterwards spread into every corner of the citie. Neither were men onely taff and diseased with this infection: but their mindes also were troubled and possessed with sundrie sorts of superstitious religions, and those for the most part strange and forraigne: whiles upon vaine and foolish prophe-

lies, they brought new rites and ceremonies of sacrificing into mens houses; and made good gaine of such as were given to superstitious devotion, and made conscience of every little thing: untill such time as now it grew to a publike offence, and the chiefe of the citie were ashamed to see in every streete and chappell, strange and unaccustomed purgatorie sacrifices and expiations, for to procure the favour & mercie of the Gods. Whereupon the *Aediles* had in charge and commission, to looke streightly to this disorder: and that no other gods were worshipped, than those of the Romanes: nor after any other manner than had been usuall in their native countrie. So their anger against the Veientians and desire of revenge, was put off unto the next yeare following, when *C. Serrilius Hala*, and *L. Papyrius Mugilanus* were Consuls. And even then they made some scruple to proclaime warre immediatly, or to make out any power against them: but they thought good to send their Heraulds afore, to make claime for their owne and challenge restitution. For whereas of late yeares there had beene a field fought with the Veientians before *Nomentum* and *Fidene*: whereupon there followed no peace but onely a truce concluded: both the time was now expired, and also before the daie they had rebelled. Yet were there Heraulds sent unto them. And when they had demanded a mends by a solemne oath and other ceremonies according to the auncient manner, they might have no audience, neither were their words regarded. After this, there arose some question, whether the warre should be proclaimed with the peoples allowance and suffrages, or the Senates decree were alone sufficient. The Tribunes by giving out and threatening that they would stop the musters, obtained in the end, that *Quintius* the Consull should propound this matter concerning the warre unto the people. And it passed cleare through all the Centuries. Herein also had the comminaltie the better of it, for that they prevailed that there should be no Consuls chosen the yeare following. So there were foure Tribunes militarie created with Consuls authoritie, *T. Quintius Pennus* immediatly from his Consullship. *C. Furius*, *M. Posthumius*, and *Cornelius Cossus*: of which *Cossus* had the charge and government of the citie. The other three after they had mustered, tooke a journey to Veij, and made good prooffe how hurtfull in warre is the rule of many Commanders. For whiles every man was inclined to his owne counsaile and advice, and tooke divers courses one from another, they made way for the enemies and gave them advantage. For the Veientians taking their opportunitie and time, entred upon the armie thus diffacted, whiles some commaunded to sound the retreat, others the alarme and to strike up the battaile. Whereupon they were disordered and put to flight. But for as much as the campe was neare at hand, thither they retired themselves in safetie: so, as the shame they gat was more than the harme in this diffeature. The citie was pensive and hereupon sorrowed, as not used to take foiles and overthrowes. The Tribunes they hated, and required a Dictatour: in whom rested ever the whole hope and stay of the citie. And when as even in that behalfe, they made a matter of conscience, because there might not be any Dictatour nominated, but by a Consull, the Augurs were consulted withall: who resolved them of that doubt and rid them of their scruple. So *A. Cornelius* (a consular Tribune) nominated *Mamercus Aemilius* Dictatour: by whom he was himselfe also pronounced Graund Master of the horsemen. At such default was the citie then, of right valour and true vertue, that notwithstanding the prejudice by the Censors, yet there was no remedie, but the whole government of the state should rest upon that family, which had been wrongfully disgraced and unworthely noted by the Censors.

The Veientians proud of their late good successe, albeit they sent their Embassadours about all the nations of *Hetruria*, boasting and vaunting that in one battaile they had discomfited three Romane Generals: yet could not they with all their solliciting, perswade any to be seene to take part with them in publike action: but they procured divers from all parts for hope of spoile, voluntarily to aid and assist them. The people of Fidene onely agreed to rebell. And as though it had been in no wise lawfull, to begin any warre but with some wicked, heinous and execrable fact: like as afore they had embrude their hands, & bathed their swords in the blood of Embassadours, so then, they began with murdering their new received Coloners: & so banded themselves with the Veientians. Then consulted the Princes and States of those two nations, whether they should make Veij or Fidene the seat towne of the warre. Fidene was supposed the fitter and more commodious. So the Veientians passed over the Tyber, and translated the warre to Fidene. Great feare was there at Rome, to see the armie of their enemies removed from Veij, & emplaned at Fidene. And being shrewdly danted by their late overthrow besides, encamped even before

fore the gate Collina. On the wals were armed souldiours placed, vacation in all courts of lawe was ordeined, shop windowes thurte up; and all more like a leager than a citie. Then sent the Dictatour the criers about into all streets and carrifoules; to summon the citizens: thus terrified to a generall assembly. Where he rebuked them for carrying such wavering and doubtful hearts upon so small accidents and events of fortune, having received but a slight losse and small foile: and that, not through the manhood of the enemy, or cowardise of the Romanes armie, but onely through the disagreement and difference of the leaders. Also for that they were afraid of the Veientian enemy, whom five or six times afore they had put to the word and vanquished: and especially of Fidene, which had been oftner in a manner won; than assailed: As for the Romanes and their enemies (saith he) they are even the same still that alwaies for so many hundred years, they had been: bearing the same minds, the same bodily strength, and the same armour: and even my selfe am the same *Mamercus Aemilius*, and no other, who heretofore discomfited at Nomentum, the Veientians and Fidenations, with the Faliscians power also adjoined unto them. And as for *A. Cornelius*, he will no doubt be the same. Generall of horsemen in this battaile, as in the former warre he was: at what time he being a Knight Marshall, slew *L. Tolumnius* the King of the Veientians, in the sight of two armies: and brought into the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, the rich armour of him despoiled. Wherefore ye ought to remember this, that we have on our side triumphs, spoiles and victorie: whereas with the enemies remaineth the wicked and detestable fact of killing the Embassadours, against the law of all nations: also the massaker of the Fidenation inhabitants, in time of peace: the breaking of truce, and their revolting now seven times, to their ruine and overthrow. Take weapon therefore in hand like men: for I trust assuredly, that so soone as we shall joine our camps together, and encounter these most wicked enemies, they shall have no long joie of the late shamefull discomfiture of the Romanes armie. And the people of Rome shall understand, how much better they have deserved of the Common-weale, who made me Dictatour now the third time, than those, who for clipping the Centors wings and abridging them of their kingly rule, had dissteined and disgraced my second Dictatourship with the shamefull blot of ignominie and reproch. After this speech, when he had made his vowes accordingly: he encamped a mile and an halfe on this side Fidene, flanked on the right hand with the hills, and on the left with the river Tyber. And commanded *Quintus Pennus* his lieutenant, to gaine the hills afore, and be possessed secretly of that cape or hill, which was on the backe part of the enemies. Himselfe the next morrow, when as the Tuscanes, (tull of pride and stomack for the prosperous successe of former daies, which was much better than their service in fight) came forth into the field: after he had staied a while, untill the scouters and espials brought word, that *Quintus* was gotten safely unto the hill top neare adjoyning to the castle or fort of the Fidenations, he advanced forth his standers: and with his footmen ranged in battaile array, marched against his enemies with full pace: commanding his Generall of the horsemen not to charge without his warrant: for that he himselfe as need should: equire, would give the signall for the aide of his cavallerie to come in, willing him then, to quit himselfe like a brave Knight in remembrance of his glorious combat with a King: of his rich present and obligation: and of *Romulus* and *Jupiter Feretrius*. Thus the legions assaile one another and encounter right hardily. The Romanes kindled and enflamed with rancour and malice, termed the Fidenations, wicked and godlesse wretches: the Veientians, robbers and thieves; trucebreakers both, polluted with the abominable murder of Embassadours: steined with the execrable massaker of their cohabitants: faithlesse and treacherous allies, cowardly and dastardly enemies: thus both in word and deed they satisfied their hatred to the full. And at the very first shock forced their enemies to thrinke. At which instant all at once, there issued out of the open gates of Fidene a strange armie, nor heard of nor usuall before that day. A mightie number armed with fire-works, and thining all over with burning lights, after a fanaticall and mad manner, ran as if they were carried with spirits, upon their enemies: and with the uncouth sight of this kind of fight, amazed the Romanes a pretie while. Then the Dictatour busie in fight, having sent both for the Generall of the cavallerie with his troupes of horsemen, and also for *Quintus* from the mountaines, hastened himselfe to the left point: which being terrified with a scarefire more like than a battail, had given place unto the flame, & stepped backe. Where with a loud voice he thus spake: What wil ye be overcome with smoak like a swarm of bees, & leese your ground, & recule from your naked & unarmed enemies: wil ye not put out this fire with redoubled stroke of brandishing swords? And

A And will ye not every man for his part, if we must needs fight with fire, and not with weapons, pull from them their torches and firebrands, and fling them againe at their owne heads? Go to, I say, like hardie men, mindfull of the renoune of Romanes, remembring the prowesse of your fathers, and your owne selves. Turne this fire upon your enemies citie, and consume Fidene into ashes with her own flames: this disloial Fidene, which by no favours and good turns of yours, ye were ever able to win & pacifie. The blood of your Embassadours, the blood of your Coloners thither sent to people their citie, your frontiers and borders by them wasted, put you in mind of no meaner revenge. At the Dictatours commaundement, the whole battaillon was moved and encouraged. Some latched the firebrands as they flew, others by force snatched them from them, so that now both battailes were armed with fire. The Generall of horsemen for his part, renewed the horse service: commanding them to plucke the bitts out of their horses mouths, and was the first himselfe, that setting spurs to, rode with bridle in horse necke, into the midst of the fire: and the other horses also being pricked forward, and eased of their bridles, carried the riders with full carriere against the enemy. The dust rising together with the smoke, took the light from mens eyes, and horses both: And that sight which had terrified the souldiours, nothing at all affrighted the horses. Wherefore the men of armes rode, they bare down all afore them as if some houses had come tumbling upon their heads. Herewith happened a new arme to be heard, which having caused both armies to wonder and listen thereunto, the Dictator crieth out aloud, That *Quintus* the Lieutenant and his regiment, came upon the back of the enemies: and himselfe reenforcing the shout, advanceth his ensignes forward more fiercely. When as now two armies, and two divers battailes, preased sore upon the Tuscanes, and environned them both before and behind: and that the enemies could neither flie backe to their campe, nor yet retire or withdraw themselves unto the mountaines, from whence a fresh supplie of enemies, made head, and affronted them: and that the horses being unbridled, carried the riders every way, hither and thither: the most part of the Veientians ran scattering in disorder, and highing them apace, toward the Tyber: & the Fidenations that remained, to the citie Fidene. But in that fearfull flight they ran upon their owne death. Some were killed on the bankes of the river, others were driven into the water, and the stream and whirlepits carried them away. And even they that were cunning swimmers, what with wearinesse, and what with faintnesse of their wounds & with fright, sincke and were drowned: so that few of many swam over in safetie. The other armie fled through their campe into the citie. The same way also the Romanes followed forcible after: and *Quintus* especially, together with them who erewhile came downe from the mountaines, and were the freshest souldiours for fight (as who came last into the battell) & so afterwards eured pell mell among their enemies into the gate, climed upon the wals, and from the wals set up a banner to their fellows, in token that they had woon the towne. Which as soone as the Dictatour espied, (for now by this time had hee made an entrance into the forlome, and abandoned campe of his enemies) he brought the souldiours, upon desire to run to a spoile, and hoping of a greater sacage in the citie, straight unto the gate. And being gotten within the wals, marcheth directly forward to the castle, whereinto he beheld the multitude to flie for refuge and safetie. The execution in the citie was no lesse than in the field: which continued untill they threw away their weapons, and craving nothing but life, yeelded themselves to the Dictator. So both citie and campe was spoiled and sacked. The morrow after, the Dictator disposed of his prisoners thus, He drew them by lot, and gave to every horseman and Centurion one, and to as many as had done more valiantly than other, two apeece: the rest he sold in portsale. And so with triumph brought home to Rome his victorious armie, enriched with a great bootie: and having commaunded the Generall of the horsemen to resigne up his office, himselfe also surrendreth his owne, upon the fixteenth day after his creation, yeelding up his government in peace, which in time of war, and in a searefull state he had received.

There be some that have recorded in their Chronicles, that there was a battaile fought with the Veientians at Fidene by ships upon the water. A thing verily, no lesse impossible than incredible. Considering that even at this day, the river is not broad ynough for such a purpose: and at that time, (as by auncient men we have learned) it was farre narrower than now it is. Vnlesse haply in crossing over the river some vessels or bottomes, that were put out to meet and to receive them, were staied. And so, men making the matter greater (as usually it cometh to passe) have desired a vaine title of a navall victorie at sea. The yeare following, there were militarie Tribunes,

The Tribunes
Orations to the
Commons.

with Consuls authoritie, *C. Sempronius Atratinus*, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, and *L. Horatius Barbatus*. Then was there a truce graunted unto the Veicentians for twentie yeares, and to the *Æquians* for three yeares, whereas they had made suit for more. Kest there was also from all seditions and broiles in the citie. The yeare following, having neither warre abroad, nor yet sedition at home, was famous yet for the plaies which in time of warre had been vowed: both in regard of the great preparations that the Militarie Tribunes made, as also for the frequent resort and concourse of the Nations adjoining. The Tribunes with Consuls authoritie, were *Cl. Crassus*, *Sp. Nautius Rutilius*, *T. Sergius Fidenas*, and *Sextus Iulius Tullus*. The sight of these games and pastimes, whereunto those strangers were come by publick consent of their States, was unto them more acceptable, in regard of the courtesie of those friends that gave them intertainment. After these plaies, there ensued seditious Orations of the Tribunes of the Commons, who rebuked the common multitude, for that they being besotted with admiration of those whom they had so hated, kept themselves in perpetual thraldome. And not onely durst not attempt to put forth themselves for to bring in againe the possibilitie to have Consuls of their part, as in times past: nor so much as in the creation of Militarie Tribunes (the Election of whom was indifferent as well for Commons as Nobles) were mindfull or thought either upon themselves or their friends, and those of their owne bodie. And therefore they should surcease to marveile, why no man pleaded for the benefit of the commonaltie. For travail: is well bestowed, and danger well adventured, where profit & honor might be hoped and looked for. And nothing is so difficult but men would employ themselves to enterprise the same, if for the adventuring of great exploits, there might be proposed as great rewards. But, that any Tribune of the Commons should run desperatly and blindly into a world of brangles and troubles, with great hazard of his person, and no hope at all of fruit and profit in the ende: for which contumacious, he might be sure that the Nobles against whom he strived, would persecute him with deadly and irreconcilable malice: and at the Commons hands, for whom he thus contended, he should be honored and advaunced never the more, it was a thing neither to be expected, nor required. The onely meanes to get courage and magnanimitie, is advancement to high place of honor and dignitie. And as for them, they would not disdain the meanest commoner that was, if they themselves might be no more despised. To conclude, the matter were worth the triall in one or two, whither any commoner were sufficient to beare a great office of state; or whether it were a wondrous thing and strange miracle, that a valiant and hardie man should arise out of the commonaltie. With much a doe (say they) we got and obtained, that Tribunes militarie with Consuls authoritie might likewise be chosen out of the commonaltie: and men approved both in warre abroad and in affaires of State at home, had sued therefore. In the first yeares they being nipped by you, and so having the repulse, were had in derision of the Nobilitie: so that at length they forbore to give themselves thus contumeliously to be misused and made fooles. Wee see no cause therefore, why that law also should not be repealed, wherein a dignitie was graunted, and never like to be obtained. For lesse shame would there arise, if the law were not indifferent nor respective unto them, than as unto respect persons and unworthie, thus shamefully to be passed by and take the repulse. These & such like speeches were heard with so good an care and generall applaus, that some of them were incited forward to sue for the Militarie Tribuneship: whiles every one promised in the time of his office to doe great matters and to propose, some one thing some another, for and concerning the benefit of the Commons. Pretending great hopes of deviding the common lands, and planting of colonies abroad, and laying tributes and impositions upon landed persons, for to paie souldiers wages. But the Tribunes militarie then in place, devised to spie out a time, when upon some occasion of the absence of much people departed out of the citie, the Senators by a privie and secret warning, should at a certaine day be called home: and then, whiles the Tribunes of the Commons were away, an Act of Senate should passe in this forme: That for as much as it was noised that the *Volsicians* were entred into the lands of the *Hernicks* to forray and rob, the militarie Tribunes should go to see whether it were so or no, and that in the mean while there should be held a generall assenbly for the Election of Consuls. The Tribunes militarie tooke their journey accordingly, and left *Appius Claudius* the Decemvirs sonne, governour of the citie, a stout young gentleman and a forward, who from his very cradle bare an inward grudge and hatred against the Tribunes and the Commons. And bootlesse it was either for the Tribunes of the

A the Commons to find themselves grieved with those, who made the decree, now that they were absent, nor yet had they cause to quarrell with *Appius Claudius*, because the thing had been contrived and past afore his time. So, Consuls were created, *C. Sempronius Atratinus*, and *Quintus Fabius Vibulanus*.

A forreine matter, but yet worthie to be remembred and here inserted, is reported to have happened that yeare: to wit, that *Vulturnum* a citie of the *Tuscanes*, which now is *Capua*, was by the *Samnites* taken: and that it came to be named *Capua* of one *Capis* their captaine, or (which foundeth more like a truth) of the champion field. But they wan it by this meanes. For upon occasion that the *Tuscanes* were wearied with former warres, they were admitted into the societie of their citie and territorie. And on a solemne feastivall day, when as the citizens had filled their bellies, and were found asleep, these new Coloners the *Samnites*, set upon the old inhabitants, and in the night season slew them all.

But now to returne. Things passing thus (as I said before) the Consuls abovenamed upon the *Ides of December, entred their government. By which time not only they which were of purpose sent to learne the newes of the *Volsicians*, brought word that warre was at hand, but Embassadors also from the *Latines* and *Hernicks*, gave intelligence of the same. And namely, that never at any time afore, the *Volsicians* were more busie and occupied, either in chusing of good captaines, or in levying an armie, giving out these speeches abroad and in every place, That the time was now come, either to forget warfare, and lay away souldierie, and for ever make account to beare the yoke of thraldome; or els not to give one foot, nor come behind those with whom

C they strove for soveraigntie, either in manhood or in painefull travell, or in discipline of warfare. And surely they were no vaine tidings that those messengers reported. But the Senatours would take no such knowledge, nor be greatly moved at the matter. And withall, *C. Sempronius*, unto whom the charge of that war was allotted, presuming upon fortune, as if she were alwaies tight constant and at commaund, and leading an armie of a people used to victorie, against those that were wont to be overcome, did all things rashly and negligently. So as to speake a truth, there was more *Romane* discipline in the *Volsician* host, than in the *Romane*. And so, fortune (as oftentimes els) went with vertue. At the first encounter, which by *Sempronius* was unheedfully and unadvisedly begun, before that either the battailions were reinforced & strengthened with fresh supplies of succour, or the horsemen raunged in convenient place, they ran together, and came to

D handstrokes. And the first token which way the victorie would encline, was the manner of shout at the first charge; which by the enemy was more lowd, more shrill and continuall: but by the *Romanes* dissonant, unequall, dead and cold, often begun, and often renewed: and by their uncertaine and variable noise, they bewailed the inward feare of their hearts. Whereupon the enemies so much the more eagerly charged them, pressing upon them with their shields, and laying at them thicke with their bright swords: on the other side, the *Romanes* helmets wag, and their crests nod everie way as they looke about them: and as they were to seeke what to doe, so they tremble and run together on heapes: one while the ensignes stand still, and were abandoned of the foremost fighting in the vaward, another while they retired in againe amongst their own squadrons. Yet was not the flight certaine, nor yet the victorie. The *Romanes* sought more to cover and throwd themselves than to fight: to ward blowes rather than to strike. The *Volsicians* set forward their ensignes, preased upon the maine battail, and saw more enemies under foot slaine than running away. And now in all places the *Romanes* reculed, notwithstanding *Sempronius* the Consull both rebuked and also exhorted them to stick to it: for neither his commandement nor the authoritie and majestie of his countenance availed ought. And immediately had they all turned their backs on their enemies, if *Sex. Tempantius* a Decurion of horsemen, had

The valor of Sex.
Tempantius.

E not in this desperat case, with a resolute courage and readie advise, helped at a pinch. Who cried with a loud voice, that those horsemen which would the safetie of the common wealth, should dismount off their horses. And when the Cornets of horsemen bestirred themselves at his words, no lesse than if the Consull had given commaundement, *Volesse* (saith hee) this troupe of men of armes, staie the violence of the enemies, wee see the last of the *Romane* Empire. Follow therefore in stead of banner displayed, the point of my launce: let both *Romanes* and *Volsicians* see, that no nation is comparable to you, either for foote or horse. Whose encouragement being approved and received with a shout, hee advanceth forward, bearing his staffe aloft: and what way soever they goe, they enter and make roome with forcible

cible way: and where they see their fellows in greatest distresse, thither they make speed, opposing their targuets afore them. And thus in every place whereas they thrust themselves forcibly, was the fight renewed: and doubtlesse the enemies had turned their backs, if possible it had been, for so few to have performed every thing at once. Now when as the Generall of the Volscians, saw his men not able to withstand them, he gave a signall and charge to give way to this new band of enemies, to wit, these Targattiers: untill such time as they had put themselves so forward, that they might be excluded from their fellows. Which being done, these horsemen were enclosed on every side: neither could they break through that way which they went; because the enemies were there thickest, where they had made their lane before. The Cos, then, with the legions of the Romans, having lost the fight of those that had been a shield of defence and bulwarke erewhile to the whole armie, least that so many hardie men thus invironed, should be overpressed by the enemies; resolved to adventure any perill or hazard whatsoever. The Volscians were likewise diversly occupied & troubled. For on the one side they bare off the Cos, and legions: on the other side they affronted *Tempanius* fore, & the horsemen: who seeing that after many assaies and offers they could not breake forth to their fellows, gat up unto a certaine little hill, and cast themselves into a ring and stood to their defence, not without doing some mischief to their enemies: neither gave they over fighting untill night. The Consull also maintained the battell so long as he could see, and kept the enemie play. So the night parted them a sunder, and uncertaine it was who had the upper hand. And for that the event was unknown, who sped the better, so great a terror came upon both parts in their camps, that leaving the wounded and a great part of their cariages behinde, both armies as taking themselves loofers, recovered the mountaines that were next unto them. Howbeit the hill or banke aforesaid, continued still beset round about, untill midnight. But when word was brought thither to the Assailants, how that their campe was abandoned: they thinking their fellows vanquished, were also for their part affrighted, & made thilt and fled in the darke as well as they could. *Tempanius*, fearing an ambushment, kept his men there together untill day light. Then went he downe with a few to discover the coasts: and finding by enquire made of the wounded enemies, that the tents of the Volscians were left and forsaken: he was full glad thereat, and called downe his souldiours from the mount, and entred into the Romane campe. Where seeing all void and forlorne, and finding the same desolation which was amongst the enemies: before that the Volscians upon knowledge of their error should returne again, he tooke with him those hurt souldiours that he could: and not knowing to what quarters the Consull was gone, marcheth forward the next way to the citie of Rome. And thither alreadie the bruit of this unluckie fight, and of abandoning the tents, was arrived. But above all the rest, those horsemen were bewailed, & great mone & lamentation was made for them as well in privat as in publike. The Cos, *Fabius*, seeing the citie also terrified with this news, kept ward before the gates: by which time, they might discover the horsemen aforesaid a far off: but not without some feare of their parts, doubting who they were. But being soone knowne, they caused fo great contentment after former fear, that in most joyfull maner, the noise went through the citie, how the horsemen were returned safe with victorie. And out of those mourning and sorrowfull houses, which a while afore had bid adieu to their friends and kinsfolke, and bewailed their death, they ran into the streetes and high waies by heapes. The fearefull dames also & wives, forgetting, for joie, all decent and womanly modestie, went out to meete the armie, fell every one with open armes upon their owne husbands and sonnes, tooke them about the necke, clipped and kissed them, and with all their hand and heart received them, yea and for exceeding joy were almost past themselves.

The Tribunes of the Commons, who had challenged & accused *M. Posthumius* and *T. Quintius*, for that by their default, there was an unluckie fight before Veij: seemed to have good occasion and opportunitie offered now, by bringing the Consull *Sempronius* into fresh and new hatred and disgrace, for to reneue the conceived displeasure and malice of the people against them. Having assembled therefore the people together, with open mouth they declared, that the Common-wealth was betrayed first, at Veij by the leaders, and afterwards, because they went cleare away withall, and unpunished, therefore the armie in Volsci was likewise lost by the Consull: and that a troupe of most valiant knights were thus cast away and given to be murdered, and the campe shamefully left and forsaken. Then *C. Julius*, one of the Tribunes, commanded *Tempanius* the horseman to be called, and before them all said, I would know of thee

A *Sextus Tempanius*, whether thou thinke that *C. Sempronius* the Consull, either began battaile in good time, or strengthened his battailions with good succours and supplies? or whether thou thinkest, when as the Romane legions and footmen were discomfired, of thine owne head and pollicie, causedst the horsemen to alight on foote, and thereby reenforced the fight? Afterwards, when thou and thy men of armes were shut out from our battaile, whether either the Consull himselfe came to rescue, or sent any succour unto thee? Last of all, whether the morrow after, thou haddest any aid or rescue at all? Whether thou and thy troupe of horsemen brake through into the campe by your own hardinesse and valor? And whether ye found in the campe any Consull or armie, or rather the pavilions abandoned, and the souldiours left behind, hurt and wounded? To these premisses and pointes, halt thou to speake this day upon thy verue, and the faith of a souldior: by which onely, in this warre-service, the Commonweale hath stood preserved. Finally, where *C. Sempronius*, and where our legions be? Whether thou wert forsaken thy selfe, or whether thou forsookest the Consull and the armie? And to conclude, whether we have lost or woon the field? To these demands, *Tempanius* made (as they say) no fine Oration, but a grave pithie speech like a souldior: not full of selfe-praises, nor shewing any gladnesse for the fault of another, and answered in this wise: How great skill (quoth he) of martiall feats, and what sufficiencie is in *C. Sempronius*; it is not for me a souldior to judge, nor yet to make any estimate of my Generall: but it was for the people of Rome to determine thereof, at what time as by their suffrages and voices, in a solemne Election, they chose him Consull. And therefore yee are not to enquire of me, and to be informed, either of the pollicies of a General captain, or vertues and duties of a Consull: deepe points to be examined, weighed, and discoursed by great wits, reaching heads, and high mindes. But for that which I with mine eie sawe, I am able to make report and testifie: namely, That before himselfe was excluded out of the battaile, I beheld the Consull fighting manfully in the vaward, encouraging his men earnestly, and even amongst the Romane standards, and pikes of the enemies, busily employed. After which I was carried from the sight of my fellows: howbeit by the stirre, noise and shouting, I well perceived, that the conflict continued until night. Neither was it possible (as I thought) for them to breake through unto the hill which I kept, by reason of the multitude of enemies betwene. As for the armie, what is become of it, I know not: But I suppose, that as I my selfe in an extremitie and fearefull case, defended myselfe and my men, by advantage of the ground: so the Consull for to save the armie, tooke some more safer place to encampe in. Neither thinke I verely, that the Volscians stood in better termes than the Romanes fortune was. And the darknes of the night (no doubt) caused error and confusion on every side, and in all places. After which speech when as he besought them, not to hold him any longer, wearied with travaile, and faint of his woundes: he was with exceeding praise both of his valiant service and also of his modest speech, licenced to depart.

Whiles these thinges thus passed, the Consull by that time, had marched by the way of Laticum as farre as to the Temple of *Quies*: thither were waines, draught-beasts and sumpter horses sent from the citie, to receive and ease the armie, toiled out with fight, and tired by journeying all night. Within a while after, the Cos, entred into the citie: who endeavoured not more, to put the fault from himselfe, than to extoll *Tempanius*, and give him his due deserved praises. Now whiles the citie was sad and heavey for this hard hap, and angrie also with the captaines: behold, *M. Posthumius*, who before had been accused, was now presented unto the people, for to wreke their choler & malice upon. He had been a Tribune Militarie in place of a Cos, at Veij, and now was condemned, and a fine set on his head of ten thousand Asles of brasse. But as for *Titus Quintius*, his fellow in government, because that among the Volscians he had served fortunately as Consull, under the conduct of *Posthumius Tiberius* the Dictator: and likewise at Fidene, as Lieutenant of the other Dictator *Mamercus Aemilius*, and laid the whole fault of that other time from himselfe, upon his colleague before condemned: he was found unguiltie & acquitted by all the Tribes. It is said that the fresh remembrance of his father *Cincinnatus*, late a right worshipfull citizen, helped him much: Yea and *Capitolinus Quintius* a very aged man, did him no hurt, who humbly besought them that they would not suffer him, having but a while in this world to live, for to be the carrier of so heavey newes unto *Cincinnatus*. The Commons made Tribunes of the comminalltie, *Sex. Tempanius*, *A. Silius*, *Sex. Antistius*, & *Sex. Pomptius* in their absence: whom also the horsemen had chosen for their captains or Centurians, in the former exploit,

The modest answer of *Tempanius*, to the former Interrogatories.

The goddesse of rest and Quietnes.

3 lb. 5 sh. ster.

plot, by the advise and counsell of *Tempanius*. But the Senatours, because now for hatred of *Sempronius*, the name of Consuls misliked and offended them, determined that military Tribunes with Consuls authoritie, should be created. So there were chosen *L. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Q. Antonius Merenda*, *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*.

In the very beginning of the yeare *L. Hortensius* the fift Tribune of the comminalltie, accused *C. Sempronius* the Consul of the former yeare. And when as his other foure fellows in office, in the sight of the people of Rome besought him, not to trouble their guildes captaine, in whom nothing could be blamed or found fault withall, but aduerse fortune: *Hortensius* could hardly abide, but thought it was but to prove and trie his resolute constancie: and that the partie accused, trusted not upon the praier and intercession of the Tribunes, which only for a shew was pretended, but upon their support & assistance. And therefore turning one while to *Sempr.* himselfe, he demanded what was become of that haucie courage and stomack, so ordinarie in those of Senatours calling? and where was that magnanimitie which rested and relied upon innocence? since that he having been a Consul, was faine to shelter and shrowd himselfe under the shadow and protection of the Tribunes? Another while directing his speech to his fellow Tribunes: but you my Masters (quod he) what will ye do? if I prosecute mine action against him still, and convict him in the end; Will ye take from the people their right, and overthrow the authoritie of the Tribunes among the Commons? When they again said and inferred, that the people of Rome had absolute power to doe what they would, both with *Sempronius*, and all others: and that they neither would nor could abridge the people of their judgment. But if (say they) our praier in the behalfe of our Generall, who was to us in steed of a father, may not avails, then will we together with him change our weede for companie. Nay God forbid (quoth *Hortensius*) The Commons of Rome shall never see their Tribunes arraied in soiled & mournfull apparell. And as for *C. Sempronius*, I have now no more to say to him, since that he hath carried himselfe so, whiles he was generall, as that he hath gained thus much, as to be so dearly beloved of his souldiors. Neither was the kindnesse of those foure Tribunes more acceptable to the Commons and Nobles, than the good nature of *Hortensius*, who at their reasonable request, was so easie to be pacified and intreated.

It was no long time that fortune fawned upon the *Aequians*: who embraced the doubtfull victorie of the *Volscians*, and tooke it as their owne. The next yeare after, when *Cn. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, the sonne of *Capitolinus*, were Consuls: by the leading of *Fabius*, unto whom was allotted that province, nothing was done there worthe of remembrance. For when as the *Aequians* had made semblance of a battell, & brought their armie only in sight, they were in fearfull wise soon discomfited, and shamefully fled, ministring no matter of great honor to the Cos. And therefore was he denied triumph. But yet because the ignominie of the losse which happened by *Sempronius*, was partly allaid, it was granted that he might enter Ouant into the cittie. [A Generall was said to enter Ouant into the cittie, when ordinarily without his armie following him, he went on foot, or rode on horsebacke only, and the people in their Acclamations for joy, redoubled *Ohe*, or *Oho*. So that *Ovatio* is as much as *Ohatio*: Howsoever, some thinke that *Ovatio* took the name of sacrificing a sheepe. But he rode in triumph, when his souldiors attended him in his chariot, crying *Io Triumphe*. In this he caried a branch, or wore a garland of lawrell, in the other of Myrtle. So that the Ovation was a lesse honour than the Triumph. And it was granted to inferior persons, & for meaner desert. Whereas, none usually might triumph, unlesse he were Dictator, Cos. or Pretor, & had slain in field 5000 enemies at the least, won much spoile and pillage, & augmented the State of the Roman Empire.] Like as the war was dispatched with lesse ado than they feared: so in the cittie, after a calme & peaceable state, there arose between the Com. and Nobles, a world of discords & troubles more than they expected. Which began upon occasion of doubling the number of Questors. For when the Consuls had propounded, that besides two Questors or Treasurers of the cittie, there should bee other twaine readie to attend upon the Consuls, for all services and charges belonging to warre: and when the Nobles also with all their power had approved it, the Tribunes of the Commons entred into a contention with the Consuls, and required that some of the Questors (for untill that time they had been created from out of the degree of the Patrij onely) might be likewise of the Commons. Against which demand, at the first, both Consuls, and also the Nobles, laboured with might and maine. But afterwards having graunted thus much, That as the use and practise was in creating of Tribunes,

- A** bunes with Consuls authoritie, so in like manner, in the Election of Questors, the people should have their free libertie to chuse. And seeing they gained little thereby, and could effect no good, they wholly let fall their former matter, about increasing the number of the Questors: But although it were thus by them given over, the Tribunes tooke it in hand againe, and set it on foot: yea, and other seditious actions besides estoones sprang forth, and among the rest, those also should be Consuls rather than Consular Tribunes created; and by reason of the Tribunes stepping betwene with their negative voice, no decree of the Senate could passe, the government of the Commonweale was devolved from Consuls to an Interregne; but not without exceeding great debate: for that the Tribunes kept the Patrij from meeting and packing to ether.
- B** Now when as the greater part of the yeare following was spent, with much strife and contention betwene the new Tribunes and certaine Interregents, whiles one while the Tribunes staid the Nobles from assembling together about the chusing of an Interregent, and another while crossed the Interregent for granting out any Act of Senate or warrant, for the election of Consuls: at the last, *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, being declared Interregent, sometimes rebuked the Nobles, and sometimes blamed the Commons, and said: That the Commonwealth neglected and forsake of all men, was taken into protection of the gods, and guided by their care and providence: standing upright and safe only, upon the truce observed by the *Veientians*, and the slow speed or small hast that the *Aequians* made to warre. From whence, if any trouble should happen to arise, it is your will (quoth he) and pleasure belike, that the state should bee surprisid and assailed.
- C** whiles it is without any Magistrate of the Nobilitie. For neither is there an armie readie, nor yet a captaine to raise an armie. What? thinke ye to put backe forraigne war abroad by civile discord at home? Which if they both should come together, there were no other remedie, though all the gods in heaven should set to their helping hand, but that the Commonweale of Rome should utterly be subverted. Yet rather remit every one of you somewhat, of the rigor of your full jurisdiction, and (for the love of God) take some indifferent course to joine in unitie: the Nobles for their part, by suffering Militarie Tribunes to be created in lieu of Cos. the Tribunes again, by no more thwarting and interposing their negative, but that four Questors may be chosen by the free voices of the people, from out of the Commons & Nobles, one with another. First therefore was the High court held for choosing soveraigne Tribunes: and Tribunes there were created in
- D** Consular authoritie, all of the Nobilitie, namely, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* the third time, *Sex. Furius Medullinus* the second time, *M. Manlius*, and *A. Sempronius Atratinus*. When this Tribune last named, was president of the Election for Questors, and the son of *Antistius* a Tribune of the Commons, and a brother besides to another Tribune, one *Sex. Pompilius* stood for the dignitie, among certaine other of the Commoners: neither all their owne meanes that they could make, nor all the voices they could procure, were able to prevail, but that the people preferred persons to the place, according to their gentrie and high birth: namely, whose fathers and grandfathers they had seene Consuls. All the Tribunes of the Commons stormed and chafed at this, but especially *Pompilius* and *Antistius*, being set on fire at the repulse of these their friends. What should this meane (say they) that none of the Commons, neither in regard of their owne merites, nor considering the injuries at the Nobles hands, ne yet for desire they might pretend to the first hanfell of that authoritie, which now was lawfull, and never heretofore: that none of the Commons (I say) was created, if not a Militarie Tribune, yet not so much as a Questour? What? that neither the fathers praier in the behalfe of his sonne, nor a brothers suit in favour of a brother, being Tribunes both of them, invested in that sacred authoritie, and which first was erected for the maintenance of common freedome, could ought at all prevail? Surely there is some fraud and juggling in the matter: and *A. Sempronius*, hath in the Election used more art and cunning than truth and fidelitie. Complaining that by his injurious and indirect dealing, their friends had taken the foile. When as therefore they might not by any violence touch his owne person and attach him, being fenced with innocence in this Action, and secured by vertue of the office which then hee bare: they wreaked their selves and discharged their choler upon *C. Sempronius*, the cousin germaine of *Atratinus* by the brother: and with the helpe of *M. Canuleius*, one of their colleagues, arrested him for the ignominious service in the *Volscian* war. Estoones also the same Tribunes made some words & motion in the Senat house, concerning the division of lands, and revived the law *Agraria* (which *C. Sempronius* at all times most sharply

* The variance of the soveraigne magistrat.

The Oration of *L. Papyrius Mugillanus* to the Nobles & Commons of Rome.

The complaints of *Sempronius* and *Antistius* against *Atratinus* the tribune militarie.

sharply and eagerly had withstood. Supposing, as it fell out in deede, that the accused person should either by giving over the cause, be lesse esteemed of the Nobles: or if he stood to it still untill the time of judgment drew neare, he should displease and offend the Commons. But he chose rather to be the object of the displeasure and malice of the people, that were opposed and bent against him, and so to wound his owne privat estate: than to betray the common and publicke cause: and persilled resolute in the same minde still, that there should no bribing donative be granted, that might winne and procure favour unto those three corrupt Tribunes. For it is not land and living (quoth he) that they shoot at, for the benefit of the Commons; that is not their seeking: but their drift is to worke and procure displeasure unto me: and therefore I will for my part, abide that storme and tempest with a resolute mind. And the Senat ought not to esteeme either of me, or of any cittizen els so highly, as to buy the sparing of one man so deare, even with the harme and dammage of the whole state. The day of iudiciall triall came. When as he had pleaded for himselfe, and seemed nothing daunted at the matter: yet, for all that ever the Nobles could doe, who tried all meanes, but in vaine, to mitigate and delay the heat of the Commons, condemned he was in *fifteene thousand Assees. The same yeare *Posthumia* a Vestall Nun, was called in question for incontinencie and incest, and came to her answer. A Virgin guiltlesse for any deede done: but scarcely of good name and fame: by reason that she was suspected for her apparell and going more light & garish in her attire: yea, and for her wit, more conceited & pleasant, than became a maiden, and nothing respective of the speech of the world. Her triall was put over to a farther day, and she (after she had twice pleaded) in the ende was acquit: onely the high priest by the advice, and in the name of the whole colledge: schooled her, and gave her warning to leave her sports, taunts, and merry conceits: and in her raiment to be seene not so deist as devout, and weare her garments rather saintly than fightly. The same yeare was Cumæ, a cittie inhabited at that time by the Greekes, taken by the Campanians.

The yeare following had militarie Tribunes with Consuls authoritie, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, *P. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, *Sp. Nautius Servilius*. A yeare, by the happinesse and good fortune of the people of Rome, more notable for a danger escaped, than for any harme received. Certaine bond-servants had conspired to fire the cittie in divers places farre asunder: for this intent, when the people should be busily occupied, here and there, to save their houses, then by force and armes to surpris the Castle and Capitoll. But *Jupiter* turned away and disappointed their wicked designs. For by the preaching and information of twaine, the rest of the malefactors were taken and executed. But those that disclosed and revealed the conspiracie, had ten thousand pound in brasse mony (which was in those daies thought to be a great riches) weighed them out of the Cittie chamber, and freedome besides, for their reward.

After this, began the Æquians to tenue warre: and word was brought to Rome by credible persons, that certaine new enemies also, to wit, the Lavicans, joyned together in counsell with the olde. These Æquians, were good neighbours: for once a yeare ordinarily, they used to put the cittie of Rome to the paines of warring with them, and not misse. Embassadors then were sent to Lavicos, who brought doubtfull answeres from thence: whereby it appeared that neither at that instant they were readie to warre, nor yet were like to continue long in peace. The Tuscullanes were charged, to take good heede, and have an eie that way, that no new sturs and troubles should arise at Lavicos. There came Embassadors from Tuscullum, to *L. Sergius Fidenas*, *M. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and *C. Servilius*, the sonne of *Q. Servilius Priscus*: (by whom being Dictatour, Fidene was won) who were Militarie Tribunes in Consuls authoritie the yeare following. These Embassadors brought news that the Lavicans were out, and in armes, and joyning with the Æquians armie, had forraied the countrie of Tuscullum, and encamped themselves in Algidum. Then was warre proclaimed against the Lavicans. And when by a decree made by the Senat, that two of the Consular Tribunes should go to warre, and one manage the affaires of Rome: there arose a contention on a fundaine, among the said Tribunes. Every one thought himselfe the meekest and most sufficient man, to be generall of the warre, refusing the charge of the cittie, as a base, dishonourable, and thanklesse office. As the Senatours mused and wondered, to see amongst those that were fellows in government, so undecent a strife and contention; then *Q. Servilius*: Seeing that (quoth he) there is no reverent regard, either of this honourable house, or of the common-wealth: the father his countenance and dread majestie, shall end this debate. My sonne without any lot casting, shall governe the cittie as President. God grant, that they

The singular conduct of C. Arminius

Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, P. Lucretius Tricipitinus, Sp. Nautius Servilius

A conspiracy of bond-servants

the Lavicans

A they which love warre so well, may manage it with more discretion and concord than they will it. As for a generall multer to bee levied out of all the people indifferently, that was not liked of. So ten Tribes were drawn by lot, out of which, the yonger sort were pist forth to war under the conduct of the two Tribunes. The strife which began to be kindled among them in the cittie, through the same desire still of soveraigntie, brake forth and grew much hotter in the campe. In nothing agreed they, striving whose opinion should stand: each one would have his owne way: his owne commandements obeyed and none els: one despised another, and were despised one of the other: untill at length, upon the Lieutenants reproofe, they grew to this point, and this order was taken: That they should each other day, rule one alone by himselfe absolutely. Which newes being brought to Rome, it is reported that *Q. Servilius*, a man for his yeares and long experience right skilfull, praied of the immortall gods, that by the variance and discord of the Tribunes, the common-wealth sustained not more harme, than they had received at Veios. And as if there were no doubt, but that some great losse and overthrowe was readie to happen, he was instant upon his sonne, to levie souldiours, and to provide munition for warre. Neither proved he a false and vaine prophet. For by the leading of *L. Sergius*, whose day it was to rule, when as the enemy under a colour of feare, withdrew unto the trench, and to trained them thither upon a foolish hope to win the campe, even under the very campe of the enemies in an uneven ground of disadvantage, they were sodainly charged by the Æquians, discomfited and chased downe the valley: and many in their fall, which was greater than the flight, were trod under foote and slaine, and with much adoo that day kept they their owne tents. The morrow after, when as now the enemies had beset a great part of the camp, they shamefully fled away, at the backe gate, and forooke the campe. The Captaines, Lieutenants, and the strength remaining of the armie, which kept to their ensignes and colours, went to Tuscullum. Other that were scattered here and there about the fields by sundry waies, made hast to Rome, and reported there the overthrow to be greater than indeed it was. Lesse was the trouble and sorrow, because men looked for better issue and successe: and also for that, there was helpe and succour (which they were to have an eie unto in so fearefull a case) provided by the Tribune aforehand. At whose commandement, when as the tumult was by the inferiour magistrates appeased in the cittie, espials were sent out in hast: who brought word that the captaines and the armie was at Tuscullum: and that the enemy had not removed his campe. And then (which encouraged them most of all) by the Senats decree, *Q. Servilius Priscus* was chosen Dictatour, a man whose providence over the common-weale, the cittie as manie other times afore, so in the event of that war had experience of: for that he only suspected the contention of the Tribunes afore this unhappy foile. Who having nominated Generall of the horsemen, his son (as some say) by whom being militarie Tribune, himselfe was declared Dictatour (for others there be that write howe *Servilius Hala* was that yeare Generall of the horse) went forth with a fresh armie to war, and having joyned unto him those which were at Tuscullum, he pitched his tents, two miles from the enemy. But see the fruit of good successe. The pride and negligence which had been amongst the Romane Captaines, went from them to the Æquians. Therefore in the first beginning of the conflict, when the Dictatour with his horsemen whom he sent against them, had disordered and put out of array the foremost rankes of the enemies, then commanded he the ensignes of the legionario footmen with all speed to follow hard upon: and one ensigne-bearer of his owne, who made some stay, he slew with his owne hand. Then were they so earnestly set to give an hoat charge, that the Æquians could not abide their force: and being in fight overthrowen, when as they fled all amaine to the campe, the assault thereof was both shorter and with lesse adoe, than was the battaile. When the campe was taken and spoiled, and that the Dictatour had given the pillage unto the souldiours: and that the horsemen, which chased the enemies from the campe, had brought word backe, that all the Lavicans were overthrowen, and a great part of the Æquians were fled to Lavicos: the day following was the armie also led thither, and the towne compassed and beset round about, skaled, and sacked. The Dictatour having brought home to Rome his victorious armie, upon the eight day after he was chosen, gave over his office. And in very good time, before there was any sedition stirred up about the law Agraria, by the motion of the Tribunes of the Commons, for the division of the Lavicanes lands: the whole bodie of the Senat appointed that a Colonie should be sent to Lavicos. So there were sent from the cittie a thousand and five hundred to inhabite there, and two akers a peece given them of land.

A Colonie planted at Lavicos.

After

After the winning of Lavicos, there were created Militarie Tribunes with Consuls authoritie, to wit, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, and *L. Servilius Structus*, with *P. Lucetius Tricpitinus* (all three the second time) and *Sp. Velurius Crassus*: and the yeare following *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, the third time, and these twaine, *M. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and *Sp. Nautius Rutilius* the second time: for these two yeares there was peace abroad, but discord at home about the lawes Agraria. They that troubled the people, were *Sp. Mucilius*, who now the fourth time, and *Metilius*, who the third time were made Tribunes of the Commons, both absent. And when they had published their Act, That all lands conquered from the enemies, should be divided by the poll: by which Ordinance, the possessions of a great part of the Nobilitie became confiscate, (for since their cittie was situate and built in a straunge ground, there was in a manner no land lay to it, which had not been purchased by the sword, neither enjoied the Commons any, but that which either had been sold or assigned to the Commons) this seemed to bee a bone cast betwene the Nobles and the Commons, to set them together at strife and contention. Neither knew the Militarie Tribunes any way to take counsell in this case, albeit one while they assembled the Senate, and another while met in private conference with the Nobilitie. Then *Appius Claudius*, (the nephew or grandsonne of notorious *Appius* the Decemvir, created for the making of lawes) the punie of all the counsell of the Nobilitie, made (as it is reported) this speech, and said, That hee would impart unto them that which he had received by tradition from his auncestours, to wit, an old devile, and appropriate to his house, for that his great grandfire *App. Claudius*, had shewed unto the Nobles the onely way, to abate and take down the Tribunes power, namely, by the coming betwene and negative voice of their fellowes. For men new come up, and risen to promotion, might soone by the authoritie of the cheefe rulers be brought from their purpose, & made to change their mind, if otherwhiles those great men in place would use some speech unto them fitted and framed rather to the time and present occasion, than respective to their owne high place and dignitie: for evermore the heart and courage of such, is according to their degree and wealth. And when they see once their fellowes possessed first afore them of the cause, and thereby crept wholly into all the favour with the Commons, and that no roome is left for themselves to have any part thereof, they will bee willing enough to encline and condescend unto the Senate, and take their part: by meanes whereof, they might wind into the love and good grace of that universall state, and particularly with the principal lords of the Nobilitie. Which speech, when they all had approved, and especially *Q. Servilius Priscus*, who praised the young Gentleman, for that he was not grown out of kind, nor degenerate from the flock and rafe of the *Claudij*, then every man was set about this businesse, to see whome of the Colledge or companie of Tribunes, they could win and draw to crosse and stop the Act for going forward. The Senate now being broken up, the cheefe of the Nobles caught hold of the Tribunes, and were in hand with them, perswading, exhorting, and assuring them, that they should every one in private gratitie not onely, but also the whole bodie of the Senate in generall: and never gave over, until they had procured sixe of them to interpose their negative, and to crosse the law. The morrow after, when as of purpose a matter was propounded afore the Senat, about the sedition which *Mucilius* & *Metilius* had raised, by a Largeesse of dangerous consequence; such speeches were by the principall of the Nobles delivered, that each one for himselfe confessed, that now they were to seeke for counsell, and saw no other helpe nor remedie but in the authoritie of the Tribunes: to the protection and safeguard of which Magistracie, the Commonweale betooke herselfe, and fled for succour, as being beset with daunger, like some poore private person, and had no other means to save her selfe: saying, That it would be both for themselves, and also for their authoritie, an honorable thing, if it might appeare, that the puissance of their Tribuneship were not more imploied in molesting the Senate, and making discord among the States, than in resisting the peevish wilfulness of their colleagues. Whereupon arose a great noise through the whole companie of the Senatours, whiles out of all parts of the Court there assembled, they called upon the Tribunes for their helping hand. Then after silence made, they (who for the favour of the Lords of the Senat, were made aforehand to their cause) declared and confessed, that they were readie to crosse that act, by their fellowes published, seeing the Senate judged it to be prejudiciall to the Commonwealt. These Tribunes for the offer of their good service, were by the Senate highly thanked. But the authours and patrones of the Act aforesaid, calling together an assemblee of the Commons, when they had inveighed against their fellows most sharply, rearming them be-

traitors

A traitors of the Commons wealth, and slaves to the Nobles: and using other bitter speeches, gave over their action and suit.

Two greivous warres had continued all the yeare next following (wherein *P. Cornelius Cossus*, *C. Valerius Potitus*, *Quintus Cincinnatus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, were militarie Tribunes in Coss. authoritie) but that the Veientian war was deferred by the superstitious feare of their owne princes, whose grounds, Tybris (overflowing the banks) had spoiled, & overthrown also the villages & houses that stood therupon. The Aequians likewise by reason of their losse received three yeares before, made no great hast to aid and assist the Volanes, a people of their own nation. For they had made certaine rodes into the Lavicanes countrie, confining upon them, and warred upon the inhabitants, lately there planted. Which trespass by them done, they hoped to have been able to maintaine, by the banding and assistance of all the Aequians: but being forsaken of their allies, they lost both their towne and territorie, onely by siege, and one light skirmish, and never fought for it any memorable war. *L. Sextius* also Tribune of the Commons, assaied to make an Act, that there might be sent to Volæ as well as to Lavicos, Coloners to people it: but by the negative of his confreeres, who shewed, that they would not suffer any Statute of the Commons to passe without the assent of the Senate, it came to nothing.

In the yeare following, the Aequians having recovered and woon againe Volæ, and brought a Colonie thither, fortified the towne with a fresh power, at what time were Tribunes Militarie in Consuls authoritie at Rome, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, *L. Valerius Potitus*, & *M. Fabius Vibulanus* the second time, and *M. Posthumius Regillensis*. The warre against the Aequians, was committed to this *Posthumius*, a man of a crooked disposition, as his victorie shewed more than the whole course of the warre. For having levied an annie in hast, and brought it before Volæ, after some small skirmishes, hee tamed the Aequians, and at length entred the towne. And when he had done with the enemies, hee began to quarrell with his owne souldiours: for whereas during the time of the assault, he had given out by proclamation, That they should have the saccage after the town was once woon: he brake promise with them. For I am induced to beleieve that this was the cause rather why the annie mutined and was discontented, than for that in a towne lately sacked before and in a new Colonie, there was found lesse spoile than the Tribune made boast of. But this displeasure and anger once conceived, was made the worse, after that he returned into the cite: for being sent for by his fellowes, upon occasion of the Tribunitian seditions, there escaped him an indiscreet speech, I must needs say, yea, and without all fence, wit, and honestie. Which he let fall in an assemblee of the Commons: wherein it happened, that as *Sextius*, a Tribune of the Commons, was preferring the law Agraria, & saying withall, That he would propose an Act, that Coloners should likewise bee sent to Volæ, for that they were worthie to have both the towne and lands of Volæ, who had by sword and speare conquered the same. *Posthumius* caught the word out of his mouth: And that shall my souldiours deere abie (quoth hee) unlesse they bee more quiet. Which word being overheard, offended not so the Com. presently there in place assembled, as the Lords of the Senat a while after. Moreover, the Tribune aforesaid, an active man, and eloquent withall, having among his adversaries met with a prowd humourous spirit, and an insolent and intemperate tongue, which walked so freely and so long by his provocation, that hee uttered these speeches, which bred not onely ill will and displeasure to himselfe, but also wounded the cause, and the whole state of the Patriij. This *Sextius* (I say) was busie, and quarrelling with none of all the Militarie Tribunes, more than with *Posthumius*. And even at that time, taking advantage of the same cruell and unhumane speech of his: Here yee not, o yee Commons (quoth he) how hee threateneth mischeefe unto his souldiours, as unto bondslaves? And yet this beast yee will thinke more worthie of so great dignitie wherein yee have placed him, than those that induce you with house and land, that send you abroad to inhabite Colonies, that provide habitation for you against old age, that tendering your wealth, take part and defend you against so cruell and prowd adversaries. Begin now henceforth to mervell why so few take in hand to maintain your cause. For what may they looke for, and hope at your hands? for honours? which yee bestow rather upon your adversaries, than those that are affectionate defenders of the people of Rome. Yee sighed even now and groned again, at the words uttered out of this foule mouth. But what matter makes that? If yee were now to goe to an election, and to give your voices, ye would no doubt for all that, presente this man (who threateneth to mischeefe you) afore them that are willing and desirous to establish your lands, your dwelling places, and the whole state of your

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substance

The Oracion of Sextius against Posthumius.

substance and living. But when that leaud language of *Posthumus* was reported once to the souldiours, it bred a farre greater indignation (besure) within the campe. How now? (say they) is hee, who hath intercepted our bootie, and defrauded us poore souldiours of our due, not content therewith, but must menace mischeefe besides unto us, as his varlets? When as therefore they openly mutered thereat, and the Questor or Treasurer *P. Sestius* thought that the mutinie might be restrained with the same violence by which it was first raised, he sent an Officer to one clamorous souldior, that kept a yauling above the rest. Whereupon arose an outcrie and a brawle: and he got himselfe a good rap with a stone for his labour, that he was faine to goe out of the prease. And he that smote him, spake alowd besides, and bad the Questor take now that for his paines in a mischeefe, which the Generall had threatened his souldiours. *Posthumus* in this hurlyburly was sent for, and he when he was come, made all worse and worse with his sharpe examinations, tortures, and cruell punishments. At the last, when he could not see to make an end, nor bridle his cholier: they all ran on heapes together, at the lamentable crie of those whom he commaunded to be choked in the mire, and killed under the hurdle: and he halfe besides himselfe, full foolishly slept downe in more hast than good speed from the Tribunall seat, to chastise one that contested with him, and made a great brawling. Now when as the Licitors and Centurions every where laid about them to make way, and ill intreated the multitude in the throng, they mooved their patience so much, that in that furious fit of the souldiours, the Militarie Tribune was by his owne armie stoned to death. Which horrible act, after it was noised at Rome, and the Militarie Tribunes by the Senats authoritie, were about to sit in commission for the examination of the death of their colleague, by way of rigour and torture: the Tribunes of the Communalitie opposed themselves, and resisted them. But that contention depended upon another quarrell. For the Senate doubting least that the Commons for feare of those examinations intended, would in their anger create Tribunes militarie from out of their owne bodie and degree; were very carefull, and studied all they could, that Consuls might bee chosen againe. But when as the Tribunes of the Commons would not suffer an act of the Senate to passe, and hindered also the election of the Consuls, the matter came to an Interreigne. But in the end the Nobles had the upper hand. For when as *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the Interregent, held a Court for the said Election, there were created Consuls *A. Cornelius Cossus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus*.

In the beginning of these Consuls year, the Senate made a decree, that the Tribunes with all speed possible should propose unto the Commons, concerning the inquisition of *Posthumus* his death: and that they should make cheefe Commissioner and Iudge, whom they would. The Commons by the consent of the whole people, gave the Consuls commission to see it done, and performed accordingly. Who notwithstanding, that with exceeding moderation and lenitie, they dispatched and ended the matter, by punishing a few, who (as it was credible thought) made themselves away: yet could they not for all that bring about, but the Communalitie tooke it very hainously, and in the highest degree, saying, That the Acts & Ordinances, which had ben propounded concerning their weale & commodities, those lay a long time asleepe in the deck, and nothing done: but an order graunted for their bloodshed and death, that was presently put in execution. Of so great force and importance was it. Now this had been the fittest time, that after these iniquitous souldiours were chastised, the division of the Volane territorie, should have been offered unto them, for to comfort their poore hearts again. By which deed (no doubt) their hore desire and longing after the law Agraria, had been abated, which tended to dispossesse at length the Nobles of the common grounds, which they injuriously were seized of. But this indignitie sticke in their stomakes, and was taken neerer to the heart, when they saw the Nobilitie so stiffely bent, not only to keepe the common grounds in their hands, which they held by force: but also unwilling to deuide among the people so much as the wast and voide ground, lately gotten by conquest from the enemies: but that it was like, within a while (as all the rest) to bee a bootie, and dividend, to be shared among a few.

The same yeare, were the legions led by *Furius* the Consull, against the Volscians: who harried the borders of the Hernicks. But finding not the enemy there, they wan Ferentinum, whether a great number of the Volscians had retired themselves. The bootie there, was lesse than they hoped for: by reason that the Volscians, seeing small hope of keeping the towne, trussed up and carried away both bag and baggage in the night, and quit the towne: which was won the morrow after, being left well neare deserte and empie. All the lands were given freely to the Hernicks.

When

A When this year now was passed in good quiet by the modestie & peaceable carriage of the Tribunes, then in place: there succeeded another Tribune of the Commons *L. Icinius*, when *Q. Fabius Ambustus* and *C. Furius Pacilius* were Consuls. Whiles this man in the very beginning of his yeare, was busie in stirring new seditions (as if it had been a taske imposed upon his name and lineage) by proposing of the Agrarian laws: behold, there arose a pestilence, more fearefull than hurtfull, which turned away mens mindes, from their publicke assemblies and accustomed contentions, to tend their houses, and to care for the cherishing of their bodies. And (as men verily thinke) the sicknesse was lesse dangerous than the seditions were like to have been. When as the citie was now excused, as it were, & well escaped, with the sicknesse only of many, and death of very few: presently after this pestilent yeare, followed (as it is commonly seene) a great dearth of come, by reason of the neglect of tillage. *M. Papyrius Atratinus*, and *C. Nauius Rutilius* being Consuls. This famine would have been more grievous than the plague, had they not provided well for come, by sending forth their Embassadors to the neighbour nations all about, inhabiting along the Tuscane Sea & the Tyber, for to buy graine. Proudly were the Embassadors prohibited all commerce and traffique with the Samnites, who held at that time Capua and Cumes: but contrariwise bountifully were they releevd by the tyrants or potentates of Sicilie. And such was the willing endeavour of Hetruria, that great store of victuals came down the Tyber. In what desolation the citie was, during this affliction, the Cons. tried by this: that when they could not furnish an Embassage, but with one Senator, they were compelled to adjoine two Knights unto them. And setting a side the sicknesse & dearth, there was no trouble either at home or abroad for those two years. But when these storms were once overblown, & that care past: then began againe the old troubles wherewith the citie had usually bin disquieted: dissention at home, & war abroad.

When *M. Aemilius* and *C. Valerius Potitus* were Consuls, the Aequians made preparation for wars, and banded with the Volscians. Who albeit they tooke armes by no publicke commission; yet such as would of themselves serve for hier or wages, followed the wars. At the bruit of which enemies (for they were already come over into the countrie of the Latines and Hernicks) whiles *Valerius* the Consull mustered his men and levied souldiours: *M. Menenius* a Tribune of the Commons, & a publisher of the Agrarian laws, opposed himselfe against him. And when as by reason of the protection and assistance of the Tribune, no man would be compelled to take a souldiours oath against his will: sodeinly newes came, that the Castle of Carventus was by the enemies forced. This dishonour thus received, as it was a cause that *Menenius* was hated among the noblemen, so it gave to the rest of the Tribunes, who were already framed and prepared to withstand the law Agraria, more just cause to resist their colleague. The matter being thus for a long time protracted by much debating, the Consuls called both God and man to witnesse, that whatsoever shame or losse, either had been already received, or were like to be sustained by the enemies: the blame should be imputed to *Menenius*, who hindered the mustering. And *Menenius* protested againe aloud, that if the unlawful landlords, would surrender the tenure of the common fields which they unjustly deteined, he would not stay the musters. Then the nine Tribunes, by setting down a decree between them, made an end of the strife: & pronounced by authority of their colledge, that they would assist *C. Valerius* the Cons. (all contradiction of their colleague notwithstanding) to award any penaltie restraint or chastisement, upon them that refused to be enrolled for warfare. The Cons. being armed with this decree and warrant, after he had caused some few to be had away by the necke & laid fast, that called upon the Tribune for helpe, the rest for feare were sworne to serve. Thus the armie was led forth to the Castle of Carventus. And although the souldiours were as odious to the Consull, as wickedly bent against him, yet at the very first comming, having manfully and lustily dispossessed the garrison, they recovered the fort. The souldiours who were slip away from the hold, and gone a boothailing, by their negligence gave the Romanes a fit opportunitie to enter and to surprise it. And a good bootie there was: by reason that they had continually gotten prizes, and laid up all there as in a place of safetie. Which being sold in portsale, the Consull commanded the treasurers for to bring the mony into the common chamber of the citie: giving out these words withall, that the armie should then have part of spoile, when they denied not their service in warre. Hereupon both Commons and souldiours were more angrie with the Consull. And therefore when as by a decree of the Senate he entered the citie Ovale, in a petie triumph, the souldiours according to their licentious manner (in that case permitted) followed after with songs and sonnets, answering one another in rude

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time and grosse meeter, by alternitive staves. Wherin the Consull was greatly blamed, but *Menenius* the Tribune, his name was set out to the height, his praises were blasoned and extolled aloft: and at every time that he was named, the affectionate favour of the people that stood in the streets appeared, by clapping of hands and great applause, striving avie to exceed the songs chanted by the fouldiors. Which caused the Nobles to looke to it, and troubled them more than the malapert saucinesse of the fouldiors with their Consuls, which is an ordinarie and usuall fashion among them. And *Menenius* (who doubtlesse had ben one of the Militarie Tribunes, if he had lived for it) was excluded from that dignitie by an Election of Consuls. So there were created Consuls, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus* the second time.

Never took the Com. the matter more to the hart, that the Election of Tribunes escaped their hands: which grieve of theirs in the Election of Questors, they both shewed & revenged. For this was the first time that the Questors were made of the comminalltie: so that in chusing of 4, there was but one place left for *C. Fabius Ambustus*, a Nobleman: and 3 of the comminalltie, *Q. Silius*, *P. Aelius*, & *P. Papius*, were preferred before yong gentlemen, of most noble houses. I find that the persuaders of the people to use their full libertie in bestowing their voices, were the three *Teily*, (descended of that house, which ever was most maliciously bent against the Nobles) who were for that year chosen Tribunes of the comminalltie, & possessed the peoples heads with a world of great matters, after which they gaped greedily: but so, as they slady gave our and said, They would not stirre at all, if the people had not courage enough, so much as in the election of Questors, which onely the Senat had left indifferent to the comminalltie and Nobilitie, to effect that which so long they had desired, and now by law was warranted. Thus the Commons assured themselves hereby of a mightie great victorie: and esteemed not the dignitie of Questourship to be the end and type of honor, but that thereby they seemed to have made a way and ouerture for new risen upstarts, to be advanced to Consulships and triumphs. The Nobles contrariwise stormed, not for that their dignities were made common and imparted to other, but for the utter lulle thereof: protelling that if things went so on end, they would neither get, nor bring up children any more: who being put from their Auncestours place, and seeing others in possession of their dignitie, should be disabled for bearing rule and authoritie in the state, and be good for nothing but onely to be made priests for *Mars*, and Flamines for *Jupiter*, imploied about nothing els but to sacrifice (for sooth) for the people. Thus on both parts were their mindes netled and provoked, whiles the Commons tooke heart, and had three champions of great reputation to back them, and maintaine their cause: and the Nobles, seeing all would prove like to the Questors Election (if it lay in the peoples choise) addressed themselves to the Election of Consuls, which as yet was not so free, and indifferent both for Commons and Nobles. Contrariwise, the *Teily* persisted still, and urged the point, that in any hand Tribunes Militarie should and must be created. For now it was more than time that the Commons had their part in offices of state. But no Action hitherto belonging to the offices and charge of the Consuls had been presented unto them, by the hindering whereof they might wring from them, that which they desired and sought for. But see, how even then, in wonderfull good opportunitie, word was brought that the Volscians and Aequians were departed out of their owne Confinnes, and made an expedition into the Latine pale for to rob and spoile. To the which warre, when as by vertue of an order from the Senat, the Consuls began to muster: the Tribunes laboured tooth and naile to hinder it: giving out that this occurrent fortunited happily on their sides and the Commons. Three there were of them, and all most quick active and couragious men: yea (and for commoners) of good birth, and worshipfully descended. Whereof twaine tooke in hand, by their continuall travaile to attend and watch the Consuls, to keepe them a worke, and either of them to hold one occupied: the third, was appointed to intertaine the comminalltie: and in all assemblies, with their Orations, one whiles to reine them in, another while to give them the head, as occasion required. But all this while, neither Consuls went through with the musters, nor the Tribunes with the election which they desired. But afterwards when fortune began to incline to the Commons side, messengers came with newes, that whiles the fouldiors that lay in garrison at the Castle Carventana, were slept aside to get a bootie, the Aequians having slaine a few warders that kept the hold, entred it: and that all the fouldiors were slaine: some as they ran into the fort againe, others as they were scattered in the fields. This thing falling out so crosse against the whole State, gave strength yet unto the designments of the Tribunes. For being dealt withall, that now

A at length they would surcease from hindering the warre, nothing would prevaile: for that they neither gave place to the publike calamitie and necessitie, nor yet regarded their owne privat perill of displeasure: & they obtained in the end that an Act of Senat was granted for to chuse Tribunes Militarie. Howbeit with this expresse proviso, it was capitulated; That none of them who had ben Tribunes that yeare of the Commons, should be eligible and propounded: no, nor chosen againe Tribunes of the Commons for the year following. Whereby, no doubt, the Senat noted and pointed at the *Teily*, whom they charged to seeke to be Consuls, for a reward of their seditious Tribuneship. Then went the mustering forward, and preparation of war, by consent of all the States.

Sundrie authors write diversly and make doubt, whether both the Consuls went to the Castle Carventana, or whether one of them staid behind in the cittie for to hold the foresaid Election. In this they disagree not, but set downe for certaine: that when they had assailed the Castle a long time without effect, they were compelled from thence to remove: and that Verrugo in the countrie of the Volscians by the same armie was recovered, and that great forraying there was, and drying of booties, both in the countrie of the Aequians and also of the Volscians. Now at Rome, as the victorie of the comminalltie rested in this, that they had the Election which they desired: so in the issue and successe of the Election, the Nobles had the better. For besides all mens hope and expectation, there were three Tribunes Militarie chosen with Consuls authoritie, all of the Nobilitie, *C. Julius Tullus*, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, *C. Servilius Hala*. Men say that the Nobles used a subtilie practise and cunning devise, which even then the *Teily* charged them with: C to wit, that by intermingling a many of unworthie and unmeet competitorrs with others of marke and qualitie, they had alienated the peoples heartes from the commoners, seeing them to be men of no worth, and loathing the notable basenesse that appeared in their persons.

After this, tidings came, that the Volscians and Aequians (were it that the castle of Carventus which they held and guarded full, put them into some hope: or their garrison & fort lost at Verrugo drave them into anger) were up in armes, with all force readie to make warre: that the Antiates were the principall and cheefe in this intended action: that their Embassadours had sollicitated the people of both Nations, rebuking their cowardise, for keeping within their wals, and suffering the Romans the year before, to harrie and drive booties in their territories, and the garrison of Verrugo to be surprised and lost. Moreover, that not only hosts of armed men were sent against them, but Colonies also were planted in their frontiers and marches: & that the Romans not content to devide their lands and goods among themselves, had bestowed upon the Herniks the towne Ferentinum, which they had woon from them. At these speeches they were kindled and set on fire: and in all places whether they went to sollicite, the younger fort and able men in great number were levied. So the youth and manhood of all those Nations, gathered together to Antium, where they encamped themselves, and expected the enemy. Which tidings being brought to Rome, caused more feare than need was. And the Senat presently (which in all fearefull occurents was ever their last remedie & refuge) gave order that a Dictator should be created. Which thing *Julius* and *Cornelius*, two militarie Tribunes (they say) took in great displeasure. And hereof ensued much hartburning & dissention: whiles the LL. of the Senat of one side complained in vain of their grievances, That the Tribunes Militarie would not be ordered by the authoritie of the Senat: & at the last had recourse to the Tribunes of the Commons for help: alledging withall, that the very Consuls power upon the like occasion had been by their authoritie overruled and set downe. And the Tribunes of the Commons on the other side, rejoicing at the discord of the Senatours, made answer againe, and said, That for their parts, they were not able to yeeld any succour at all, who were of no reckoning themselves, being reputed neither in the roll of citizens, ne yet so much as in the number of men. But if so bee (say they) dignities and honours were communicated to us, then would wee provide and take order, that by no pride of any magistrate whatsoever, the Senats decree should be made frustrate and disannulled. And in the mean whiles, seeing the Nobles were exempt from all reverence of laws, and regard of Magistrats, let them of themselves also exercise the Tribunes authoritie if they would. This discord falling out so unfriendly, when so great warre was in hand, occupied and possessed mens heades a long time: whiles *Julius* and *Cornelius* one after another, thus reasoned and discoursed: That seeing they themselves were captaines good enough for the conduct of such a warre, it was not meete, that the honour once bestowed upon them by the people, should be made voide and taken from them.

them. Then *Servilius Hala*, who also was a Tribune Militarie spake and said: I have been silent thus long, not for that I was doubtfull in mine opinion, or to seeke what to say, (For what good citizen (quoth he) would have his advise by himselfe, and go from the publike counsell?) but because I had leiser, that my brethren of their owne accord should give place to the Senats authority, than to suffer the Tribunes power to be called for, against them. And even now also, if the case would permit, I could willingly give them time and space to retract againe their too too obstinate, perverse and peremptorie opinion. But seeing that the necessities of war, waite not upon humane counsell, I will have more respect and consideration of the weale publicke, than of the favour of my brethren. Wherefore, if the Senat persist still in that mind and resolution of theirs, I will the next night following nominate a Dictatour. And if any one withstand me, I will aske no more, than the power and vertue of the Senates Act. By which speech of his, having woon deserved praise and thanks of all men, he declared *Publius Cornelius* Dictatour, and was himselfe by him nominated Generall of the horsemen. A singular example to teach as many as beheld him and his Colleagues, That otherwhiles favour and honour soonest fall to them that least desire the same. The warre was small and nothing memorable: for in one case and slight battaile were the enemies overthrowne and slaine at Antium. The armie upon this victorie wasted the Volscians countrey, wan by force the castle upon the lake Fucinus, and within it took three thousand prisoners: having chased all the rest of the Volscians within their walls, not able to keepe their frontiers. The Dictatour, after he had performed this warre in such sort, as onely he might not seeme to neglect his wonted fortune but keepe it still in ure, returned into the citie with greater felicitie than glorie, and resigned up his place.

The Tribunes militarie, making no words at all of the chusing of Consuls (for anger, I suppose, that a Dictatour had been created) published the Election of Tribunes Militarie. But then the Senatours were in greater care and perplexitie, seeing their cause betraied even by those of their owne companie. Wherefore, as in the former yeare, by foisting in the basest of the Commons for competitors, they had caused even men of good worth to bee despised: so, now by procuring the principall of the Nobilitie, both for honour and for favour, to stand for the dignitie, they obtained all the places to themselves: so as no one Commoner could bee chosen. So there were created foure, all having afore born that Magistracie, *L. Furius Medullinus*, *C. Valerius Potitus*, *Gn. Fabius Vibulanus*, & *C. Servilius Hala*. This man was chosen again to the place, as well in regard of other vertues and worthie parts, as for the late favour which he woon by his rare moderation, and singular carriage of himselfe.

In that yeare, for as much as the time of truce with the Veientian Nation was expired, they began by Embassadors and Heraulds of armes, to challenge of them amends and restitution. Whom, as they entred into their territorie, the Embassage of the Veientians encountered in the way, requesting them not to goe forward to Veij, before they had presented themselves to the Senate of Rome. Who being thither come, obtained of the Senate, that for as much as the Veientians were at civile discord among themselves, they would not claime any Almendats at their hands. So, how far they were from seeking their own vantage by other mens distresse & calamitie. Also at the Volscians hands they sustained dammage by losse of their garison at Verrugo. But (see what a thing it is to slack the time) For whereas the soldiours besieged there, by the Volscians, and sending for aid in due time, might have been rescued if speed had been made, the armie which was sent for succour, came too short, and after the fray was ended. Onely this exploit they did: The enemies, who after their fresh massacre committed upon the garison, were gone abroad stragling for to raise booties, were by them overtaken and put to the sword. The cause of this slackenisse was imputed to the Senat, rather than the soveraigne Tribunes: who because intelligence was given, that they in the garison resisted and defended themselves most manfully, little considered, That there is no prowesse of man whatsoever, but by valour againe it may bee over-matched. Most brave and valiant souldiours they, that neither whiles they lived, nor after death were unrevengeed.

The yeare following, when *P.* and *Cornelius*, both surnamed *Cossus*, *C. Fabius Ambustus* and *L. Valerius Potitus* were Tribunes Militarie in Consuls authoritie, began the Veientian warre, by occasion of a proud & arrogant answer returned by the Senat of the Veientians: Who commanded that the Embassadors which came to claime amends, should take this for their dispatch: That unless they departed presently out of the citie and countrey, they would serve them as

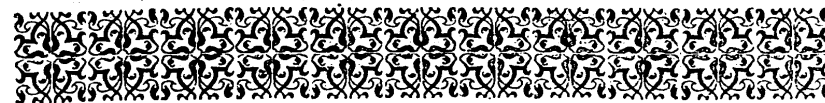
Lars

- Lars Tolumnius* had done others before. The Senatours of Rome hardly could digest that: and therefore decreed, that the Militarie Tribunes, should propose unto the people as speedely as might be, even the day before to morrow, concerning proclamation of open war, and sending defiance to the Veientians. Which as soone as ever it was noised and published, the younger sort and men of service, murmured and muttered in this manner: That as yet they had not fully ended the warre with the Volscians: that even of late two whole garrisons were lost, and their throats cut, and the forts kept still with danger and great hazard. There is not (say they) a yeare passeth over our heads, but one field or other is fought: and as if we had not worke and trouble enough already, there was now intended newwarre with a most mightie nation confining upon them, and which was like enough to raise against them all Hetruria. And as they were forward enough of themselves to conceive thus, and utter these speeches, so the Tribunes of the Commons were not behind to buzze more matters into their heads, and set all on a light fire. Who gave out stillestfoons, That when al was done, the greatest warring was between the Nobles and Commons: and that the Commons for the nonce were to be toiled out with travaile or warfare, and exposed to the enemies for to be murdered: and that they were to be kept far off from the citie, and as it were confined and sent out of the way: least by being quiet at home, & minding their freedome and colonies, they should consult and devise, both how to dispose of the common grounds, and to give their voices freely. And ever as they could meete with any olde beaten souldiours, they would hold them with talke, take them by their hands, reckon up how many yeares they had done service in warre, fall to telling of their gashes and skars, asking them what whole place they had left in their bodies for to receive new wounds, and what bloud was behind to spend and shed, in the quarrell of the common-wealth? When as by iterating these and such like speeches, both in their private talke and conference, and also other whiles in their publike assemblies, they had turned clean away the hearts of the comminatie from taking war in hand: the foresaid Act propounded, was put off untill a farther day, and lay still for the time. Which no doubt, had been nipt in the head, and never would have passed farther, in case it had been referred and subject to the hard opinion and conceit of men, as then they stood affected. In the meane whiles agreed it was, that the Militarie Tribunes should conduct an armie into the Volscians countrey. *Cn. Cornelius* alone was left at Rome. The three Tribunes, after that they perceived the Volscians in no place encamped, and nothing minded to trie a battaile, parted themselves three waies to waite and harrie the frontiers. *Valerius* hee marcheth to Antium, *Cornelius* to Ecetre. And everie way as they went, they spoiled all before them, both house and field, and all to amuse and keepe the Volscians occupied that way. But *Fabius* without any forraying at all, came directly to assault Anxur, which was the service most desired. Now Anxur was that, which at this day is called Tarracine, a citie seated upon marishes. And on that side *Fabius* made shew of assault. But there were foure cohorts under the leading of *C. Servilius Hala* sent out to fetch a compass: who having gained the hill that overlooketh and commandeth the town, from that higher ground, with a mightie shout and outcrie assailed the wall, where it was disurnished of guard to defend it. At which suddaine arme, they were amazed who manned the wall of the base towne against *Fabius*: and suffered them to set ladders to, and to skale. By which meanes every place was full of enemies. And upon the walles for a good while there was nothing but killing, as well those that fled, as those that resisted, armed and unarmed, one with another. So that, albeit they were too weake, yet forced were they to fight: because in yeelding they saw no way but one. But upon proclamation once made, that none but armed men should be killed: all the multitude besides willingly were disarmed. Of which number there were upon two thousand & five hundred taken alive. From the sackage *Fabius* kept the souldiours, untill his Colleagues were come: saying, that Anxur was taken as wel by those armies, which had driven away the rest of the Volscians from the defence of that place, as by themselves. Who being come, the three armies jointly ransacked it, & had the pillage for their labor of that rich town, that had gathered wealth a long time. Which courtesie & bountifulnes of the commanders, was the first thing that reconciled Commons and Nobles together. Over and besides this munificence of the Rulers, the Nobles also began in a most happie hour to be liberal unto the multitude. For before that either the Commons or Tribunes made the motion, the Senat decreed, that souldiours might have their paie out of the citie chamber: whereas before that time, every man in that service had borne his owne charges. Never was there any thing, by report, so joyfully accepted of the Commons: who ran by heapes together

together to the counsell house: tooke the Senators by the hands as they came forth, and said, G
 They were now truly called *Patres*, i. Fathers, confessing that now the day was come, that in the
 quarell of so bounteous a citie, there was no man would so long as his breath lasted, spare either
 him or life. Seeing that this commoditie they should have to helpe them, namely, that during
 the time that their bodies were imploied, & busily occupied in the defence of Commonweale,
 their privat estate should stand at one yer, and not decay. And for as much as it came of them-
 selves, and never moved by any of the Tribunes of the Commons, nor called for and craved im-
 portunately, by their importune speeches; that was it, that multiplied their joie, and made the
 boon it selfe much more acceptable. But the Tribunes of the Commons (who onely had not
 their part in this common joy and concord of all States) came in with their vie, and said, that it
 would not prove so joyous and happie to the Nobles all in generall, as they supposed: that this H
 course and order taken, was at the first sight better than it would be found in the practise and ex-
 ecution. For how could that monie possible be made and raised, but by levying a tribute or pai-
 ment of the people: they were therefore liberal, but of other mens purses. But admit or say that the
 rest would beare it, yet those neither could nor would endure it, who were past warre-service, and
 lived upon their pensions and annuall salarie: who would grudge and repine, that others here-
 after should serve in warre for more gaine than they had in their time done; who having bene
 charged with the pay of their owne service, should now againe bee put to contribute to the
 wages of others. With these words they moved part of the Communalitie. Last of all when there
 was a levie exacted, the Tribunes also proclaimed, That they would beare as many out, as would
 not contribute to the souldiours pay. The Nobles continued still to maintain that which they had
 so well begun, and were the first that opened their purse, and for that as yet they had no silver
 coine, some of them carried grosse peeces of brasse in waines to the treasure house, and made a
 goodly shew of contribution. When as the Nobles had most faithfully paid according to the
 rate of their wealth: the cheefe of the Commons also, friends of the Nobilitie, as it was afore
 agreed, began to lay their pennie to theirs: whom when the common sort saw both to bee com-
 mended of the Nobles, and to be admired and revered of the souldiours as good citizens:
 they all upon a suddaine, refusing the Tribunes assistance, began to strive who should pay first.
 And the decree or act being once passed, of proclaiming war against the Veientians, the new
 Tribunes Militarie led an armie to Veios, consisting much upon voluntarie souldiours. Now the
 Tribunes were *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, *P. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *C. Julius Tullus* the second time,
A. Manlius L. Furius Medullinus the third time, and *M. Aemilius Mamercus*. And these were the
 first that besieged Veij.

About the beginning of which siege, when the Tuscans held a counsell in a solemne assem-
 bly at the temple of *Volumna*, they could hardly agree upon this point, Whether the Veientians
 should be defended by generall warre of the whole Nation, or no. The yeare following was the
 siege not so hote, by reason that some of the Tribunes, and part of the forces, were called away
 to the Volscian war. The Tribunes Militarie in Coss. authoritie, that yeare were *C. Valerius Poti-*
tus the third time, *M. Sergius Fidenas*, *P. Cornelius Maluginus*, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, *C. Fabius Am-*
bulsus, *Sp. Nautius Rutilus* the second time. With the Volscians there was a pight field fought be-
 twene Ferentinum and Ecetra. Wherein the Romanes had the day. Then the Tribunes began
 to lay siege to Arrena a towne of the Volscians: where, by reason of a falling forth by them at-
 tempted, the enemies were driven backe into the towne, and the Romanes tooke occasion and
 vantage thereby, to breake in with them pell mell, and so they woon all, save only the castle. Into
 this fort naturally fenced, a good companie of armed men betooke themselves: but beneath the
 castle, many a man was either slaine or taken prisoner. Afterwards was the fortress besieged also:
 Neither could it by assault be forced, for that there was a guard sufficient to man it, considering
 the bignesse of the place: nor gave the assailants any hope of yeelding, for before the towne was
 lost, they had conveyed all their publicke provision of corne into the castle. So that the Romanes
 had for very wearisomnesse departed from thence, but that a bondslave betrayed it unto them.
 Who let in certaine souldiours at a steepe high place, and those were they that woon the for-
 tress: for when the warders were by them slaine, the rest of the multitude with suddaine fright
 were soone overcome, and yeelded. Thus, when both the castle and town of Arrena was sacked
 and spoiled, the legions were brought backe from the Volscians, and all the Romanes power im-
 ploied against Veij. To the traitour afore said, there was given besides libertie, the pillage of two
 households

A households for a reward. And he was named ever after *Servilius Romanus*. There be that think Ar-
 rena was a towne of the Veientians, and not of the Volscians: the occasion of which error is,
 for that there was a towne of that name betwene Cere and Veios. But that towne the Romanes
 kings destroyed: and it belonged to the Ceretes, and not to the Veientians: but this other, wher-
 of we have reported the destruction, was in the countrie of the Volscians.



THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIVS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the fifth Booke.



AT the siege of Veij, the souldiours had holds made them for to winter in. Which being a newe
 kind of service, strooke an heat in the Tribunes of the Commons, who complained that they
 had no rest from warres, so much as in the winter season. Then the Gentlemen of Rome be-
 gan first to serve upon their owne horses. When the Albane lake overflowed, a certaine pyra-
 phet or wisar was taken captive from the enemies, who should interpret that strange wonder.
 Eurius Camillus, after ten yeares siege, won Veij: he translated the Image of Iuno from thence
 to Rome. The tenth part of the spoile and saccage besent to Apollo at Delphi. The same
 Camillus being Tribune militarie, whiles he laid siege unto the Falisci, sent backe againe
 to the parents, his enemies sonnes that were betrayed unto him: Whereupon the Falisci yeilded themselves, and so by his
 righteous and iust dealing, obtained victorie over them. When one of the Censors *C. Julius* was deceased, *M. Cornelius*
 was substituted in his place: Which was never done againe after wards, because in that five yeares space, Rome was ta-
 ken by the Gauls. Eurius Camillus, being indicted by *L. Apuleius* a Tribune of the Commons, departed into exile. When
 as the Senones a people of the Gauls, besieged Clusium, and the Embassadors sent from the Senat to conclude a peace be-
 twene them and the Clusines, sought themselves in persons against the Gauls in the Clusines armie. The Senones here-
 upon made quarrell, and with a cruell armie came against the cittie of Rome: and after they had defeated the Romanes
 at the river *Allia*, they were Masters of the cittie, all but the Capitoll, into which the able and serviceable young men
 of the cittie betooke themselves. The elders with their ornaments of state belonging to the offices that each one had borne,
 they flew sitting in the porches and entries of their houses. And when they were now gotten up to the toppe of the Capiti-
 toll, by the backe side of the hill, they were discovered by the gagling of geese, and were turned downe, principally by the
 valour of *M. Manlius*. Afterwards when through famine the Romanes were forced to covenant and grant for to give
 them the sum of 1000 pound weight of gold, and for that to buy their redemption from the siege: Eurius Camillus, who
 was created Dictator in his absence, came with an armie, whiles the gold was in weighing: and drove the Gauls out of
 the cittie, after they had been possessed of it six moneths, and slue them. A chappell was built to *Locutius* in that place
 where before the taking of the cittie, there was a voice heard, that the Gauls were coming. Wheras it was proposed
 and propounded to remove to Veij, because the cittie of Rome was burnt and wasted: that comf by the advice and authori-
 tie of Camillus was crossed and dispatched. The people was moved thereto the rather, by occasion of the offe of a word spo-
 ken by a Centurion, who being come with his band of souldiours into the Forum, was heard to say thus, *STAND
 SOVLDIORS, HERE WILL BE OVR BEST ABIDING PLACE.*



WHEN peace elsewhere was obtained, the Romans and Veians were at war, with
 such mutuall malice & hatred, that it seemed, whether part were vanquished,
 should come to finall destruction. The assemblies for the Election of the
 rulers of both nations, far differed one from the other. The Romanes aug-
 mented the number of Tribunes Militarie in Consuls authoritie: for eight
 of them (so as never afore) were created: *M. Aemilius Mamercus* the
 second time, *L. Valerius Potitus* the third time, *Appius Claudius Crassus*, *M. Quintilius Varus*,
M. Julius

M. Julius Tullus, M. Posthumus, M. Furius Camillus, and M. Posthumus Albus. The Veientians contrariwise, being wearie of suing for dignities every yeare (a cause sometimes of civill discord) made themselves a King. Which offended the people of Hetruria: who as they abhorred all regall government, so they hated the person of the King himselfe. He had aforetime oppressed that nation, in regard of his greatnesse and pride withall: in that he had violently put downe their solemne plaies, the intermission whereof was held unlawfull and detestable. For upon a time, in an anger that he received a repulse, and by the Suffrages of the twelve nations, another was preferred before him to bee high Priest, in the very midst of their solemne Games and sports, he tooke from them the very plaies and actors, whereof a great sort were his own servants. That people therefore, given to superstition above all other, and so much the rather for that they excelled in the skill of religious observing the same, decreed to denie the Veientians their aide, so long as they were governed under a King. This decree was suppressed and not spoken of at Veij for feare of the King, who would have accompted him that should report such a rumour, for a sower of sedition, rather than an authour of newes. The Romanes, albeit they heard that all was quiet from Hetruria: yet because they were advertised that in all the diets and counsels of that nation, the question was on foote and much debated, made their fortifications at Veij, so as they stood two waies: some looked towards the citie against all sallies and eruptions of the townsmen: others fronted Hetruria, to stop all succours that haply might come from thence. But the Romane captaines having greater hope in long siege, than in quick assault, began to build wintring harbours (a strange thing to Romane souldiours.) Their intent was all winter time to keepe continuall warre. Which after it was told at Rome to the Tribunes of the Commons (who now a long time could finde no matter and occasion of troubles and alteration) they leapt forth into the assembly of the people, founding and folliciting the minds of the Commons, and eftsoones saying, That this was the onely matter, why a set paie was appointed for the souldiours: and that they were not ignorant, That the gifts of enemies would prove to be belinced with poison: That the freedome of the Commons was bought and sold: That their young men were sent away farre off, and as it were banished from the citie and common-wealth, so that now they had not so much spare time as winter, nor any season els of the yeare, for to visit home and see unto their estate. What thinke yee (say they) is the cause of continuing this warfare? No other verily should they find it but this, least by reason of the frequent number of those young men, in whom the whole strength of the communitie consisted, there might bee something dealt in, and effected, concerning their commodities. Over and besides they complained how they were much more hardly used, than the Veientians. For as for them, they spent the winter within their owne houses, defending their citie, fortified both with goodly walles, and also by naturall situation of the place: but the Romane souldiours abode by it still in labour and travaile, throwed under booties of poore hides, overwhelmed with snowes and frosts, nor laying away their harnesse and weapons, so much as in winter: the ordinarie time of rest from all wars both by sea and land. This manner of hard bondage, neither the Kings, nor those proud and imperious Consuls (before the Tribunes authoritie was ordained to take them downe) ne yet the Lordly ruling Dictatour, nor the insolent and unsupportable Decemvirs, ever enjoyed: thus to dwell in in continuall soulderie, as these Tribunes Militarie doe: who exercise upon the Commons of Rome, an absolute and kingly authoritie. What would they doe another day, when they were Consuls or Dictators indeed, who now but representing onely the Consuls government (as vice Consuls) are so cruell and unreasonable? But we are well enough served, and justly have deserved no lesse. For that there was not so much as one place for a commoner, amongst eight Tribunes. Aforetime, the Nobles were wont with much heave and shove, to fill but three rowines: and now they goe eight in a rancke together, to obtaine all charges and dignities of State and government: and in that throng, a Commoner cannot have a place amongst them, to put his colleagues in mind (if he did nothing els) that they that goe to warfare were freemen yet, and citizens with them, and not bondslaves. Who in Winter at the least, ought to be brought againe to their houses and homes, and once a yeare visite their loving parents, their sweet children, and best beloved wives: to make some use of their libertie, and chuse their Magistrates. These and such like speeches, whiles they broadly uttered and multiplied, they met at length with an adversarie that was able to match them, *Appius Claudius*, left for the purpose at home by his brethren in office, to restraine the Tribunes seditions: a man ever from his tender youth trained

A trained up in the broiles and contentions of the Cominons. Who certain yeares before, (as wee have said) gave shrewd and unhappie counsell to dissolve and put downe the Tribunes. authoritie, by the contradiction and inhibition of their owne Colleagues: This man being not onely in wit prompt and readie, but also exercised by long practise, made at that time this or such like speech: If ever doubt were made, O Quirites, whether the Tribunes of the Communitie have for love of your good or their owne particular vantage, been alwaies the authors and beginners of discord and dissention, this yeare I know assuredly, yee need no more to stand in doubt. And as I reioice that yee are at length come to an end of this your long wandering, so I congratulate both you, and the Commonweale for your sake, that this error is cleared, and especially in the middest of your prosperitie. Is there any man maketh question now, that the Tribunes of the Commons were not offended, nor tooke fault so much at the injuries at your hands received (if haply there have sometimes been any) as at the bountie of the Nobles, towards the Commons, in allowing pay to those that serve in war? What thinke ye els, either they feared then, or would at this day disturbe and disquiet: but only the concord and agreement of the States? Which they suppose tendeth most, and is sufficient, to abolish and overthrow the Tribunes authoritie. And verily, as naughtie Artificers or lowd leeches, seek for work still, and would be ever doing: so they likewise desire to have some thing or other out of frame and amissle, in the Commonweale, that to the repaire and cure thereof, they might be ever sent for and employed. For whether doe yee, (and speake truth) maintain or impugn the communitie? Are you the adversaries or the advocates of them that serve in the wars? Vnto what peradventure this be your saying, Whatsoever the Nobles doe, it misliketh us, be it for the good of the common people, or to their prejudice and damage. And even as maisters forbid their owne servants and slaves, to have any dealing at all with strangers, and thinke it meet and reason, that they meddle neither hot nor cold with them: even so forwarne yee the Nobles from all commerce and entercourse with the Commons: to the end, that neither we by our civillitie and liberalitie, should allure and winne them; nor they againe become dutifull and obeyant to us. How much more ought you (I pray you) if there were any sparke (I say not) of civillitie, but of common humanitie and good nature in you, rather to favour, and as much as lieth in you, foster and cherish, as well the gracious kindnesse of the Nobles, as the willing service and obedience of the Commons? Which accord, if it were perpetuall, who would not undertake to warrant, that this Seignorie and Empire, within a while, might prove the mightiest and most renowned of all those States that border hard upon our confines? As for this purpose intended, and plot devised by my Colleagues, whereby they would not have the armie withdrawne away from the siege of Veij, before the service were brought to an end: how it would be not onely profitable, but also necessarie, I will hereafter argue and prove. Now for this time, I list rather to treat and speake of the present condition and state of those, that are employed there in warfare. Which Oration of mine, if it were pronounced, not before you only, but also in the camp, and there canvassed & skanned of, by the very armie itselfe, I suppose, would seeme equall, and be received for good and reasonable. Wherein, if nothing els should come in to my head to speake; I would content my selfe, and rest satisfied with the onely speeches given out by the very adversaries. They said of late, That pay was not to be allowed to the souldiours, for that never before it had been allowed. How then can they now be offended, and so malecontent, if they who have some new commoditie comming to them, be enjoined also new labour proportionable? For never lightly is there travell any where without gaine, nor gaine commonly without travell and employment. Paines and pleasure, things of themselves in nature most unlike, yet by a naturall kind of societie (I know not how) are linked together. The soldier (aforetime) thought much to bestow his labour and service upon the Commonweale, at his owne proper charges: yet was he glad with all his heart, that one part of the yeare, he might looke to home, husband his land, and get maintainance to find himselfe and his, both at home in citie, and abroad in warre. Now, taketh he contentment, and is well pleased, that the Commonweale is gainfull to him: and with joyfull heart receiveth his wages. Let him likewise bee content, with patience to forbear his house and familie (since hee is at no great charge) somewhat longer than ordinarie. Might not the Common-wealth, if shee would call him to a reckoning, justly say: Yearly pay thou hast, performe therefore thy yearly service? Doest thou thinke it reason, to receive full wages for the whole yeare? and to bee employed but fixe moneths for it? Much against my stomacke, O Quirites, enforce I this point, and dwell still in this one part of my Oration.

tion: for in this wise ought they to reason that have mercenarie and hired fouldiours: but we will use them as fellow citizens, and thinke it meet likewise that they entreat us kindly, and speak unto us as to their native countrie. Either it behoved us, not to have begun the warre at all: or els to proceed forward, now it is begun: yea and for the honour of the people of Rome, to finish it with all speed possible. And finished it will be, if we presse upon our enemies thus besieged: if we depart not afore we have accomplished our hope, by the winning of Veij. And surely, ifther were no other cause but this, even the very shame and indignitie of the thing, might force us to continue siege unto the end. In olde time, the whole power of Greece laied siege full ten years to one cittie, and that for one only woman: How farre (good god) from their owne home? how many lands and seas betweene? Are we then loth and weary being within 20. miles of our dwelling place, and almost in the sight of our owne cittie, to endure the toile of one yeares siege? Being cause (forsooth) we have but small cause given us to warre: and not griefes enough that might justly provoke us to abide and see the end. Seventines already they have rebelled: In peace never were they true. Our countrie have they spoiled and wasted a thousand times. The Fidenates they have caused to revolt from us. Our inhabitants there by us placed, they have slaine: and against all law of nations they were the principall instruments of that unworthie and unhumane murder of our Embassadors. All Hetruria would they have raised up against us, and at this day about it they go. And when our Embassadors came to demand amends, they had like to have runne upon them and killed them. And ought we then with these kind of men to stand at abay, and to warre coldly and by leisure? But if so just an hatred as this move us not: doe these things (I pray you) nere a whit move you neither? Their cittie is environed and beleagured with deep trenches: blocked with mightie skonces, whereby the enemy is pent up and pinned within his owne walls. His fields he cannot till, and whatsoever was afore tilled, hath been destroyed by war. If we dislodge and withdraw our armie backe, who doubteth, but that they (not for desire only of revenge, but upon necessitie also and constraint to prey of other mens goods, having lost their owne) will invade and overrun our countrie? So that by this meanes we defer not the war, but bring it within our owne borders and confines. But now as touching that which properly indeed concerneth fouldiours (of whom our good Tribunes of the Commons would now in all the hault seeme to have so great regard, from whom ere while they would have wrested their wages): but what is that (I say)? A trench they have cast, a rampier and platforme they have raised, matters of exceeding travaile and labour) so far about: skonces at the first a few, but after as their armie increased, they have erected very thicke in every place. Forts they have built, not only to commaund the towne, but also looking toward Hetruria, to impeach the avenues if any aid should from thence come. What should I speake of the rolling frames and toures, the mantlets and other Fabricks? What should I speake of the tarraces, tortises, rams, and all other engines of assault and batterie? Thinke yee it meet, that after so great toile and paines taken, now that the workes at length are brought to an end, these things should be left and abandoned, that against summer we should be newe to begin againe, and sweate a fresh about the same? How much lesse travaile rather is it to keepe these munitions already made? to be instant, and constant to endure, and abide? yea and to rid our hands of all the care at once? For surely we may soone dispatch the service, if it be plied thoroughly and followed on still without stay; and if we our selves by these intermissions and respites betweene, make not a long piece of worke of it, and drawe our hope a length. Thus much of the labour and losse of time. What els? Considering these so many parliaments, these diets and Councels continually in Tuscanie, about sending aid to Veij, can we forget the danger that we incur by deferring the warre? Indeede (as things now presently stand) I confesse the Tuscans with the Veientians are angrie, they hate them and denie to send: and for any thing by them done, we might win Veij out of hand. But who dare warrant, that if the warre be delayed, they will hereafter be of the same mind? Seeing that if the Veientians have any rest and breathing time given them, they are like to send oftner their embassages, and those more honourable than heretofore. Also the King who newly is set up and created at Veij (the onely thing that now offendeth the Tuscans) in proesse of time, may be changed for another governour, either by agreement of the State (thereby to reconcile the hearts of the Tuscans) or of his own accord: who will not peradventure that his princely regiment should be hurtfull to the safetie of his subjects. See how many things, how many inconveniences follow and ensue upon that course and manner of proceeding. The losse of the fabricks and fortifications

Acations, with so great labour already prepared and achieved: the imminent and present wasting of our owne borders: the Tuscans warre in steed of the Veientians. These your devises, o ye Tribunes, are much what like to his, that offering a sicke man some kinde of meat or drinke, for the very present to gratifie him withall, to please his palate and to content his talage, maketh his disease long and peradventure incurable: who might have been recovered out of hand, in case at once, he would have resolutely endured the right cure of a skilfull physitian. And certes, if it were not materiall to the managing of this warre in hand, yet would it import much to martiall discipline, that our fouldiours should be acquainted, not onely with the sweet fruit of a victorie achieved, but also if occasion required longer time, to abide this tediousnesse: and to wait for the end of their hope, be it never so long: and if war be not finished in summer, to stay for winter: and not as sommer birds, by and by in the fall of the lease, to looke about and seeke for housing, harbour and covert. Consider, I beseech you, and see. The love and pleasure of hunting, carrieth men into mountaines, woods, and forests; through frost and snow, after their game: shal not we then use the like sufferance in the needfull exploits of warre, which pastimes, sports, and delights, are wont to draw and fetch out of us? Thinke we the bodies of our fouldiours so effeminate, their hearts so tender and delicat, that they cannot for one winter abide in campe, and forbear their home, but must needs warre as men at sea, watching times and seasons, and observing the quarters of the year? Cannot they endure both parching heat and chilling cold? They would blush and be abashed verely, if a man should therewith charge them: and they would stand stiff in this and avouch, That they had both in bodie and mind manlike sufferance and patience: and that they were fouldiours as well for winter as sommer: and that they set not the Tribunes a worke for any patronage of cowardise & shelter of idleness: but remembered wel enough, that their forefathers were not under shade for feare of sunburning, nor had their houses over their heads for taking cold, when they first created and ordeined that magistracie of Tribunes. This rather is becoming the valour of your fouldiours, this fitteth well the name of Romanes, not to have their eye upon Veij onely, and this warre now in hand, but to seeke for fame and glorie both by other exploits, and also with other nations in time to come. And thinke yee that there would ensue hereupon a small crack of credit, and hazard of reputation? Would ye have the neighbour nations confining upon us, conceive thus of the people of Rome, That if a cittie could receive their first brunt, and abide their assault for a very small while, it neede not after to feare any more? Or rather should not this dread and terrour of our name spread all abroad, both far and neare, That no wearisomnesse of long siege & assault, no violence of bitter winter, is able to raise the Roman armie from any towne once by them invested? as knowing no other ende of warre but victorie? and whose manner of service is not by way of violent force more than of obstinate continuance, which (as in all other militarie occasions) so in besieging of citties is most needfull: the greatest number whereof, being either by strong bulwarkes and other fortifications, or by naturall situation impregnable, yet by famine, by hunger and thirst, proesse and tract of time only doth force and overthrow. As it will (I doubt not) Veij at length: unlesse the Tribunes of the commonaltie succour our enemies: unlesse that the Veientians find that reliefe and aid at Rome, which they seeke in vaine throughout all Hetruria. For can there ought happen to the Veientians so wished for, as that first the cittie of Rome should be full of variance, and then the campe (as it were by a contagion from thence) as full of mutinies? But contrariwise I assure you, amongst the enemies, so good order there is and government, that neither the tediousnesse of long siege, nor yet the loathing of kingly rule, hath caused any stir or garboile among them. No nor the deniall of helpe from the Tuscans hath one whit troubled and dis tempered their mindes: but die he shall forthwith, that is the author of sedition. Neither shall any man there be suffered to speake those words, which are spoken here amongst you without any punishment or controuling. He deserveth the bastinado, to be drie, beaten and well cudged, that forsaketh his colours, or departeth from his guard and quarter. But here, in open assemblies, they that perswade and counsel not one or two fouldiours, but whole armies to leave their standers and ensignes, and abandon the very campe, have audience with applause. In so much, that whatsoever a Tribune of the Commons speaketh, although it were to betray the cittie, and undoe the whole state, ye are used to hearken and give good care to him: and being ravished and carried away with the sweetnesse of that authoritie, yee suffer under it to lurke any mischief whatsoever: There remaineth now no more but this, that the words they give out here with open mouth, the same they might iterate

in the campe among the souldiors, to corrupt the armie, and not suffer them to obey their capitaines. For to such licentious libertie they are growne at Rome, that they feare and reverence neither counsell nor magistrate, neither lawes nor aunient customes, neither decree of Sena-
tours, ne yet the discipline of militarie service.

Now was *Appius* with his orations good enough for the Tribunes, & able to meet them at everie turne: But see; (a thing that no man would have thought) a losse and foile received before *Veij* made *Appius* to have the better hand of the cause, wrought a greater unitie among the states, and kindled an ardent desire to assaile *Veij* more hotelie, and to beseege it with more resolution. For when they had raised up a mount neere to the citie, and approached in a manner to the wals thereof, with their rolling towers & roused mantlets, whiles (I say) they were not so vigilant in the night season to tend and watch these Fabrikes, as they were busie and earnest in the day time to reare and plant them; behold, all of a suddain the enemies opened a gate, and armed in great numbers, especially with burning firebrands, set all on a light fire: and in the space of one hower consumed both the mount and the mantlets, which had cost so long time in making. And many a man besides that came to helpe (but in vaine) by sword and fire lost his life. Which being reported at Rome, made all men heave and sad, and caused the Senators to take care and feare, how upon this accident, they might possible prevent and stay, either commotion in citie, or mutinie in campe: doubting least that the Tribunes would have insulted over the Commonweale, as if they had gotten a great conquest. At what time, they that were by calling Gentlemen and so assayed, and had no horses of service assigned them from the citie, after some consultation together among themselves, suddainly came into the Senate: and having libertie granted of speech, promised to serve in the warres with horses of their owne. After that the Senate had right honourable thanked and given them most gracious words, the newes thereof was no sooner bruited through the market place and whole citie, but behold, all on a suddaine the Commons came running unto the counsell house, saying, that as they were then to serve as footmen, so they offered their service to the Commonweale extraordinarily without mustering, whether they should be led, either to *Veij*, or to any other place whatsoever. And if they were conducted to *Veij*, they would not returne againe (they say) from thence, before they had woon that citie from their enemies. At which words, the Senatours so exceedingly joied above measure, that hardly they could temper themselves. For they took not order, as they did by the Gentlemen and horsemen afore, that they should be praised by the mouth of the Magistrates thereto appointed, nor called them into the counsell house, there to give them an answer, neither could they keepe themselves within the counsell house dore. But every one of them in his own behalfe so well as he could, signified from aloft, both by word of mouth, and gesture of hand, unto the multitude standing in the *Comitium*, a generall joy conceived: saying, That the citie of Rome in that concord and unitie would be happie, invincible, and perpetual: commending the horsemen, praising the footmen, extolling and magnifying that very day, and confessing that now they had surpassed the courtesie and bountie of the Senate. So that Nobles and Commons both, for joy wept againe who could weep most, untill the Senators were recalled into the court: where a decree was made, That the Tribunes Militarie should assemble the people, and give thanks both to horsemen and footmen, and promise in the name of the Senate, that they would be mindfull of their affectionate kindnesse to their countie: and to signifie that it was their pleasure, that they all, who had offered extraordinarie service so willingly, should have their pay notwithstanding: yea, and for the horses also there was assigned a certaine rate and proportion of wages. This was the first time that the Gentlemen began to serve on horsebacke for money. This voluntarie armie marched to *Veij*, and not onely repaired againe the workes which had been destroyed, but also went in hand to erect new. And from the citie was provision of victuall brought, with greater care of convoy than afore, that nothing might be wanting to an armie so well deserving of the Commonweale.

The yeare following had for their Militarie Tribunes in Consuls authoritie, *C. Servilius Hala* the third time, *Q. Servilius*, *P. Virginius*, *Q. Sulpitius*, *A. Manlius* the second time, and *M. Sergius* the second time. In these Tribunes time, whiles every mans care was bent to the *Veientian* war, The fort of *Anxur* being neglected, by occasion that the garison souldiors were disbanded and raunged much abroad, and commonly received *Volscian* marchants into the town, was suddainly surprisid, by reason that the warders of the gates were betrayed. Lesse companie of souldiors

there

A there were slaine: because that all of them (besides those that were sicke) found themselves occupied and traded all the countie over, and in the cities adjoyning, like to lawlesse lackies that follow the campe. Neither was there better successe at *Veij*, wherein rested the chiefe care now, of all their publicke affaires. For not onelie the Romane captaines were more angred one at another, than couragious against the enemy: but also the forces of the enemies were increased by the suddain coming of the *Capinates* & the *Falisci*. Which two nations of *Hetruria*, because they inhabited next, supposing when *Veij* should be forced and lost, that their turne would be next to be warrd upon by the Romanes: and the *Faliscians* besides, upon a speciall grudge and old quarrell of their owne, for that afore time in the *Fidenate* warre, they had intermeddled and interested themselves: sent their embassadours to and fro, and by binding themselves by a solemn oath one to the other, came unlooked for with their power to *Veij*. And by chance they assailed that side and quarter where *M. Sergius* a militarie Tribune had the charge of a skonce. Who gave a great al' arme and caused exceeding fright: because the Romanes supposed certainlie that all *Hetruria* was raised out of everie part, and there present with all the power they could make. The same imagination animated the *Veientians* also within the citie, to make a sallie. So was the campe of the Romanes assailed on both sides. And whiles they ran together up and downe, and turned their ensignes everie way, and could hardlie keepe the *Veientians* within the strength of their fortresse, nor yet repulse the violence from their owne fortifications and rampiers, and defend themselves from their forraigne enemies behind: their onely hope was to have helpe from the greater leaguer: that the legions in sundrie places might make head, some against the *Capinates* and the *Falisci*, others against the fallie of the townmen. But *Virginius* had the charge of that maine campe, one that bare a privat grudge and inward malice against *Sergius*, and was hated againe of him. This man, when word was brought that most of the Fabricks and bulwarkes were assaulted, that the ramparts & trenches were won, and that the enemies on both sides charged lustily, kept his souldiors wel appointed in armes: saying, that if there were any need of helpe, his Colleague should send unto him, if he would. And he for his part was not so arrogant & insolent, but the other was as peevish and willull. Who because he would not seeme to seeke unto his adversarie, nor crave aide at his hand, chose rather to be vanquished of his enemy, than to overcome him by helpe of a fellow citizen. Thus betwene them for a good while the poore souldiors went to wrecke, and were slaine. At the last, forsaking their rampiers, a verie few of them escaped into the maine campe. But the most part, with *Sergius* himselfe, went through to Rome. Where when he had laid all the fault upon his fellow in government, it was thought good that *Virginius* should be sent for out of the campe: and that in the mean while their deputies & lieutenants should command the forces. Herupon was the matter debated in the Senat, & the two Tribunes kept a taunting & reviling: & many hard termes were delt between them. Few there were that tendred the common good, but took part either with the one or the other, as each of them were fancied & beloved. Howbeit the L.L. of the Senat thought good, howsoever that so shameful chance hapned either through the default, or unluckie fortune of the captaines, not to expect the ordinary full time of the election, but that presently ther should be new Tribunes militarie created, to enter into their office on the *kalends of October. To which
E opinion when they were all agreed, the other Tribunes militarie nothing gain said it. But *Sergius* and *Virginius* (for whose sake it appeared that the Senat was weary of the magistrats that yeare) at the first made meanes and besought them not to disgrace and discredite them so: and afterward assaid to crosse the decree: denying that they would give over their place, before the *Ides
F Tribunes of the Commons, in good faith, I would gladlie see once, that there were no more power and authoritie in these here, than will and stomach in you. But who seeth not that there is no striving against the authoritie of the Senat? And therefore hold ye content: and forbear ye you to seeke oportunitie and occasion upon our variance to offer wrong. And my brethren for their parts shall either do that which the Senat thinketh good: or els if they shall continue stubborn
R iij still

* 1 day of October

* The 13 day of December.

still in their contumacie, I will presentlie nominate a Dictator, to force them to leave their office. This speech was approved with a generall accord. And the Senatours being glad that without their tedious and fearefuls of the Tribunes authoritie, there was found out another greater power to bridle magistrates: the two militarie Tribunes aforesaid, were overweighed with the consent of all parties, and held a new election of militarie Tribunes, to begin their government on the * Kalends of October: and before that day they resigned up their places. Thus were *L. Paletius Potitus* the fourth time, *M. Furius Camillus* the second time, *M. Aemilius Mamercus* the third time, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus* the second time, *C. Fabius Ambustus*, and *L. Julius Tullus*, Tribunes militarie in Consuls authoritie.

In whose time many worthie Acts were performed both at home and abroad. For not onelie they had war in sundrie places at one time, namely at Veij, at Capena, against Falerij, & with the Volsci, to the end that Ansur might be won again and recovered from the enemies: but at Rome also, what about musters and paying the tribute for soldiours pay, there was much trouble. Besides there was some variance, about taking in certaine Tribunes of the Commons to the rest: and the two arraignments of those, who a litle before had governed in Consuls authoritie, caused no small stirre. But the principall care of the Tribunes militarie, was that the muster should go forward. Neither were the yonger sort and servicable men only prest forth, but the elder also compelled to give their names, and to keepe watch and ward in the citie. But looke how much greater was the number of soldiours, so much more money they needed for their paiement. And the same was levied by a contribution: but unwillinglie of as manie as taried at home. For that besides the levie, they were enjoined to become soldiours also, in defence of the citie & to serve in person for the Commonwealth. These things, grievous as they were of themselves, so by the feditious Orations of the Tribunes in their assemblies, they seemed more grievous and heavie.

Who argued and discoursed thus, That wages was appointed for soldiours to this end, only that what by warfare, and what with exactions and impositions, they might undoe the Commons, and make an end of them at once for ever. One warre (say they) hath now continued three years, and the same, for the nonce, ill managed, that it might be drawn out the longer. Againe, in one muster there were armies enrolled for no fewer than foure wars, wherunto beardless boyes and old crasemen, were taken up and haled forth. Now there was no difference of winter or sommer: so as the poore Commons at no time can have any rest. Who now at last are taxed also and racked to the uttermost, so that after they have brought home with them their bodies overtoyled with travaile, weakened with wounds, and last of all, wasted and spent with age: and finding all things at home unhusbanded by reason of the long absence of the masters and owners, they must be faine to pay Tribute even out of their poore decayed quicke stocke, and repaie againe with great usurie to the Commonwealth, their wages received in warre, as it were upon interest.

Betweene the musters of one side, and the leavie of soldiours pay on the other side, and their mindes occupied about greater affaires, at the Election of Tribunes of Commons, the number could not fullie be made up: Wherupon there was great labour made, that into the rowmes that were void, there should be some of the Nobilitie taken in and admitted. When that could not be obtained, yet to impeach and overthrow the Tribunes law, it was effected or brought to passe that they should assume unto them for Tribunes of the Commons, *C. Lacerius*, and *Marcus Atilius*, by the might and practise no doubt of the *Patritij*. It hapned, so that the same yeare *C. Trebonius* was a Tribune of the Commons, who would seeme to undertake the patronage and defence of the law Trebonia, and discharge it as a duetie to that name and house belonging. He spake aloud and said, that whereas the Tribunes Militarie had wonne that, wherof some of the Nobles had borne the repulse in their first suit, and that the law Trebonia was disannulled, in that certaine Tribunes of the Communitie were taken into their fellowes, not by suffrages and free voices of the people, but by the rule and commandment of the Nobles: and that the matter was come to that passe, that either Noblemen, or their favourites and followers were to become Tribunes of the Commons: that their sacred lawes were taken from them perforce, and the Tribunes authoritie wrested from out of their hands by violence: All these inconveniences he complained to have hapned through the fraudulent practise of the Nobles: and the mischievous leawdnesse and treacherie of his owne companions in office. Thus whiles there grew great hart-burning among them, and that not the Nobles onely, but also the Tribunes of the Commons, as well they, which were elected, as they that were electors, were hardly thought of by the people:

Then

A Then three of the companie, *P. Curiatius*, *M. Metilius*, and *Minutius*, searing some shrewd turne like to fall upon *Sergius* and *Virginus*, (the Tribunes militarie of the former yeare) and by serving processe, giving them a day to answer, turned from themselves the anger and displeasure of the commons, upon those two persons: publishing openly, That whosoever were grieved for the musters and the Tribute, whosoever thought the warre long, and the continuall soulderie tedious, whosoever forrowed for the dammage and discomfiture received at Veij, whosoever for the losse of their children, brethren, kinsfolke, or any of their alliance had heavie and mournfull houses: to them they offered libertie and power to wreake their publicke and privat greefe, upon these two guiltie persons and offenders, *Sergius* & *Virginus*, the very causes of all the mischeefes and calamities that were hapned. For why? the adversarie charged them with no more than was confessed by the very parties: who finding themselves both faultie, laid the blame one upon the other: whiles *Virginus* reproched *Sergius* with running away, and *Sergius* laid treason to *Virginus* his charge, in that hee denied his helpe in time of need. For to say they were both of them so inconsiderate and foolish onely, were to speake beyond all compass of beleefe. But much more likely it was, that there was some packing rather, and that the matter was contrived, and practised of set purpose, and by an ordinarie and common fraudulent plot of the *Patritij*. By whose meanes, both at the first the Veientians gat opportunitee to fire their workes, thereby to draw out and prolong the warre, and also now the armie was bought and sold, and the Romane campe betrayed to the Falisci. And all this, to no other end, but that the youth and flower of the citie might wax old at Veij, & that the Tribunes might not propose and consult with the people about the distribution of lands, or any other commodities of the poore commons, or in frequent & full assemble of citizens intend and follow their publicke actions, and withstand the conspiracie of the gentrie and Nobles. Moreover there is already (say they) a prejudice passed against these offenders, both by the Senate and people of Rome, and also by their colleagues. For as they were displaced and deposed from their office, by an Act of the Senate: so when they refused to give over, they were for feare of a Dictator forced by their owne companions to resigne up their government: and the people of Rome had created other Tribunes militarie to enter into their charge, not upon the usuall day which was in the * Ides of December, but forthwith in the Kalends of October: as who would say, the common-wealth had not been able to stand any longer, if these men had remained still in place. And yet for all this, these persons thus convicted and fore-condemned by so many prejudices, come now to be judged of the people: thinking they are sufficiently quit, and discharged, yea and have suffered punishment enough, in that they were two moneths sooner than ordinarie, made privat persons; and perceive not, that thereby was taken from them the power onely to doe any harme, and no punishment inflicted upon them. For as much as, even their very colleagues, who had not offended, were likewise discharged as well as they. Let the *Quirites* therefore & people of Rome, take that heart to them again, which they had upon the late overthrow, fresh and bleeding new, when they beheld the armie running in fearfull flight, fore wounded and agast, arriving at the gates, blaming no fortune, nor any of the gods, but onely these their two brave leaders. And as for us, we know assuredly that there is not one of all them here presently assembled, who that day cursed not in his heart and detested the head, the house, and whole estate of *L. Virginus* and *M. Sergius*. Neither is it convenient, that upon whom, ere while every man praised that the anger and vengeance of God would light, against them now when they both may and ought, they should not extend their full power with rigour. Since that even the very gods never lay hand themselves upon sinners and offenders: but it sufficeth that they arme the wronged and oppressed persons with meanes and opportunitee of revenge. The Commons upon these speeches moved with indignation, condemned these two offenders in * 10000 brazen Asses a peece: notwithstanding that *Sergius* pleaded for himselfe, blamed the common fortune of warre, and laid all upon fortune: and *Virginus* besought them (but both in vaine) that he might not be more unhappy, and speede worse at home, than abroad in warre. Thus the peoples wrath being diverted upon these two, obscured and darkened the remembrance both of the assumption and admitting of the Tribunes aforesaid, and of deluding and disannulling the law Trebonia. The Tribunes thus having gotten the upper hand, to the end that the communitie might have a present reward for awarding this dome, publish the law *Agaria*, and forbid the levying of the Subsidie for souldiours pay: seeing there was neede of pay for so many armies: and sped so well they had, in the managing

* Trebonia
lawe made by L.
Trebonius, See
the first booke.

The lawe that
passed at C.
Trebonius, was
against Sergius
and Virginus.

* 13. day of December.

* 2. 6 lib. 5 sbr.

ging of warfare, as they were like to come to an end, without any warring at all. For at Veij the petic campe which was lost, being recovered againe, was fortified with strong bulwarks, and furnished with good guards. The Tribunes Militarie, *M. Aemilius* and *Q. Fabius*, had the charge there. And as for *M. Furius* in the Faliscan, and *Cn. Cornelius* in the Capenate countrie, they could meet with none enemies without their towne wals. But they drave away booties, and waited their marches, by firing their villages and their corne: but as for their townes, they neither assaulted nor besieged them. But in the Volscian countrie, after their territorie was walled, Anxur also was assaulted (but in vaine) for that it was situate on high. Whereupon *Valerius Potitus*, who had the charge of that province, seeing that force would not prevaile, began by trench and rampier to laie siege to it, and invest it round. The affaires of war abroad standing in these termes, there arose domesticall strife and sedition at home: and the same was followed more earnestly and with greater adoe, than the wars were managed without. And when by reason of the Tribunes there could no subsidies and exactions be gathered, nor mony for souldiours pay sent to the Generals, and that the souldiours called on them hard, and were hastic for their wages: the campe also had like to have beene troubled and infected with the contagion of those civill mutinies. During these heates and angrie fits of the Commons against the Nobles, albeit the Tribunes of the people said, That now the time was come of establiishing their freedome, and translating the chiefest dignitie from the *Sergij* and *Virginij*, to the Commoners, such as were men of valour and action: Yet they prevailed no more than thus, that one onely of the communalitie, (as it were) to make entrie & take possession in the right of that dignitie to wit, *P. Licinius Calvus*, should be created Tribune Militarie with Consuls authoritie: the rest were all of the Nobilitie, *Pub. Manlius*, and *P. Titinius*, *P. Melius*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, & *L. Popilius Volscus*. The very Commons themselves marvelled, that they had obtained so great a thing, and not he onely who was created, a man that aforetime had never been in place, and borne no magistracie, yet an ancient counsellor of State, an elderly person, and well stept in yeares. Neither as yet is it for certaine knowne, why he first and above all others was counted a meet man to take hansell, or take seye of this new dignitie and promotion. Some thinke, that for his brother *Cn. Cornelius* his sake, who had been the yeare afore a Tribune Militarie, and had given to the horsemen triple pay, hee was through favour drawne in, and called to so great honour. Others, for that himselfe had picked out a convenient time, and made a plausible Oration, that both Nobles and Commons liked very well, concerning the agreement and unitie of the States. The Tribunes of the Commons rejoycing highly for this their victorie in the Election, remitted and called in the Inhibition of the subsidie or imposition aforesaid, the thing that most of all prejudiced the service of the C.VV. By means whereof paiment was made in all dutifull obedience, and sent it was unto the armie. Then within short time was Anxur (in the Volscians countrie) recovered: by occasion that on a feastivall holyday, the watch and ward of the citie was neglected. This was a yeare notable and famous for the cold and snowie winter, so as the high waies were choked up, and Tyberis was unnavigable. Howbeit, by reason of provision brought in aforehand, the price of comarose not. And for because *P. Licinius*, as he entred his government without any troubles, & with greater joy and contentment of the Commons than indignation of the nobles; so also ruled and executed it all the yeare long accordingly: therefore their teeth watered the next election also, to make Tribunes militarie of their owne bodie. One'y *M. Veturius*, of all the Nobilitie that stood in suite for the dignitie, had a place among them. But as for the other Tribunes militarie in Consular authoritie, all the Centuries in a manner chose Commoners, to wit, *L. Titinius*, *P. Menenius*, *Racilius*, *Cn. Genutius*, and *L. Atilius*.

After this hard Winter, either by reason of a distemperature and disposition of the weather, suddainly chaunging to a contrarie; or upon some other hidden and unknowne cause, there followed presently a contagious and dangerous summer, by occasion of a pestilence, noisome to all kind of living creatures. Of which incurable maladie, when as neither the reason could be found, nor any end thereof seene, the bookes of *Sibylla*, were by a decree of the Senate perused: and Duumvirs appointed for divine rites and ceremonies, by celebrating a *Leisterne*, (then first instituted in the citie of Rome) to appeale and pacifie *Apollo*, *Latona*, and *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercurie*, and *Neptune*; feasted them (as it were) for the space of eight daies together, and for that purpose they set out three beds or banquetting tables; with as magnificent and stately furniture as could be for that time possible devised. Vvhich solemnities was privately also performed

A med. All the gates and doores through the citie stood wide open: all sort of viands were set out abroad to be used in common open house kept for all commers, one with another, as wel known strangers as their acquaintance with all friendlie welcom & intertainment. Kindlie, & courteouslie would they talke and devise, even with their adversaries: all chiding and brauling was laid aside and put under foot. The prisoners also for that time were enlarged, yea & conscience made afterwards, that any should be laid or kept in yrons, unto whom the gods had vouchsafed that gratiuous meede.

But all this while much trouble there was, and many al'armes before Veij, by reason that three warres were joynd now in one. For when as all at once the Capenates and the Falisci came (in manner as afore, about the fortifications and trenches of the Romans) for to rescue the besieged, they were forced to make head, and hazard a doubtfull battaile against three armies. But the best helpe they had, was the remembrance of the late condemning of *Sergius* and *Virginus*. Therefore having conducted by a neerer way, their forces from the greater campe (which before lay still and would not come to succour) they set upon the Capenates backs, as they turned against the rampier of the Romanes. The battaile there begunne, made the Falisci also afraid: in which affright of theirs they suddainlie sallied out of the lesser hold, in so good time that they forced the enemies to turne their backs, all quaking for feare. And having gotten the upper hand, they followed the traine of the victorie, and in the chase made a verie great slaughter & carnage of them. And not long after, the forraiers that wasted the land of the Capenates, as they raunged abroad heere and there, encountered the residue and remnant of this battaile, as if fortune of purpose had presented them to their hands, and swoopt them up cleane. Also many of the Veientians as they fled backe into the citie, were cut in peeces before their verie gates: whiles they within for feare least the Romanes at once should rush in, made the gates fast & so shut out the himmost of their owne men. These were the achievances of this yeare.

And now approached the Election of the Tribunes militarie, whereof the Nobles had in a manner a greater care than of the warre: as who saw now that the soveraigne rule was not onlie parted with the communalitie, but welneer on their own behalfe quite lost. Therefore albeit of set purpose they had prepared most noble and excellent men to stand in suite, whom to passe by and overhip, they thought the people would have bene ashamed; yet nevertheless they themselves (as if they had bene the parties that stood) tried everie way, and not onely sought the helpe of men, but also craved it at the hands of the gods: making it great scruple & a matter of conscience: and alleadging that the elections for two yeares past were not according to the will of God: as appeared by this, say they, that in the former yeare, there was an intollerable winter, and such as portended some heavie judgements from above; how also the yeare following, there were no prodigious tokens shewed aforehand, but even the verie events and effects thereof, were seene and felt: namelie the pestilence both in countrie & citie, through the verie indignation, no doubt, of the gods, for that in the farall bookes of *Sibylla* it was found out, that they ought to have bene pacified, for the diverting away of that pestilent influence. As if in those solemn assemblies which ought in the name of the gods and religioustie to be held, the gods thought it an indignitie and unseemelie thing, that the honourable offices of state should be made common: no distinction of degrees, no difference of houses observed, but all confused and shuffled together. The people therefore being driven into a maze, not onelie in regard of the majesticke and dignitie of those that were competitors, but also of a verie remorse of conscience, chose for Tribunes militarie in Cons. authoritie, all of the Nobilitie: & a good part of them, the most honorable personages of the rest, to wit, *L. Valerius Potitus* the first time, *M. Valerius Maximus*, *M. Furius Camillus* the third time, *L. Furius Medullinus* the third time, *Quintus Servilius Fidenas* the second time, *Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus* the second time. Howbeit in this yeare no great exploit worthe of record, was performed at Veij under these Tribunes. All the service that was, consisted in forraying and wasting. The two Lord-generals raised huge booties, to wit, *Potitus* from Falerij, *Camillus* from Capena: leaving behind them nothing whole and untouched, that might be spoiled by fire or sword. In this meane time, many fearefull prodigious tokens were reported, the most part whereof were slenderly credited, for that of each there was but one onely author: and because there were no soothsayers, by whom they might make procuration therefore (since that the Tuscanes were now professed enemies) they were altogether neglected. But one especially there was, which all men had an eie and regard unto, namelie, for that a certaine poole within the Alban

the thing
as Livius
and Julius

bane Forrest, without extraordinary raine from above, or any other occasion which might make the thing seem lesse miraculous and wonderfull, was risen unto an unusuall heighth. Certain Orators therefore were sent to the Oracle of Delphi, to know what the gods foresignified by that prodigious token. But they, as God would, met with an interpreter of the Destinies neerer home, to wit, an auncient Veientian. Who (upon a time, when as the souldiours, both of the Romans and Tuscans, let flie one at the other taunts and scoffes from their stations and guards) thus spake in propheticall wise: That until the water were drained and let out of the Albane poole, the Romans should never be maisters of the towne of Veij. Which saying of his was at the first contemned as a foolish word, rashly let fall from him: but after, it began to bee much talked of, so long, until a certaine Romane souldiour from out of his ward, enquired of a towns-man that warded next unto him (for now by reason of long waite they had entercourse of speech one with another) what he was who had cast out such an ambiguous riddle of the Albane lake? When he heard that he was a soothsaier, being himselfe also a man not without some sence of religion, trained that he was a soothsaier, pretending, that he would gladly be resolved himselfe, as touching a particular prodigious object that troubled his mind: and therefore requested him at his good leasure, to take so much paine as to conferre with him, and give him counsell about the expiation and diverting the danger thereof. Now when they were both gone a good way from their fellows, unarmed, and without all feare and suspicion one of the other, the Romane being a lustie tall young man, caught the feeble old fellow in the sight of them all, and notwithstanding a great furre that the Tuscans made (but all in vaine) had him away perforce to his owne companie. Who being brought before the Generall, was sent afterwards to Rome unto the Senat. And being demanded what the meaning of that should be, which hee had prognosticated and prefigured concerning the Albane lake, answered thus: Certainly the gods were offended with the people of Veij, that day on which they put this into his mind to bewray the fatall and inevitable destruction of their State and countie: and therefore that, which as then he being stirred by divine inspiration had prophesied, neither might he call backe againe and unspeake: and besides happily by concealing those things which the immortal gods would have to be published, there might be committed as great sinne, as by disclosing mysteries to be concealed. Thus therefore (quoth hee) is it written in the fatall bookes of fortunes, and thus in the Tuscans learning, to us it is delivered, THAT WHEN THE ALBANE WATER OVERFLOWED, IF THEN THE ROMANS WITH DUE AND RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES LET IT OUT, THEY SHOULD HAVE THE VICTORIE OF THE VEIENTIANS: BUT BEFORE THAT, THE GODS WOULD NOT FORSAKE THE VVALS OF THE VEIENTIANS. Then went hee on still, and shewed what was the solemne and right manner of deriving the water. But the Nobles supposing the authortie to be but light of credite, and not of sufficient account in so weightie a matter to be beleevd, resolved to expect the Embassadors, and the answer of the Oracle of *Apollo*. But before these messengers were returned from Delphi, or any expiation found out for this Albane miracle, the new Tribunes Militarie with Consuls authoritie, *L. Iulius Tullus*, *L. Furius Medullinus* the fourth time, *L. Sergius Fidenas*, *A. Posthumus Regillensis*, *P. Cornelius Maluginensis*, *A. Manlius*, began their government.

In that yeare there arose new enemies, the Tarquiniens. They seeing the Romans buffed with many warres at once, with the Volscians at Anxur, who laid siege to the fort there: with the Aequians at Lavicos, who assaulted the colonie of the Romanes: besides, with the Veientians the Faliscians and Capenates: and that within the citie there was no greater quietnes, by reason of variance between the Nobilitie and Commons: supposing, I say that hereby they had good opportunitie to doe some injurie and harme, they send forth certaine bands of souldiours lightlie appointed into the territorie of Rome, to forray and make spoile: thinking that the Romanes would either put up that wrong at their hands without revenge, because they would not charge themselves with a new warre: or encounter them and make head with a small power and the same but slender & disurnished. The Romans were more offended at the indignitie of these bravadoes, than they cared much for the spoile done by the Tarquiniens. And thereupon they neither made much ado about the matter, nor drove it off any long while. *A. Posthumus* and *Lu. Iulius* levied a power, without any ordinarie muster (for letted they were by the Tribunes of the Commons) even in a manner of voluntarie souldiours, whom they had procured with good words and comfortable speeches. And passing throughout the countie of the Carites by crosse and crooked waies,

- A waies, surprised the Tarquiniens upon a suddaine, as they returned from boothaling, and laden with great prizes. Many they slew, all they eased of their loding: and thus having recovered the spoiles of their lands, they returne to Rome. Two daies were allowed for the owners, everie one to owne his proper goods: and on the third day, such goods as were unknowne (whereof the most part belonged to the enemies) were sold in port sale: and that money which was made there of was divided among the souldiours. All other warres and especially the Veientian, had doubtfull issue. For now the Romanes despairing of all mans helpe, regarded and expected onclie the courie of destinies and the will of the gods. By which time the Embassadors were returned from Delphi, bringing the answer of the Oracle, agreeable to the former answer made by the wisard, which was taken prisoner: and it ranne in this forme: BEVVARE O ROMANE THAT THE ALBANE WATER BE NOT KEPT TOO LONG IN THE POOLE. BEVVARE THOU LET IT NOT DISCHARGE IT SELFE INTO THE SEA. LET IT FORTH AND WATER THE FIELDS THERWITH, BY SVNDRIE RIVERETS OR STREAMES THOU SHALT VVAST IT AND DRAV IT DRIE. THEN ASSAULT VALIANTLIE THE ENEMIES VVALS, REMEMBERING THAT OUT OF THAT CITIE WHICH SO MANIE YEARES THOU HAST BESIEGED, VICTORY IS PROMISED TO THEE ASSUREDLY, BY THOSE DESTINIES WHICH NOW ARE REVEALED: AND AFTER THE WARRE ENDED AND CONQUEST ATCHIEVED, SEE THOU BRING UNTO MY TEMPLE, AN AMPLE AND HONOVABLE PRESENT: AND PERFORME THE SACRED CEREMONIES OF THY COUNTRIE ACCORDING TO THE OLD CUSTOME, AND RENEW THOSE A FRESH WHICH HAVE OF LATE TIME BEN NEGLECTED. Hereupon grew this captive prophet above said to be greatlie accounted of: and the Tribunes militarie, *Cornelius* and *Posthumus*, began to take his counsell and advice, about the procuracion of the Albane miracle, & to appease the gods in due order. And found it was at last where it was that the gods blamed the neglect of ceremonies, and for letting the ancient solemnities and sacrifices: and that certainly it was nothing else, but that there was an error committed in creation of the magistrats: and they so created, had solemnised the Latine holddaies wrong, and celebrated the sacrifices in the Albane mount amisse. The onely purging or expiation wherof was, that the Tribunes militarie should give over their office, and that they should take new Auspices againe by the sight and singeing of beards, and so to proceed to an Interreigne. All which things were according to a decree of the Senate performed. Whereupon three Interregentes succeeded one after another.
- D *L. Valerius*, *Q. Servilius Fidenas*, *M. Furius Camillus*. But all this while no end there was, nor intermission of troubles and dissensions. For the Tribunes of the Commons, disturbed and staid the assemblie for the election so long, until it was agreed that the greater part of the Tribunes militarie, should be created from among the Commons.

During these affaires, the Tuscans held certaine Diets and Councils at the Temple of Volturna: where when the Capenats and Falisci required that with one common assent and resolution, all the people of Hetruria should raise the siege from Veij, this answer was returned: That heretofore they had denied the Veientians their helpe in this regard, that they were not to seeke for aide at their handes, from whom in so weightie a matter they had not fought for counsell. But now their owne fortune made answer for them. For such was the difficultie of their present state, That if they would yet they well could not: considering especially how into that part of Hetruria there were newly arrived to seat themselves there, the Gaules, a strange nation unto them: with whom they neither had assured peace, nor yet certaine warre to trust unto. Howbeit for bloud sake, and for the very name, and in regard of the present perils of their kinsmen, they would grant thus much: that if any of their youth would go forth to the war willingly and of themselves, they would be no hinderance. Now was it noised at Rome, that a mightie great number of these enemies were come to levie the siege. Whereby, the civill discords (as it is commonly seene upon a generall feare) began to wax more calme & to slake. For the principall Tribe that had the prerogative to give their first voice, chose *P. Licinius Calvus* Tribune Militarie, without his owne suit (but not against the will of the Nobles) a man of approved good carriage, and moderation in his former government, but exceeding old. And it appeared evidently, that all the rest for that yeare, should be chosen a new after him, out of the Colledge of those that had been Tribunes Consular beforetime: namely, *L. Titinius*, *P. Menenius*, *Cn. Gentilius*, *L. Attilius*: who before they were elected and pronounced, *P. Licinius Calvus* spake in this maner (by the permission of the Interregent) unto the other Tribes, that were called in their right

The answer of
the Oracle.

right and orderly course, to their suffrages. I see well, my masters, & yee citizens of Rome, that in this Election, wherein ye have in remembrance our former magistracie, yee offe and preface happily against the yeare ensuing, concord and unitie: the onely thing at this time of all others most profitable: in case I say, you chuse againe, those who by experience also are become nowe more sufficient. But as for me, you see I am not the same man I was: but a bare shadow & name onely is all, that is left of *P. Licinius*. The strength of my bodie crasie, and feeble: the senses of mine eyes and eares dim and dull: my memorie faileth: the quicknesse of my spirit growne heauie and lumpish. But behold (quoth he, laying hand on his son) this young man, the very image and portraiture of him, whom yee aforetime made Tribune Militarie, the first that ever was out of the communalitie. Him trained and brought up after mine owne order and discipline, in steed of my selfe, I bequeath, I give, I dedicate unto the commonweale. And I beseech you, *Quirites*, that the dignitie which of your selves you have offered unto me, without my seeking, you would bestow upon him at his owne humble suite, and the rather shewe him this favour at my earnest request in his behalfe. The father had his desire granted. And so his sonne *P. Licinius* was with them whom before we named, declared Tribune Militarie in Consuls authoritie. *Titinius* and *Genutius* Tribunes Militarie, made an expedition against the Faliscians and Capenates. Who managing the warre in greater heate and courage, than with sage aduise and counsel, plunged themselves headlong into an ambushment of their enemies. *Genutius* paid for his rashnesse, and made amends by an honorable death. For he was slaine even before the ensignes, valiantly fighting in the vaward of the battaile with the formost. But *Titinius*, having after much feare rallied his souldiours, retired himselfe unto an high hill, and made head againe. Howbeit, he durst not encounter the enemy on even and plaine ground. The shame of this defeature was greater than the losse otherwise. And yet it had like to have turned into a right great damage and overthrow. So great was the feare, not at Rome onely whether much newes came diversly reported: but also in the campe before Veij, that hardly could the souldiours be kept from running away. For it was noised all over the campe, that the Capenates and Faliscians had gotten the victorie, slaine the Generals and the whole armie: and that all the floure and strength of Tuscan was not farre off. But at Rome there was much more hurlyburly. For there it was verily believed, that the leaguer about Veij was assaulted, and that part of the enemies already were coming in warlike manner against the cittie: so as they came running on heapes to man the wals. And even the very matrones & dames of the cittie, whom publicke fear had caused to leave their houses, fell to their beads and supplications in the churches: beseeching the gods to forsend and divert destruction from the houses, Temples, and wals of the cittie of Rome, and to turne away that feare from them, upon Veij: if they renewed ariight their festiual daies, if they made satisfaction by sacrifice for the prodigious sights, and no otherwise.

Now by this time were the solemn plaies and the Latine holidayes renewed, now was the water let out of the Albane lake into the fields, now Veij drew neere to her finall end, hastened by the course of the Destinies. Therefore there was created *M. Furius Camillus* Dictator, the fatal captaine, predestined to destroy that cittie, and to save his owne countrie: who appointed *P. Corneliu Scipio* Coronell of the horsemen. The change of the Generall made a change soone of all things else. The hopes of men were other than afore, the mindes of men were altered, yea the fortune of the citie seemed not the same. But first of all, he proceeded by martiall law against them, who in that fearefull fright at the last alarme, were fled from Veij: and taught his souldiours not to feare their enemies most, but likewise to stand in awe of their own Commander. And after he had published to take musters upon a certain day, himself in the mean whiles rode post to Veij, there to encourage the hearts of the souldiours. From thence he returned to Rome, for to levie a new armie: & there was not one that refused to serve under his standerd. For even the youth of the forrainers both Latins and Hermicks, came and offered their service in that warre. Vnto whom, when as the Dictator had in the Senate house yeilded thanks, and that all things now were in sufficient readines, by a degree of the Senate he made a vow, That when he had woon Veij, hee would incontinently celebrat the great games, and reedifie and consecrate anew, the Temple to dame *Minerva*, which afore time had bene dedicated by king *Servius Tullius*. Thus when hee was gone forth from the cittie, and his armie on foot, with greater expectation of the people than hope: first hee fought a field with the Faliscians and Capenates, in the country of Nepe, [called at this day Nepe] where hee ordered all his exploitcs with as great discretion and

A pollicie as might be: and as it commonly falleth out he chiefted as well, and fortune favoured his designs. He not onely defeated his enemies in battaile, but also drave them out of the field, and gained a huge bootie, wherof the greatest part came to the Treasurer his coffers, and somewhat (though not much) was given to the souldiours. From thence he marched with his armie to Veij, and there he caused more skences and bastilons to be made, and to stand thicker together. And having made proclamation, that none should fight without speciall commandement, he withdrew the souldiours to the making of trenches and rampiers, from their skirmishes that they made oftentimes and that rashly, betwene their campe and the wall of the towne. The greatest worke of all the rest and most laborious, was the undermining that was begun into the Cattle of the enemies. And to the ende that this worke should not be intermitted, ne yet the continuall labour still under the ground might not out-toile them: he devided the pioners into six parts, and each of them wrought six houres round by turnes, so that both night and day, they never gave over before they had wrought a way to the Cattle. The Dictator seeing now the victorie as it were in his hands, and a most rich cittie readie to be taken, and that there was like to be such sacrifice, as never had bene the like in all the warres put together aforetime: least that he might incurre either any mutinie and anger of the souldiours in pinching and skant parting of the pillage, or displeasure and discontentment of the Rulers and Nobles of Rome, by so prodigall a largesse in sharing all: dispatched his letters to the Senate, to this effect, That whereas by the goodnesse of the immortall Gods, his owne pollicie and direction, and the traivale of his souldiours, the cittie Veij was now in a manner at his devotion; what they would advise, should be done with the rich spoiles thereof. There were two divers opinions that mightily distracted the Senat: the one of olde *P. Licinius*, whose mind being asked of his sonne, spake first (by report) and said: That his opinion was, there should a proclamation be published abroad among the people, that whosoever would be partaker of the bootie, should go to the Leaguer before Veij. The other of *Ap. Claudius*, who finding fault with this new, prodigall, unequall, and indiscreet largesse, in that they thought it unlawfull and unfit, that the treasure gotten of the enemies should come once at leastwise to the common purse of the cittie, which had bin emptied so often by reason of wars; was of aduise, that the souldiours should have their pay out of it, that the Com. thereby might bee eased, in the charges of the subsidie levied of them: for so should every mans house equally feele the societie and part of that benefit, and the hands of idle persons remaining at home in the town, greedie now of rising, and who would be fingering of pillage, should not pluck from the hardie warriors their due rewards. For as much as, it is usually scene, that as the valiantest man commonly aimeth at the greatest part of travaile and perill, so the more coward alwaies reacheth at the biggest portion of the spoile, and hath his hand deepest therein. Contrariwise, *Licinius* alleadged that such mony laied up would be alwaies suspected and odious, and would minister matter unto the Commons of criminations and finding one fault or other, wherof seditions and commotions may arise, and would give occasions of newe lawes to be preferred: and therefore better it were, that by this gift and boone, the hearts of the Commons were won and reconciled: who being spent and eaten out by reason of the charges of so many yeares, herewith might be well relieved. And that they ought to tast the fruite and sweetnesse of the bootie out of that war, in which they had spent their yeares, and were waxen old men. And that it would be more welcome and acceptable, that every man should be his own carver, & with his own hand catch from the enemy what he could, & bring it home with him: than if they should receive much more by a great deale at the discretion and pleasure of another. And the Dictator himselfe (saith he) hath avoided as neer as he could, the displeasure, hatred, and offence that might arise thereof, and therefore posted it off to the Senat: the Senat ought likewise seeing the matter is put to them, to let the Commons alone therewith, and permit every man to have such share as the fortune of warre will allot him. This aduise, which made the Senat gracious with the people, was thought to be the safer and better of the twaine. Whereupon proclamation was made, That whosoever would have part of the spoile of Veij, should shew himselfe before the Dictator in the campe. So there went a huge multitude, that they filled the campe againe. Then the Dictator after sacrifice done, and aduise taken of the luckie signes of birds, went forth, and commanding his souldiours to take armes and weapon in hand, spake these words and said: By thy conduct and the instinct of thy divine power *O Pythius Apollo*, I set forward to the winning of the towne of Veij, & now to thee I vow the tenth part of the spoils thereof.

S

And

Difference in the Senat about the pillage of Veij.

„ And thee withall (O Queene *Iuno*) who at this houre doest inhabit within the compasse of these G
 „ wals, I beseech, that thou wouldest vouchsafe, to follow us after conquest into this cittie, ours
 „ now, and thine within a while: whereas thou maiest be shrined in a Temple meet for thee, and the
 „ grandeur of thy majestie. Having made these praier, with an exceeding multitude he invested
 the cittie, and assaulted it round on all parts: to the end that they within might have lesse percei-
 vance of the perill intended toward them from the undermining. The Veientians little know-
 ing that they were betrayed, partly by their owne prophets, and partly by the Oracles abroad, and
 that some of their gods were invited and bidden to part of the spoile and faccage, and other by
 vovues and praier trained and called out of their owne cittie; began to looke after the tem-
 ples of their enemies and other newe habitations: little weetting that this was their last day,
 and fearing nothing lesse than that their wals should by undermining be overthrowen, and that H
 their Castle was full already of enemies: every man for himselfe ran armed to the wals, mervail-
 ling what the matter should be, that whereas for so many daies space no man stirred out of the
 Romanes Leiger, then of a sodaine (as if it were in a wood rage) they ran upon head so rashly to
 the assault. But hereto longeth a tale. That when the Veientian King was at sacrifice, this voice
 of the Southsaier was overheard out of the mine under the ground, THAT HE, WHOSE HAP-
 PY WAS TO CUT FORTH THE INVADERS OF THAT SACRIFICE SHOULD OBTAIN VICTO-
 RIE, and moved the Romanes souldiours, to breake out of the undermining, and to catch up
 the entrailles and bowels, and carrie them to the Dictatour. But as in things of so great antiqui-
 tie it sufficeth me, that those which carrie some likelihood of truth, be received for true: so for
 fabulous matters fitter in deed to make a shew in a stage plaie (where people take delight in such
 miracles) than to be sadly beleaved, it will not quit for the paines either to avouch them, or dis-
 avow them. The mine or cave at the same time (no doubt) full of chosen souldiours, yeelded
 forth all at once armed men into the church of *Iuno*, which was in the Castle of Veij. And some
 of them set upon the backs of their enemies that were on the wals: others plucked up the portcu-
 lis of the gates: some of them, whiles from the houses the women and servants flung downe
 stones and tiles, cast fire abroad. So that every place was full of cries and voices, partly of them
 that frightened others, and partly of those that were affrighted, with a confused striking of women
 and children. When as now in a moment, the armed souldiours were throwne down from the wals
 every where, and the gates set open: whiles some entered marching in array, others scaled the na-
 ked wals, the cittie was filled with enemies: and skirmishes there were in every place. After great
 massaker and execution committed, the fight began to quail: and the Dictatour commanded
 the Bedles to proclaime and give commandement, to spare the unarmed. Thus the bloodshed
 ended. Whereupon the unarmed people began to yeeld: and by permission of the Dictatour the
 souldiours ran to the spoile. Which being brought in sight of the Dictatour, of greater price
 and valor a good deale, than either was hoped or looked for: it is said that he stretched forth his
 „ hands towards heaven & praied, That if his own fortune and the felicitie of the people of Rome
 „ were thought by any god or man to be excessive, the envie belonging thereto, might be mi-
 „ tigated with as small privat losse of his owne in particular, and with as little common calamitie
 „ of the people of Rome in generall, as might possibly be. And it is recorded, that in this manner
 praying and worshipping, as he turned himselfe about, he slept forward and caught a fall. And as
 men afterward guessed by that which fell out, it was supposed that the ominous token boded
 the condemnation of *Camillus* himselfe, and the ruine of the cittie of Rome, which hap-
 pened within few yeares after to be forced and sacked. Thus was that day spent in the slaughter of
 enemies, and in rising of that most wealthie cittie. The morrow after, the Dictatour sold in port
 sale the bodies of as many as were freeborne. That mony only came into the common treasure
 not without some anger and repining of the Commons. And as for that bootie and spoile which
 they brought with them away, they counted themselves beholden therefore, neither to the Ge-
 nerall himselfe (who to colour and excuse his owne nigardise had referred the matter to the Se-
 nat: wherein he might have used his owne libertie and discretion) nor to the Senate: but unto
 the house of the *Lianij*, whereof, the sonne propounded the matter before the Senat, and the fa-
 ther was the author of so popular an overture.

When as now worldly & earthly riches, were caried forth & tumbled out of Veij by heaps, then
 began they to remove and have away the sacred gifts & oblations of the gods with the gods them-
 selves, but after the maner of devout worshippers, rather than of greedy spoilers. For chosen there
 were

A were out of the whole armie, certaine youths in the flower of their age, who having their bodies
 cleane washed, and being arraigned in white robes, had in charge to carrie Queene *Iuno* to Rome,
 and entred into the church with great adoration and reverence: and at the first, very charily and
 religiously laid hand upon her, for that (after the Tuscane maner) there used none to handle that
 Image, but the priest of one certaine tribe. After this, when as one of them, whether it were upon
 a certaine divine inspiration, or in some youthfull sport, cast out these words, WILL THOU
 VVEND TO ROME DAME *IUNO*? The rest with one voice cried alowd; That she gave a nod,
 and seemed thereto to give assent: whereupon this also was added to the tale, that she was heard
 to say, I WILL. But for certaine it is reported, that she was stirred out of her footfall, with the
 • helpe of a small levar, and that as she willingly was displaced, so she was easily removed and tran-
 slated, and so safe and sound conveyed into the mountaine Aventine, there to abide and remaine
 for ever. VVhich was the place assigned unto her by the vovues of the Romane Dictatour. And
 there *Camillus* according to his vow, dedicated to her afterwards a temple. This was the final
 end and fall of Veij, the richest cittie of all the Tuscans, which even in this last and uttermost
 calamitie shewed her mightinesse, that having been besieged round about continually the space
 of ten summers and winters, and in that time done much more annoiance and hurt than it recei-
 ved, was now at last through the necessitie of fatall destinie, gained rather by long siege and secrete
 undermining, than won by forcible assault and violence.

When tidings came to Rome of the winning of Veij, albeit both the prodigious sights that
 were seene, had ben expiate by sacrifice, and that the answers of prophets and wifemen, yea, and
 C the Oracles of *Apollo* were well knowne; and that so far forth as mans counsel and policie might
 helpe, they had chosen for Generall *M. Furius*, the most Noble captaine and warriour of all other:
 yet considering they had there warred so many yeares with variable fortune, and received manie
 losses and overthrowes, their joy was exceeding great, as if a thing had happened unlooked for.
 And before that the Senate could make a decree, all the churches were full of the dames of Rome
 giving thanks to their gods. And the Senate ordained by an Act, that supplications should con-
 tinue for foure daies, the like as never had been aforetime in any warre. The Dictatour also was
 met upon the way as he came home by all degrees and estates in greater number, and was more
 welcommed and honoured than any man aforetime, to that day. And the triumph far exceeded
 the usuall manner of the solemnitie to that day belonging. But most of all was hee himselfe all
 D goodly to bee seene, entering into the cittie in a chariot drawne with white steeds. And that was
 thought an honour, not onely unmeet for the qualitie of a cittizen, but hardly becomming the
 condition of any man whatsoever. For they made it a matter of conscience, that their Dictator
 should bee equall with *Jupiter*, and the sunne, in respect of their horses: for which onely cause es-
 pecially, the triumph was more glorious than gracious, and taken in good gree. Then assigned
 he and set out unto Queene *Iuno* a church in Aventine hill, and dedicated another to dame *Ma-*
tuta, and so having atchieved and performed these divine and humane deeds, he resigned up his
 Dictatorship.

After this began some speech about the Present to *Apollo*, Vnto whom, when as *Camillus* said,
 that he had vowed the tenth part of the spoile: and the priestes and prelates thought good that
 E the people should discharge their conscience in that behalfe: there could no readie meane be
 found how to command them to give backe againe the spoile, that the due portion thereof
 might be set apart for the holy oblation. At the length they grew to this point, which was thought
 the easiest course of all, that whosoever would acquit himselfe & his house in conscience, should,
 after he had made an estimate to himselfe of his owne share in the spoile, bring the value & price
 of the tenth part into the common chest: that thereof might be made a golden oblation, meet for
 the state of that Temple, becomming the power of that god, and answerable to the dignitie of the
 people of Rome. Yet even this contribution alienated the hearts of the people from *Camillus*.

Amid these affaires, there came Embassadors from the Volscians and *Aequians*, to treat for
 peace: and peace obtained they, rather because the cittie, wearied with continuall warres, might
 F now take rest and bee at quiet, than for any defects of them that sued for it. After Veij was taken,
 the yeare following had fixe Tribunes Militarie in Consul authority: two *P. Corneli*, namely,
Cossus and *Scipio*, *M. Valerius Maximus* the second time, *C. Fabius Ambustus* the second time,
L. Furius Medullinus the second time, and *Q. Servilius* the third time. Vnto the *Corneli* fell out
 by lot the Faliscane warre, to *Valerius* and *Servilius* the Capenates. Who neither assaulted their
 cities

citties by force, nor wearied them with siege: but forraied the countries, and drave booties away of such things as were in the fields, nor a tree that beareth fruit, nor any fruitful thing besides, escaped their hands: This distresse and calamitie subdued the Capenates: who thereupon sued for peace, and had it graunted. But amongst the Faliscians the warre continued still. In the meane time, at Rome there were sundrie seditions. For the appealing whereof, it was thought good to send a Colonie to Volscij, and thither three thousand Roman citizens were appointed in check-roll. And Triumvirs were thereto chosen, who devided to every man three acres of ground and a iulie, and one twelfth part. That began to be despised, because they thought it but a poor comfort offered to stop their mouths withall, and to put them beside a greater hope. For why should the Commons be sent away into the Volscians land, seeing there was Veij within their eyesight, a most faire cittie, and the land about, more plentifull and large than that of Rome? And as for the cittie it selfe, they preferred it, either for the site, or state of privat and publicke buildings and other places, before the cittie of Rome. Moreover, a motion also was made (which, after that Rome was woon by the French, was more hotely followed) concerning a generall transmigration and removing to Veij for ever. Marry, they intended that Veij should bee inhabited, partly by the Commons, and partly by the Nobilitie: saying, That the people of Rome might wel ynough inhabit two citties jointly in one state of Commonwealt. Against all this, the LL. of the Senate laboured what they might, and plainly said, they would sooner die in the sight of the people of Rome, than any of those matters should passe. For why? if there were now in one cittie so much dissention, what would there bee in twaine? Would any man be so mad, as to preferre a conquered cittie, before his owne countrie that had conquered the same? and suffer Veij after it is woon to be in better estate than it was afore, even when it was at the best? Finally, well might they bee forsaken at home in their owne countrie by their citizens, but to forsake their countie and citties, they would never bee brought by any force whatsoever. They would not follow to Veij, *T. Sicinius* as their founder, (for he amongst the Tribunes of the Commons perswaded this Act) and leave their god *Romulus* the sonne of a god, the first stockefather and beginner of the cittie of Rome. Whiles these matters were in handling with foule stir and much debate and variance, (for the Nobles had woon to their opinion some of the Tribunes) there was nothing else that staied the Commons hands from outrage, but this, that when as there was an outcrie made to begin the quarrell, and to set them together by the eares, the cheefe and principall Senators first came forth to the multitude, and offered themselves to be laid at, smitten and slaine. In regard of whole age, dignitie, and honour, they forbearing to doe violence, were likewise for shame staied in their mood, for any the like attempts besides. *Camillus*, taking vantage hereof, ever and anon in all places, made speeches unto the people, and said: That it was no marvell truly, that the cittie was in a rage and madnes, which being charged with a vow, made more care of all things els, than to discharge their conscience thereof, and to see it performed. As for the collation and gathering of a final donative, rather than a tithe, he said nothing of it: seeing that every man privatly bound himselfe thereto, and the bodie of the people stood freed thereto. But one thing there was, that his conscience would not suffer him to hold his peace, that out of that bootie onely which was of moveable things, the tenth was appointed to be levied: as for the cittie & ground that was won, which also was comprised within the vow, there were no words at all made. When as the debating of this matter, which to the Senate seemed doubtful and hard, was put over to the Priests and Prelates: their colledge calling to them *Camillus*, thought good, That whatsoever the Veientians had before the vow made, and whatsoever after the vow, came into the hands of the people of Rome, the tenth part thereof should be consecrated to *Apollo*. So both the cittie and the lands were valued: and monie taken forth of the cittie chamber. And the Tribunes militarie Consular enjoined, therewith to buy gold. Whereof there being not store ynough, the dames of the cittie having their assemblies and meetings by themselves for to consult thereabout, by a common decree made promise to the Tribunes militarie, and brought into the exchequer their owne gold, and all the ornaments and jewels they had. This was acceptable a thing, and as well taken of the Senate, as ever any had been: and for this their liberalitie (men say) they had this honour graunted unto them, as to ride to church and to plaies in hanging or ship-coaches, and as well on working daies as holidays, to be at their wagons. When the gold was of every one received by weight, and prised to the worth, that they might again be paid mony therefore: it was agreed that a standing cup of gold should be made thereof, & presented as an oblation to *Apollo*

at Delphi. So soone as they had eased and disburnded their minds of this religious vow, the Tribunes of the Commons began sedition a new. So as the multitude were incited and stirred up against all the peers, but above all other against *Camillus*: charging him, that what by confiscating & consecrating the bootie of the Veientians, he had brought it to just nothing. Those nobles that were absent they blamed and cried out against mightilie, but of such as were present in place, and offered themselves unto them in their anger, they had some reverence. Now so soone as they saw the matter in question to be deferred & continued past that yeare, they chose againe for the yeare following, those Tribunes of the Commons, which were the authors of that Act and law. The Nobles likewise endeavoured the same for those that should oppose themselves against the law. So the Tribunes of the Commons (a good part of them) were chosen the verie same againe. But at the election of the Tribunes Militarie, the Patritij after verie much adoe got at length, that *Furius Camillus* was created. They made semblance and pretended, that they would be provided of a Generall for warre, but indeed their purpose was to be furnished of an adverfarie, to withstand the Actes and proceedings of the Tribunes. Together with *Camillus* were made Tribunes Militarie in Consuls autoritie, *L. Furius Medullinus* the sixth time, *C. Aemilius*, *L. Valerius Publicola*, *Sp. Posthumius*, *P. Cornelius* the second time.

In the beginning of the yeare, the Tribunes of the Commons stirred not untill *M. Furius Camillus* was gone against the Falisci, as his charge required for that warre. And by delays afterwards the matter was well cooled. As for *Camillus*, whom of all other they most feared to be their adverfarie, he waxed great and glorious, by his service against the Falisci. For when as at the first, the enemies kept themselves within the walls, thinking it the safest way: he by wasting their countrie, and setting fire upon their villages, forced them to come forth of their towne, howbeit they feared to be too bold, and to go farre forward: and encamped themselves a mile and lesse from the towne; reposing their safety and securitie in nothing else, but in the dangerous and hard passage, the waies all about being rough, ragged, and stonie, in some places straight and narrow, in other up hill and stiepe. But *Camillus* having taken a prisoner out of the fields, and being guided by his direction, late in the night dislodged his camp, and betimes in the morning at breake of the day, shewed himselfe upon the higher grounds a good deale. The Romans on three sides, fell to fortifie by trenching and casting rampiers, whiles the rest of the armie stood readie ranged for battaile. And where as the enemies assaied to hinder the worke, he discumfited them and put them to flight, wherupon the Falisci were so frighted, that as they fled amaine in disaray, they passed beyond their owne campe, which was neerer; and made as fast as they could to the towne. Many were slaine and manie wounded, before that in this affright they could hit upon the gates. Their campe being taken, the bootie thereof came unto the Questors coffers, with the great grudging and anger of the soldiours. Howbeit, yeelding to the severitie of discipline and good government: the same vertue which they had hated before, they now honoured and held in admiration. After this was the cittie besieged, and sconces & platformes raised about it. Otherwhiles also, as occasion was offered, the townesmen would fallie forth and assaile the Romans campe, & make light skirmishes. Thus the time passed without anie great good hope of either side: for that they within the town besieged, had of their former provision more store of corn & other necessaries than they that lay at siege without. And it seemed they would have had as long a peece of work there, as they had at Veij, had not fortune yeilded to the Romans General, both a trial of his approved vertue in war, & also speedie victory.

It was the manner amongst the Faliscians, to entertaine for the governance of their children, one that should both teach and instruct them in schoole, and withall beare them company whatsoever they went: and many children together (as the guise continueth still even to this day in Greece) were committed to the charge and tuition of one man. As for the nobles and principall mens sonnes of this cittie (as it is usually everie where else) a speciall man had the teaching of them, such an one, as was thought most learned and the greatest clerke of all other. This man, having in time of peace begun to bring the children forth before the towne side, to disport and exercise themselves, gave not over his wonted manner now in time of warre. And using still to traîne them abroad one while neerer, an other whiles further off from the gate: it fel out so, that one day what with pastime, and what with pleasant talke and discourses, he drue them further than he accustomed: and seeing his time, went forwards as faire as the enemies *corps de gard*, and so forth on, till he had brought them within the compasse of the campe, and even to *Camillus* his pavilion.

lion. Where to his wicked intended act, he added also a more gracelesse speech, saying, That he yielded * Falerij into the Romanes hands, in that he gaue them those children to doe with what they would, whose parents were the rulers and commaunders of the cittie. Which words when *Camillus* heard, Thou comest not (quoth he) lewd wretch as thou art, with thy lewd & cursed present, either to a people or to a capitaine like thy selfe. We have not indeed with the Faliscians any league at all, by covenant of man concluded and established: yet by nature, there is and will be still a kind of amitie or societie betwene us and them. There are lawes due for warre as well as for peace: and those have we learned to observe no lesse iustlie, than valiantly. We bare armes not against that sely age, which usually is spared in raising and sacking of townes: but against armed men, and those, who being by us neither harmed nor provoked, have assailed the Romanes campe at Veij. And yet those enemies (as bad as they be) like as thou hast for thy part exceeded them, in a new and strange kind of wickednes: so will I conquer. I doubt not, by feats that the Romanes profess; by vertue, by travaile, by hardie fight: like as I have done. Veij already. After this he caused him to be stripped naked, and so with his hands bound behind him, he delivered him to the children, for to bring him backe to Falerij: and gave them rods withall, wherewith they might whip and drive this traitorous person forward into the cittie. At which sight the people at the first, came running together: and then the magistrates called a Counsell to sit upon this strange occurrent. But see what a change it wrought in their hearts. They who a while before were with hatred & anger so cruelly set, as that they withed rather in a manner to be destroyed with the Veientians, than to accept of peace as the Capenates had done: now throughout the whole citie required to be at accord with the Romanes. No talke in the market place, no speech in the Council house, but of the faithfulness and truth of the Romanes, and of the justice of their Generall. And with one general consent of all, Embassadors were sent to *Camillus* into the campe. And from thence by permission of *Camillus*, to the Senate at Rome they went, to deliver up Falerij: and being admitted into the Senate house, in this wise (by report) they spake: In that victorie (right honourable) which neither God nor man can chule but allow, are we by you and your Generall overcome and vanquished. And here we render our selves unto your hands: supposing this (than which to a conquerour there can be nothing more honourable) that we shall live better under your government, than under our owne proper lawes and liberties. The event and yssue of this warre, hath afforded to mankind two worthe examples to follow. Yee for your part have made choice to observe faithfulness in warre, rather than to attchieve a present conquest: and we again, by this your faithful dealing induced & provoked, have willingly yielded unto you the victory: confessing our selves now presently to be your leige & lawfull subjects. Send whom you wil, to receive our armor, our hostages, our town with open gates. Neither shal you ever repent of our allegiance: nor we think much of your rule & government. *Camillus* had thanks both of the enemies and of the citizens. The Falisci were charged with money for that years pay, that the people of Rome might be freed of their subsidie. Thus when peace was graunted, the armie was brought backe againe to Rome.

Whenas *Camillus* was returned after this conquest of his enemies into the cittie, with much better commendation, than when as in triumph he rode in a chariot drawne with white horses through the citie, as being now famous for his just dealing and faithfulness: secretly the Senate was abashed for verie reverence of the man, and could no longer beare, but without further delay to acquite him of the vow he made. So there were sent *L. Valerius*, *L. Sergius*, *A. Manlius* as Embassadors in one galley unwasted, to present unto Apollo at Delphi by way of oblation, a standing cup of gold. Who not farre off from the narrow seas of *Sicilie*, were encountered & boarded by certaine Liparenian pirates or men of warre, and had to Lipara. Now the manner was of that citie, (as common rovers use to doe) for to devide the prise amongst them. Haply, the chiefe officer or magistrate for that yeare, was one *Timasibens*, a man more like to the Romanes than his own countreimen. Who having himselfe some reverent regard of the name of Embassadors, and the present of the god to whom it was sent, and the occasion therof: possessed the multitude also (which alwaies lightly resembleth their governor) with due religion and pricke of conscience. This head ruler brought the Embassadors into their lodging, and entertained them courteously at the cities charges, wasted them with the convoy of a sufficient flecte: accompanied them in person to Delphi, and from thence conducted them home againe safe to Rome. Whereupon by an Act of the Senate, there was a contract made with him of amitie and mutuall

A mutuall intertainment, and giftes bestowed upon him at the citties cost. The same yeare there was doubtfull warre with the *Aequians*, so as it was uncertaine both in the armie and at Rome, whether they had woon or lost the victorie. The Generals for the Romanes, were of the Tribunes Militarie, *C. Acmylius*, and *Sp. Posthumius*. At the first they warred both together, but after, when the enemies were in fight discomfited, it was agreed, that *Acmylius* should keepe Verrugo with a garison, and *Posthumius* wast the borders. Where, as he marched somewhat negligently with his armie out of order, as presently after a field woon, the *Aequians* set upon him, and having put him in fear, chased him unto the hills next hand. The fight whereof came from thence to the other garison also at Verrugo. *Posthumius*, after that he had retired his men into safetie, and assembled them together, and there in an Oration greatly blamed and cried out upon their feare, and running away: and that they were discomfited by a most dastardly fugitive enemy: the whole host cried out with one voice, That they deserved to be told of it, and confessed that they had committed a foule fault; but they themselves would make amends therefore: and promised that the enemies should carrie it neither to heaven nor hell, nor joy long therewith. Requiring that he would conduct them presently to the enemies campe (which in sight was pight upon a plaine) professing to refuse no extremitie of punishment, if they were not masters of it before night. Hee then commended them, and willed them to refresh their bodies, and to bereadie at the releefe of the fourth watch. Now lay the enemies likewise in the passage, to intercept the Romanes, as they fled by night from the hill, even in the way which leadeth to Verrugo. And before day they encountred together (but you must thinke the moone shone all night) and saw how to fight, as well as by day light. But the noise being heard to Verrugo, strake so great feare amongst them, thinking, the campe of the Romanes had ben assailed, that for all *Acmylius* could doe to hold them, and to beseech them to the contrarie, they fled scattered to Tusculum. From whence the newes came to Rome, That *Posthumius* was slaine, and his armie lost. But hee riding about the hoast (after that in the morning betimes the day light shewed them that followed apace on every side, that there was no feare of ambushments and forelayings) charged them with their promises, and set them in such a heat, that the *Aequians* could no longer abide their violence. Then slew they the enemies in the chace every one, & made havock of them as they fled, more like men that doe things in a furie and rage, than by plaine valour. And presently upon the tidings from Tusculum (which put the citie in a vain or causelesse fright) there came from *Posthumius* letters, digit with lawrell, importing newes, that the Romanes had the victorie, and the *Aequians* the overthrow.

Because as yet the actions and sutes afore said of the Tribunes of the Commons could come to no end: both the Commons laboured to continue the Tribuneship in them that were the maintainers of the law preferred: and also the Nobles endeavoured to make those rulers againe that had opposed themselves against the same law. But as the Commons in their owne Election prevailed and had the better: so the Nobles were revenged of them againe for this greefe they tooke, by an Act of the Senate, that Consuls (hated magistrates of the Commons) should be created. Thus after fifteene yeares were Consuls reelected, *L. Lucretius Flavius*, *Servius Sulpitius Camerinus*.

In the beginning of this yeare, when as the Tribunes of the Commons bestirred themselves stoutly to goe through with their law, for that none of their brotherhood was about to denie and nip the same: and whiles the Consuls for that very cause resisted them as earnestly, and the whole citie was hereabout amused: the *Aequians* wan Vitelia, a Colonie of the Romanes, seated within their owne countrie. Most part of the Coloners (because the towne being by night betrayed and woon, yielded unto them free passage to escape away on the backe side) fled safe to Rome. So that service befell unto *L. Lucretius* the Consul, who went with a power, and vanquished the enemies in fight, and with victorie returned to Rome to a greater conflict a good deale. *Aulus Virginius*, and *Quintus Pomponius*, two Tribunes of the Commons the two yeares past, were accused: for whose defence it was for the credite of the Senate, That the Nobles should agree and sticke close together. For no man laid to their charge either dishonest behaviour in life, or corrupt carriage of themselves in their office, but onely this, That to please and gratifie the Nobles, they had set themselves against the Tribunes law. Howbeit the anger of the Commons went beyond the favour of the Senate, and (that which was a most shamefull precedent) they (guilelesse men) had a fine set on their heads of *ten thousand pound of brasen coin. Where

*Camillus rebu-
teth the Com-
mons.*

*Camillus his
speech in the
Senate.*

at the Nobles tooke great displeasure. *Camillus* openly blamed the Commons for this their wicked part: who now setting themselves against their owne patronnes, perceived not that by a perverse proceeding in judgement against their Tribunes, they had lost the libertie of opposing themselves with their negative voice: and take that away once, and farewell all authoritie of the Tribunes for ever. For where as they hoped that the Nobles would endure the unbridled and licentious libertie of that office, they were much deceived: for if these hard courses of the Tribunes might not bee restrained by helpe of the same Tribunes, the Nobilitie would find some other weapon to fight withall. He rebuked the Consuls also, for that they suffered those Tribunes to faile of their protection and safe conduct, who had done and said nothing but by the authority and warrant of the Senate. Whiles openly he used to make these and such like Orations to the people, hee thrust himselfe daily more and more into mens anger and displeasure. But to stir up the Senate against the foresaid law, he ceased not still: willing them, that when the day came of proposing the law, they should come into the common hall, with no other mind but this, To remember they were fight for god and countrie, for the temples of the gods, and the very soile wherein they were borne. And as for his owne selfe privately, if it were lawfull for him amidst these civile troubles of his native countrie, to thinke upon & respect his owne proper glorie, it were right honourable for him, to have the cittie which he had woon, peopled and reforted unto: and daily to behold and enjoy the memorable monument of his own glorie: to see before his eyes the very cittie, whereof the counterfeite was borne in the pompe of triumph: and that all men els should tread in the steps of his noble acts. But hee thought it a shamefull and abominable thing, that a cittie left and forsaken of the immortall gods, should be inhabited: and that the people of Rome should dwell in captive soile, and to make this exchange, to leave a naturall countrie which hath conquered, for it that hath beene conquered. With these persuasions and exhortations were the cheefe rulers excited, and the Nobles old and young, came troupe-meale, (when as the law should be propounded) into the hall. And as they were dispersed and sorted into Tribes, every one taking hold of those of his owne tribe, began to beseech them even with teares, not to forsake that countrie now, in the quarrell wherof they and their fathers had fought most valiantly and happily: shewing herewith ever and anon the Capitoll, the temple of *Vesta*, and other temples thereabout of the gods: that they should not therefore, drive the people of Rome, as exiled and banished, out of their native soile from their own home and house gods, into their enemies cittie, nor bring the matter thus about, that it had been better that *Veii* had not been woon, rather than Rome should bee abandoned. Because their dealing was nothing but by way of praier and persuasion, and in their praiers much mention and naming of the gods, the most part of them were touched in conscience: so as more Tribes nipped that one law for going forward, than gave their voices to approve it. Which victorie was so joyfull to the Nobles, that the morrow after, by the motion of the Coss. a decree was made, That amongst the Commons should be a division of seven acres for a man out of the *Veientian* lands: and not for householders onely, but that consideration and reckoning should be had also, in every house, of all free borne persons: to the end, that they should bee willing to breed up children to the like prooffe, and for the hope of like commoditie. When the Commons by this bountifull gift and liberalitie, were well pacified and stilled, there was no stirre at all to hinder the election of the Consuls. So there were created Consuls, *Lu. Valerius Potitus*, and *M. Manlius*, who afterwards was surnamed *Capitolinus*.

These Consuls set out the great solemn games and plaies, which *M. Furius* the Dictator had vowed in the *Veientian* warre. In the same yeare the Temple of *Iuno Regina* vowed by the same Dictator and in the same warre, was dedicated. And it is reported, that the dedication thereof was celebrated with exceeding great resort and forward endeavour of the dames of Rome. War there was (but not greatly to be spoken of) in *Algidum* with the *Aequians*, for that the enemies were in a manner discomfited before that they joynd battaile. *Valerius* because he followed still and killed the enemies in chase, was allowed by decree to triumph at full: and *Manlius*, that he should enter into the cittie only Ovant, in petie triumph. The same yeare arose a new war with the *Volturnians*: against whom by reason of a famine and pestilence that grew about Rome upon exceeding drought & heat, an armie could not be led forth. For which cause the *Volturnians* puffed up with pride, joining unto them the *Salpentes*, invaded first the countrie about Rome. Wherupon war was proclaimed against both nations. *C. Iulius* the Censor departed this life. In whose

roome

A roome *M. Cornelius* was substituted. Which after bred some scruple of religion, for that Rome in that five yeares space was taken. So that never after that is there any Censor chosen into the place of the deceased. And the Consuls also being sicke and thereby disabled to governe, it was thought good to take new counsell and advise of auspices or tokens of birds, by an Interregne: When as therefore by an act of the Senat, the Consuls had resigned their office, *M. Furius Camillus* was created Interregent. Who named after him *P. Cornelius Scipio*: and he afterwards *Lu. Valerius Potitus* to be Interrex. By whome were made six Tribunes Militarie with Consuls authoritie: that in case any of them should bee sicke and crasie, yet the commonwealth should have governours enough. The first day of July entered they into their office: namely, *L. Lucretius*, *Servius Sulpitius*, *M. Aemilius*, *Lu. Furius Medullinus* the seventh time. *Agrippa* *Furius*, *C. Aemilius* the second time. Of these, *Lu. Lucretius* and *C. Aemilius* had in commission to go against the *Volscians*: but *Agrippa Furius*, and *Servius Sulpitius* against the *Salpentes*. And first were the *Volscians* fought withall. A great warre in respect of the number of enemies: but for the conflict and battaile, nothing fierce and sharpe. For their armie at the first encounter was put to flight, and eight thousand souldiours were by the Roman horsemen environed, wherupon they threw their weapons away and yielded. The tidings of this war caused the *Salpentes* not to adventure upon fight: but they kept themselves armed within the wals, & stood upon their guard. The Romanes then all abroad drave booties both out of the *Salpentes* countrie, and the *Volscians*, and no man withstood their violence: so long untill the *Volscians* wearied with warre, had truce granted unto them for twentie yeares, upon this condition, To make restitution againe to the Romanes of their goods, and to paie the souldiours for that yeare their wages.

The same yeare one *M. Caelius* a commoner, gave notice to the Tribunes, that in the newe Causey, where now there standeth a Chappell above the Temple of *Vesta*, there was in the still time of the night a voice heard, louder than any mans, willing that the governours might have intelligence, that the *Gaules* were coming. This, by reason of the basenesse of the authour (as commonly it is scene) was not credited: besides, they were a nation farre remote, and therefore lesse knowne and of small accompt. Thus were not onely the aduertisements of the gods despised, when as their fatall time of destruction was toward: but also the helpe of man (which rested onely in *Furius Camillus*) they rid out of the cittie. Who being arrested to appeare at a day, by *L. Apuleius* a Tribune of the Commons, and to make answer for the saccage of *Veii*, and having buried about the same time his sonne, a toward young Gentleman, sent for home to his house, those of his owne tribe, his kinsfolke and followers, whereof a great part were of the Commons. And when he had founded their mindes, and received this answer from them, That they would defray and laie downe so much, as he should be condemned in: but as to acquit him, that they could not possibly. Hereupon he departed into exile: praying to the immortall gods, that as he was guiltlesse and wrongfully dealt withall, so they would with all speede, cause that *unamilleus* goeth into exile. *M. Furius Caelius* was thus expelled, who if he had garried still, (so farre as we may make reckoning of any earthly securitie) Rome could never have been woon: behold, embassadours come from the *Clusines*, requesting aid against the *Gaules*.

This nation (as it is reported) allured with the sweetnesse of corne and wine especially (dainty chaffer and a new delight in those daies) passed over the Alpes, and possessed those countries which had been aforetime by the *Tuscanes* inhabited. The voice goeth, that there was one *Aruns*, a *Clusine*, who had brought wine into Gaule, to entice that people withall, upon an anger and displeasure that his wife had beene deflowred by one *Lucumo* (whose guardian *Aruns* himselfe had been) a young gentleman of great might and power, and whom *Aruns* could not abasce, and bridle, without assistance of forreine forces: this man was the *Gaules* guide in passing over the Alpes, and the principall instrument to set them a worke for to assault *Clusium*. I would not for my part deny, but that the French were brought to *Clusium* by *Aruns* or some other *Clusine*: but most certaine it is, that they who assaulted *Clusium*, were not the first that passed the Alpes. For the *Gaules* two hundred yeares before they assaulted *Clusium* and won the cittie of Rome, came over into Italy. Neither fought the *Gaules* first with this nation of the *Tuscanes*, but long afore, and that oftentimes, with those that dwell betwene *Apeninus* and the Alpes.

For

For, the Tuscans had all soveraign command, both by land and sea, before the Roman Empire was erected. The names of upper and nether sea, wherewith Italie is compassed about, as it were an Island, may be a sufficient prooffe, how great and puissant they were: seeing, that the one is by the generall name of the Nation, called of the Italians, the Tuscan sea: and the other the Adriaticke of a towne or colonie of the Tuscans called Adria. The Greekes doe call the selfesame seas the ^a *Tyrrhene* & the Adriaticke seas. These Tuscans bending to both seas, inhabited those countries, consisting of twelve cities: having sent before on this side Apennine, toward the nether sea, and afterwards beyond the ^b *Apennine*, as many Colonies in number according to the princes at the first beginning, and held in possession all those parts beyond the Po unto the Alpes, except that Angle onely of the Venetians, that are seated about the gulfes of the Adriaticke sea. And doubtlesse, the nations about the Alpes, especially the Rhetians, had their beginning thus: whom the verie countrie it selfe made savage, so as they retained nothing of old, but the found of their language, and the same broken and somewhat corrupted. Now for the coming of the Gauls over into Italie, thus much we have learned. In the daies of *Priscus Tarquinius* king of Rome, the ^c *Celtes*, which are a third part of the Gauls, were under the rule of the ^d *Bituriges*, who chose a king over the Celtes, named *Ambrigatus*, a great potentate and mightie, both in regard of valour and vertue, and also of his owne private wealth and publicke weale: for that under his regiment, Gaule was so fertile of corne, and grew so populous, that the exceeding number of the people could not well be governed. This man being of great age, and desirous now to disburthen his Realme of that pestering multitude, declared that he would send *Bellovesus* and *Sigovesus* his sisters sonnes (two forward young men) to seeke adventures, into what lands sever the gods and goddesses should by their tokens direct them: giving them commission to gather what number of men they would, to the end that no nation might withstand their coming. So it fell to *Sigovesus* lot, for to enter the Forrest and woodland countrie of *Hercinia*. *Bellovesus* his fortune was a good deale better, to take his way (by the gods guidance) unto Italie: And he levied of the *Bituriges*, ^e *Averni*, ^f *Senones*, ^g *Hedui*, ^h *Ambarri*, ⁱ *Carnutes*, and ^k *Aulerci*, those that might be spared out of those countries: & setting forward with a mightie power of footmen and horlmen, came unto the ^l *Tricastines*. Now stood the Alpes full against them in their way, which I marvel not were thought insuperable and impassable, as having not as yet any way made over them, (so farre as anie constante record maketh date) unlesse we list to beleve the tales of *Hercules*. Now when as the Gauls there, were hemmed in as it were on everie side with those high mountaines, and that they looked everie way about them, how they might get over those high hills reaching up to the heavens, & so passe (as one would say) into an other world; they were staied there and went no further, upon scruple of conscience, for that it was reported, that certaine strangers seeking land to inhabite, were by the people of ^m *Sallies* set upon and assailed. These strangers were the ⁿ *Masilians*, who sailed from *Phocis*. This the Gauls supposing to be a fortunate oiling of their successe, helped them forward, and tooke part with them: so as what place first they gat after they were landed, they fortified within the wide or broad Forrests. They themselves passed through the countrie of ^o *Taurini*, and over the streights of the Alpes called ^p *Iulia*: and having vanquished the Tuscans in fight, not farre from the river ^q *Ticinus*; hearing that the countrie wherein they abode and settled, was called *Insubrium* (after the name of a territory and shire of the Heduians) they following and embracing the luckie name of that place, so conformable to the other of their owne, builded a citie and called it *Mediolanum*. Afterwards another power of Germanes with their captaine *Elitovius*, following the steps of the former Gauls; by the same streights (with good leave & favour of *Bellovesus*) passed over the Alpes, & remained there: and where now ^r *Brixia* & ^s *Verona* two towns stand (the ^t *Libui* then inhabited those parts) made their abode. After these, the *Saluvij* passed over, who expelled all the Ligurians that dwelt on this side the river ^u *Ticinus*, but onely the *Levi*, an ancient nation. After them the ^v *Boij*: and ^w *Lingones* passed over the hill ^x *Peninus*, dispossessed the Tuscans and the Vinbrians of their territory, yet so as they kept them within *Apenninus*. Then the *Senones* which were the last comers of these strangers, inhabited the countrie from the river ^y *Vfens* unto ^z *Athesis*. This nation I find to have come to ^a *Clusium*, and afterwards from thence to Rome: mary it is not certaine, whether this nation alone came, or that they were aided by all the Gauls that dwelt on this side the Alpes.

The Clusines terrified with this new warre, advising well both their number and the unaccustomed

A stomed looks, and visages of the men, which they had not seene afore, and their strange armour withall: and hearing besides that the legions of the Tuscans both on this side the Po & beyond, had bene often times by them discomfited: Albeit in the Romanes they had no interest at all in regard of any league or amitie, onely this, that they had not maintained their kinsfolke the Veientes against the Romanes, sent their Embassadors to Rome, to crave aide of the Senate. Aided they obtained none: Embassadors there were sent three, the sonnes of *M. Fabius Ambustus*, who in the name of the Senate and people of Rome should treat with the Gauls and persuade with them, not to set upon the confederates and friends of the people of Rome, namely, such as at whose hands they had received no wrong: saying moreover, that if they would put the Romanes to it, the Romanes were to defend them by warre: howbeit they thought it better, if it might be, to have no wars at all: but that the Gauls a new come nation should grow into knowledge and acquaintance, rather by peace than by warre. The embassage was mild and moderate enough, but the Embassadors themselves were over fierce and haiste, and more like Gauls than Romanes. VVho having done their message in the assemblie of the Gauls, were thus againe answered. Although the name of the Romanes was but of late heard of, yet they were persuaded that they were hardie men, at whose handes the Clusines in their feare, sought and requested succour. And whereas they choofe rather to defend their allies by way of embassage, than by open warre, they likewise neither disdained nor refused peace which they offered: If the Clusines would grant the Gauls (which wanted ground to inhabite) a part of their marches, whereof they held in possession more than they did well people and occupie: Otherwise, no peace would be had. And hereof would they have an answer, whiles the Romanes were in place: and if they were denied ground, they would also fight even before the Romanes face, that they might make report at home, how much the Gauls went beyond other men in valour and chivalrie. And when as the Romanes demanded againe what right they had to require ground of the owners, or to threaten warre? For what interest or title had the Gauls in Tuscanie? They againe stoutly made answere; That they caried their right in their swords point, and that valiant men were lords of all the world. So they were on both sides so set on fire, that they ran to their weapons and skirmished with the Tuscans. Then against all law of nations (a thing that hastened the destruction of the Romanie citie) the Embassadors tooke armes. Neither could this be so secret but it was known. For even before the ensignes of the Tuscans, there were sene three most noble & valiant knights of the Romanes for to fight: so farre exceeded the valor of those strangers above all the Clusines. Moreover and besides, *Quintus Fabius* riding out of the battaile on horsebacke, charged his lance upon the captaine of the Gauls, as he fiercely assailed the ensignes and battaile of the Tuscans, ran him through and slue him: and as he rifled and disarmed him, the Gauls tooke knowledge of him, and throughout the whole host notice was given, that it was an Embassage of the Romanes. So leaving their quarrell against the Clusines, they found the retreat, and threatened the Romanes. There were of them, that thought good presently to advance forward to Rome: but the elder sort prevailed, that there should be sent Embassadors first to complaine of the injuries, and to require that for the law of armes broken, the *Fabij* should be yeelded unto them. When as the Gauls Embassadors had declared their message according to their commission, the Senate nothing liked of the *Fabians* deed, and thought the barbarous Gauls required nothing but just and reason. Howbeit suit of friends and private respectes, would not permit to make an Act of that, in personages of so great marke and nobilitie, which they deemed meet and requisite. Therefore to the end it might not be imputed to them and they blamed, if peradventure any foile or overthrow should happen unto them, by warring with the Gauls: they referred the hearing & discussing of the Gauls demands unto the people. Where might and favour so much prevailed, that even they who were in question to be punished, were created for the year following Tribunes Militarie in Consuls authoritie. At which the Gauls being offended (as good cause they had) with open threats & menaces of warre, returned again to their companie. There were with the three *Fabij*, *P. Sulpitius Longus*, *Quintus Servilius* the fourth time, & *P. Servilius Maluginensis*. When as now so great danger was toward & neere at hand (see how fortune blindeth mens eyes, when as she will have her sway and not be hindered) that citie which against the Fidenate and Veientie enemy & other nations bordering therby, tried the utmost help, & oftentimes made a Dictatour: now being threatened with a strange enemy never heard of before, coming to war upon them from the Ocean sea and the farthest parts of the world, sought neither for governour

nor

The answer of the Gauls to the Embassadors of Rome.

nor helpe more than ordinary. Even those Tribunes, by whose rash dealing that war was first caused, had the managing of all: & made no more choise, nor mustering of soldiours than usually had been in common wars: making but a light matter of it and of no consequence, and setting little by, and elevating the rumour of the warre. The Gauls in the meane time having heard, how for the nonce those breakers of humane law were soone advanced to honour, and how their embassage was deluded and dalied with, all on a fire, (as they are a nation that way impatient and in anger outrageous) plucked up their standards forthwith, and marched with all expedition on their voiage. At whole noise and hurliburly (as they passed by in such hast) when as the townes thereby were put in feare, and ran to their weapons, and the countrey peasants fled away: they with open mouth gave out and signified, that they went to Rome. All the way as they journeyed, what with horse and men, both in length and breadth, they tooke up a mightie roome in their march. But what with the same that went before, and the messengers of the Clusines and of other people that followed one at the heeles of another, this speedie comming of the enemies brought right great feare and terror to Rome. For notwithstanding, that they went with a power of men in all hast sodainly mustered, hardly met they them at eleven miles end, where as the river Allia running downe from the hills of Crustumium, with a very deepe channell (not much beneath the highway) discharged it selfe into the Tyber. And now by this time the whole countrey before them, and all the coasts about were overspread with the enemies. And (as they are a nation naturally given to vain tumults and therein born & bred) with an hideous and dissonant kind of singing (like a blacke Santus) they filled all about with a fearefull and horrible noise. There the Tribunes Militarie without getting aforehand a convenient place to pitch their tentes in, without fortifying the same with any trench or rampiers, whereunto they might safely betake themselves, even without any regard of God, whom at leastwise they should have been mindfull of, if they had forgotten man, without Auspices and bird-tokens, without reconciliation to God by sacrifice, full unhappily and in an ill houre, ranged their battell divided into wings, for feare of being compassed with multitude of enemies. Yet might not the vaward answer the breadth of the enemies, norwithstanding they made their ranks and files so thin, that the middle ward of the battaille was weake, and skant joyning close together. On the right hand there was a little higher ground, where they thought to bestow men for supplie, which as it gave the first occasion of feare and running away, so was it the onely safetie of them that fled. For Brennus the Duke or prince of the Gauls, fearing exceedingly in that small number of the Romanes, some stratageme, and supposing that the higher ground was for this purpose kept: That when the Gauls should have encountered with the forefront of the legions, then the rescues would charge them both upon their backs and their flanks, displayed and advanced his standards against those in rescue: nothing doubting but if he had once driven them from their holde upon higher ground, on the plaine he should soone have the victorie, considering that in number he overwent them. See how the Barbarians had not onely lucke, but pollicie also on their sides! Contrariwise, the Romans in their camp were nothing like themselves, either for captains or souldiours. Their mindes were so possessed with feare & thinking of running away, and so forgetfull besides, that the greater part of them chose rather to flie to Veij, (their enemies citie) although the Tyber were full in their way, than to take the streight course to Rome, to their wives and children. For a while, the advantage of the ground defended those that were for rescue: but in the rest of the hoast, so soone as they that were next, heard the shout from the sides, and those that were farthest off from behind, before any stroke stricken, & before they were once touched, they fled from their unknown enemy, in a manner before they saw him. And so farre off they were from trying fight, that they answered them not so much as with a counter shout againe. So as there were not any slaine in fight. But they were killed behind at their backs, even by occasion of their own selves, who with their hurrying hindered one another in their flight. About the bancke of Tyber, whereunto the whole left wing was fled downe, and had flung away their weapons, there was a great slaughter. For many of them that could not swimme, and were weake, by reason of their weightie coslelets and other harnes, were drowned and swallowed up of the surging whirlepoles. Howbeit, the most part escaped safe to Veij. From whence there came to Rome, not onely no succour to guard the cittie, but not so much as a messenger to bring newes of this their overthrow. But from the right wing which kept farther from the river, and more under the hill, they all went to Rome. And finding not so much as the gates of the citie shut, they all fled into the castle. The very Gauls themselves

A selves astonished at so wonderfull & suddain victorie, stood still at the first in a great amaze, as who knew not what had happened, and wist not what to make of it. Afterwards they feared some ambush, and at length fell to gathering the spoiles of them that were slaine, and to lay all their armor and harnes upon heaps, as their manner is. At last, seeing no enemy nor shew of hostilitie, they put themselves in their journey forward, a little before sunsetting, & marched to the citie of Rome. Where, upon word brought by the foreriders, that the gates were not shut, nor any ward kept afore the gates, nor armed men upon the wals, they stood in the like amaze as before, upon so strange and wonderous a thing. But fearing the night & the situation of a citie unknown, they set them downe, and rested betweene Rome and Anio, having sent their espials and skouts about the wals and gates, to understand what their enemies meant to doe in so desperate a state. The Romanes, for that a greater part had taken their way to Veij, than to Rome, & weening that there was none left alive, but those that were fled backe to Rome, bewailing and bidding adieu, both to those that were dead, and those alive, set the whole citie almost a weeping and lamenting. But afterwards, the publicke feare astonished them, and tooke all sense away of their private sorowes, when they heard once that the enemies were come. And within a while, as these barbarous people coasted and ranged about the wals by troupes, they might hear their yelling, their houting, and uncouth, confused hideous cries. So were they held all the time in suspense of mind, until the second day after: one while thinking, that at their first comming they would have surprised the citie, for unlesse they had so meant, they would have taried (they thought) at Allia still: againe, a little before sunsetting (because the day was welne done) they supposed they would enter upon them before night. But anon they feared that they differed this enterprise until night was come, to the end they might strike a greater feare & terror amongst them. And last of all, the day light approaching, astonished them clean: so as they were in a continual agonie, even until the mischiefe came indeed which they so long doubted, & that now the bloodie banners of their enemies were displayed before their gates. Howbeit neither that night nor the day following, was the citie in the like feare, as when they fled so fearefully at Allia. For being past nope, that the citie could be defended with so small power as remained, they determined that with their wives & children, all their serviceable youth, such as were meet to bear arms, yea and the more able men, & strength of the Senat, should retire themselves into the castle & Capitoll: & after they had thither brought their armor and corn, from thence as from a defensible place to protect their gods, their men, and the Roman name: to save from fire and sword (so farre as they could) the Flamin of Iupiter, the vestall Nuns, & sacred images, and holy reliques of the citie: and not to abandon the worship & due solemnitie unto them, so long as any were left alive, to do them honor & worship. For thus they conceived, That if the castle and Capitoll, being the seat of their gods, if the Senate, which is the head and cheefe of their publicke counsell, if the hardie and fighting young men remained after that imminent ruine and fall of the citie, the lesse would be the losse of the aged folke, a number, (God wot) left behind of purpose in the citie, no otherwise like but to perish. And to the end that the multitude of the common sort might beare this more patiently, the elders that had triumphed aforetime, and been Consuls, openly gave out and said, That they would live and die together with them. Neither would they with those bodies of theirs which were unmeet to beare armour, and to defend the citie, surcharge and pester the companie of able & armed men, in this their penurie and want of victuals. These and such like were the consolations and comforts of the auncients among themselves, now resolute to end their lives. After which, they turned their exhortations to the companies of the young and lustie men, whom they followed into the castle and Capitoll, recommending unto their manhood and to their youthfull courage, all the estate remaining of that citie, which for the space of three hundred and threescore yeares, had in all their wars been victorious, and gotten great conquests. Now when they, in whom rested all hope and helpe, were departed, and had taken their leave of them, that resolved fully not to survive the winning and destruction of their citie: as the very thing in itselfe, and the sight thereof was a lamentable and wofull spectacle unto them, so the pittous weeping of women, and their uncertaine running up and downe, following now after one, and now after another: and asking their husbands and children, to what end, to what fatall destinie they betooke them, was as dolorous a pageant, as could happen to any earthly creature. Nevertheless, a great sort of them accompanied their friends into the castle, & no man either bad or forbid them. For although it was good and commodious for the besieged, namely, to diminish the number and discharge themselves

* Comitate rei
Rio de St. Jo.
Leandro.

of the feeble multitude, yet it seemed unto them an inhumane and unkind part. The rest of the common people especially, whom so small an hill was not able to receive, & could not possibly be kept in so great scaritie of corne and victuals, departed by heapes out of the citie: and marching as it were in one companie together in a row, tooke their way to Ianiculum. From thence they devided themselves sundrie waies. Some slipt into the fields and countrie, some to the next cities there bordering, without any captaine, without any common consent: every one following his owne hope, his owne head and wit, now that all publicke counsell was in despaire and past remedie. In this meane while, the Flamin of *Quirinus*, and the religious Vestall virgines leaving the regard of their owne private affaires, consulted with themselves what sacred Images to carrie with them, and (seeing their strength would not serve to rid away and save all) what to leave behind them, and what place was meetest to bestow and lay them up most safely. They agreed at length and thought it best, to put them in small barrells or rundelets, and within the ground to burie them in a litle chappell, standing next to the Flamines house: which place for very devotion unto this day, may not for any thing, be spit upon. At the rest they parted amongst themselves. And every one carying her owne burden, tooke the way, which over the wodden bridge leadeth to Ianiculum. Upon the ascent or rise of that hill, when *L. Albinus* (a Commoner of Rome) saw them going, as he among other companie (which unmeet for warre, departed out of the citie) caried his wife and children in a waine: he making even then in that hard calamitie, a difference yet between divine and humane things, and thinking it an impious part, and void of all religion, that the publicke priests with the sacred Images of the people of Rome should go on foot, while he and his, were seene riding at ease in a wagon, caused his wife and children to alight and come forth, and set the Nuns with their holy Images in their roomes, and brought them to Carre, to which place they minded to goe. All things now being set at Rome (as in such a time could be) in order sufficiently, for the defence of the castle; the aged persons above said being returned to their houses, waited for the coming of the enemy, with hearts prepared and resolved to die. Such of them as had borne offices of the chaire, to the intent, that they might end their daies in the ornaments and robes of their former estate and honour, and according to their vertue and deserts: in their most stately garments and habiliments, which they wore when they caried their sacred chariots upon feastivall daies, or wherein they rode in triumph, now sat upon their yvorie chaires in the very mids and entrie of their houses. There be that write, how they willingly devowed and bequeathed themselves to die for their countrie and citizens of Rome: and that *M. Fabius* the high priest read and pronounced unto them a certaine hymne & prescript some of praier, to that purpose. The Gauls, both for that now they had rested from fight a whole night, and so their choler was somewhat cooled, and also because they had not in any place fought a bloudie and dangerous battell with them, nor even at that time was the citie by any assault or force, entred the morrow after into the citie, without anger and heat of furious rage, by the gate Collina, standing wide open, and so passed forward to the common place of assemblies, casting their eyes about them towards the temples of the gods, and to the castle, which onely presented some shew of warre. And there leaving a sufficient guard, least happily from the castle and Capitoll they should be violently assaulted, after they were once asunder parted, they fell to ransacke and rife: and meeting none at all in the void streetes, some rush by heapes into the houses next hand, others goe to those that were furdlest off, supposing them at leastwise to be untouched, full of riches, and fit for to fill their hands. From thence againe (as frightened by reason of such desolation, and fearing least haply any fraud of the enemy might entrap them as they wandered one from another) they returned round in a ring together, into the market-sted, and the places neere thereto. Where, when they saw the Commoners houses fast shut to & locked, & contrariwise the stately palaces of the Noblemen and chiefe Senators standing wide open, they were at a stand, and doubted more in a manner to enter upon the open places, than the shut. And they beheld as it were with capping and crouching after a reverend manner, certaine ancient personages sitting in the porches and entries of their houses, who besides their ornaments and apparrell, above the ordinarie estate of men, for a certaine majestie which they carried in their countenance and gravitie of visage, resembled the gods. And when as they turned to them, and stood looking upon them, as if they had bene Idols and sacred Images; *M. Papyrius*, one of them, when a Gaul began to stroke his beard (which then they used all to weare long) with his yvorie Itasse (as they say) gave him a rap on the pate, and mooved his patience. Whereupon hee was the first

- A first that was murdered, and so the rest were: all killed as they sat in their chaires of estate. After this massaker of the honourable personages of the Nobilitie, they fell upon all the rest and spared no creature: they ransacked their houses, and when they were empty set fire on them. But whether it were that they were not all of them desirous to destroy the citie utterly, or that it was the minde of the leaders and chiefe of the Gauls, that for a terrour there should be seene some scaresfires (if happily for the love of their houses, they that were besieged, might be induced to yeeld themselves:) or that all their houses were not burned at once, to the end that the remainder of the citie might be as a pawne and pledge to mollifie their enemies and make their hearts to relent; howsoever, I say it was, the fire for the first daie (as usually in cities forced and woon) spread not all abroad every where, to make a generall havocke. The Romanes from their Castle, seeing the citie full of enemies, and in every streete running up and downe, and in all places fresh calamities and miseries one in the neck of another, were not able to conceive the same in minde and spirit, no nor so much as to have the right use of their eares and eyes. For to what place so ever the shoutes and dinne of the enemies, the howling and wailing of women and children, the noise of fire and the rattling and cracking downe-falls of houses turned them aside in exceeding feare, thither they bent their mindes their faces and eyes, as men by fortune set up a loft, as upon a stage or scaffold, to behold the fall and ruine of their countrie: reserved to save nothing of all their haviour and substance, but onely their own bodies: by thus much, more miserable and pittifull above all others that ever were besieged, in that being shut out from their native countrie and citie, they were besieged and beheld it, and all that they had, in the enemies hands. Neither, as ill as the day was spent, followed there a better night. Yea and when after this troublesome night the like morrow was come, there was no time, but minitied still some heaveie object: and one spectacle or other of new and fresh calamities. And albeit they were laden and overwhelmed with so many miseries, yet they nothing at all let fall or abated their courages, but resolved still, notwithstanding they saw all fired, all ruinate & laid even with the ground, manfully to defend that poore naked little hill which they held, and was their only hope left them to recover their freedome. And now seeing the same desolations daily happen, they were so injured to miserie, that past all sense and feeling of their owne state and privat fortune, they regarded nothing but their armour on their backs and swords in their hands, as the only remnants & reliques of their hope. The Gauls likewise for certaine daies, had made warre with the poore houses onely of the citie, and all to no purpose: and when they perceived in all this burning and ruines of the citie so conquered nothing now left but armed enemies, who were not, for all so many calamities, one jot terrified, nor their mindes once inclined to yeeld without further force and violence were used; they determine to trie the uttermost, and to make an assault upon the fortress. So on the morrow morning very early at sound of trumper, all the whole multitude of them, arranged themselves in the market place. From whence with an outcrie and shout, under a fence of targets over their heads, they approach the Castle. Against whome, the Romanes behaved themselves, neither unadvisedly, nor fearefully, strengthening their wards and quarters, with a good *Corps de guard* against all Advenues: and whereas they saw the banners displayed, that way they opposed their strongest guardes: and suffered the enemies to climbe up the hill, supposing that the higher they were got up, so much the easilier they might be beaten downe. And being come up to the midst of the cliffe, there they staid: and thence from the higher ground, which of it selfe in manner bare out against the enemy, with all their force they charged upon the Gauls, and overturned them, and sent them downe headlong: so as never after that, either any part of them, or all together would attempt that kinde of service. Being therefore past hope to get up by force and armes, they make preparation for long siege: whereof untill that time they had no minde: both for that the corne which was within, they had consumed in burning of the citie, and in the meane space, that which was in the countrie about, was carried and brought to Veij. Whereupon they devided their armie, purposing with one part thereof, to forrey and drive booties all about the nations thereby adjoining, and with the other to invest the Castle: to the end, that the forragers abroad might bring in corne to serve them that lay at the siege. Nowe as those Gauls departed from the citie, it was their hap and fortune to come to Ardea (where *Camillus* aboad in exile) there to make triall of the Romanes valour. This *Camillus* being more pensive in the behalfe of the publicke calamitie, than carefull of his owne: spending his spirits and wasting his bodie with crying out, upon gods and men: thus fretting and chafing with himselfe,

selfe, and wondering what was become of those valiant and hardie men, who under his conduct
 wan Veij and Falernj, and who had fought other warres more valiantly alwaies than fortunately:
 of a fodaine he heard that the armie of the Gaules approched, and that the Ardeates in great
 feare, fell to consultation thereabout, what to doe: and even as if he had beene inspired from
 God above, he put himselfe forward and entred into the midst of the people assembled, who
 heretofore, had abstained and forbore such publike meetings and consultations. And thus he
 said: You my Masters of Ardea, mine olde friends sometime, and now my new neighbours and
 fellow citizens, for so it is fallen out by your kindnesse and deserts, and by mine owne fortune and
 condition: let no man thinke, that I, forgetfull of mine owne estate, am come forth hither into
 this audience. But the present object and publike danger forceth every man to utter and bring
 forth in so fearefull a time and businesse as this is, what helpe he can. And when shall I ever bee
 thankfull unto you for your favours and demerits, if now I stand still and do nothing? Or where
 shall I ever stand you in steede, if not in warre? By my skill herein, I flourish in my countrie,
 and being in warre invincible, was in peace by unthankfull neighbours and unkinde citizens
 banished. And now have yee good occasion offered and opportunitee (O yee Ardeates) both
 to make recompence, for those to great pleasures and curesies in times past received of the peo-
 ple of Rome, as your selves doe well remember, (and therefore be it spoken without upbraiding
 and reproching of any mindfull persons) and also to winne great honour of warre, unto this citie,
 by defeating a common enemie unto both. This nation, which thus commeth towards us
 with a dissolute and disordered armie, are those to whome God and nature hath given bodies
 more big and corpulent than strong and able, hearts more stout and courageous than constant
 and resolute: whereby they bring with them alwaies into the field more shew of terror, than true
 valour and execution. Whereof, the late foile and discomfiture of the Romanes may be a suffi-
 cient prooffe and triall. They woon the citie when the gates stood open unto them: a small
 power from the Caffe and Capitoll was able to withstand and repell them. And wearie alreadie
 of the tediousnesse of siege, they are faine to depart, stragling up and down, and wandring along
 the countrie. Their manner is when they have filled their bellies with wine and good victuals,
 (which they devour full greedily and hastily whersoever they can come by it:) so soone as night
 commeth on, without any place of defence, without watch or ward, to lay themselves along like
 bruit beasts, here and there by the waters sides. And now upon their good successe, are they
 more secure and retchlesse, than they were wont to be. If ye be disposed to defend your wals, and
 not all to turne French, gather your selves together, and at the first watch of the night, Arme, and
 to your weapons: Follow me to a massaker and not to a skermish: for if I doe not deliver them
 unto your hands fast a sleep to be hewen in pieces like sheep & oxen, I refuse not to see the same
 end of mine estate at Ardea, that I have found alreadie at Rome. There was not one there, how-
 ever affected he was, friend or fo to *Camillus*, but was perswaded that the like warrior was not
 in those daies to be found againe. The assembly being broken up, they refresh their bodies, re-
 adie to fight so soone as ever the Signall should be propounded. Which being put forth, in the
 beginning and first watch of the night, they were readie with *Camillus* at the gates. And gone
 they were not farre from the towne, but they found (as it was foretold them) the Gaules camp
 without *Corps de guard*, neglected on every side: and it with a mightie crie they assaile. There
 was in no place fight, but killing every where: and their naked bodies (as they lay fast a sleepe) were
 hacked and curin pieces. Howbeit, some of those that were furthest off, being feared out of their
 couches, not knowing what violence or from whence it was, tooke to their heels and fled: other-
 some stumbled at unawares upon the very enemie. A great part of them being come into the ter-
 ritorie of Ardea, were by the townesmen, who sallied out upon them as they were dispersed, en-
 vironed and slaine. The like slaughter to this, there was of the Tuscans in the countrie of Veij:
 who had so little pittie and compassion, to see a citie which well neare for foure hundred yeare
 space bordering upon them, was now surprisid by a strange enemie not heard of afore, that even
 at that very time, they made rodes into the territorie of Rome, and laden with bootie from
 thence, purposed to assaile even Veij also and the garrison, being the onely place and means of
 rescue, and the last hope of the Romane name. The Romane soldiours that lay in garrison
 there, had espied these Tuscans raunging about the countrie, and gathered together in a plump
 to drive booties afore them: and withall they desired their campe pitched not farre from Veij.
 Where, at first they pittied their owne estate, but after, they fell into an indignation & anger that
 the

A the Tuscans also, from whom they had diverted the Gaules warre upon themselves, should in
 their calamities thus scorne them and have them in derision: so as they could scarcely temper
 themselves and forbear, but presently set upon them. But being staid perforce by captain
Ceditius a Centurion whome they themselves had made their ruler, they put off this exploit
 untill night. Onely their Commander and leader, was not to be compared with *Camillus*: els
 all the service was achieved in the same order, and with as good speede and happie successe.
 Over and besides, by the guidance and direction of those prisoners which remained unslaine over
 night, they went forward as farre as Salinae, to another power of the Tuscans, and in the night
 following, upon a suddaine they made a greater havock and slaughter of them, and so in ioyous
 manner with double conquest they returne to Veij. At Rome in this meane time, the siege for
 the most part was but cold and slack, and all quiet on both sides: whiles the Gaules regarded and
 looked to this only, That none of their enemies should make an escape through their guards. At
 what time a certaine valiant yong Romane behaved himselfe so, as his own countrimen and ene-
 mies too, had him in great admiration. There was a set sacrifice or solemnitie to be celebrated
 by the house and lineage of *Fabij*, in the mount *Quirinalis*. For the accomplishment wherof, *Caius*
Fabius Dorsuo in his holy robes after the Gabines fashion, bearing in his hand the holy comple-
 ments thereto belonging, came down from the Capitol, passed through the mids of the enemies
corps de gard, and nothing moved whatsoever was done or said to terrifie him, went on forth right
 to the mount *Quirinal*. And when he had there performed and dispatched all solemnities, return-
 ing the same way with like constant countenance and comelie pace, hoping assuredlie, that the
 gods would be merciful & gracious unto him, whose worship he had not left undone for any fear
 of death: he retired againe to his companie into the capitoll: whether it were that the Gaules
 were astonied at his wonderous boldnes, or rather were touched in conscience with a reverent
 regard of religion, wherein that nation is verie zealous and devout. At Veij in the meane while,
 they gathered not onlie heart everie day more than other, but strength & forces also: for that not
 onlie Romanes thither repaired out of the countrie, such as either in discomfiture of the bat-
 taile, or for the calamitie of the citie now taken, had beene scattered: but also out of Latium
 divers of their owne accord had flocked thither, to have their share in the pillage. Now they
 thought it high time to returne to their countrie againe, and to deliver it out of the enemies
 hands. The bodie was strong enough, but without an head it was. The verie place put them in
 D, mind of *Camillus*, and a great part of the soldiours were such as had atchieved prosperous ex-
 ploites under his leading & conduct. And *Ceditius* gave out plainly, that no god or man should
 make him give over his governement, but would himselfe as mindfull of his own place, call for a
 Generall. So by general consent it was agreed, that *Camillus* should be sent for from Ardea, but
 with the advice before of the Senate which was at Rome. So modest were they in all their cari-
 age, and so precisely observed they (even in this their desperate case) the due respect and regard
 of everie action. Now to passe through the wards of their enemies, was an hard and dangerous
 adventure. To this exploit therefore, *Pontius Cominius*, a valerous yong man, promised his ser-
 vice. Who bearing himselfe upon a barke or corke under him, hulled along the Tyber downe
 the water to the citie; and so the next way from the strond, over a steepe cliffe (which
 was negligently or not at all garded by the enemie) he passeth through the Capitoll, and being
 E brought to the magistrates, declareth there his message from the armie. When he had received
 the Senats decree to this effect: *Imprimis*, That *Camillus* should be called back againe out of ex-
 ile by a Ward-leet, or the suffrages of the *Curia*: *Item*, that by the voices of the people he should
 be created Dictator out of hand: and that the soldiours might have for their Generall whom they
 desired: the messenger returned the same way backe againe to Veij. And embassadours were sent
 to *Camillus* at Ardea, who conducted him to Veij. But I would rather beleeve, that he departed
 not from Ardea, before he had certaine intelligence of the A& of the Senate. And for that nei-
 ther without the will of the people, he might change the place wherto he was confined, nor un-
 lesse he were named Dictatur, have the conduct of the armie; there passed an A& of all the
 F wards, and Dictatur was he declared in his absence. Whiles these things were a doing at Veij,
 the cattle of Rome and the capitoll was in verie great danger. For the Gauls, either having found
 out a mans footing, that way as the messenger went from Veij, or espied at the cliffe of *Carmen-*
tis, an easie place to climbe up: in a cleere night sent a man before unarmed to assay the passage,
 and than gave him up his armour, and where it was steepe, one helped, lifted up, and drew up an
 other

The adventure
 of Pontius
 Cominius.

*Camillus chosen
 Dictatur.*

other, as the difficultie of the place required. So as they got up to the top with such silence, that not onely the Sentinels were not ware of them; but also the dogs (a watchfull creature at everie noise in the night) were not once awakened therewith. But they could not so escape the geefe, which were consecrated unto *Iuno*, and for all the scarcitie of victuals, were spared and not killed up. And this it was that saved them all. For with their gagling and fluttering of their wings, *M. Manlius*, who three yeares before had been Consul, a right hardie & noble wariour, was awaked. Who taking weapon in hand, speedily went forth and raised the rest withall to take armes. And whiles all else made hast in a great fright, he strooke the Gaule who now stood upon the top, with the hofse and pike of his buckler, and turned him downe. The fall of whom overthrew them that were next. Then slew he others, (whiles they were in feare) who had laid their weapons out of hand, and tooke hold of the stones wherto they clinged close. By which time, the rest being come together, some flinging darts, others casting downe stones, tumbled their enemies backe, and the whole power of them lost their sure footing and fell downe headlong. This tumult being appeased, the rest of the night (so farre forth as men might with troubled minds, seeing that even the danger past disquieted them) they gave themselves to sleepe. When day was come, the soldiours by sound of trumpet were summoned to assemble before their Tribunes, and considering there was reward due both to well doing and misdoing: *Manlius* first for his valour was commended and rewarded, not only by the Tribunes militarie but also by consent of all the soldiours. Upon whom, they amongst them all, bestowed and brought home to his house (which stood upon the cattle hill) wheat meale by the halfe pintes, and wine by the quartes. A matter of small reckoning to be spoken of: but in that scarcitie, this might be an argument of their love and affection, when everie man beguiled his owne belly, plucked from himselfe and the necessities of his life, and conferred the same to the honour and recompence of that one man. Then were summoned to appeare the sentinels of that place where the enemy climbed up undescried. And whenas *P. Sulpitius* a Tribune Militarie, had pronounced that he would exercise martiall law upon them all, the soldiours cried out with open mouth, and laid all the fault on one watchman: and so for feare of a mutinie he spared all the the rest: and with their generall consent and approuse, he caused that undoubted guiltie person to be throwne downe from the rocke. Whereupon they were more careful and circumspect in their watch, both amongst the Gaules (because it was commonlie noised that there passed messengers too and fro betweene Veij and Rome:) & also amongst the Romanes, for the remembrance of the late danger by night. But above all other miseries that follow warre and siege, the famine was fore in both the armies. The Gaules were plagued with pestilence besides: for that they had pitched their tentes in a place lying between two hills; exceeding hote by reason of the fires, and full of smoake, carying both dust and ashes, when any wind was stirring: which be things that of all others, that nation can not abide, as being used to wet and cold. Thus being smudged with heat, and therewith stifled and choked againe, they died with contagious diseases like rotten sheepe. And now for idlenes that they would not burie them severally one by one, they laid the dead bodies on heaps one with another, and so burnt them: and made that place famous and notable by the name of *Busta Gallica*. Hereupon, they grew to make some truce with the Romanes, and emparled together by sufferance of the Generals. In which parties, whenas the Gaules estoones alleadged the famine, and upon that extremitie perswaded them to yeeld: it is said, that the Romanes for to put them by that opinion of them, in many places from the capitoll flong out loaves of bread into the verie stations and *corps de guard* of the enemies. But at length neither could their hunger be dissembled, nor sustained any longer. Therefore, whiles the Dictatour mustereth a power at Ardea by himselfe, he commaundeth the Generall of horsemen, *L. Valerius*, to have away the armie from Veij: and maketh so good preparation, & furnisheth himselfe so, as he might be able to match his enemies, and to charge upon them. In the meane season, the armie of the Capitoll wearied out with watching and warding, having surmounted all humane miseries besides hunger, which onely of all others, nature would not suffer to be overcome: looking day by day for succour from the Dictatour, now at the last when not onely their food, but their hope also failed them, and were grown to that weaknesse, that when they went to keepe their gard, they could hardly beare the weight of their armour, they agreed and gave consent either to yeeld or to ransom themselves vpon any condition, they cared not what. While the Gaules also gave forth plainly, and said, they might be entreated for a small consideration to give over siege. Then the Senate went together, and

A and gave commission to the Tribunes Militarie, to bargain and goe through with them. So by a parley or treatie had betweene *P. Sulpitius* Tribune Militarie, and *Brennus* the Duke of the Gaules, a conclusion was made, and that people, who within a short time should bee lords of the world, were valued and esteemed at a * thousand pound weight of gold. This in itselfe was a most odious and shamefull thing, but there was adjoined thereunto a foule indignitie. For the Gaules brought forth false weights and uneven ballance. And when the Tribune refused them, behold, the insolent and proud Gaule would needs have his sword weighed too for vantage, adding this speech moreover (which was intollerable for the Romanes to heare) *We worth men conquered, and downe with them still*. But neither God nor man would abide the Romanes to live ransomed. For by good hap, before that shamefull summe of monie by composition was paid, before (I say) that upon some wrangling that fell betwene, all the gold was weighed out, commeth the Dictatour in the manner, and commandeth the gold to be had away, and the Gaules to void. And when as they made resistance and pleaded the capitulation & bargain, hee againe replieth and saith, That the composition was not good, nor ought to stand, which after hee was made Dictatour, had been by an inferior Magistrate concluded, without his commandement and warrant: and withall warneth the Gaules to prepare themselves to fight: commanding his owne soldiours, to cast all their bag and baggage downe on a heape, to put on their harness, to make readie their weapons, and by dint of Steele, and not by weight of gold to redeem their countrie, having in sight before their eies, the churches of their gods, their wives and children, and the soile whereon the citie stood (deformed now with miseries of warre) and all things els which they ought by good reason to defend, recover, and be revenged for. Hereupon he marshalleth his battaile as the ground would give him leave, being the plot onely of a citie halfe ruinate and lying along, and withall of it selfe naturally uneven. Forcassing and providing for all things with especiall choice and preparation to serve his soldiours turne, as farre as martiall skill could possible reach. The Gaules affrighted at this strange an occurrent, betooke them to their weapons, and in a furious fit of anger, rather than with any considerate discretion, they ran upon the Romanes. Now had fortune turned her wheele: now Gods helpe and mans pollicie assisted the Romanes. Therefore at the first encounter the Gaules were discomfited with as little difficultie, as they themselves had achieved the victory at Allia. Afterwards also, in another more set battaile in the way of Gabes, about eight miles from Rome (to which place they were fled) they were vanquished by the conduct and leading of the same *Camillus*. For there were they slaine in every place, their campe taken, and not so much as one left to bring news of their overthrow. The Dictatour having thus delivered his countrie out of the enemies hand, returneth againe with triumph into the citie. And in all the sports and pleasant ditties which the soldiours rudely after their manner devised, he was stiled *Romulus* the father of the countrie, the second founder of the cittie, which were no vaine titles of commendation.

When he had saved his countrie thus in warre, he preserved it afterwards againe undoubtedly in time of peace, namely, in gainsaying their transmigration to Veij: whiles both the Tribunes enforced that matter more earnestly, now after the burning of the citie, and the Commons also of themselves were more enclined therunto, than before. Which was one cause, that after his triumph he resigned not up his Dictatorship: being requested also by the Senat not to leave the citie in so doubtfull tearmes of perplexitie. And first and formost (as hee was evermore a most precise devout man and religious) hee proposed those things which concerned the immortall gods: and causeth an act of the Senate to be made. *Imprimis*, that all the temples (for that the enemies had held and possessed them) should be repaired, bounded out new, and purged. *Item*, that the manner of cleansing them, should be searched out of the bookes of *Sibylla* by the *Dumvirs*. Moreover, that with the inhabitants of *Cære*, there should be made a league of publicke and mutuall hospitalitie, for receiving the sacred Images and priests of the people of Rome: by the meanes and favour of which people, the honour and service of the immortall gods was not forelet and discontinued. *Item*, That there should be set out the Plaies called *Sibyllini*, for that *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* had still defended and preserved his owne seat, and the Keepe of the people of Rome, in that feartull time of trouble. And that *M. Furius* should ordain a guild, or fraternitie out of those that dwelt in the hill of the capitoll, for the celebration of those plaies. Finally, to the end there should be also some satisfaction & expiation made of that night voice which being

being the fore-messenger and warning-giver of their destruction before the coming of the Gaules, was heard and yet neglected, a motion was made, that a temple should be erected in the new cauley to *Aius Locutius*. The gold which was recovered by force from the Gaules, as also that which out of other temples in that fearefull medley, was brought into the chancell or chapel of *Iupiter*, because they could not call to mind precisely into which churches, they were to carrie it againe accordingly, was all judged holie, and sacred to *Iupiter*; and order taken, that it should be bestowed and laid up under his thrine. And how devout the citie was, appeared before in this, That when there was not gold ynough in the common chest, to make up the full summe of the ranfome that was agreed upon betweene them and the Gaules, they tooke that which the matrons & wives of Rome contributed, and all to spare and save the gold appointed to holy uses. The matrons were therefore thanked, and this honour besides done unto them, That after their death they as well as their husbands, should be openly praised in a solemne funerall Oration. When those things were once accomplished which pertained to the gods, and all done that belonged to the Senate for to doe: then and not afore, upon the stirres that the Tribunes kept with the Commons continually, with their speeches in all their assemblies, solliciting them to leave the ruines of the citie, and to remoove with all they had to Veij, a towne readily furnished to their hand: then I say and not before, *Camillus* accompanied with the whole Senate, came up into the common place of audience, & there before the people spake in this wise. So grievous to me, *o Quirites*, is all contention and variance with the Tribunes of the Commons, that while I lived at Ardea, I found no other comfort and solace, in that most heavie & wofull banishment of mine but this, That I was farre ynough off from those debates and jarres. In regard whereof, I would never have come againe I assure you, but that you called me backe, both by Act of Senate and also by approbation of the people. And it is not in me any change of mind, but your calamitie and distressed estate, that hath forced me to returne againe unto you. For this was the verie point that you stood upon, namely that our countie might continue still and keepe her ancient place: and not ywis, that I should remaine and dwell therein againe. And even now verily, would I be still and keepe silence willingly, but that this quarrell also is in the behalfe of my foresaid countie: the which to saile (so long as life doth last) for others might be a shamefull reproach, but for *Camillus* it were most impious and abhominable. For to what end have we returned to it again? To what purpose, when it was besiged have we delivered it out of the enemies hands, if when we have recovered it, we our selves abandon and leave the same? And when as the gods and men of Rome kept still, and inhabited the Capitoll and the castle, notwithstanding the Gaules were lords, and possessed of the whole citie, is it possible that both castle and capitoll, after the citie is regained, should be forsaken and abandoned of the Romane victors? And shall our prosperous hand over our enemies bring greater desolation to our citie, than adversity hath? Verlie if it were so, that we made no reckning of that religion and divine solemne service, instituted even with the foundation of our citie: and that we counted all vanities that have beene delivered unto us by tradition from our ancestors: yet so evident a power of God hath assisted the Romanes, that I must needs thinke, that men can now no longer neglect the worship of God. For consider with me I pray you, either the prosperitie or the adversitie of these yeares late past, one after another. Ye shall find, that as long as we served God and followed his will, so long we prospered and went forward: and all the while that we despised the same, we ever went backward and fel to decay. And first and foremost the Veient war (recount I beseech you) how many yeares lasted it? how troublefome and painfull was it? And ended it was not, before that by the direction, on and advertisement of the gods, the water was let out of the Albane poole? What shall I speake of this late and strange calamitie of our owne citie? Began it (and say truth) before that voice which came from heaven was made so light off, concerning the coming of the Gaules? before the law of nations was by our Embassadours broken? and before that through the same neglect of the gods, that fact was by us winked at and put up, which indeed should have beene punished and revenged? This was the cause that wee were vanquished, made captive, put to our ranfome, and suffered such condigne punishment both at Gods hand and at mans, as that we are made an example and ensigment to the whole world. Then our adversitie and affliction put us in mind of our religion, and the feare of the gods. We fled into the capitall to the gods, even to the verie seat of *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*: and when our owne private estate went to havocke, the sacred monuments yet and holy Images, some we hid in the earth, some we conveyed

The Oration of
M. Furius Camillus to the
people of Rome.

away into the neighbour townes, and remooved them out of our enemies sight. And albeit we were forlorne and given over both of God and men, yet gave not wee over nor discontinued the service of the gods. And therefore gave they us our countie againe, they gave us victorie, and the ancient honour of war which we had lost: and upon our enemies heades, who (blinded with covetousnes) in the weighing of gold brake both covenant and fidelitie, they have turned all fearfulness, all flight & slaughter. Considering then *o Quirites*, by these so great & apparent signes and testimonies in the course of this world, what it is to serve God, and what it is to dishonor him: perceive ye not what wickednes we go about to plunge our selves into, being scarcely gotten forth and escaped out of the shipwracke and perill of our former sinne and calamitie? A citie we have founded and built, by the will of God and due observation of Argurie and Auspices; no corner therein, but full of religion, full of divine majestie: and for solemne sacrifices, there are sett daies when they shall be celebrated, there are places also appointed where in they ought to be performed. And are ye about then, *o Quirites*, to leave all these gods both publike and privat? How forgeth this deed of yours with that, which lately during the time of the siege, was seene with no lesse admiration of our enemies, than our owne selves in that Noble young Gentleman *C. Fabius*? when through the pikes of the Gaules, he departed out of the Castle, and performed a solemne dutie of the house of *Fabius*, even upon the mount Quirinal? What? can ye allowe and like that the sacred ceremonies of private families, should not so much as in time of war be intermitted: and suffer now the publike sacrifices and the Romane gods, in time of peace to be neglected, and the citie abandoned? That our high priests and Flamines should be lesse curious and precise in the publike service of God: than a private citizen was in the Anniversarie feast of his familie and kindred? But peradventure some one may say, We will do the same at Veij, or we will send from thence our priestes hither, for to execute that ministerie. Neither of which can be done, saving the due observance of holy ceremonies. For, to say nothing in generall of all other holydaies, and of all the gods besides; In that one high feast and solemne dinner of *Iupiter*, can a Pulvinar be celebrated, or a sacred Table be spread and furnished in any place, but in the Capitoll? What should I speake of the eternall fires of Vesta? and of that image, which as a paunc and securitie of our imperiall state, is kept within the safeguard of that Temple? What should I speake of those your Ancilia and Scutcheans? *O Mars Gradivus*, and thou father *Quirinus*: are ye well contented that all these festivall and sacred solemnities, which are all of equal time with the citie, yea and of more antiquitie (some of them) than the foundation of the citie, should be forsaken in a profane place? But see what ods there is betweene us and our aunceltors? They left unto us certaine solemne feasts and sacrifices to be celebrated in the Albane mountaine and in Lavinium. Was it then, a matter of conscience and religion, that some festivall solemnities were brought unto us from our enemies cities to Rome? And shall we translate the same from hence to our enemies citie Veij, without a great and heinous offence, that would require expiation? Doe but call to minde I pray you, how often our feastes and sacrifices have beene renewed and reformed cleane, for that some one olde accustomed ceremonie, either by chance or for want of taking heede, hath been overslipped and left out. And even of late, what was it els that (after the strange miracle of the Albane Poole) releevd our common-weale so distressed with the Veient warre, but the reformation of our divine service, and renewing of our Auspices? And more than this, we as it were in remembrance of antique religion and devotion, have both brought unto Rome foreine gods, and also have instituted and devised new. What a notable and festivall day was that (in regard of the exceeding zeale and forward affection of the matrons) upon which Queene *Luna* late translated from Veij, was dedicated in Aventine? And to *Aius Locutius*, for a voice from heaven heard in the new cauley, we caused a Temple to be erected. The Capitoline plaies have we added to other solemne feasts, and thereto we have ordained and founded a new Guild or Fraternitie, even by the advice of the Senat. And what need was there, that we should have done any of these thinges, if we meant, together with the Gaules, to leave the citie of Rome? If we abode not in the Capitoll (so many moneths whiles we were besieged) willingly & without constraint? And if we were for feare of our enemies, held back from going els whither? Thus much of our festivall daies and Temples. But what shall become now? I pray you, of our priests? Never thinke ye once of it, what a finfull deed you are about? As for those Vestall Virgines and Nuns, it is certaine, this is their onely place, forth of which nothing ever could drive them but the winning of the citie. The Flamine of *Iupiter* may not lie forth of the citie

cittie one night: and will ye make these priests, of Romanes to become Veientians? And shall thy virgins indeed, *o Vesta*, leave thee now? and shal the Flamine dwelling in a strange place, for every night he is absent, taint with so great impietie, both himselfe and the common-wealth? As for other matters, which we doe with great solemnitie by the direction of the Augurs (and al well nere within the Pomerie or compasse of the cittie) howe can we forget or neglect them? Namely the wardleet or assembly of the Curie for matters of warre: also the other of Centuries, wherein ye chuse your Consuls and Militarie Tribunes, where can they be held (if we respect the will of the gods & regard the Auspices) but in the places accustomed? Shall we remove all these to Veij? or shall the people repaire hither from thence with so great trouble and inconvenience, to a desolate cittie, forsaken of God and man, whensoever they would hold those assemblies? But the present necessitie (they will say) forceth us to leave a towne that is wasted with fire and wholly ruinate, and to go to Veij, where all stands safe and sound, and not to put the poore Commons to the toile and charge of new building. That, this is a pretence and cause rather devised, than meant in earnest, if I should say nothing, I thinke appeareth manifestly unto you alreadie, *o Quirites*, who remember that before the coming of the French men, whiles your publike buildings and privat houses were whole, and whiles the cittie stood upright on foote, this selfe-same motion was made and debated, as touching the removing to Veij. Consider now yee Tribunes what difference there is betweene mine opinion and yours: ye are of minde, that if it had not then been meet to be done, yet now verely it were good and requisite: I contrariwise (but marveile not I pray you before you heare what I wil say) am of opinion that albeit we might have then gone, whiles our whole cittie flourished, yet now we were not to leave it thus ruinate & decayed. For at that time we had some cause to remove into a conquered cittie, namely Victorie, a glorious thing to our selves and our posteritie: but this removing now, were reprochfull and shamefull to our selves, but glorious and honourable to the Gaules. For we shall not be thought to have left our countrie as conquerors, but to have lost it as conquered. And shall it be said that our running away at Allia, the winning of our cittie, the besieging of the Capitoll, hath imposed this necessitie upon us, as to leave our house and home and to make shifts, to seeke our own exile and departure out of that place which we were not able to defend? And were, indeed, the Gaules able to pull downe and rase that cittie of Rome, which the Romanes shall not be thought able to reedifie and set up again? What remaineth now, in case they should come upon us afeish, with a new power of men, (for certaine it is that their multitude is incredible) and were willing to dwell here in this cittie by them conquered, and by you abandoned; but that ye gently permit and suffer them? Nay, What and if not the Gaules, but your old enemies the *Aequians* and the *Volscians* would remove & come to Rome, would you be willing to have them become Romanes, and your selves Veientians? Would ye not rather, that this desert and wast ground as it lieth, were yours, than to be a cittie peopled by your enemies? For I cannot see, I assure you, whether of the twain, were more to be detested. And because (forsooth) ye are loth to fall to building, are ye resolved to abide these mischiefs & these shameful reproches? If throughout the whole cittie theremight not be built a more commodious or stately house, than is that cottage there, of our founder, were it not better to dwell in cottages like shepheards & pezants, so it be among your sacred monuments and household gods, than all at once generally to go into exile? Our auncettors & forefathers being a medley of divers countries, & no other than heardmen, finding in these parts nothing but woods & bogs, in a short time built a new cittie out of the ground: and are we loth, having yet our Capitoll, our castle safe, the Temples of our gods standing stil, to reedifie it now, that it is burnt. That which every one of us would have done, if our houses had been fired, refuse we altogether to do in the common skarefire of the cittie? Give me leave a little. What & if by some vilanie, or by mischance there should be a skarefire at Veij, and by reason of the wind (as it is often scene) the flame spread and catch, and so consume a great part of the cittie, shall wee goe from thence by and by, and seeke to Fidenæ or Gabij, or some other citie neere at hand, to remove unto? Is the very native soile of our countrie, and this ground which wee call our mother, of no power at all to keepe us here, but doth the whole love and affection of our countrie, rest in the superficiall outside, and in the timber and rafters of our houses? Verily, confesse I will unto you (although I take lesse pleasure to remember the wrongs you did mee, than the calamitie which I endured) when I was absent and in exile, so often as I thought of my countrie, all these things ran in my mind: the hills, the plaine, the Tybre, the coasts all about, which was my daily prospect, and

A this aire, under which I was borne and brought up. All which, *o Quirites*, let them move you rather now with an affection to them for to tarie still in this your habitation, than disquiet you hereafter and torment you for the wait and misse of them, when you have once left & forgone them. Not without good cause both God and man chose this place for the building of this cittie: most healthie and holefome hills: a verie convenient and commodious river; to bring in come and other fruits out of the inland parts, to receive provision and other victuals from the sea coasts: the sea it selfe neare enough for commodities, and not exposed and open by too much nearness to the dangers of forraigne navies: the verie heart and centre of all Italie, a place as a man would say naturally made, and only for that citie to grow and increase in. And that doth the verie largenesse and greatnesse of a cittie so newly founded, plainly prove. It is now three hundred B threescore and foure yeares, and not above, since the foundation thereof, *o Quirites*. Amongst so many Nations of greatest antiquitie, thus long yee have made warre: and all this while (to say nothing of particular citties) neither the *Volscians* together with the *Aequians*, peopling so many townes, and those so strong, nor all *Hetruria* so mightie by sea and land, and containing the whole breadth betweene the two seas, are in warre to you comparable. Which being so, what reason have you (in the devils name) when ye have had sufficient prooffe alreadie of it, to trie again new experiments? considering now, that albeit your valour and vertue may goe with you elswhether, yet certes, the good luck & fortune of this place can never depart and remove from hence? Here is the Capitoll, where somtimes upon the finding of a mans head, answer was made by Diviners and wisards, That in that very place should be the head of all puissance, and the imperiall seat of the whole world. Here, at what time as the Capitoll, by the direction of the Augurs should be voided and cleared of all other chappels, *Ladie Juvenius*, and God *Terminus* to the great joy of our forefathers, would not suffer themselves to be stirred out of their place. Here are the fires of *Vesta*, here be the scutcheons come downe from heaven, here are all the gods, favorable & gracious still unto you, so long as here ye make abode & remain. *Camillus* in all his Oration throughout moved them much: but that part thereof touching religion (by report) was most effectually. But that which strucke it dead, and put all out of doubt, was a certain word that fell out to be spoken fitly to the purpose. For at what time as the Senate a while after, was gathered together in the court *Hostilia*, to debate about these things, and certaine companies of souldiours that returned from their guards, chanced in the meane time to march through the market place, one capitaine happened to speake in the Comitium, and said, *Pitch downe thy ensigne standard bearer, here will be our best abode*. Which voice was not so soone heard, but both the Senate being come out of the councill house, cried with one accord, That they tooke that offe for good lucke, and happy presage: and also the Commons all gathered therabout, approved the same. After this, when the foresaid Act of transmigration was once cleane dashed and abolished, the cittie began to be built confusedly, and without order. Tile was allowed at the common charges: to dig either stone or hew timber, every man had libertie where hee could, putting in sureties, that within the compasse of that yeare they would finish their buildings. The hast they made, caused them to have no regard of drawing out the streets directlie, whiles everie man built in the void places without any respect of his own or other mens ground. Which is the cause that the old finckes and vaultes which first were conveyed through the common streets, now run everie where under mens houses, and the forme of the cittie seemeth, as if it were built at random (as every man could catch a place for himselfe) rather than distinctly ranged, and set out in good order unto them.

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the sixth Booke.



T containeth the fortunate wars against the Aequians, the Volscians, and Tuscans. Four Tribes were added to the former, Stellatina, Sabatina, Promentina, Arniensis. M. Manlius, who had defended the Capitoll from the Gauls, while he discharged the debts of those that were in danger of their creditors, and released such as were then imprisoned, was convicted of aspiring to be King, and throwne downe from the cliffe Tarpeia. In whose reproach a device was made by the Senat, that none of the house of Manlius, should be surnamed Mancus. C. Licinius and L. Sextius, Tribunes of the Commons, propesed a law, that Consuls also might be chosen out of the Commons, who were created before from among the Nobles only. And albeit the Senators withstood them with earnest endeavour, yet by reason that for five yeares space, the same Tribunes continued the onely magistrates of the cittie, they went through with that law and gat it enacted. And L. Sextius was created the first Consul that ever was, of Commoners. A second law there passed likewise, that no man might possesse above five hundred acres of land.

The Recapitulation of the former five booke.



WHAT actes from the building of the cittie of Rome unto the taking of the same, the Romanes have achieved, first under the government of Kings, afterwards of Consuls and Dictatours, Decemvirs, and Tribunes Consular, as well in the wars abroad as seditions at home; I have in five books declared. Matters obscure, both in regard of exceeding antiquitie (as things that a farre off hardly be discerned:) and also for that in those daies there were very few writings & monuments, the onely faithful safeguard, & true remembrancers of deeds past: and besides, whatsoever was registred in the Commentaries of the Priests, and in other publike or privat records, the same for the most part, when the cittie was burned, perished withal. But now from henceforward, their civile affaires of pollicie, and martiall exploits in warre, ensuing after a second beginning of the cittie (as springing againe with more fresh shoots and fruitfull sprouts from the root of the old stocke) shall bee delivered in more plaine and certaine manner.

Camillus bare the Dictatourship, while Rome, which otherwise was divided within six months.

C. Fabius ended.

And to begin withall, looke by whom the state first was underpropped and set upright, upon him (as chiefe and principall) it still bare and rested, and that was M. Fabius: whome the Romanes would not suffer to give up his Dictatourship before one yeare was fully expired. As for those Tribunes (Consular) in time of whose government the citie was lost, they liked not that they should call and hold an assembly for Election of Magistrates, the yeare following. So the matter came to an Interreigne: Now whiles the cittie was busie in continuall worke and labour, about reedifying and repairing their buildings, Q. Fabius so soone as he was out of his office, was by C. Martius a Tribune of the Commons, arrested to make his answer at a day appointed. Who laid to his charge, That he contrarie to the law of nations, had fought against the Gauls, unto whom he was sent in embassage, and as an Orator only. But he avoided his judiciall trial, by his death: and died so just against the time, that many men thought it was voluntarie & wrought by his owne hands. Then P. Cornelius Scipio first entred upon the Interreigne: and after him M. Furius Camillus the second time. Hee created Tribune Militarie in Consuls authoritie, A. Valerius Publicola the second time, L. Virginus, P. Cornelius, A. Manlius, L. Aemilius, and L. Posthumus. These men presently after the Interreigne, were not so soone entred into office,

but

A but before all other things, they consulted with the Senate in matters concerning religion and conscience. And first of all they commaunded, that all the instruments of leagues and confederacies, the ordinances and laws also (and those were the twelve tables, and certaine statutes made by the kings) should be sought up as many as could be found extant. Whereof some were published abroad, even amongst the Common people: but such as pertained properly to holy rites, and divine service, were by the Priests and Prelates suppressed; especially, of purpose to hold the minds of the people in a reverent awe of religion and devotion. Then began they to reason and debate about the dismall daies. And the fifteenth day before the *Kalends of August, so notorious for a twofold losse and overthrow; upon which day at Créméra the Fabij were all slaine, and after at Allia an unfortunate field was fought, even to the utter ruine and desolation of the cittie, **B** they named of the later misfortune, *allensis*: and set this unluckie mark upon it, That it should be repented unmeet and inconvenient for any businesse, as well publicke as private. Some thinke, because upon the next day following the *Ides of Iulie, *Sulpitius* the Tribune Militarie could not by sacrifice find any tokens of happie speed, nor obtaine the grace and favor of the gods; whereupon three daies after, the Romane host fell shamefully into the hands of the enemies: therefore, the morrow also after the Ides was interdicted, and men were commaunded to forbear and abstaine from doing sacrifice: and thereupon likewise, the day next following the Kalends & the Nones, were by tradition held as ominous and dismall as the other.

But long they might not quietly sit about the devising of meanes to reforme the Commonwealth, and let it upright againe after so greivous and daungerous a fall. For of the one side, the **C** Volscians, their old enemies, took armes, intending the finall destruction of the Romane name. On the other side, the Marchants brought newes, That the Princes and chiefe of all the nations of Hetruria were banded and confedered together in a Diet held at the temple of *Voltumna*, to make warre upon them. Besides, a fresh and new feare came upon them by reason of the rebellion of the Latines and Hernickes, who after the battell at the poole Regillus, for the space almost of a hundred yeares, had continued fast in loyall league & amitie with the people of Rome. Therefore being thus greatly affrighted on everie side, that all the world might see apparently that the state of Rome was not onelie hated of her enemies, but despised also of her allies: it was thought good and resolved upon, that by his direction and rule, the Commonwealth should now be maintained and defended, by whose conduct and guidance it was relieved and recovered: and that M. Furius Camillus should be created Dictatour. He being declared Dictatour, named Q. Servilius Hala for Generall of the horsemen. And having proclaimed a law-steen (or vacation from courts of law) hee tooke muster of all the younger fort and serviceable men: but so, as the elder people were not left out, as many as were of strength sufficient for service. Unto whom hee likewise ministred the militarie oth of alleageance, and enrolled them by hundreds in the muster booke. When hee had thus levied a power of men, and furnished them with armour, he divided them into three parts. The one he opposed against Hetruria in the countie of Veij: another he commaunded to lie encamped before the cittie. Over these A. Manlius a Tribune Militarie was made captain: those which were sent against the Tuscans had L. Aemilius for their commaunder. A third part he himselfe led against the Volscians: and not farre from Lanuvium (the place is called Ad-Metium) he began to assault their campe. The enemies had put themselves on this their journey, with a kind of scornfull contempt, as thinking the whole manhood in a manner of Rome, was by the French cleane spent and wasted. But when they heard once, that Camillus was the Lord Generall, it stroke such a feare and terror among them, that they were glad to defend themselves by the strength of their trench and rampier, yea and to fence it round about with huge-piled heapes of wood and trees, that their enemies might have no passage to enter in upon their munitions. Which when Camillus perceived, he gave order to set on fire that Barricado which stood in his way. And as good hap was, the wind was big and high, and blew full upon the enemy. So that not onely he made way by fire, but also with the flames thereof that went toward the campe, with the vapor likewise and smoke, and the crackling noise of the greene wood, he so mated and astonished the enemies, that the Romans had lesse ado to passe the trench & palliado, into the campe of the Volscians, than in getting over the mound and enclosure consumed with fire. Having thus defeated and slaine his enemies, and won withall the campe in the same brunt, the Dictatour gave the whole spoile unto the souldiours: which to them was so much the more welcome, as they lesse hoped for it at their General his hand: who

V

was

was never knowne to be lavish of gift, and over liberall in dealing rewards. After this he followed G them that fled, in chase, wasted and haried their whole countrey, and at length (in the seventieth yeare of the warre) he wholly subdued the Volscians, and forced them to yeeld subjection. After this conquest, he departed from thence into the Æquians, who likewise made preparations for warre. Their forces he surprised and defeated at Bolæ, and assailed not onely their campe, but also forced the citie, and at the first assault wan both.

But while fortune smiled thus, what way soever *Camillus* went, as being the onelie staie of the Romane state: so on another side the feare of perill greatlie encreased. For *Hetruria* well neere all up in armes, lay before *Saturnium*, and besieged it being in league with the people of *Rome*. Whose Embassadors came unto the Senate to intreat for succour in their distresse, and had a decree granted unto them, that the Dictator with all speed should rescue the *Sutrinnes*. But being so streightly beleagured, that they might not abide the delay of this their hope, for that the townsmen, who were but few in number were overwearied with working, watching and bloodie fighting, (all which lay still upon the same men without intermission) they were driven by composition to surrender up the citie to the enemies: and being disarmed and sent away with a single suit of apparrell (after a piteous sort all arow) departed the towne and left their dwelling places. But see, it fortune that *Camillus* at the same time came in the verie manner with the Romane armie and met them. At whose feet the multitude all sorrowfull lay prostrate: their Nobles and chiefe men in this extremitie full to beseech him to be good unto them: the women and children which went along with them, as partakers and companions of their exile, seconded them with wofull teares & lamentations. But he willed the *Sutrinnes* to forbear their mourning plaints, and give over their dolefull mone: saying, that he brought the *Tuscanes* heave & weeping cheere. Then caused he his soldiours to lay downe their packs and load, the *Sutrinnes* likewise there to abide with a meane guard, and his men to follow him with armour and weapons onely. Thus marched he forward with his armie lightlie appointed for readie expedition, and advanced before *Saturnium*. Where, according to his expectation, he found the enemies all carelesse and secure (as commonly it falleth out upon a prosperous successe.) No warders, no corps de gard quartered before the wals, the gates wide open, the conquerours heere and there sacking, rifling and flinging the goods out of their enemies houses. So was *Saturnium* in one day twise woon. The *Tuscanes* (for all their former victorie) were hewen in peeces on everie side, by a new come enemy. They had no time to cast themselves round, nor gather together into one place, no nor to take weapon in hand: while everie man for life, made in all hast to the gates, if haply any way they might escape into the fields. But when they came thither, the gates they found fast shut, for so the Dictator had given order aforehand. Hereupon some betooke themselves to their weapons: others (namelie such as happened to be armed when this suddaine tumult surprised them) fell to call their fellowes together for to begin a skirmish: which no doubt in that desperate case of the enemies had been hotlie fought, had not the criers and trumpets which were sent into all parts of the citie, made proclamation to lay downe their weapons, to spare them which were unarmed, and that none should have anie harme but those that were found in armes. Upon this, even they who in that extremitie and dispaire were fullie bent to fight it out, for hope of life on all hands flong away their weapons: and thus disarmed as they were (for as the case stood, it was the safer course) presented themselves to the enemy. A great number of them were bestowed in severall places, and were attended upon with good guards. And before night the towne was delivered againe unto the *Sutrinnes*, safe and sound without any hurt at all done unto it, as being not woon by force, but surrendered upon composition. *Camillus* then, returned with triumph into the citie of *Rome*, victour at one voiage in three sundrie warres. The greatest number by farre, of prisoners, whom he led before his chariot in triumph, were *Tuscanes*: whom he sold in port sale at the speare, and raised such a summe of mony, that when he had out of it repaid the damages of *Rome* to the worth of their gold, there were of the surplusage therof three bolles made of masse gold: which with the title & inscription of *Camillus* his name, were for certainty, before the Capitol was burnt, to be seene in the chappel of *Iupiter* set up & bestowed at the feet of *Iuno*. M

The same yeare, there were enfranchised and made citizens of *Rome*, such *Vicentians*, *Capenates* and *Faliscians*, as in the time of those warres were fled to the *Romans*: and for these new citizens were certain lands set out. Those also, who for idleness loth to build at *Rome*, were gone to *Veij*, there to inhabit the vacant houses, were by an Act of the Senat recalled home from thence. And

A And they at the first, grumbled & refused to obey: but after that a day was set them, & they threatened upon paine of death to return againe to *Rome*; as stout as they were, & obstinate all of them together, now for feare every one became obedient. As *Rome* now increased in number of inhabitants, & became well peopled: so on all hands in everie place they fell to building new edifices: while the Commonwealth somewhat eased them of charges, & the *Ædiles* by vertue of their office called hard upon them, hastening them forward as to a publike workesyea and every man privately made all speed possible, according as each ones need required, to make an end and finish his owne house. So as within the yeere the citie was new built and stood on foot againe. *Rome new built*

At the yeares end was the great Election held for *Tribunes* militarie in Consuls authoritie. Wherein were created *T. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *Q. Servilius Fidenas* the fifth time, *Julius Tullus*, *L. Aquilius Corvus*, *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, *Ser. Sulpitius Ruffus*. One armie they set out and led against the *Æquians*, not to warre with them (for they granted themselves conquered) but upon meer spight and deadly hatred, to wast all their borders utterly, and to leave them no power and strength to enterprife any new rebellion. The other, into the territorie of *Tarquinius*. Where, two townes of the *Tuscanes*, *Cortuosa* and *Contenebra*, were by assault wonne and rased. At *Cortuosa* was no resistance made. For the *Romans* surprised them on a suddaine, and at the first shout and impression they were masters of it: The towne was sacked and burned. As for *Contenebra*, it endured the assault for some few daies: but the continuall labour, slacking neither day nor night, overcharged them: whereas the Romane armie divided into six parts, fought six houres in their severall turnes, round one after the other. And the townsmen being but few, and those overtoiled, were faine without anie supply, still to maintaine fresh skirmishes. Whereupon, at last they reculed backe and yeilded, giving the *Romans* leave to enter the citie. The *Tribunes* were of mind and thought good, that the spoile should be confiscate and go to the common treasure: but the commaundment and proclamation, was more slacke than their purpose in that behalf. For while they lingered and protracted time, the soldiours already had seased in their prizes: and taken from them againe without much offence and hatred, the boorie could not be. In the same yeare, because the citie should not flourish in private buildings onely, the Capitol was also built of squared ashler stone: A peece of worke even in this so glorious estate, and magnificence of the citie, to be had in price and esteemed excellent. And now before this time, the *Tribunes* of the Commons, while the citie was busied about their buildings, began often to moove for the lawes *Aggrarie* (about the division of the lands) in all their assemblies and speeches before the people. For to draw them on and to set forward their hope, they presented unto them estoones the *Pomptine* territorie, which then above all others, so presendie upon the subduing and subversion of the *Volscians* by *Camillus*, was, no doubt, the rightfull possession of the people of *Rome*. Complaints were made, that those grounds sustained much more detriment and damage by the Nobilitie, than they had received before from the *Volscians*. For they, so long onelie as they were able to beare armes and maintaine warre, made inrodes thither: but the Noblemen forcible entered and made havocke in the possessions of the common lands: and unlesse (before they had set sure footing there, and got all into their hands) a division were made, the Commons should never enioie one foote of ground there. These Remonstrances of the *Tribunes* little mooved the Commons, both because few of them resorted to the common place of assemblies, while they plied their building: and also for that monie was away, and their purses so emptied in the charges of workemen, they had little mind of holding those landes, which to store and stocke they were not able.

The citie was now given much to their devotions and religions, and the rulers also somewhat superstitious, upon their late calamitie: In somuch as they minded to renew the *Auspicia*, or the solemnitie of presages taken by birdflight (for some error supposed therein: & therefore they agreed that the government should returne to an Interreigne. So there were Interregents one after another, *M. Mamilius Capitolinus*, *Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus*, *L. Valerius Potitus*. *Valerius* at length held the assemblie for to elect *Tribunes* Militarie in Consuls authoritie, and created *L. Papirius*, *Cn. Sergius*, *L. Aemilius* the second time, *L. Licinius*, *T. Valerius Publicola* the third time. These presently after the Interreigne, began their government. That yeare, the Temple of *Mars* vowed in the Gauls war was dedicated by *T. Quintius*, a *Duumvir* deputed for the executing of holy duties. Four Tribes of new citizens were now adjoined, *Stellatina*, *Pomatina*, *Sabatina*, *Arntensis*: so *Rome*: and these made up the number of the 35 Tribes. And now *L. Sicinius* a Tribune of the Commons

mons, was in hand with the people in greater number assembled together, about the Pomptine lands: and more inclined they were and forward to hearken after grounds, than they had been afore. And whereas it was mooved in the Senate house, to make warre upon the Latines and the Hernicks, that matter was not followed, but put off to a further time: by reason of preparation for a greater warre, because Hetruria was already up in armes. And all was laid againe upon *Camillus*, his shoulders, who was made Tribune Militarie with Consuls authority, and had five other brethren in office joined unto him *Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis*, *Q. Servilius Fidenas* the first time, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *L. Horatius Pulvillus*, *P. Valerius*. In the beginning of the yeare, the minds of men were turned cleane away from the carefull regard they had of the Tuscan warre, by reason that a number of people that fled out of the Pomptine countie, came all of a suddaine in great hast to the citie, and brought word, that the Antiates were up in armes, that the nations of the Latines had sent their able youth to that warre closelie under hand, thereby disavowing it to be any action of the State, and standing upon this point, that by the covenant there was no proviso, but that voluntarie soldiours might serve in what warres soever they would. Now had the Romanes beene well taught, and learned, to set light no more by any warres. The Senate therefore thanked the gods, that *Camillus* was in place of government, who if he had beene a private person, was no doubt to have beene nominate: and created Dictatour: yea and his companions in office confessed frankly that he was the onlie man to have the soveraigne and absolute regiment of all, in case there were any fearfull and dangerous warre toward: and were fully resolved, to yeeld up all their interest in government unto him, thinking it no disparagement at all unto them, nor any losse of their owne honour and reputation, in conferring the same upon the majestie of so worthie a person. The Senate highly commended the Tribunes, and *Camillus* was much abashed in his mind, howbeit he gave them heartie thanks, and spake in this wise. A weightie burthen (quoth he) I see is imposed upon me by the people of Rome, in that they have elected and nominated me Dictatour now the fourth time: a greater charge is enjoined me by the Senate, the whole state and bodie of which order, hath delivered so singular good opinion and judgement of me: but the heaviest lode of all is laid upon me by the exceeding kindness, and obsequious benignitie of these my honourable brethren and colleagues. If any painful travaile of mine therefore, and watchfull care may be redoubled, I will earnestlie endeavour, I will straine and strive to answere therunto: that the opinion which the citie with so great content hath conceived of me, right as it is exceeding great, so it may continue still and be perpetual. As to that warre of the Antiates, there are more brags and threats than any danger or perill from thence. But as I would counsaile and advise you to be afraid of no warre, so I would not have you to be careless and secure of any. The citie of Rome is beset on everie side: partlie envied, and partlie hated of her neighbour borderers. Need there is both of more captaines, and also of more armies, to manage the affaires of the Commonweale. I thinke it good therefore (quoth hee) *Q. Valerius*, that you assist me in government and counsell, and have the leading together with me of certaine legions against the Antiate enemies. That you *Q. Servilius*, with an other armie well appointed, and in readines, lie encamped hard by the citie side, having an eye and good regard, least either Hetruria in the meane while, (as of late daies) or the Latines and Hernicks (who trouble vs now a fresh) breake out and make some rising. Assured I am, that you will behave your selfe, and quit you in this service so worthilie, as may answere the famous memorie of such a father and grandfire as you have had, may besecme your owne honourable person, and those six Tribuneships which you have already performed. As for *L. Quintius* let him leavie a third power of men, consisting of those that are by reason of sicknesse or other wise excused for warfare, and are above the ordinarie age for militarie service, to be in stead of a garison for defence of the citie and the walles. Let *L. Horatius* provide harnesse, weapons, come and other necessities for warre, at all occasions whatsoever. Finally, *Sergius Cornelius*, wee your fellow Tribunes, ordaine you president of this publicke Counsell, the *Custos* and keeper of religion and Church matters, of generall assemblies, of the lawes and all other civill affaires of pollicie whatsoever. Now when they had all made promise, and that most willingly to do their endeavour in performing their severall charges, *Valerius* whom he had joined with himselfe in commission, added moreover and said, That as he would take *M. Furius* to be Dictatour, so would he be unto him againe in steed of his Coronell of horsemen. And turning to the Lords of the Senate, exhorted them that what opinion they had of one onelie

A lie soveraigne Generall, the same hope they would conceive of the whole warre. The Senators hereat tooke great joy and contentment, giving out willingly with one accord, that they hoped exceeding well of war, of peace, and generally of the State. Neither shall the common-weale (say they) ever stand in need of Dictatour, so long as such magistrats be in place, so jointly agreeing in one mind together, so indifferent and readie as well to obey as to rule, and rather yeelding their proper praise to the honour of the common-weale, than dismembring and plucking from it to their privat glorie and reputation.

After a Vacation or Law-yeed proclaimed, and the Musters taken and past: *Furius* and *Valerius* set forward to Samitum: whether the Antiates had not onely sent the floure of all the Volsci, the choise youth out of a fresh fric and new generation; but also had raised a mightie power of

B Latines and Hernicks, out of those nations that by long peace were most frimmie & lustie. These new enemies and old thus combined together, troubled the minde of the Romane souldiour, and made him to startle. Which when the Centurians reported to *Camillus*, as he was marshalling and setting his battailes in array; and that in these termes, to wit, that the hearts of his souldiours were disquieted & dismayed, that they tooke themselves but slowly to their weapons, made staying and hasting when they should come forth of their tents, yea and that there were some of them overheard to say, that, They must fight one to an hundred, and that so great a multitude of their enemies (if they were unarmed) might hardly be encountered, much lesse, being so well armed and appointed: he mounted presently upon horsbacke, and rode before the ensignes, and then turning himselfe a fount his armie, traversing betwene the ranks and arraies; What hea-

C vineesse is this my souldiours (quoth he) what meanes this strange and unwonted lagging behind? Why? Know ye not your enemy? Know ye not me? Or know ye not your owne selves? The enemy, what is he els but the perpetuall matter and subject of your valour and glorie? And yee againe are the men, who under my conduct (to say nothing of the winning of *Falerij* and *Veij*, and of the slaughter of the Gaules Legions, put to the sword by us, even when our native citie was by them taken, and they masters thereof) of late, and but the other day, made a threefold triumph, upon a triple victorie, over the same Volscians *Aequians* and people of Hetruria. What doe ye not agnize and accept me for your Generall, because not as Dictatour, but as Tribune, I gave you the watchword, and put out the banner of battaile? For mine owne part, I stand not much upon absolute and soveraigne commaund over you: no more likewise should yee regard

D oughtels in me, but mine owne selfe. For never yet did my Dictatourship make me haughty and set me aloft, no more than my banishment abated my courage and cast me downe. We are the same men still all of us: and since we are come to this war, furnished with the same meanes that we carried with us unto the former, let us looke for the same event of our service, & no worse. So soone as ye shall encounter and joine battaile with them, performe each one that which he hath been taught and wonted to: the journey surely will be ours, and they (no doubt) shall run away. Then after he had founded the battaile, he alighteth from his horse, and caught the ensigne-bearer that stood next him, with his hand, haled him forward against the face of the enemy, crying eftsoones aloud, On afore with thy banner, Port-ensigne, and advance forward, souldiour. When they saw that *Camillus* in person, a man well steep in yeares, and thereby weake to

E performe the parts of bodily strength, putting himselfe forth against the enemy: all at once they pressed forward, set up an outcrie and shouted, every man calling upon his next fellow, to follow their Generall for shame. Over and besides, some say that by the commandement of *Camillus*, there was an ensigne flung into the very battaile among the enemies. Whereupon they of the forefront, bestirred themselves lustily to recover it againe. And thereby were the Antiates first discomfited, and the feare not onely came upon them in the vaward, but entered also and reached as farre as the rereward, that stood readie for supply. And as the violent force of the souldiours, provoked by the presence of their Captaine, much troubled the enemy: so nothing more daunted the hearts of the Volscians, than the very sight of *Camillus* himselfe, when they chanced to espie him. So surely carried he the victorie with him, which way soever he went! And that appeared most evidently in this, That when he saw the left wing at the point to give backe and run away, he took himselfe in all hast to his horse, rode thither with his light footmans buckler, and with his onely presence renewed the fight; shewing unto them how the rest of the battell had the better. Now were the enemies put to the worst, & the victorie enclined to a side. But their multitude both hindred themselves in their flight: and also a long peece of worke the wearied souldiours

diours of the Romanes had to put so great a number, all to the sword. But behold, there fell G a great tempest of raine all of a sodaine, which powred down with so mightie windes and storms, that it rather put them by the execution of assured victorie, than parted any battaile or staid the fight. Vpon the retreat the towne was founded: and the night ensuing, whiles the Romanes were at rest, made an end of the warre. For the Latines and Hernicks forooke the Volscians and departed home, with as ill speed, as their enterprise was bad. The Volscians seeing themselves abandoned and left in the lurch by them, (upon whose trust and confidence they had rebelled) quit the campe and field and put themselves within the wals of Satricum. Whom *Camillus* at first began to besiege, casting a trench and rampier about them, raising bastillions & platforms against the towne. And seeing his munitions and fabricks by no fallying forth of the enemies impeached, he supposed there was no such courage in them, that he should neede to stand so long about the hope of victorie: and therupon, encouraged his men not to weare themselves out in a tedious and toillfull piece of service, as if they lay at the siege of Veij: assuring them that the victorie was in their hands alreadie: and so with exceeding cheerefulness of his souldiours, he set ladders upon everie side, scaled the wals, and entred the towne. Then the Volscians flung away their weapons and yelded themselves.

But the Generall his mind was bent upon a greater exploit, and that was the winning of Antium, being the seat towne of the Volscians, and from whence the beginning of the last warre arose. Howbeit, because so strong a citie might not be won without great preparation of artillerie, ordnance and engins of batterie, leaving his colleague behind him with the armie, he went himselfe to Rome, to perswade with the Senate, for to destroy and rase Antium utterly. And whiles he was emparling with them (such was the will of God I beleeeve, that Antium should stand still and continue longer) there came embassadours from Nepes and Sutrium, craving aid against the Tuscans, saying: That it was more than high time, that they were succoured and relieved. Vpon which occasion it fell out, that *Camillus* was withdrawne thither from Antium. For seeing that those two townes stood even against Hetruria, as it were the very keyes and bar-gates from thence: both the enemies laboured to gaine them afore hand, against the time that they went about to make new wars; and the Romanes also held it a matter of great consequence, to rescue and defend those frontier townes. The Senat therefore thought good to be in hand with *Camillus*, for to leave Antium, and to undertake the war with the Tuscans. The citie-legions under Generall *Quintius*, were appointed unto him. And albeit, he rather would have had the leading of that armie, which laie now in the Volscians countie, and which he had good triall of, and were acquainted better with his government, yet refused he nothing: onely he required to have *Valerius* his associate still, and joyned with him in commission. So *Quintius* and *Horatius* were sent to succed *Valerius* in the Volscian war. *Furius* and *Valerius* tooke their voiage from the citie to Sutrium, and found the one side of the town possessed alreadie by the Tuscans. On the other side, the townsmen, for that the enemy had stopped all passages betwene, hardly able to repell the force of the assailants. But the coming of the Romane aides, and the name besides of *Camillus*, (so highly renowned as well amongst the enemies as Allies) both for the present gave them heart to abide the brunt, and sticke to it still that were before at the point to give over: and also gained time and respite, to come in with fresh supplies and succours. *Camillus* therefore divided his forces, and gave direction to his colleague, for to bring about his power, to that side which the enemies held, and there to make an assault: not so much for any hope he had by scaling the wals to win the citie; as by withdrawing the enemies thither, not onely to ease the townsmen of their toile, and give them a breathing time (who were now wearied with assaults) but also to get himselfe some opportunitie and vantage, to enter the citie without skirmish and resistance. Which being put in execution on both hands accordingly, and performed at once: the Tuscans beset with a two fold feare round about, seeing the wals assailed most fiercely one waie: and the enemy gotten within the towne another way: flung out at one gate (which as it hapned was not beset) and in greatchast all together sought to escape away. But as they fled, they were slaine by heapes both within the towne and abroad all over the fields. The greater number were killed within the wals by *Furius* his souldiours. *Valerius* his men were more readie and nimble in the chase, and gave not over the execution untill the night came, that they could not see and discern them.

When Sutrium was thus recovered and restored againe to their allies, they led forward the armie

A armie to Nepes: which towne the Tuscans held wholly, as surrendered alreadie into their hands. Every man thought it would be a busier peece of worke to win that citie againe: not in this regard onely, that it was fully in the enemies possession, but also because some of the Nepefins, by treason had yelded it up. Howbeit, they resolved to send unto the heads and principall citizens; that they should sever themselves from the Tuscans, and performe on their behalfe truite and faithfull loialtie, like as they had craved and besought at the Romans hands their friendly helpe & protection. From whom they received this answer againe, That it lay not now in them to doe any thing at all, for that the Tuscans kept the wals, and warded the gates. Whereupon they first terrified and skared the townsmen with harrying and spoiling their territorie: after that, seeing they made more reckoning of keeping their faithfull loialtie to their enemies unto whome they had lately surrendred, than observing the league with their friends, which they had long before concluded; they provided themselves out of the fields of a number of faggots, of brushwood, and such like trowse, and so approached the citie with the armie, filled up the ditches close to the wals, set ladders to, and at the first shout and assault given, the towne was taken. Then proclamation was made, that all the Nepefins should part with their armour and weapons, and so many as were found unarmed, should be spared. But the Tuscans, as well armed as unarmed, were put to the sword every one. As for the cheefe authours that perswaded the Nepefins to deliver the towne to the enemies, they were beheaded. The harmelesse multitude had their goods restored, and to the towne was left with a garrison. Thus the two Tribunes (Consular) having regained out of the enemies hands two confederate cities, returned in great glorie to Rome with their victori-

C ous armie.

The same yeare the Latines and Hernicks were required to make amends for harmes done, and restitution of goods wrongfully detained: and the cause demanded why of late years, according to a covenant in that behalfe provided, they had set forth no souldiours to the Romans wars. Answer from both Nations in their solemne counsels was returned: That neither the fault was generall, nor proceeding from counsell of the State, in case some of their youth served under the Volscians: and yet themselves had well paid alreadie for their leaud and rash projects, in that not one of them was come home alive. And as to the not sending forth of souldiours, the cause was, for that they were in continuall feare and danger of the Volscians: which noisome plague (as it were) sticking so close unto their sides, unneath they could bee rid off, notwithstanding so many warres one in the necke of another. When relation hereof was made unto the Lords of the Senate, they thought so well of their answer and excuses, that they deemed they had quarrell and occasion good ynough to warre upon them, if they might have had while and time as well to follow it.

In the yeare following, when *A. Manlius*, *P. Cornelius*, *Titus* and *Lucius Quintius*, both *Capitolini*, and *L. Papyrius Cursor* the second time, were Tribunes Consular, there arose a greivous war abroad, and a more dangerous sedition brake forth at home. The warre, from the Volscians, banded with the Latines and Hernicks, that were fallen away and revolted. The sedition (where it was least feared) from a personage of noble lineage descended, of great name and reputation, *M. Manlius Capitolinus*. Who being a man of too loftie and hautie a minde, despised all other of the Nobilitie, and envied one above the rest, *M. Furius*, so singular, as well in regard of his honourable dignities, as his wortheie parts and commendable vertues. Hee could not brooke and endure, that hee onely should ever bee Lord Generall in the field: who now was exalted so high above others, that even those who were created with him in egall authoritie, he accounted not as his peeres and fellows, but emploied as his ministers and servitours. Whereas (quoth he) if men would weigh aright, and duly consider every thing, *M. Furius* could never have delivered his countie from the siege of the enemies, had not the Capitoll and castlecliffe been saved by mee afore. *Camillus* set upon the Gauls, when they were amused in receiving their gold, when they were upon tearmes of peace, and their hearts quiet and secure: whereas my selfe chased them away, whiles they were in armes, and at the point to win the castle hill. In that exploit of *Camillus* the souldiours, had each one his share proportionably of the glorie, who together with him did their parts: but in the service performed by me, no earthly creature was fellow and partener with me. With these conceits he fed his owne humour, and puffed up his prowd spirit, being withall by corrupt disposition of nature, hore and hastic, arrogant and insolent. Discontented besides, that of the Nobilitie, his gifts & qualities were not esteemed of that worth, as in his own judgement

Nepes taken

The excuse of the Latines and Hernicks.

The discontentments of *M. Manlius*, incending sedition.

ment they deserved: first, of a Senatour he became popular, and began to breake his mind, and impart his designs unto the Magistrates of the Commons: finding fault with the Nobilitie, and complaining of them: solliciting and inveigling the Commons, to cast a liking and favour toward himselfe: carried away with the vaine gale of the peoples opinion: not guided by sage counsell and discretion: and in one word, chusing rather to be of great name, than of good and honest report. And not contenting himselfe to deale in the lawes Agrarie, about the division of lands, which had alwaies ministred to the Tribunes of the Commons matter ynough of mutinies and seditions; hee began to intermeddle betweene the debtors and their creditours, and to overthrow all keeping of credite. And indeed, deepe debts are sharpe goads, and prick shrewdly: threatening not onely povertie and shame, but also terrifying the bodies of free men with hard imprisonment, little ease, and yrons. Now there were exceeding many farre in debt (a thing most dangerous and hurtfull to mens state) even of the richer sort, by reason of their great expenses defraied in building. The warre therefore of the Volscians, which was itselfe of great importance, but much more, in regard of the Latines and Hernicks rebellion withall, was in shew pretended, as a cause to seeke for to have a more soveraigne and absolute power to governe the State: but in truth, these new designements and plots of *Manlius*, rather than the warre, forced the Senate to create a Dictatour. And *A. Cornelius Cossus* being created, nominated for his Generall of horse, *T. Quintius Capitolinus*. The Dictatour, albeit he saw a greater bickering toward, at home than abroad, yet (were it that the warre required some speedie expedition, or because by victorie and triumph, hee thought to make his Dictatourship more mightie and powerfull) hee tooke musters, and set forward into the Pomptine land, into which parts hee had intelligence, that the Volscians had proclaimed their forces, to repaire.

A legend of the anchor.

I doubt not, but they that read in so many bookes already, of these continuall warres fought with the Volscians, besides their tedious satietie of reading, will muse also at this (which to my selfe was likewise a wonder, when I perused the writers that lived neere about the times of these acts) how these Volscians and Aequians, so often vanquished and defeated, were furnished with supplie of souldiours to maintaine their warres. But seeing by the ancient Chroniclers it hath been overpassed with silence, what should I alleadge, but only mine owne opinion and bare conjecture, which every man hath libertie to put in for himselfe? Likely it is, that either between the times of warres (as now we see in the Romane musters) they used to breed up one supplie under another, of the younger sort, to the maintenance and renewing so oftentimes of their war: or that their armies were not alwaies levied out of the same States, albeit the warres go under the name of one and the selfe same nation: or that those countries yeelded in those daies an infinit number of freemen, which now are well neare wast and desart, but for some Romane slaves, which keepe those parts yet from being void and dispeopled, as having but a very small seminarie, or none at all, left, of serviceable souldiours.

Certes, the Volscians armie, as all authors agree, was very great at this time: albeit of late daies by the leading and conduct of *Camillus* they were sore weakened, and their strength much abated. Besides, there were with them in field, the Latines and Hernicks, some of the Circeians, and other Coloners from Velitrae. The Romane Dictatour having that day pitched his campe, and the next morrow come abroad with happie tokens of good speed from the Birds: having also slaine a sacrifice, and procured thereby the favour and grace of the gods, in joyous manner shewed himselfe unto his souldiours: who according as they were commaunded, were readie early in the morning, by breake of day in armes, attending the sound of trumpet for battaile. The day is ours (quoth hee) my valorous souldiours, if either the gods or their Prophets can foretell future events. Therefore as resolute men of assured hope, and such as shall encounter with far meaner than our selves, pitch we our javelins downe at our feet, and draw our swords only. Neither would I have you to run out of the maine battell, and to give the charge, but to keepe your ground, to stand stedfast, and abide the first shooke of the enemy. And when they have spent their volie of shot in vaine, and shall with full feeble come upon you as you stand, then brandish your swords, and let them glitter in their eyes, and thinke everie man of the gods, that they will helpe the Romanes. The gods I say, which in happie houre, by the luckie approbation of their Birds, have sent us into the field to fight. And as for you, *O Quintius*, keepe your horsemen close together, marking advicely the first beginning of the skirmish: and when you see the battailes buckle together pell mell, and come to hand strokes, whiles they are busied and occupied one way,

The Creation of A. Cornelius Cossus Dictator, to his souldiours.

A way, fright them another way with your horsemen, ride among their ranks as they fight, and breake their arraies. Thus fought both horse and foot according to his direction. And as the legions wanted not a worthie captaine, no more missed the captaine of happie speed. The multitude of the enemies trusting upon nothing but their owne number, which they measured and compared together onely by their eye, intervewing both the one armie and the other, rashly gave battaile, and as rashly gave over againe. In shout onely and shot shewing themselves hot & eager at the first encounter: but were not able to abide the sword fight, the closing together foot to foot, and the firme countenance of their enemies, which for the verie heat of their courage, shined and glistered fully in their eyes. So the forefront being put backe, a feare came upon them likewise, that stood behind for supply, and withall, the horsemen for their parts set to, and fought most terrible. Whereupon the ranks of the enemies in sundrie places were broken, and all set out of order, so as their battailons seemed to stote & wave up & downe to and fro, in suspense whether to fight or flee. Afterwards, when they saw the foremost smitten downe and slaine, and everie one thought no other but his own turne was next to be killed, they turned their backs and fled. The Romans came forward still and chased them. And so long as they went their way armed & thick huddled together, it was the footmens work to pursue them: but when it was perceived once, that they slong away their weapons on all hands, & that the enemies armie fled disperfed all abroad in the fields: then were the troupes of horsemen set out after them, with this caveat and charge, to make no stay and forlet the time, by killing them one by one, and so to give the maine multitude of them in the meane while sufficient respite to escape: but that they should content themselves, only to let flee some shot amongst them, and by scaring them to hinder their running: and when they were ridden beyond, to crosse upon them and stay them, untill the footmen might overtake them, fley them downe right & make an hand of them clean. Thus fled they, and thus were they followed in chace untill night. The verie same day was the Volscians campe taken and ransacked, and the whole pillage, besides the bodies of free men, was given unto the souldiours. The greatest part of the prisoners were Hernicks and Latines: and those not of the common sort, and such as might be thought to have served for pay: but there were found among them certaine young gentlemen of good mark, a plaine prooffe and evidence, that the Volscians enemies had aid from thence by the publike and generall warrant of the State. There were knowne also to be among them some of the Circeians, yea and certain of the Veliterne colonie likewise. All of them were sent to Rome. Where being examined before the chiefe of the Senatours, they confessed everie one in plaine termes, the revolting of their owne nation, like as they had before bewraied it unto the Dictatour. The Dictator still kept his forces together within the standing campe, making no doubt, but that the rulers and Senatours of Rome would determine to warre upon those countries.

The Volscians defeated.

But even at that time a greater heape of troubles which arose at home, caused him to be sent for to Rome, by occasion of a sedition which grew daily more and more: and by reason of the author thereof (a man of qualitie and note) was more feared than any usually had been afore time. For now by this, had *M. Manlius* not by speeches onely, but by plaine deeds also, (which in outward shew seemed popular and plausible) shewed evidently upon what troublesome and tumultuous spirit all proceeded. For seeing upon a time a Centurion, of good worth for his service in warre, condemned in an action of debt, and upon an execution of judgement caried to prison: he in the mids of the Forum, came running unto him with a rout and crew of his followers and retinue, laid hand on him, and tooke him perforce from the officers: and after he had given out some words alowd touching the pride of the Senators, the crueltie of the usurers, the calamities of the Commons, the valour and present distresse of the partie; Marrie then (quoth hee) have I done a great deed, to no purpose, in saving the Capitoll and the Keepe with this right hand of mine, if I could abide to see my fellow souldiour (as if he were taken prisoner of the Gauls by way of conquest) had away into bondage and captivitie, and laid up fast in givies and fetters. And therewith openlie in sight of all the people paid the whole debt downe right on the naile, unto the creditor: and so after the usual and solemne ceremonie by a brassen peece of coine and the balance, he set him at libertie out of the creditor his hands, and let him go at large. Who praised heartily to God and man, for to requite accordingly *M. Manlius* his onely deliverer, and the verie patron and protectour of the Commons of Rome. And when he was once gotten into that unrulie and seditious throng, hee presently himselfe set all on a hurrie, shewing the scarres of

The mariners speeches of a Centurion.

of his wounds received in the Veientians and Gaules warres, and in other services one after another, saying, that whiles he thus followed folderie, and rebuilde his house that was destroyed, he became indebted, and that so deeply (by reason that the interest alwaies overgrew the principall) which he by that meanes had paid and paid againe) that he was not able to creepe out of the usurers booke, but was plunged therein over head and eares. And now behold (quoth hee) by the one, he goodnesse of *M. Manlius*, I have the libertie againe to see the light of the sunne, to behold the Common place, to looke my neighbours and fellow citizens in the face: at his hands I acknowledge to have received all the benefits that mine owne parents could give me: unto him I vow whatsoever in me is left, and in his quarrell to spend that little life and blood which remaineth in my bodie: and in one word looke what priviledge I may enjoy in right of my countrie, and in the communion of the gods, publike or private, the same do I impart and communicate with that one man. By these speeches the Commons were set on, and pricked forward mightily, as wholly devoted unto one person; and who but *Manlius* now in everie mans mouth? And presently in the nick he entred into another action that tended more effectually to marre all quite, and to set everie thing out of order. His land in the territorie of Veij, which was the chiefe and capitall Manour of his inheritance, even the fairest flower of his garland, he set upon sale, causing it openly to be cried, and said withall, I will not *Quirites*, so long as I have one foot of ground, or any thing else left, see one of you condemned and upon execution carried to prison. This let them so a fote, that they were readie, as it seemed, to follow him as the onely protectour of their liberties, in any action, were it right or wrong, they cared not which way, all was one with them. Besides at home in his owne house, he spared not to cast out slanderous speeches against the Senatours as if he had bene at the open Crosse, making Orations. Amongst which, without all regard whether he spake true or false, he let fall these words, That the Senatours kept in hucker mucker certain hidden treasures of the Gaules gold, and were not now contented to hold in possession the common grounds, but they would also embezzle the treasure publicke, which if it came abroad, the Commons might soone be acquit and discharged of their debts. This gap being once laid open, and this light given the people, they thought (ye may be sure) an unworthie indignitie, that when there was gold to be levied for redemption of the cittie out of the Gaules hands, it then should be gathered by a generall contribution of all: and the same gold, now recovered from the enemies, should be as a prey in the clutches of a few. Therefore they followed instantly upon him and were verie earnest to know, where so great a masse of mony and stollen good was hidden. But when he posited them off, and said he would in due time disclose all: they were not content, but setting all other matters apart, their whole care was employed about this busines, and nothing else. So as it plainly appeared that neither he should reape a meane thanke if he reported a truth, nor incurre a small offence and displeasure, in case he told a false tale.

Things hanging thus in these doubtfull termes, the Dictatour who was sent for, returned from the armie into the cittie. The next day he assembled the Senate: and after he had thoroughly founded and felt the minds of them, that were there met, he commaunded the Senatours not to depart from him: and assisted as he was with that companie, he caused the yvorie chaire of estate to be set in the Comitium or common hall, and sent a serjeant for *M. Manlius*. Who being thus peremptorily summoned by the Dictatours expresse commaundement, gave warning by a token to his complices and favourites, that there was a broile and fraie toward: and with a mightie redne of his followers, he presented himselfe before the Tribunal. On the one side, stood the Senatour, on the other the Commons: either part beholding their captaine, as it were in a pight

The Gaules field ready to joine battaile.

field ready to joine battaile. Then after silence made, Would to God (quoth the Dictatour unto *Manlius*) I & the Senators of Rome, might in all other things fort as well with the Commons, as I am assured, we shall agree all together about thee, & the matter which I shal aske and demand of thee. I see thou hast put the cittie in some good hope, that by the Gaules treasure which the principall & chiefe of the Senators detain with them secretly hidden, all men may keepe their credit, and fully pay and discharge their debts. Which I for my part, so God me helpe, am so farre from hndering, that contraiwise I would exhort thee *M. Manlius*, to ease the Commons of Rome of the misers booke: to discover these fellows and make them knowne, that gape so greedily after the common treasure, and to disappoint them, & turne them out of this their privie bootie. Which if thou doe not effect, either for that thy selfe wouldest have a slice with them, or els because it is but a forged tale that thou hast made of thine own fingers ends, I will not faile, but commit

A commit thee to ward, and suffer no longer the multitude upon a vaine and deceitfull hope, thus by thee to be abused and disquieted. To this, *Manlius* made answer and said. I was nothing deceived but wist well enough, that a Dictatour was created not against the Volscians, who are enemies (forsooth) so oft as our great Masters thinke it for their purpose: nor against the Latines and Hernicks, whom they drive and provoke to rebellion by false & forged furnises: but against my selfe and the Commons of Rome. For now I see well, that the Dictatour professeth to maintaine and beare out the Vsurers against the Commons: and that against my selfe, for the favour that the multitude beareth unto me, there is matter devised to charge me withall, and to procure my utter ruine and overthrow. Doth it offend and grieve you, in deed, *A. Cornelius*, and you my Lords of the Senat, that the people thus stand about me on every side? Why doe not ye every man for his part, by your good deserts devise a funder this companie, and draw them away with you from me? Namely, by your mediation and intercession, by giving your word for them, by ridding out of gives and prison your fellow citizens, by saving them that are condemned, from being awarded to the thralldome of their creditours, and out of the overplus and superfluitie of your own living and goods, by relieving their present neede, and supplying their necessities? But what meane I to persuade you to forgo any thing of your owne, and bestowe it upon them? Take another course with them, and make them another offer. Doe but deduct out of the principall debt, that which hath been paid, for consideration of the loane. You shall soone see that my retinue will make no greater shew, than any other mans els. But why am I the onely man so carefull of the citizens and people? Certes, I can make no better answer hereunto, than C if one should aske me, wherefore I alone saved the Capitoll and the Cliffe? As I then yeelded my helping hand to all in generall, so will I now to my power relieve each one in particular. For as touching the treasure of the Gaules: the thing in it selfe being easie, this demand of yours maketh hard and difficult. For what neede you aske me that which you know already your selves? Why lay you not that open which is in your secret bosome, rather than to have it sifted & boulded out? But that there is some privie juggling, some cunning practise and packing therein? The more ye would seeme to have your leigerdmaine to be sought into and deteced: so much the more, I feare me, ye will hide it even from the eyes of those that are watchfull and quicksighted. And therefore am not I to be forced to reveale and shew where your stollen goods are: but you would be made, if you were well served, to bring them abroad into the view of the world. At these words, the Dictatour commanded him to leave off these foolish flimsies & trifling thrusts: urging him either to go through with his challenge and prove it true: or if he could not justifie it, to confesse that he had falsely slandered and wrongfully charged the Senat, and sought to bring upon them the ill will and hatred of men, for a vaine surmise and suspicion of theverie. But as he stoutly inferred and replied againe, that he would not speake at the pleasure of his enemies, nor owed them any such service: he commanded him to be had away to prison & kept in bonds. And as he was apprehended by the Officer, *Optimus Maximus*, *Q. Juno* Queene of heaven, *Minerva*, with other gods and goddesses, that inhabit the Capitoll and the Castle; Suffer ye your Knight and Defender, to be thus tugged, misused, and evill entreated by his adversaries? And shall this right hand wherewith I defeated the Gaules, & drave them from your chappels and shrines, be now pinnioned and manacled? There was no one man there, that saw & heard him, who could indure this indignitie. But this cittie, as most patient of all other citties to abide any just, righteous & lawfull commandment of the magistrate, contained her selfe and was content in some cases to be overruled: so far forth, that against the autoritie & absolute power of the Dictatour, neither the Tribunes of the Commons, nor the Commons themselves, durst either cast up their eyes to looke awry, or once open their mouthes. But after *Manlius* was committed, it was for certaine knowne, that a great sort of the Commoners, changed their weede and put on their worst apparell and mourning array: many a man let his head and beard grow long, yea and a number of them with sad and heavie cheere, kept commonly about the Goale dore.

F Now when the Dictatour triumphed over the Volscians, his triumph bred him more hatred and displeasure than honour and glorie: for it is commonly spoken, that he got it at home and not abroad, and triumphed over a citizen not over an enemy: and this only wanted, (say they) to make up his pride to the full, that *Manlius* was not led before his chariot. Whereupon ther was like to grow much scandale, and very sedition. For the appeasing and mitigation whereof, the Senate

The answer of Manlius to the Dictatour.

M. Manlius apprehended.

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The Citizens
of Rome
in the
year of M.
214.

nat upon a fodaine, without any motion made, of themselves became bountifull, and assigned 2000. cittizens of Rome to be sent to Sarricum to inhabit as a Colonie. And to every man was set out two acres & an halfe of land a peice. Which the Commoners construed to be a matter of nothing, a final boon bestowed upon a few, the very hire & reward for betraying *Manlius*. So that this proved a mischief for a remedie: and by this salve, the sore rather festered and rankled, than healed up, and the sedition thereby festered more and more. For now the crewe of *Manlius* his followers made shew of greater mourning and heavinesse, in their vile clothes and sad countenance, after the guise of persons accused during the time of their troubles. And when the feare and terror was once overlowne, by reason that the Dictatour after his triumph resigned up his authoritie, then folks hearts were set at libertie and their tongues walked at will. Some were heard in open audience to upbraid the multitude and cast in their teeth, That it was their fashions alwaies to lye up and advance their Protectours and Defenders into high places, and afterwards, in the very pitch of danger and point of downfall, to forsake and leave them destitute. Thus was *Sp. Cassius* served, that solicited the Commons to the division of lands: thus was *Sp. Melius* overthrowne, that put his hand to his purse, and at his own proper charges and expence, kept extreme famine from the hungrie chawes of the poore cittizens. Semblably, *M. Manlius* endeavouring to deliver a great part of the cittie (drowned as it were and overwhelmed in debt) and to enlarge them and set them abroad at libertie, now for his paines is betrayed unto his deadly enemies: so that the Commons doe feed and franke up, even for the shambles and butchers knife the fautors and maintainers of their weale and libertie. And ought in deed (say they) a Noble man, that sometimes had been Consul, thus to be misused, if he answered not to the good liking and pleasure of the Dictatour? Suppose, he had overreached and made a lie afore, and so had not a present and readie answer at the time: was there ever any servant and slave, for leasing cast in prison and laid up in yrons? And how could they forget that night, which was like to have been the last night that ever the Romanes should have seene: that fatall night of their final destruction for ever? Or how could they chuse, but have still in their cie the armie of the Gauls, clambing up the Cliffe Tarpeia? and how *M. Manlius* in person, so bravely besene in his armor, all swearing, all bleeding, rescued and saved *Iupiter* himselfe in a manner out of the enemies hands? What? Did they thinke that with halfe-pound measures of wheat meale, they had sufficiently recompensed the Saviour of their countrie? And whom they had well nere canonized amongst the holie hallowes of heaven, or at leastwise by his newe addition of * surname made equall to *Iupiter Capitolinus*, was it well done to suffer him, imprisoned in chaines, lying in a darke dungeon, to draw his lively breath at the pleasure of the hangman? Was he alone able to succour you all, and are ye all not able to helpe him alone? Thus ceased not the multitude to exclaime and make their plaints, & would not depart from that place, no not all the night long, but threatned to breake the prison by force. Vntill such time as they got that remitted, which otherwise they would have wretted, and *Manlius* by an act of the Senate was released out of prison and enlarged. Whereby the mutinie was never the more ended, but rather a Captaine given them to maintaine the Sedition.

About the same time the Latines and Hernicks, the inhabitants also of the Colonie Circeia, and they of Velitre, who came to excuse themselves for the Volscian war, wherein they were charged to have had their hands, and required to have the captives delivered, for to proceed against them, according to their owne lawes, had a heaveie answer. But the Coloners received the sharper check and rebuke, because they being Romane cittizens, were entred into that wicked plot and abominable action, to combine against their native countrie. And they were not only denied their prisoners, but also (wherin the Rom. dealt more favourably with the rest that were their Allies) were warned and commanded in the name of the Senat, to avoid and that with speede out of the cittie, from the sight and presence of the people of Rome: for feare least the privilege of Embassage, provided for the securitie and safe conduct of forraigners and not of cittizens, should not serve to protect them. Now when the Sedition of *Manlius* was set on foote againe, somewhat before the end of the yeare the great assembly was holden for the Election of Magistrats: wherein there were created Tribunes in Consuls authoritie *Serg. Cornelius Maluginensis* the second time, *P. Valerius Potitus* the second time, *M. Furius Camillus* the fifth time, *Ser. Sulpitius Ruffus* the second time, *C. Papyrius Crassus*, *T. Quintius Cincinnatus* the second time, all of Senatours calling.

In

A In the beginning of this year, peace they had with forraign nations; a matter very commodious both for the Senat and the Com. For the Com. in this regard, that being not called away by any musters, they had some good hope (especially having so mighty a champion) to be rid at once for ever of usurie. For the Senators again, because their minds being not distracted by any fear from abroad, might attend about curing & healing the intestine maladies at home. When both parts therefore were now more sharp set, & eagerly bent, they thought out of hand to trie what would be done, & to make either a shaft or a bolt of it. *Manlius* calling the Com. to his house, devised with the principal heads of them both day and night, to bring in a change and alteration of the State: and fuller of stomacke, anger and gaule he was now a good deale than aforetime. Needled he was, the rather by his late disgrace and shame, who never before had ben touched in credit, nor tasted of any reproch & contumelie. Heart he took unto him, for that the Dict. durst not execute that rigor against him, which *Cincinnatus Quintius* had extended upon *Sp. Melius*: and it seemed unto him, that not only the Dict. fought to wind himself out, & in resigning up his room, to avoid the offence given by his imprisonment; but also that the very Senat was not able to endure the maner of proceeding. With these imaginations being puffed up & galled too, he failed not withall to prick forward and exasperat the minds of the Com. who of themselves already, were kindled and set on fire. And with these and such like speeches he entertained them. How long (quoth he) I pray you, wil ye be ignorant, and not know what ye may do, and what power ye have? A thing that nature itselfe would not have so much as the very dumbe beasts, but to understand. Doe but count how many you are in number your selves, and how few adversaries ye have against you. If ye were but one to one, yet (I would thinke) you should more eagerly strive for to maintaine your libertie, than they, to set up their lordship. For, look how many favourites ye have ben, following and courting one patrone, so many shall ye now be opposed to one enemy. Make but shew only of war, ye shall have peace. Let them see you once readie to make head and offer violence, soone will they yeeld and part with their right. Either yee must adventure, all jointly together to doe somewhat, or else make account each one, to abide and suffer all. How long will yee stand looking from every side upon me? I for my part, surely, wil not faile any one of you. Look yee then to it, that fortune faile not me. I, even I, that was your redeemer and deliverer, was all at once (when it pleased mine enemies) taken downe and made no bodie. And yee, all of you, saw him led to prison, who saved every one of you from prison. If happily those mine enemies should attempt to do me more spight, D Where am I then? and what were I best to trust unto? Should I look for that end that *Cassius* and *Melius* came unto? Yee doe well to signifie how you dread the offe, and with the contrarie. And the gods forsend it should so come to passe. But look not that ever they should come down from heaven to protect mee. That mind they must give you, to preserve mee from so hard a hap, like as they gave me a resolute heart, both in mine armour to save you from barbarous enemies, and in my gowne to defend you from proud cittizens. Is there so little courage in you (so mightie a people otherwise) as to thinke it sufficient, and to stand contented, if you may bee backed onely, and meet with some helpe against your enemies; and to know no other skuffing with your adversaries (the Senators) but wherein you suffer your selves to be commanded in the end? This basenesse commeth not to you by kind. By use and custome onely, you are become their vassals and subjects. For what is the cause yee are so courageous against your enemies abroad, that yee think it meet and reason to rule and govern them? No other in truth but this, because with them you have bene ever wont to strive for soveraignetie, whereas against these, yee have bene used rather, to make some slight prouise and triall what you may doe by your libertie, than to doe your best & to put your selves forth for to maintaine it and extend it to the most. And yet what manner of chieftaines soever ye have met withall to lead you, and how soever affected ye have bene your selves, obtained yee have hitherto all things that yee shot at, were they never so great: Such was your might, or such was your felicitie. Wherefore now it is high time to give the adventure of greater matters also. Make but triall onelie of your owne good fortune, and of my selfe, whom I hope he have had happie experience of already: with lesse adoe shall ye be provided of one to overrule and commaund the Senatours, than ye have bene hitherto of those, that were to resist onely their imperious government. Downe we must with these Dictatorships and Consulships both, and lay them level with the ground: that the comminaltie of Rome may once be aloft, and beare up the head. Beslure your selves therefore, and play the men. Hinder proceffe and course of law for actions of debt. I professe my selfe a Patrone of the Commons, which name

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The sedition
Of *Manlius* to the
Commons of
Rome.

my care over you, my faithfulness to you, hath induced me with. And if you please to entitle your G
leader and captain, with a more glorious title of honour and majesty, ye shall find it more po-
tent and available to effect that which you long for and desire. And so from that time forward,
began some practise to set up the government of a king: But neither who were the agents in
this action, nor to what termes these plots proceeded, is it plainly enough recorded. But on
the other side, the Senators sat in counsell, and debated about the Secession and secret meeting
of the Commons in the privat house of *Manlius*, and that house, which stood (as it fell out) up-
on the castle hill: likewise of that imminent engine and fabrick, devised for the overthrow of the
present libertie. Many were of opinion, and spake it aloud, That there was need of a *Servilius*
Hala, who not by commaunding a publicke enemy of the State to prison, would provoke him
and make him more eager; but by dispatching of one wicked member out of the way, & cutting
him off, might end this intestine and civile warre. But they came downe at length, and grew to a
resolution, in words milder, yet in deed and effect all one, THAT THE MAGISTRATS SHOULD
HAVE A CAREFULL EYE, THAT BY THESE MISCHIEVOUS PLOTS AND PRACTISES
OF MAR. MANLIUS, THE COMMONWEALE INCURRED NO DAMMAGE AND HURT.
Then the Tribunes in Consuls authoritie, and the other Tribunes of the Commons (for even
they also seeing, that in the losse of the publicke libertie of all, their power likewise should come
to an end, had yielded to be adviced and ruled by the Senate) laid all their heads together, and
consulted what course was best to bee taken. When as no man could bedinke of any way, but
plaine violence and bloudshed (a peece of worke in all appearance, of great adventure & doubt-
full hazard) then *M. Menenius*, and *P. Publius*, two Tribunes of the Commons stepped forth
and said: What meane we to make that, a quarrell between the Senators and Commons, which
the whole bodie united of the citie, indeed should undertake against so dangerous and pestilent
a member? Why trouble wee our selves to set upon him and the Commons with him, whome
by the means of the very Commons themselves, it were the safer course, and lesse offensive to
the citie? that being furcharged and overweighed with his owne power whereupon he presumeth,
he may fall downe and take his overthrow. Wee are fully minded to arrest him, to convent him
judicially, and call him to his answer. Nothing is lesse popular, and more odious to the people,
than to heare of kinge government againe. The multitude shall not so soon see and perceive, that
our quarrell is not with them, but that they shall become his competent Iudges, and passe upon
him, who now are his advocates: also, that his accusers from out of the Commons, shall behold
one of the Nobilitie to hold up his hand at the barre, & the enditement framed, upon the crime
of usurping the kingdome: but (be ye sure of it) they will tender and favour the faire looks and
person of no man, before the cause of their owne free estate. When all the house liked well, and
allowed of this advise and overture, they made no more ado, but served *Manlius* with processe
to answer at a day appointed. Which was not so soone done, but the Commons at the very first,
began to storme and be enraged, especially when they saw the accused man, during his trouble so
routly arraigned, accompanied with none of the Senators, nor so much as one of his kindred and
affinitie, no nor his very brethren *Au* and *T. Manlius*. A thing before that day never scene nor
knowne, but that in so great a danger as this was, the nearest kinsfolke in bloud, did change their
weed. For even when *Ap. Claudius* was committed and imprisoned, *C. Claudius* his adversarie,
yea, and the whole linage and name of the *Claudij*, were mournfully clad, and poorly apparel-
led. Now surely (say they) it is a very compact amongst them all, that this popular man, so grac-
ious and wellbeloved, should be confounded and overthrowne, because hee was the first that ever
fell away from the Senators to the Commons. When the day was come of his arraignment, I
can find in no author, what was objected against the prisoner by his accusers, directly tending to
prove the crime of aspiring to a kingdome, but onely the conventicles of the multitude, certain
tedious words, his overmuch largesse, and his forged surmise and false information of the gold.
I doubt not but there was matter of great importance, urged and enforced against him, seeing
that the Commons delay in proceeding to his condemnation, was not long of his cause, but oc-
casioned by the place onely. This one thing seemeth worthie to be noted, and for all mens lear-
ning, that how notable and how great soever his honor, worship, & commendable parts were, the
soule and cursed desire of tyrannicall rule, made not onely unpleasant and without grace, but
also odious and detestable in the eyes of the people. He brought forth, as it is reported, wel-
come foure hundred men, whome hee had laid out monie for *gratts*, and without any interest or con-
sideration:

A deration: those whose goods he saved from port sale, and kept from the bondage of their credi-
tors, after they were condemned. Over and besides, he not onely reckoned up, but shewed al-
so in open sight, the honourable testimonies of his service in the warres: as the spoiles of his
enemies by him slaine and disarmed, to the number of 300: giftes bestowed upon him by Generals
in way of reward 400: amongst which were two goodly murall garlands for scaling and entering
upon the wals first: eight civick coronets for saving the lives of citizens in danger. Moreover he
presented there in place, the parties themselves in person, whom he had rescued out of the ene-
mies hands: and amongst them he nominated *C. Servilius* at that instant Generall of the
horsemen, and now absent. And when he had rehearsed his noble feats of armes, and amplifi-
ed them according to the height of their worth in a most glorious and eloquent Oracion, as one
whose words were futable and answerable to his deeds: at the last he stript his breast bare, and
shewed the scarres there remaining of wounds received in the warres: and ever and anon look-
ing to the Capitoll, oftsoones he called aloud upon *Iupiter* and the other gods, to helpe him
now in this extremitie and peril of his state: and praied that the same mind which they had given
him to defend the Capitoll cliffe, and even to the safeguard of the people of Rome, they would
vouchsafe the same people, in this distresse of his wofull calamitie: beseeching them both all
and some, to looke up to the cliffe, and to the Capitoll, to turne themselves toward the gods
there, and so to proceed to judgement of him. All the whiles the people were cited and called
by their Centuries, and the prisoner stretched forth his hands, and converted his praiers from
men to the Gods; the Tribunes evidently saw, that unlesse they freed the eyes of the people from
C beholding the memoriall of so great a desert, it would never be that so long as their mindes were
thus forestalled and possessed with that benefit of his, they would find the enditement, were it ne-
ver so true. So the matter being put off and deferred to another day, the people were summoned
to assemble in the grove *Petelinus*, without the gate *Flumentana*, from whence they might not
have a sight of the Capitoll. There the accusation prevailed more than compassion, and the mat-
ter went against him: and so with hard and obdurate hearts, they pronounced a heave and dolo-
rous sentence, and which the verie Iudges themselves had in horror. Some there be that say there
were *Duumvirs* ordained for the purpose, to make inquisition and sit upon this treason against
the State. Thus being condemned, the Tribunes caused him to be throwne headlong downe the
rocke *Tarpeia*. Which place was the selfe same that yielded to that one man a monument and
D memoriall both of singular glorie, and also of extreame punishment and ignominious death.
After his death there remained two infamous markes behind him of shame: the one publicke,
occasioned by his dwelling house. For whereas it was situate, where now the chappell and work-
house, or min-house of *Moneta* standeth, an Act was proposed unto the people, That none of the
Senators linage should dwell on the cliffe or Capitoll mount. The other proceeding more pro-
perly from his owne line and kindred: For that by a generall decree of the house of *Manlij* it
was provided, That none of that familie and race should ever after beare the name of *M. Man-
lius*. This was the end of him, who, but that he was borne in a free citie, had become a right wor-
thie and renowned man.

But the people being now past all danger from him, calling to mind and considering without
all affection, his vertues as they were, found a misse of him shortly after. Yea and for the pesti-
lence also which ensued soone upon, for that there could be no causes knowne of so great mor-
talitie, was imagined of many a man, to have growne upon the execution of *Manlius*: arguing
thus, That the Capitoll was polluted with the blood of the saviour thereof: and the gods tooke no
delight and pleasure to have (as it were) presented unto their eyes, the punishment of that man,
by whose meanes their temples had beene delivered out of the hands of the enemies. Upon this
plague and scarcitie of corne withall, and the common brute that spread abroad both of the one
and the other, there ensued the yeare following many warres, whenas *L. Valerius* the fourth time,
A. Manlius the third time, *Ser. Sulpitius* the third time, *L. Lucretius*, *L. Aemilius* the third time,
and *M. Trebonius* were Tribunes Militarie in Consuls authoritie. For besides the *Volsicians*, who
by destinie were appointed for ever in a manner to busie and keepe occupied the *Romane* soldi-
ours; besides the Colonies *Circeia* and *Velitre*, which a long time were about to rebell; besides
Latium, that stood in doubtfull termes and was suspected, the *Lanuvines* also, who had become
a most fast and loiall citie, all of a suddaine rose and became new enemies. The *LL.* of the Se-
nate supposing all this grew upon contempt, for that the revolting of the *Veliternes*, who were
their

their naturall citizens, had so long time escaped punishment, decreed with all speed to move the people to denounce and proclaime open warre against them. And to the end that the Common might be more forward in this Militarie service, they created certaine *Quinqueviri* for the division of the Pompeine lands: and *Triumviri* for the planting of a colonie at Neper. Then they propounded unto the people, that they would appoint and determine of the warre to be made. And notwithstanding the Tribunes of the Com. labored earnestly, but all in vaine, to dissuade, yet the tribes throughout generally granted it, and gave their voices for warre. All that yeare passed in preparations onely, but no armie set forth by reason of the plague: which protracting of time and long delay, gave the inhabitants of the Colonies respite to sue unto the Senate for peace. Many of them were inclined and stood thus affected, to send a solemne embassage with humble supplication to Rome: but that (as commonly it falleth out) the publicke person was entangled and interestled with the jeopardie of some private persons: and the authors of the backsliding and revolt from the Romans, fearing least they alone should beare all the blame and be delivered up as a sacrifice to satisfie the wrath of the Romanes, turned away cleane and alienated the Colonies from all consultation of seeking for peace. And not onely in their counsell house was this Embassage then crossed, but many of the Commons also they excited to invade the territories of Rome, to drive booties, and make spoile. This new wrong by them offered, cleane put them by all hope of peace. In that yeare was the first rumour raised, concerning the rebellion also of the Prenestines. And when the Tusculans, Gabines, & Lavicanes, into whose marches they had made inrodes, complained unto the Senate, and laid much matter against them, they received at their hands so calme and cold an answer, that it seemed they gave lesse credite to their complaints, because these were not willing they should proove true.

The yeare following, *Sp.* and *L. Papyrius*, new Tribunes Militarie with Consuls authoritie, led the legions to Veitire, whose foure Colleagues, *Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis* the fourth time, *Quintus C. Sulpicius*, *L. Aemilius* the fourth time, were left Tribunes behind for defence of the citie; and for feare least they should heare some intelligence of new and fresh stirres out of the citie, where they suspected all would be nought. At Veitire they had the better hand of their enemies: they found more Prenestines well neere, that came to succour, than the very Colonies themselves. For the citie was so neere at hand, that it both gave the enemies occasion to the the sooner, and yielded them the onely place of safe refuge, after they were fled. The Tribunes forbore to assault the towne, as well in regard of the dangerous enterprise, as also because they thought it not good to hold fight to the utter destruction of that Colonie. Letters were dispatched to Rome with tidings of victorie, emplying more sharpe informations against the Prenestines than the Veliternes. So by an Act of the Senate and assent of the people, there was proclaimed warre against the Prenestines. Who in the yeare following joined with the Volturnians, and by force won Satricum a Colonie of the people of Rome, notwithstanding it was stoutly and valiantly defended by the townsmen even to the last. Where most beastly and cruell they executed their victorie upon those that they tooke prisoners, and put them to the sword. The Romans took this in a verie ill part: and elected *M. Furius Camillus* Tribune Militarie the seventh time: who had for his companions in office, *A.* and *Lucius Posthumius Regillensis*, *L. Furius* and *L. Lucretius*, and *M. Fabius Ambulius*.

The Volturnian warre was appointed to *Camillus* extraordinarily: and to assist him therein, it fell to *L. Furius* his lot, one of the State Tribunes, not so much for the good of the Commonwealth, as to minister unto his fellow all matter of honour and renowne: as well in publique, (for that he fell all upright againe, which by the rashnesse of *Lucius* was fallen downe) as also in private, for that out of his error and milddoing, *Marcus Furius*, rather sought for thanks and love at his hands, than aimed at any vaine glorie to himselfe. *Camillus* was now farre growne and ripe in yeares and verie aged, and when in the assembly for Election, he was about to take the usual forme of oath, for to excuse his feeble and crasse bodie, the people with one consent would not permit him. Howbeit for all his age, he caried a lively spirit & lustie courage with him still: his senses were all ireth & found: and the late civill affaires had stirred him up and gave him an edge, who now had no great mind to manage martial exploits. So he gathered a power of four legions, consisting of 4000 a peece, & made proclamation that all his forces should be ready the next day, at the gate Elquilina, & then he put himself in his journey to Satricum. The enemy who had woon the Colony, nothing dismayd therat, & trusting in the number of his soldiours, wherein

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A he had the better by odds, expected and staied his coming there. And so soone as he understood that the Romanes approached, forthwith came into the field, minding without delay to put it to an hazard and trie it out: presuming, that the skill of the Romanes general, were hee never so singular (in whom their enemies only trusted) would litle or naught availe, in regard they were so few in number. The Romane armie was as hote as they, and one of their Generals as forward every way. And presently without any stay, had they tried the fortune of a battaile, but for the policie and rule of one man, who by holding off, and protracting time of fight, sought so to help himself through good order and skill. But so much the more the enemy urged still, and was more sharptet: so as now he not onely raunged his men before his owne campe in battell array, but also set forward into the mids of the field: and advancing himselfe with ensignes displayed, neer unto the

B trench and rampier of his enemies, made a proud bravado and shew of his strength, whereupon he bare himselfe so confidently. This could the Romane souldiours hardly endure: and *L. Furius* one of the Tribunes Militarie, had more adoe by farre to digest and put up that at the enemies hand. And a venturous knight he was, both by reason of his youthfull yeares and naturall disposition: and also puffed up with hope of the multitude, which commonly taketh heart, and prestmeth upon smallest grounds, and buildeth upon greatest uncertainties. And the souldiours being of themselves already hot ynough, he inflamed and set them more on fire, by elevating and making light of his fellows reputation, in regard of his old age, the onely thing that hee could allege: giving out ever and among, that wars were for young men, that mens hearts flourish and faded as their bodies did; which was scene in *Camillus*, who of a most valourous and forward

L. Furius to his souldiours.

C warrior, was now become a draw-back and a temporiser, and one that would take his leasure: and he that was wont, so soon as he came to a place, with the first assault to win forts & strong towns, now within his mures and rampier sat still and trifled out the time. And what hopes had he? Dreameth he, that either his owne power should encrease, or his enemies strength decrease? What occasion, what oportunitie of time, what place of vantage for ambush laid hee for? Tush, these policies and inventions of the good old man, are cold and clumisie, God wot. In faith, *Camillus*, as he hath lived long ynough, so hath he gained glorie ynough. To what purpose then (quoth hee) should we suffer the whole puissance of a cittie, which ought indeed to be immortall, for to age and waxe old with the bodie of one man, whom all men see to bee but mortall. With these and such like words he had drawne away the whole campe after him: and when from all parts there-

D of, they called hard, and cried for battell, we are not able (quoth he) *M. Furius*, to keepe in and repress any longer the violence of our souldiours: and as for the pride of the enemy, whose courage by our delays wee have encreased, and who insulteth over us, it is intollerable. Give place then, you that are but one man, and yeeld unto us al. Suffer your selfe to be overcome with reason and counsell, that you may sooner overcome by force and armes. Hereunto *Camillus* made answer againe: What warres soever (quoth hee) unto this present day have by mine owne entire conduct, and sole direction been managed, neither can you nor the people of Rome denie, but that in them you never repented, either of my policie or happie successe. Now I know full well, that I have a companion joined with mee, in governement and rule of egall commission; for the prime and lustinesse of youth, much above me, & my better. And as to the armie, I have indeed

L. Furius to M. Furius.

M. Furius his answer to L. Furius, and the souldiours.

E been used ever to commaund, and not to be commaunded: but yet my fellows authoritie, I cannot be against. Let him doe in gods name, what he thinketh good for the Commonwealth, and God speed his hand. Onely in regard of mine old age I crave this favour, that I may not be set in the forefront: but for other devours, looke what an old man may or ought to doe in warre, therein surely I shall not faile. And this one thing would I crave at the hands of the immortal gods, that some notable mishap befall not, to make my former counsell good and praiseworthy. But neither would men be ruled by his advice so profitable and wholesome, nor the gods vouchsafe to heare his prayers so holy and devout. Then *Lucius Furius*, the author and principall persuader of battell, setteth the vauntgard in array. *Camillus* hee fortifieth the regiments and squadrons for supplie in the rereward: but above all, he placeth a strong guard before the camp. Himselfe took

F up his standing on a higher place, to behold and marke the issue of another mans counsell. So soone as at the first brunt and encounter, they rustled and made a noise with their armour, the enemies for the nones (of policie, and not for fear) gave footing and lost ground. Now, there was behind them on their backe a pretie rising of an hill, betwene their campe and the battell: and by reason that they were well stored of men, they had left behind them in the campe certaine

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strong

strong companies armed and well appointed: with this instruction, that whiles both armies were hard in fight, and when their enemies should come neere their trench and rampier, they might fallie out on a suddaine upon them. The Romanes following out of measure upon the enemies as they reculed, were drawne upon the disadvantage of the ground, and gave occasion and fit opportunitie unto the enemy to issue out of the camp upon them. So the terror returned upon the supposed victors, by reason both of the new supplies of the enemies, and also of the fall and descent of the hill: and forced the battaile of the Romanes to give back. The Volscians that charged them from out of the campe, and were fresh and lustie, pressed hard upon them: they also that made as though they fled, began now to fight againe. The Romanes souldiours forgetting now both their late lustinesse, and their auncient honour, retired not easily and softly in good order, but plaine turned their backs on all sides, fled amaine by heapes, and ran avie toward their owne campe. Whereat *Camillus* being by them that attended about his person, mounted upon a good courser, and with all the speed he could make, opposing the squadrons of the reeward against the enemy: Is this (quoth he) the fight, you souldiours, that yee so called for? what God, what man can yee lay the weight on now? It was your rashnesse and foolhardinesse afore: and it is your dastardly cowardise now, and nothing els, that is the cause of all this. Followed yee have already one Generall. Follow *Camillus* now a while: and as yee have bene alwaies wont by my leading, once more win the victorie. What looke you toward the hold and the campe? there is no coming thither, there is no being there for any of you without victorie. At the first they were ashamed, and staied themselves from farther flight: but after that they saw once the ensignes wheele about, and the squadrons turne againe, they made head, and charged the enemy amaine. And the Generall himselfe, a man renowned for so many triumphs, and besides, for his venerable age so reverend, even amongst the foremost ensignes, amid the greatest perils, & most distressed, advanced forth in person. Hereupon every one for his part, set the better leg forward, provoked his fellow withall, and encouraged one another, so as with a cheerefull and lively shout, the whole field rang againe. Neither was the other Tribune behind hand for his part: but being sent by his Colleague unto the horsemen (whiles he in the meane time marshalled againe the footmen in order), not by way of chiding (for what might he avails thereby, so long as hee was himselfe in fault as well as the rest) but laying aside all lordly command, fell wholly to entreating, and besought them both all and some to quit themselves like men, and acquit him of the guilt and blame of that unluckie daies worke. Indeed (quoth hee) when my brother *Camillus* would not agree thereto, but expressly forbade, yet I chose rather to be partaker of the folly and rashnes of all, than the wildome and sage advise of one. *Camillus* (come what will of it, speed you well, or speed you ill) seeth the glorie will be his: but I, unlesse the battell bee revived, shall take such part as you all, (a most miserable and pitious case) but the shame will redound and light upon my head and none els. Well, at length they agreed, and thought it best to abandon their horses to bestow them among the waving and disordered companies, and on foot to make head upon the enemies. Thus they goe both together, as bravely minded with resolution, as they were richly and gorgeously armed. And in what part soever they saw the footmen most distressed, there wanted neither in the Generalls nor in the souldiours, courage in the highest degree to fight it out lustily. Well was it seene by the happie event, that valourous endeavors speed ever well. For the Volscians the same way that erewhile they made semblance of giving ground upon a counterfeit fear, now fled in good badnesse as hard as they could. A great number both in the conflict, and after in the chase were slaine. As for the rest that remained in the campe, which presently at one brunt was woen, more of them were taken prisoners than killed. In the view and account taken of the captives, there were some of them knowne to be Tuscules, who were shed apart from the rest, and brought before the State-Tribunes. And upon examination, confessed flatly, that they served by the publicke warrant of the citie. *Camillus* herewith disquieted, for feare of warre from so neere neighbours, said hee would forthwith have those prisoners with him to Rome, that the Lords of the Senate might not be ignorant how the Tuscules were revolted from their societie. In the meane while, his brother Tribune might, if he so pleased, have the regiment of the leaguer and the host. That daies worke had taught him now, not to preferre his own waies before the better counsell of another. And yet neither he himselfe, nor any man els in the armie, thought that *Camillus* would quietly digest this fault of his, whereby the State of the Commonwealth was driven upon so dangerous a point of downefall. And as well in the host, as also at Rome, it was rife and

24. E. 1. Camillus to his followers
doyling
229.

1. T. Livius to his
followers.

The Volscians
driven.

A and currant in everie mans mouth: that whereas the fight with the Volscians was variable, and the service doubtfull: For the ill speed, the discomfiture, and the running away, *L. Furius* was all in fault: but for the good successe, *Camillus* onely had all the honour.

When the captives were brought into the counsell house, and the Lords of the Senat were of opinion and determined warre against the Tuscules, and had laid the charge thereof upon *Camillus*, he requested to have an assistant joyned with him in commision: and being left to his own choise to take whom he would of all his companions in office, contrarie to all mens expectation, he chose *L. Furius*. By which moderation of his affections, and good carriage of himselfe, he both delaied the infamie of his colleague, and won himselfe great glorie and commendation. Yet for all this, proceeded not they to any warre with the Tuscules. For they by their constant observation of peace, kept off the violence of the Romanes, which by force of armes they had not been able. When the Romanes entred and invaded their territorie, they went not so much as out of those places that lay neare the high way, whereas the enemy marched: they forlet not the tilling of their grounds, but kept the gates of their cittie wide open, came forth solemnly in their long gownes to meete with the LL. Generalls in the waie, and brought victuals right courteously to serve the armie, as well out of the cittie as countrie. *Camillus* having pitched down his tents before the gates, and desirous to know, whether there were the same appearance of peace within the wals, as bare shew abroad in the countrie, entred the cittie: and seeing the doores standing open, the shop windowes up, all kinde of wares set out to sale upon the bulkes: the Crafts-men and Artisans busily every one occupied at his worke: the Grammar-schools ringing againe with a chime of schollers, learning and saying their lessons: the streetes full of women and children amongst the other common people going too & fro about their busines: he could perceive no where about him any thing that carried a resemblance of fearefull men, no nor so much as of those that made any wonder at their coming in that warlike order. Thus cast he his eyes into every corner, seeking where this warre should be. For there was not so much as any token to be seene, either of ought removed out of the way, or brought in place, upon this present occasion: but all in so seded quietnesse and peace, as if they had scarcely heard any inking or rumour of hostilitie. Being therefore overcome with this patience and sufferance of the enemies, he caused their Senat to assemble, unto whom he spake in this wise: Ye alone to this daie of all that I know, O Tuscules, have found the only armour of prooffe, & the forcible sense indeed, to save your selves and all ye have from the Romanes yre. Go your waies to Rome unto the Senat there. The Lords of the counsell will weigh and consider, whether ye deserved more punishment before, than pardon now. I will not forestall and pick my selfe a privat thank for a publicke benefit. At my hands ye shall have this favour and libertie, to speake for your selves and plead your own cause: as the Senat shall thinke good, so shall you speede of your suit. After that the Tuscules were come to Rome, and their Senat (who but a while afore had been faithfull Allies and kept their allegiance) scene to stand waiting with heaveie cheere and giving their attendance at the entrie of the court and counsell chamber: the Lords of the Romane Senate, were presently moved thereat, and caused them forthwith to be called in, and received by way of hospitality, more like than hostilitie. Then the Dictatour of Tuscum made this speech & said: Right honourable Senatours, we against whom ye have proclaimed and made warre, came forth to encounter your Generalls and Legions, armed and appointed as ye see us at this present standing in the porch of your counsell house. This was our array, this was the habit of our Comons, and alwaies shall be, unlesse at any time we shall put on armes for you and in your quarrel. Thanks we yeeld to your captaines and to your armies, that they have beleevd rather their eyes than their eares: and where they saw no hostilitie at all, there they offered none themselves. That peace which we have shewed and observed, the same crave we humbly still at the hands of your clemencie. Turne we beseech you from us your forces thither, where warre is to be found. And if we must needs make triall (by suffering ought) of your puissance and power bent against us, we will trie it surely without armour. This is our full resolution, God grant it prove as fortunate, as it is well meant and proceeding from a single heart. As for the trespasses, wherupon ye were moved to denounce warre against us: although it be bootlesse and to no purpose to disprove that by words, which by deed is already proved: yet surely, were they never so true, we thinke verely, that without prejudice to our selves, we may safely confesse the same, since that we have so evidently repented thereof. And for you, so long as you be worthie to have so full satisfaction made,

The prudent dissimulation of the Tuscules.

Camillus to the Senat of Tuscum.

The Dissatour of T. Livius to the Senat of Rome.

it skilleth not, what default or transgression be committed against you. Thus much in effect spake the Tuscians. At the very instant they obtained peace: and not long after, the right of free burgesie, to be made citizens of Rome. So the Legions were withdrawn backe againe from Tusculum. Thus *Camillus* having won great honour by his pollicie and valour both, in the Volscian warre: by his happy successe in the journey of Tusculum: by his singular patience and cariage of himselfe, toward his companion in government, as well in the one place as the other, went out of his Magistracie: there being created Tribunes Militarie for the next yeare, *L. Valerius* the fifth time, and *Pub. Valerius* the third time. *C. Servilius* the third time. *Licinius Menenius* the second time. *P. Papirius*, *Serg. Cornelius Maluginensis*.

There was this yeare neede of Censors also, by reason especially of the doubtfull rumors that ran concerning debts: whiles of the one side the Tribunes of the Commons did aggravate the greatnesse thereof, and made it seeme an odious matter: and they againe of the other side, did elevate and made little of the same, for whom it was good & beneficiall, that the Lentmony should be thought abroad, in danger of being lost: for that (say they) the debtors cautelously rather would not, than for abilitie could not, keepe their credite and make payment. So there were created Censors, *C. Sulpitius Camerinus*, *Sp. Posthumius Regillensis*. And this matter now already commended, was broken off by the death of *Posthumius*, because it would have bred a scruple to chuse another Censor in the roome of him deceased. When *Sulpitius* therefore had resigned up his place, it fell out so that other new Censors upon some error committed in their creation, exercised not their office: and to chuse a third time they made a scruple, so spice conscientized were they, as if the Gods were not well pleased with that office for that yeare. But the Tribunes would not endure this deluding of the Commons, but gave it forth that it was intollerable: saying, That the Senat sought to avoid the exhibiting of publicke records and bookes, which gave testimonie of the valuation of every mans substance to the worth: because they would not have the sums of debts to be seene and knowen, which might bewray and plainly shew, that one part of the citie was even eaten up and devoured of the other: and in the meane time the poore Commons so deeply engaged, were packed away, and sent forth against these enemies & those: and now without all regard and discretion, they sought occasions to quarrell and make warre in every place. From Antium to Satricum, from Satricum to Velitre, from thence to Tusculum have your Legions been posted. And now forsooth, there is warre intended against the Latines, Hernicks and Prenestines: for hatred rather of the citizens here at home, than of the enemies abroad: and all to weare out the Commons with continuall wars, and to afford them no breathing while within the citie: that in time of rest, they might remember and thinke upon their thingedom, keepe their roomes in common assembly, where they might yet at the length heare their Tribunes voice, pleading for the easement of usurie, and for a small end of all injuries. But and if the Commons had the heart, and carried that mind with them, as to call to remembrance their aunccestors libertie, they would suffer neither any citizen of Rome to be awarded to bondage for debt, nor any musters to be taken, untill a view were made and just accompt had, of every man his debts, and some course taken for abating the same: that each man might know, what he had of other mens goods, what remained of his owne: whether his bodie were left free, or at the mercie of his creditour, to lie in cold yron and balefull prison. This hire and salarie of sedition, this reward once propounded aforehand, stirred up (you may be sure) a mutinie soon after. For whereas there were many adjudged to be bound unto their creditors, and the Senators had decreed new Legions to be levied, for the bruit and rumour that went of the Prenestine warres: both matters began to be hindered for taking any effect, as well by the Tribunes helpe as the Commons accord. For neither would the Tribunes suffer those that were condemned to be led to prison: nor yet the younger sort of the Commons, enter their names in the Muster-master his booke. And the Senatours for the present, lesse minded the execution of judgment for the creditours behoufe, than the mustering. For why? Newes came already, that the enemies had put themselves in their journey from Preneste, and were encamped in the Sabines countrie. And all this while, the very tidings hereof rather quickned and provoked the Tribunes of the Commons to the broile that was begun, than frighted them any jot from it. Neither would any thing serve to quench the sedition in the citie, untill the warre was come in manner to the verie walles. For the Prenestines had intelligence given them, that in Rome there was no armie gathered, no Generall certainly knowne: the Senators and Commons at jarre and together

The Tribunes of the Commons against the Senat.

together by the eares. Their captaines hereupon, taking this vantage and opportunitie, with a running campe invaded, spoiled and wasted the fields all afore them as they went, and came with banners displaid before the gate Collina. Great feare was in the citie, everie man cried Alarm, ran up to the wals to man them, and to the gates to ward them. And at the last they left their mutinies, turned to the wars, and created *T. Quintius Cincinnatus* Dictator. He appointed for his Generall of horsemen, *A. Sempronius Atratinus*. This was not so soone voyced abroad (so great a terrour went alwaies with that magistrate) but the enemies withall dislodged and departed from the wals: and the younger sort of the Romanes, without any hasting and drawing backe, upon the proclamation, gathered together. Whiles forces were thus a raising at Rome, the enemies pitched their camp not farre from the river Allia: and as they harried the country all about, they bragged and vanted among themselves, that they had gotten that very plot of ground, which was ever fatal to the destruction of the citie of Rome. Here will be (say they) the like sight, as from hence will they flie, no doubt, as sometimes they did before in the Gauls warre. For if the Romanes feared that dismall and unluckie day, noted with the infamous name of this place, how much more will they dread the river Allia it selfe, in memoriall of their so great overthrow, than the onely bare day Alliensis? Certes, when they are come hither, they will thinke they see againe the grimme lookes, and heare the hideous voices of those savage Gauls. Thus rolling and tossing with themselves these roysish conceits, rising of as vaine and foolish presumptions, they rested wholly and reposed their full hope in the luckie persuasion only of the place. The Romanes contrariwise knew full well, that their enemies the Latines, were (wheresoever they were) the verie same men still, and no other, whom for the space of one hundred yeares, they held peaceably and quietly as their devoted vassals in subjection. And as for the place noted in deed, for the memoriall of that late disfigure and losse sustained, it might rather stirre them up and set an edge upon them to abolish and cancel the remembrance of that shameful disgrace, than put them in feare, that anie ground should be so unfortunate, as to be a barre unto their victorie. Nay if the verie Gauls themselves came now in their way, they would so fight with them even in that ground, as they did at Rome, in the recoverie of their countrie: as they did the morrow after at Gabij: when they bare themselves so valiantly, that no one enemy that entred within the wals of Rome, went ever home againe to tell newes how they sped, well or ill. Thus on both sides being resolute, and courageously bent, they met at Allia. The Romane Dictator discovering the enemies arranged in battaile array, within sight. See you not (quoth he) *O A. Sempronius*, how they have staid at Allia, presuming upon the luckines of the place? No surer confidence no greater helpe may they have, I pray God. But you, with trustie armour, keene weapons, and doubtlesse courage, set spurs to horse, gallop amongst the thickest of their maine battaile with your horsemen, I with the legions on foot, will advance mine ensignes, & display them, in their faces, and charge them sorely when they are disbanded ones, and put in fear. Assist us now, and aid us, O ye gods (the witnesses of our league) & punish them duly for their deserts, both in dishonoring your divine majestie, and deceiving us in your name, whom they called solemnly to witnesse. Neither horsemen nor footmen, could the Prenestines abide, but at the very first shout & shock were the rankes broken. And seeing their battaillons in no place whole and kept together, they fled: and amased as they were in that confused feare, and carried away beyond their owne camp, they staid not running for life, untill by good footmanship they were come within the sight of Preneste. There, all such as had beene scattered in the flight, met together, and chose a plot of ground to fortifie in that hast as well as they could: least peradventure, if they had put themselves within the towne, forthwith their villages should have been fired, and after all continued and spoiled, the towne also might fortune to be besieged. But when the Romane Conqueror after the rising of their campe at Allia, was once come toward them and discovered, they abandoned that fort also, and gat within the towne Preneste, thinking themselves scarce safe ynough within the wals thereof. Eight townes besides there were, under the signiorie of the Prenestines, against which the Dictator warred round: and having won them all, one after another without much ado, he brought his armie against Velitre, and got that towne also by assault. Then came hee to the principall head and very fear town of the warre, Preneste, which was not by force won, but by surrender yeelded up into his hands. And *T. Quintius* thus having obtained one victorie in a pight field, won two campes and holds of the enemies, conquered by force nine townes, and regained Preneste surrendred unto him, returned home againe to Rome. In his triumph

The Prenestines made the victory of Rome.

T. Quintius Cincinnatus the Dictator, to *A. Sempronius*.

triumph he carried aloft the Image of *Jupiter*, surnamed Emperour, which he brought from Pre-
 nestre, and set it up in the Capitoll, where it was placed and dedicated between the shrines of
Jupiter and *Minerva*: and in a table of brasse fixed under it, was the monument of this noble
 exploit recorded and engraven in these or such like words: T. QUINTIUS DICTATOR, BY
 THE GRACIOUS HELPE OF IUPITER, AND ALL THE REST OF THE GODS, VVAN
 NINE TOWNES. Soon the 20 day after his creation, he resigned up his Dictatorship.

Then was the assemblie holden for electing of Tribunes Militarie with Consularitie, who
 were equally chosen from out of the Nobilitie and the Com. Of Nobles were created, P. and
 C. *Manlius*, with L. *Julius*. The Commons yeilded C. *Sextilius*, M. *Albinus*, and L. *Antistius*. Vpon
 the two *Manlys*, for that in bloud and degree they were above the Commons, and for favour
 more gracious than *Julius*, the province of the Volscians was bestowed extraordinarily, without
 casting lots, or parting together by agreement of the Colleague amongst themselves. Which
 both they themselves rued, and the Senators also (that would have it so) repented afterwards. For
 without any epials, sent out aforehand to scoure the coasts, they had set forth certain cohorts or
 companies (of footmen) a foraging, and when upon a false alarm that those were beset and in-
 trapped, they marched themselves apace after, to their rescue and convoy, & kept not with them
 still, the reporter of these tidings (who being indeed a Latine and an enemy, but disguised in the
 habit of a Roman souldier, had deceived them) they fel headlong into a traine and ambushment
 laid of purpose for them. And whiles they made resistance with main force onely, in a ground of
 great disadvantage (giving and taking the like measure) they were killed and slaine on either side.
 But in the meane time their enemies from another quarter, entered the campe of the Romans, ly-
 ing open in the plain. Thus in both places, things went but badly and untowardly, & all through
 the rashnes and unskillfulness of the leaders. And what remained unfoiled for the fortune of the
 people of Rome, that, was preserved by the hardie and resolute valor of the Roman souldiers onely,
 without the helpe of generall and commander. Vpon which news reported at Rome, at the first
 was thought good to chuse a Dictator: but afterwards when tidings came, that all was whole, and
 the Volscians quiet, and that it was well seene they knew not how to use a victorie when they had
 it, nor to take the oportunitie of the time, whiles it offered it selfe; both the Generals & the armie
 were sent for home from thence, and so, for the Volscians they were at rest afterwards. Onely in
 the very end of the year, there arose some new stir and suddain tumult, by reason that the Pre-
 nestines having solicited the people of the Latines, entered into rebellion againe. In the same year
 the men of Setia made mone of themselves for want of people, and thither new Coloners were
 assigned to inhabite there.

Albeit the Romanes sped but badly in warres, yet the quietnesse at home was some comfort:
 which the Tribunes Militarie chosen from out of the Commons had procured, by reason that
 they were so gracious and revered among those of their owne coat and faction. All the be-
 ginning of the yeare following, was at the first on a light fire with hore discord and mutinie, when
 Sp. *Furius*, Q. *Servilius* the second time, *Licinius Menenius* the third time, P. *Claius*, M. *Horatius*
 and L. *Geganus* were Tribunes Militarie with Consularitie. The matter and cause of which
 seditious broiles, were the debts above specified. For the due inquisition whereof, and to know
 to what sums they amounted, Sp. *Servilius Priscus*, and Q. *Claius Siculus* were made Censors,
 but stopped they were for doing any thing, by occasion of warres. For first fearefull messengers
 in all hast brought word, and after, the flight of the countrie people confirmed it, that the legions
 of the Volscians were entred into the confines, and fell to spoiling everie where the territorie
 about Rome. Notwithstanding which feare and foraine terror, so little were the civill discords
 appeased, that contrariwise the Tribunes of the Commons extended their power with more vio-
 lence to hinder the levie of soldiours, untill they had indented and capitulated with the Sena-
 tors, that so long as the warres lasted, no man should either contribute and be charged with any
 impost, or be sued in any action of debt. When the Com. took hold once of this easement and
 libertie, the musters were delayed no longer. And after they had levied and entrolled two new legi-
 ons it was thought convenient that the legions should be divided, and two armies sent forth into
 the Volscians countrie. So *Furius* and M. *Horatius*, went on the right hand along the sea coast to
 Antium, Q. *Servilius* & L. *Geganus* on the left hand, by the way of the mountains to Ecetra. But
 on neither side met they with the enemy. Vwhereupon they fell to harrying the countrey, not
 here and there in scattering wise, as the Volscians had done, after the maner of robbers, at starts
 upon

A upon advantage taken of their enemies discord, and by stealth for feare of their valour: but be-
 ing a full power & armie of men, and justly provoked to anger, the longer they continued there,
 the fouler worke they made. For the Volscians standing in feare, least in the meane while they
 should be encountered with a power from Rome, had made rodes only into the utmost frontiers.
 But contrariwise, the Romanes made stay in the enemies land, the rather to traine them forth,
 and draw them to a field-fight. Having therefore burned up, in a manner, all the uplandish hou-
 ses and graunges, and some villages also, and left behind them no fruitfull tree standing, nor the
 sowne come for hope of graine, and driven away whole booties of men, women, and cattell,
 which they could light on without the wals; they reduced their armies of both sides home againe
 to Rome. In this meane while the debtors had some little respite to breath themselves in. But so
 B soone as all was quiet from enemies abroad, they began afresh to be sued and troubled by their
 creditors at home. And so small hope they had to bee released of their old usurie, that they fell
 into a new, by reason of a contribution collected toward a well, which the Censors had set out to
 bee made of square Ashler stone. To yeeld unto this imposition and burden, the Commons
 were driven, because there was no muster for the Tribunes of the Commons to hinder. Forc'd
 they were likewise through the might and power of the great men, to admit for Tribunes milita-
 rie, all of the Nobilitie, to wit, L. *Aemilius*, P. *Valerius* the fourth time, C. *Peturius*, *Servius Sulpi-
 tius*, L. and C. *Quintij Cincinnatij*.

By the same strong hand also they prevailed so much, that without impeachment of any man,
 all the younger sort tooke the militarie oath, so that they levied three armies against the Latines
 C and Volscians: who joining their legions together, had encamped themselves at Satricum. One
 armie was gathered for the defence of the citie: another to be set out against all suddaine wars,
 if happily elsewhere some tumult should arise: & a third, of all other the strongest, was under the
 conduct of P. *Valerius*, & L. *Aemilius*, led to Satricum. Where, finding the enemies embattelled
 in good array upon a plaine and even ground, they charged upon them presently. But ere that
 they had gotten the victorie evidently in sight, and were but only in some good hope of having a
 fair day of their enemies, the raine so poured down with huge storms and tempests, that it parted
 both hosts asunder. The morrow after began a fresh conflict. And for a good while, the legions
 of the Latines especially, which by long alliance with the Romanes had learned their manner of
 warfare, stood to it as valiantly, and sped as fortunately as the Romanes. At length, the Romane
 D horsemen that rode in amongst them, brake their rankes; and when they were once disarraied,
 the footmen displaied their ensignes, and advanced upon them: and looke how much the Ro-
 manes battaile set forward, so much the enemies gave backward. But when they began once to
 faint in their fight, than the violence of the Romanes was intollerable. Thus the enemies were
 discomfited and scattered: and flying not toward their campe, but to Satricum, which was two
 miles off, they were by the horsemen especially beaten downe, trode underfoot and slaine. Their
 tents were taken and rifled. From Satricum they dislodged, the next night after the battaile was
 fought, and marched in great hast (as if they fled) to Antium. And albeit the Roman armie follo-
 wed them by the tracks hard at heeles, yet their footman ship served them better in their feare,
 than it did the Romanes, for all their anger. So the enemies put themselves within the town wals,
 E before the Romanes could overtake them, and either cut off the taile of their rereward, or force
 them to stay. After this, some daies were spent in wasting the countrie. For neither were the Ro-
 manes sufficiently provided with warlike engines of batterie and artillerie to assaile their wals,
 nor they well appointed to abide battaile in plaine field. Then arose some discord within the
 towne, betwene the Latines and the Antiates. The Antiates, of one side wearied with calamities
 that follow long warres, wherewith all their life time they had been exercised even to their old
 age, were of mind to yeeld. The Latines, by reason of their late revolt and rebellion (whiles after
 so long peace, their courages continued yet fresh) were more forward and earnest to maintaine
 warres still. But when they saw on both sides that they might do as they purposed, and follow their
 owne designements, without being hindred one of another, their strife was soon ended. So the
 F Latines leaving their fellowship and societie of peace, so dishonest and dishonourable (as they
 thought it) departed from them, and stood out still to revenge their owne quarrels. But the Anti-
 ates being well rid of these Counsellors of theirs, so crosse unto all wholesome courses; ten-
 ding to their good and safetie, yeilded up their towne and countrie to the Romanes. But the
 anger and furious rage of the Latines, for that they could neither annoy the Romanes by
 warres,

warres, nor keepe the Volscians still in armes, brake out thus farre, that they fired the citie Saticum, which had been the first place of refuge, after their defeature and unhappie fight. Neither left they any house in that citie standing, but set fire upon all indifferently, as well profane as holy edifices: onely the Church of Dame *Matula* they spared. From which, it was neither any religion and conscience of their own, nor feare of the gods that kept them, but (as men report) a fearfull voice heard out of the Temple with heauie threates, unless they held their hands, and kept them farre enough from burning the sacred habitations so impiouly. In this rage and mad fit of theirs, to Tusculum they go: for very spight that they forsaking the generall counsell of the Latines, had not onely yielded themselves to be in league with the Romans, but also became incorporate citizens with them. And comming upon them on a sodaine, while their gates were open, at the first shout the whole towne, all but the Castle, was surpris'd. The townesmen with their wives and children were thither fled: and sent messengers to Rome with certificat to the Senat of this sodaine and unlooked for accident. And with all speed (as appertained to the fidelitie of the people of Rome) an armie was led to Tusculum: wherof *L. Quintus* and *Servius Sulpitius*, had the conduct. At Tusculum they found the gates fast shut against them, and the Latines, as men both besieging and besieged. And whiles of the one side they intended the defence of the wals, on the other side assaulted the castle, at one time they were affraid themselves, and put others in fear likewise. But the comming of the Romans wrought a great change and alteration in the hearts of both parties. For it caused the Tusculanes of fearfull men to become exceeding cheerefull: and the Latines who made full reckoning to win the forresse out of hand, as being masters alreadie of the towne, had but small hope now to helpe and save themselves. The Tusculans they set up a great shout from the Keepe: and answered it was againe with a greater from the Romane armie. The Latines were put to it hard on both sides: For neither were they able to abide the violence of the Tusculans running downe the hill upon them, nor to put by and keepe off the Romans, comming hard under the wals, and assaying to breake the bars of the gates. First they scaled the walles and gat upon them: after, they brake the port-cullies downe. Thus the Latines environed with enemies both before and behind, that prested fore upon them, having neither strength enough left to fight, nor roome of ground to make an escape, were slaine in the midst between the enemies, every mothers sonne. So when Tusculum was recovered out of the enemies hands, the armie was brought backe againe to Rome.

But the more quietnesse there was that yeare without the citie by reason of prosperous wars, the more encreased the violence and hard dealing of the Senators within: and the calamities of the Commons grew every day more than other. For they wanted meanes and were not able to paie for the interest that needs must be paid. When nothing therfore was to be had, to make paiement out of their goods, they were adjudgd and awarded to satisfie their creditours in their bodie and name: and so their punishment served in steed of keeping their credit & discharging the consideration. Whereupon, not only the meanest of the Commons, but also the very chiefe, began now to let fall their hearts and to stoupe so low, that there was not a wittie & nimble headed man and of experience amongst them, that would put himselfe forth to stand to be a Tribune Militarie, in concurrence with the Nobles, (which they had so earnestly shot at and laboured for) no nor so much as to beare and sue for any offices of the Commons. So as the Senators now, seemed to have recovered againe for ever to themselves, the possession of that dignitie, which the Commons of late, for some few yeares, had usurped and occupied over their heads. But that this other side might not joy too much hereat, a small occurrent hapned betwene which (as it falleth out most commonly) gave the occasion and first footing to an enterprise of much importance.

M. Fabius Ambustus a great and mightie man, as well amongst those of his owne calling, as also with the Commons, (whom he was reputed never to despise, as other did of his condition and estate) had two daughters married forth: the elder unto *Servius Sulpitius*: the younger unto *C. Licinius Stolo*, a man verily of good worth and reckoning, but yet a Commoner. And *Fabius* disdaining not this alliance and affinitie, wan himselfe much love and favor amongst the Commons. Now it fell out so, that these sisters were upon a time together in the house of *Servius Sulpitius*, then, Tribune Militarie: and as they passed the time away (as the manner is) in much good talke, discoursing one with another of many matters, it chanced that a Sergeant or verger of *Sulpitius*, at what time as he was comming home from the Forum or common hall, rapped as

the

A the order was, with his rod at the dore. When the younger *Fabius* not acquainted with those fashions, was therat somewhat amazed, her sister making a wonder at her ignorance, laugh'd her to scorn. But that laughter (as womans wiles, god wot, are soone kindled with a little) yet her a worke and hammered in her head. Besides, the traine of many that came about her, waighing and giving attendance, readie to know her pleasure and what she would, mended the matter much. I suppose she thought her sister happily wedded, and repented her owne marriages upon an ill and sinister judgment, whereby every man repineth that his neighbour and nearest of kin especially, should go beyond him and doe better then he. Upon this discontentment and fresh burning of hers, her father haply seeing her distmaid, asked her whether all were well at home? But when she would have turned the cause of her grieif another way, (for that it stood

B neither with her love and kindnesse towards her sister, to envie her estate; nor yet with the reverent honour that she was to yeeld unto her husband, to finde fault with her owne) he with milde questioning came about her so, that he drew from her the truth: so as she confessed her grieif to arise upon this, that she was disparaged; and namely married not according to her qualitie, but into an house uncapable both of worship & favour. Then *Ambustus*, commoting his daughter, willed her to be of good cheere, and said, That ere it were long, she should see the same state, the same advancement and dignitie at home, which she had seene alreadie in her sisters house. Hereupon began he to plot with his sonne in law, joyning also unto them *L. Sextius*, a stout young man, and one that was like enough to come to preferment, but that he was not of noble race. Good occasion & opportunitie they seemed to have of compassing some alteration in the

C State, by reason of the excessive debts that men were grown into: for the redressing and easing of which maladie, the Com. had no other hope, but in advancing some of themselves into the soveraign room of government. They thought it needful therefore, presently to addresse themselves to the execution of these disignments, considering that by endeavour & industrie, the Commons were climbed to that degree alreadie, from whence if they would enforce & put themselves forward, they had but one step more unto the highest, & might be equall with the Nobles, as well in honour as in vertue & prowesse. And for the present, it was thought good to make them, two Trib. of the Com. in which office they might open a way unto themselves, for other dignities. So *C. Licinius* & *L. Sex.* proposed laws, all tending to abate the power & might of the Nobles, & wholly for the good & benefit of the Com. One, as touching taking order for debts: That when so much was default & deducted out of the principal, as had been paid for the use & interest

The laws of Licinius and Sextius.

D the residue should be discharged by even portions in 3. years. A second, concerning a proportion & quantitie of lands, That no man might hold in possession above 500. acres. The third, That from thenceforth there should be no Election of Trib. Militarie, but of Coss. provided alwaies, that one of them be chosen out of the Com. Matters all of right great weight and consequence, and such as without exceeding strife and contention, could not possibly be carried and obtained. Thus when all those things at once lay a bleeding, and were in hazard to be lost, which the whole world unmeasurably covereth and longeth after, to wit, land, money, and promotions: the Senators were put in a bodily feare, and began to startle. And laying their heads together both in publike consultation and private conference, they could devise no other remedie, but that

E which in many bickerments alreadie they had tried, namely, the stepping betwene and negative voice of some of the Tribunes. And so, to crosse those bills aforesaid put up by these two Tribunes, they had wrought & made to their purpose certaine of their owne brotherhood. Who so soone as they saw the wardes or tribes called forth by *Licinius* and *Sextius*, to give their suffrages, being well backed and garded with the assistance of the Senators, would suffer neither those lawes to be read, nor any other besides (as yearly they used) to passe by the voices of the Commons. Thus the two Tribunes aforesaid, having oftentimes (but ever in vaine) assembled the people together, and seeing their lawes still nipped, as it were, in the head for ever going forward; It is very well (quoth *Sextius*) and since yee like so well that these Inhibitions may prevaile so much: we will likewise defend the Commons with the same weapon and no other. Go to now we my masters of the Nobilitie, proclaime an Election for the creation of Tribunes Militarie: I will make I trow, that this word [*Peto*] shall doe your selves no good at all: howsoever now yee take to great pleasure to heare our brethren keepe that note still, and evermore sing that sweet concert of musick. And surely, those threats proved in deed to good earnest and tooke effect. For there was no Election at all but of *Ediles* and Tribunes, and those both of the Commons.

I forbid, I was the negative voice of the Tribunes.

Y

For

For *Licinius* and *Sextius* being chosen Tribunes againe, suffered no Magistrates of the Chaire or of State, to be created. Which defect and desolation of soveraigne Magistracie continued in the citie for the space of five yeares: whiles the Commons for their part chose the same two Tribunes still, and they againe ever laid a barre and put in a caveat, against the Election of Tribunes Militarie.

All other wars, as good hap was, were a sleepe for the time. The Coloners onely of Velitæ, upon so long rest and quietnesse began to be lustie and wax wanton: and for that there was no armie of the Romanes stirring abroad, they not onely made inrodes sundrie times into the territorie of Rome, but also assailed the towne Tusculum. And when the Tuscules, the ancient Allies and new enfranchised citizens of Rome craved helpe, the Senatours and Commons both, were moved especially for very shame to succor them. And the Tribunes of the Commons yeelded at length, and permitted an assembly for Election, to be holden by an Interegent: and Trib. Militarie there were created *L. Furius*, *A. Manlius*, *Ser. Sulpitius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, *A. & C. Valerij*. Who found not the Commons so tractable in the mustering, as they were pliable in giving their voices at the Election. Yet, after much adoe & great contention they levied an armie, and set forward on their journey: drave the enemies not from Tusculum onely, but forced them within their own walls: besieged Velitæ more streightly a great deale, and in more forcible manner, than Tusculum had been by them. Howbeit, they that began the siege were not able to win the towne. For before that time, were new Tribunes Militarie chosen, *Q. Servilius*, *C. Peturius*, *A.* and *M. Cornelius*, *Q. Quintius*, *M. Fabius*. Neither performed these Tribunes any notable exploit at Velitæ. But the State at home stood in more dangerous termes than before. For besides that *Sextius* and *Licinius*, the publishers of those lawes aforesaid, were now the eighth time made Trib. of the Commons againe, *Fabius* also a Tribune Militarie, stole his wives father, was scene openly in the action, to set forward and perswade for the same lawes, which in verie deed himselfe had deviled. And whereas at the first, eight of the Colledge or companie of the Tribunes of the Commons, had crossed the proceeding of them: now there were but five left that shewed themselves, and those (as commonly they vie to doe that disband from their owne faction) like men bestrait of their wits and amazed, being indeed the tongues and trunks that others spake by, pretended and made allegations in their prohibition, onely as they were schooled and taught their lessons at home: (to wit) That a great sort of the Commons were in the army at Velitæ & absent, and that the solemne session or assembly for enacting lawes, ought to be adjourned untill the returne home of the soldiours: to the end that all the Commons generally, might give their voices concerning their owne commoditie and benefit. *Sextius* and *Licinius* with part of their brethren Tribunes, and *M. Fabius* one of the Tribunes Militarie, being their owne craftsmasters, knew well enough by so many years experience, how to mannage and handle the mindes of the Commons: and plied the chiefe of the Senatours (produced forth before the people) so hard, with intergatories of everie particular that was propoſed, that they wearied and tired them out. Demanding, how they could require to be allowed themselves to possesse more than 500 acres a man: whereas the Commons had but two a peece divided amongst them? Whether that everie one of them might in equitie hold the lands, well neere, of three hundred citizens: and a commoner to have hardly ground enough for to build him a necessarie house upon, and to serve for a place to burie his dead? Also, whether their will and pleasure was that the Commons oppressed with usurie, should yeeld their bodies to beare yrons and suffer torment, unlesse they paid the interest before the principall? And that daily by whole companies they should be had away from the barre, condemned to thraldome; and Noble mens houses to become goales, filled and pestered with prisoners? And whersoever a Patitian dwelt, there should be a private prison? These indignities and piteous matters to be heard, when they had with a loud voice charged upon them, even before those that were afraid of the like measure themselves; with more indignation and disdaine of all that heard them, than they themselves shewed in the uttering, and deliverie: But these Senatours (say they) (and that they redoubled) will never make an end either of getting more land still into their hands, or spoiling and undoing the Commons with usurie, M untill the Commons make once out of their bodie one Consull, for to be the maintainer and protectour of their libertie. As for the Tribunes of the Commons, they were now just nothing set by: as who by their priviledge of Inhibitions and negative voices, spoiled themselves and overthrew their owne power. And never will there be any indifferent and equall course taken, so

Sextius and Licinius against the Tribunes of the Commons

- A so long as the Nobles keepe the soveraigne place of command, and the sword to strike whiles the poore Commons have onely the buckler hand to ward all venues. For unlesse the government be parted betweene both alike, the Commons shall never have their due and equall portion, in the Commonweale. Neither is it reason that any man should stand contented with this onely, that in the Election of Consuls, the Commons are eligible and capable of the dignitie: for in case, it be not concluded absolutely, that one Consull at the least shall be of necessity a Commoner, there will never be any at all. Have yee forgotten already (say they) that notwithstanding an Act made, That there should be Tribunes Militarie created rather than Consuls, for this intent, that Commoners might aspire and reach unto the chiefe place of honour: yet for all that in 44 yeares space, there was not so much as one of the Commoners chosen Tribune Militarie? And will any man beleve that they will of their own accord conferre upon the Commons (when otherwise they may chuse) that dignitie in the disposing onely of two places, who were ever wont in the making of Tribune Militarie, to take up eight roomes all wholly to themselves? And will they allow them a way unto the Consulship, who thus long have held the (Consular) Tribuneship so guarded, as no man might have access thither but themselves? Nay, it must be gotten by a positive law, which in their assemblies for Election, by favour and grace might not be obtained. One of the Consuls rounes must be set aside, past all peradventure and question, and that for a Commoner, to enter into. For as much as if it stand still upon a choise, the mightier man will ever go away with the game cleere. And whereas heretofore they have been wont to alledge and say, That the Commons afforded not sufficient and able men to beare the offices of the chaire and of state: that, now can not be truly objected. For was the Commonweale, I pray, you more slackly and negligently governed upon the (Consular) Tribuneship of *P. Licinius Calvus* (who was the first Commoner that ever was made Tribune Militarie) than it was ruled for those yeares space, in which there was no a Tribune Militarie but of the Nobilitie? Nay, on the contrarie side, it will be justified that some of the Nobles were condemned after they were out of their Tribuneship, and not one of the Commoners. And whereas not many yeares past, we began to make Questors or Treasurers out of the Commons, like as we did Tribunes Militarie, the people of Rome repented never of the choise of any one of them. It remaineth now, that the Commoners beare the office of Consuls too. That were a fortresse of their libertie, that were a strength and sure hold to trust unto. If they were once come and stept to that degree, then may the people of Rome thinke assuredly and be perswaded, that the Kings are banished indeed out of the citie, and their freedome fully established for ever to endure. For, from that day forward shall the Commons be partakers of all those things, wherein the Nobles now surpass them: namely, soveraigne rule and authoritie, martiall renowne, parentage and Nobilitie: great ornaments doubtlesse, unto themselves to enioie here in this life: but farre greater to leave behind them unto their children and posteritie. These and such like Orations when they saw to be plausible, and willingly accepted, they preferred a new Statute, That in steed of the two Duumvirs for holy ceremonies and matters of the Church, there might be chosen 10 Decemvirs: Provided alwaies, that one part of them should be created forth of the Commons, and another from among the Nobles. The Session for enacting of all those lawes, they deferred untill the armie was returned, which lay then at the siege before Velitæ.
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But the yeare was come about and fully expired, before the legions were reduced home from thence: and by that meanes the whole businesse about these new lawes, hung still in suspence, and was put off unto the entrance of the new Tribes Militarie. As for the Tribunes of the Commons, the Communitie chose the same againe, even those twaine who had bene the proposers of those lawes. And the Tribunes Militarie were these, *T. Quintius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, *Ser. Sulpitius*, *Sp. Servilius*, *L. Papyrius*, *L. Peturius*. Presently in the beginning of the yeare, they put it to the verie jumpe and finall triall what should become of those lawes. And when as the Tribes were called, and none of the Tribunes collegues stepped betweene to stop the proceeding of the lawgivers: the Nobles were afraid, and ran unto their two last helpes, to wit, the highell and absolute office, and the greatest man among them. They thought it good therefore to create a Dictatour. And *M. Furius Camillus* was nominated, who Elected unto him *L. Amylius* for General of the horse. The lawmakers likewise for their part, against so great preparation of their adversaries, armed at all parts the cause of the Commons, with stout stomacke and courageous

heart. And having assembled an Hall of the Commons, they called forth the wardsto give their voices. At what time the Dictatour accompanied with a great traine of Nobles, full of wrath and menacing frownes, tooke his place and set him downe. And after the matter was canvassed first by the ordinarie conflict of the Tribunes among themselves, whiles some propounded, and others gainesaid the law with their negatives forces; and that by how much in right the prohibition was the stronger, so much it was overweighed in favour and affection both of the lawes and lawgivers: and when the first Tribes had given their voice, ** Fur rogans* affirmatively: then *Camillus*, for as much as, (quoth hee) *o Quirites*, yee are ruled now by the will and pleasure, and not by the authoritie of the Tribunes, & as in times past ye obtained the priviledge of a negative voice and ** Intercession* by your departure & secession, so now ye make it void & nothing worth, even by the same force that ye got it by: I, chosen Dictatour as well for your sake as for the whole Commonwealth, will assit your priviledge of *Intercession*, and by mine absolute authoritie maintraine this your helpe and succour, now reversed and overthrowne. If therefore *C. Licinius* and *L. Sextius*, give place unto the negative voice and interceding of their fellowes in office, I will not in a meeting and assemblie of the Commons, once intermeddle, nor bring in the authoritie, of a magistrate of the Nobles: but if they shall go forward still (notwithstanding all Prohibition) to impose and give lawes unto the citie, as if it were woon by conquest of the enemy, I will not suffer the Tribunes power by their owne selves to be defaced and come to nothing. But (all these big words notwithstanding) when the Tribunes of the Commons made but a tush therat, and went never the latter forward with their enterprise, then *Camillus* throughly angered in deed, sent his Licitors and sergeants to commaund the Commons to avoid the place and depart: Threatning withall, that if they proceeded thus, he would take a Militarie oath of all the younger people, and lead an armie presently forth of the citie. This put the Commons in a verie great fright, but it set their captaines and ringleaders, rather in a greater heat of contention, than abated their courages one jot. And when he saw no relenting on either side, he gave up his office: Whether it were that there was some error in his creation, (as some have written) or because the Tribunes of the Commons had put up a bill to the Commons, and they granted it: that if *M. Furius* (as Dictatour) had proceeded to any action, he should have a round fine set on his head of 500000 ** Asles*, I know not certainly. But I beleve that he was terrified upon some unluckie signes of the birds, rather than with any such strange Act never heard of before, and without precedent. And hereunto am I induced, both in regard of the disposition of the man, so well given and of so good conscience, and also for that *M. Manlius* was immediately named Dictatour in his stead. For to what end should *Manlius* have beene created Dictatour for that broile and sturre, wherein *M. Furius* had taken the foile before? Again, seeing the same *M. Furius* was Dictatour the next yeare following, doubtlesse, he would never for shame have resumed that office, wherein the yeare before he had received the foile and disgrace, to be so overruled. Over and besides, at the same time when as this bill was supposed to have beene preferred, concerning his fine, either he might have withstood it too, (whereby he saw himselfe to be bridled) or else he had not beene able to have hindered so much as those, for which this also was proposed. Finally it was never scene to this day wherein we live, so long as the Tribunes and Consuls with their factions and parts taking have beene at variance and debate with all their might and maine, but evermore the authoritie of the Dictatour controlled them all, and put them downe.

Betweene the former Dictatorship of *Camillus* now resigned up, and the new by *Manlius* accepted and begun, there was an assembly of the Commons summoned by the Tribunes, in time as it were of a vacancie or Interreigne: wherein the overture was made and evidently it was seen, which of the lawes proposed the Commons liked better, and which the lawgivers. For those that concerned usurie and land, they granted to passe, but that other of a Commoner to be Consul, they denied and dashed quite. And surely both matters had beene dispatched fully and established at once, but that the Tribunes said directly, that they required the Commons, to give their voices and speake to all three, directly together. After this, *P. Manlius* the Dictatour favored somewhat, and helped the cause of the Commons, by nominating out of the Commons for his Generall of horsemen, *C. Licinius*, who had beene a Tribune Militarie before time. The Senatours stormed hereat, as I find in records. And the Dictatour was wont to excuse the matter unto them, alledging for himselfe the neere affinitie and kindred that was betweene him and

A and *Licinius*: saying also, that the dignitie of the Generall of horsemen was no greater than of a Tribune Consular. Now when the Election day was published for the Tribunes of the Commons, *Licinius* and *Sextius* so demeaned themselves, that by pretending that they would not any longer now continue in the office, they set the Commons on to be most earnest and hotely bent for that, which they under colour of refusal, desired and fought for. They seemed, forsooth, to alledge and say, That for these nine yeares they had stood as it were in battaile array, and affronted the States and Nobles of the citie, to the right great perill of themselves in privat, and to no good effect at all in publicke: and now together with them, both the lawes proposed, and the whole strength of the Tribunes authoritie, were waxed old and decayed. At the first their lawes were crossed by the interceding of their brethren Tribunes: afterwards, by packing away the youth of the citie to the Velitern warre: and last of all, the Dictatours lightening flashed in their faces, and their thunderbolts shot against them. Now (say they) neither their fellow Tribunes withstood them, nor foraine warres hindered them, ne yet the Dictatour himselfe, as who for his part hath given a good foretoking and presage of a Consull Commoner, in electing his Generall of horsemen from out of the Commons. The very Commons and none els, are they that hurt themselves, and delay their owne goods. Who might presently if they would, have their citie, their common hall, & place of assemblies freed from these creditors: yea, and their grounds recovered againe from the unjust Landlords. Which benefites and liberties, when are they like to weigh and esteeme with thankfull minds accordingly, if in the very time that they are to accept the lawes devised for their owne wealth and good, they cut off all hope of promotion and honour, from the publishers and proposers thereof? For it standeth not with the modestie of the people of Rome, to require to be eased themselves of Usurie, and to be set in possession again of the land, wrongfully withheld from them by the mightie men: and then to leave those old Tribunes, by whose meanes they have come by those good commodities, to shift for themselves, not only without honor, but also without all hope of honor. Let them first therefore set downe with themselves, & resolve, what they are minded to do: and afterwards in the election of Tribunes, declare the same openly. If they would be willing to speake affirmatively to those laws, all jointly as they were propounded, then there were some reason to chuse the same Tribunes againe: and then would they enact & establish finally that which they had published. But in case their wil was to accept of that, and no more than which served each private mans turne, then there was small need or none at all to have them still in office, with the envie and grudging of so many. And to bee short, neither would they accept of the Tribuneship any longer, neither should the Commons have those laws ratified, which were already granted. When as all the rest of the Senatours were stricken into their dumps and blanke, for the very indignitie to see things thus goe. At the last, one *Appius Claudius Crassus* (the nephew or sonnes sonne of that notorious *Appius* the Decemvir) upon a malicious mind and fell stomacke, as it is reported, rather than for any hope hee had to dissuade the matter, stood up, and to this effect answered that so stout & peremptorie speech of the Tribunes, in this manner. It can be no strange matter to me, nor unlooked for, *o Quirites*, if that which hath beene the onely thing at all times objected by seditious Tribunes against our house, I also should hear at this present: to wit, that the whole name and lineage of *Claudij*, have ever from the first beginning, regarded nothing more in the Commonweale, than the majestie and honor of the Senatours and the Nobles, and alwaies set and opposed themselves against the good and welfare of the Commons. Of which two challenges, the one I neither can, nor will deny and disavow: namely that wee, since the first time that wee were enfranchised citizens, and therewith at once taken into the number of Senatours, have endeavored and strained our selves, that it might be said, and that truly, that the honor and dignitie of that state and degree, into which it was your good pleasure we should be incorporate, and graced with, was by us augmented, rather than impaired. And as for the other challenge, this I dare be bold, in mine owne behalfe, and in the name of mine auncestors and progenitors, to averre, *o Quirites*: that (unless a man would thinke whatsoever is done for the weale publicke generally, is directly against the Commons, as if they were mere aliens of another citie) we to our knowledge have practised nothing, witting and willing, either whiles we lived private, or during the time we bare office, prejudiciall to the Communal tie: and that neither in deed nor word, wee can be justly charged to have wrought and contrived any thing contrarie to your good: although peradventure somewhat hath fallen out crosse against your will and mind. But were I not a *Claudius*, and of that familie, nor descended of no-

blebloud, but some one of the Burgeoises or citizens: and knew my selfe to be but free borne, both by father and mother, and to live in a free citie: could I (thinke yee) hold my tongue? but frankly speake and say, that these perpetuall Tribunes (God save all) *L. Sextius*, and *C. Licinius* I meane, have for nine yeares (for so long they have plaied Rex) taken so much upon them, & been so bold as to say they will not permit you to have free voices, neither in solemn assemblies for elections, nor in Sessions and Parliaments for allowing and ordaining lawes? Vpon condition (quoth one of them) you shall make us Tribunes againe the tenth time. What is this els but to say? That, which other sue for, we so scorne and disdain, that accept of it wee will not, with our good hire and recompence. And what reward and consideration is this, good Sirs, for which we may have your Worthships, our ever-Tribunes? Marrie (quoth hee) that yee will accept jointly together and at once, all our lawes, whether they like you or dislike you: whether they bee good and holefome, or bad and noisome. Now I beseech you good *Tarquines* (Tribunes of the Commons I would have said) imagine I were one of the ordinarie citizens, and should from out of the multitude assembled, speak out and say: Pleaseth it your good grace, Sir, that out of these lawes propounded, wee may chuse those that wee thinke good and holefome for us, and refuse and disannull the rest. [Oh (quoth he) that may not be. Thou maist allow, belike, and ordain, concerning Vsurie, concerning lands, which tend to the commoditie of you all. But now beware of bugs. This monstrous and portenteous wonder must in no case be permitted in Rome, that thou shouldst see *L. Sextius* and this perillous fellow *C. Licinius* to bee Consuls, which thy heart riseth at, and which goeth against thy stomacke. Nay, nay, either accept of all, or I will propound none at all.] This is all one, as if a man should give him that is hunger-bitten, and readie to starve, poison and meat together: and bid him either forbear the wholefome food to preserve his life, or else to take the deadly bane to hasten his death. But if this were a free State indeed, would not many a one have cried out and said, Avant you and your Tribuneships, out upon you with your lawes. What Sir? How if your Mastership will not put up & prefer that which is commodious and profitable for the people to accept: is there none, think you besides, that will propound it? If any Nobleman, or if any *Clandius* (which they take to be more odious) should thus say, *Either take all, or I will propose none at all*. Which of you, *Quirites*, would endure it? why? will ye never regard the substance more than the person; the matter rather than the man? But all is wel taken & heard quickly, which that magistrat shal say. And wil ye alwaies hear with the wrong or deafe eare, whatsoever any of us shal happen to speake? Well, the words are naught, & the speech (without question) very un civile and rude. Now let us see what maner of law it is, that they storme so at, because by you it is rejected. In good faith o *Quirites*, much like unto their language. This I require (qd, he) that it might not be lawfull for you to make Coss. whom ye will. For what els demandeth he, who would have it enacted by expresse terms, that one at least of the Coss. must be a Commoner of necessity, & leaveth it not unto your choise to make two Noblemen Coss. If we had wars at this day, such as sometime the Tuscan war was, when *Porcena* was master of the Ianicle & kept that piece against us; or such as the Gaules war of late daies was, when the enemies were *LL*, and possessed of all the citie here, but the Capitoll and fortresse onely; set case, that *L. Sextius* should be prickt and propounded either with this *M. Furius* here in place or with any one other of the Nobles, and stand to be Coss. would ye abide that *Sextius* should be undoubtedly Coss. and *Camillus* at devotion and in hazard to take repulse? Is this indeed to bestow your dignities indifferently with even & equall hand? That two of the Commons, forsooth, may be elected Consuls, and not two likewise of the Nobles? And that one of them must needs perforce be created out of the Commons: and in the electing of both, the Nobles may be overthipt? What societie is this, what communie & participation? Will not this serve thy turne and content thee, that wherein thou hadst no title nor interest afore, thou shouldst now have thy part: unlesse in seeking to have a portion, thou pluck all unto thy selfe? I feare me (quoth he) if both Consuls might be made of the Nobilitie, ye would chuse none at all of the comminalltie. What is this els but to say? Because willingly of your selves, ye would not chuse unworthy persons and unmeet, I will bind you therfore of necessity, to elect those whom otherwise ye would passe by. And what followeth hereupon but this, M that the Commoner who standeth with two *Patricijs*, may plainly say, and that truly, he is not by voices chosen, but by vertue of a law, and so acknowledge no benefit received of the people, nor be beholden at all to them, for their grace and favour? Thus seeke they meane to wring your dignities from you, and not the way to sue for them: and would so obtaine the greatest, as that they

Appius speaks in the person of Sextius or Licinius, without this markes []

Now Appius speaks in his own person

A they mought not be obliged and bound unto you for the least: and had rather get honours and offices by advantage taking and cunning sleights; than by their owne vertue, desert and worthinesse. But there is some one that scorneth to be pried and looked into; and to be considered as he deserveth: who thinks it meet, that he alone among the other Competitors, that contest and stand in suit, should be sure of offices and promotions, and will not submit himselfe to your censure: who would have your suffrages, of voluntarie, to be constrained: of free, to be thrall & servile. I speake not of *Licinius* and *Sextius*: whose yeares of their continuall government ye reckon upon, and make up in the Capitoll, as they used sometime, to count the yeares of the Kings raigne. But what is he this day in the citie, of so base, so abject and low condition, that by the advantage and benefit of this law, hath not easier access to a Consulship, than we and our children have? As for us truly, ye may sometime misse of chusing us, would you never so faine: but for them ye must needs, yea though full against your mind. And thus much concerning the indignitie and unworthinesse of the thing. For, dignitie and worthinesse, I take, to be matters properly to men pertaining. What shall I speake now of Religions, and of the solemnitie of the Auspices, which employ a meere contempt and injurie done to the immortall gods? Who knoweth not, that by the approbation of the gods, testified by flight of birds, this citie was first founded: that by the same Auspices, all hath been ordered and directed, as well in war abroad, as in peace at home? And who be they that have to doe with these tokens & presages, by auncient custome and tradition from our forefathers? Forsooth even the Nobles and none els. As for the Magistrates of the Commons, none are chosen with regard of flight, sight, and feeding of the birds. C But to us, they doe so properly belong, that not onely those Magistrates of the Nobles, which the people create, they doe not otherwise elect but by observation of the birds; but we also our selves, without the assent and voice of the people; doe nominate an Interrex by meanes of the birds: yea and in the private actions of our life, we are guided by them at home, which these Commons use not in their very offices. What then meaneth he els, but to take these Auspices out of the citie, who by creating Commoners to be Consuls, depriveth the Nobles thereof, who onely may have and use them? Now let them mocke on and scoffe at our religions. Let them deride our ceremonies. What makes matter (say they) if those pullets pecke or eat not? What if they come somewhat late out of their coupe or cage? What if a bird sing ake or crowe crosse and contrarie? How then? A great piece of matter surely. Small things but, I confesse, they be: D but as small as they are, our auncelours by not contemning them, have brought this C. VV. to a flourishing state. And we now a daies, as if we stood not in neede of the grace and favour of God, pollute all holie rites and ceremonies. And therefore let our prelates and high priests, our Augurs, and King at Sacrifices bee created (it skilleth not how) even out of the common multitude: Let us set upon any mans head (it matters not whose, so he come in likeness of a man) the miter of *Iupiter* his Flamme. Let us commit the keeping of the Anciles or heavenly shields, and the secret Sanctuaries; let us commit the gods themselves and the charge of their holy service to those, unto whom we may not lawfully nor without impietie. Let no lawes be published nor Magistrates created solemnly, with regard of birds at all, and of the will of the gods. Nor in the Centuriate assemblies holden by degrees, and Curiae-meetings by the wardes and parishes, E let not the Senatours be presidents and have their authoritie and roiall assent. Let *Sextius* and *Licinius*, like *Romulus* and *Tatius* raigne together, as fellow KK, in the citie of Rome, because they give away so freely, the monies, lands, and territories from others. So sweete and favorie it is to prey upon other mens goods. Never consider they, nor looke so farre into the matter, that by one of these goodly lawes, our fieldes will be desert and wast, by ejecting and dispossessing the rightfull land-lords: and by the other, all credit in borrowing and lending, in taking and putting forth of money shal be abolished. And then farewell all human societie, commerce, & intercoure whatsoever. In these respects therfore, thus I conclude, and would counsell you, in any wise to stop, frustrate and disannull the overture and proceeding of these lawes: and in so doing, I praie God blesse and speed you well. This Oration of *Appius* thus farre onely prevailed, that the time of publication of these Actes, was cut off and differed. But the same Tribunes *Sextius* and *Licinius*, being chosen againe the tenth time, propounded this law and had it enacted, That of the Decemvirs for divine service and church matters, some should be created of the Commons. So, F five of them were of the Nobles, and five of Commoners: whereby they seemed to have gained already one good step onward unto the Consulship.

The Decemvirs created.

The

The Commons contenting themselves with this victorie, yielded unto the Senatours, that for the present without any mentioning of Consuls, there should be elected Tribunes Militarie. So there were created *A. and M. Cornelij* the second time, *M. Geganius, P. Manlius, L. Veturius* and *P. Valerius* the sixth time. At what time, when as (but for the siege of Velitæ, which was like to be for service a long piece of worke, rather than for issue, doubtfull in the end) the Romanes were at rest for any forreine troubles, the fodaine and unlooked for newes of the Gaules war, drave the citie to chuse *M. Furius* Dictatour the fifth time: who tooke unto him for his Generall of the horfmen, *T. Quintius Penus*. *Claudius* writeth, that this yeare the Gaules were fought with, about the river Anio: and that there was that noble combat upon the bridge, in which, *T. Manlius*, in the sight of both armies slew in single fight a Gaule that had challenged him and given defiance, and despoiled him of his collar of gold. But there be more writers that induce me to beleve, that this exploit was performed ten yeares after: and that in this yeare the Gaules had a batteile given them by *M. Furius* Dictator, in the Albanes land: where the Romanes had neither doubtfull nor dangerous victorie, although the French made them afraid at first in remembrance of their former overthrow. Many thousands of this barbarous nation were slaine in field, many also fell upon the sword in their campe after it was won. Some were scattered & fled, and those most (who tooke the way to Apulia) saved themselves from the enemy, both by flying so farre, and also for that upon feare they were so distracted and parted one from another. The Senatours and Commons agreed and made a decree, that the Dictatour should triumph. Who scarcely had made an end of that war, but he was welcomed home with a more hotter and more dangerous Sedition within the citie. For after many sharp bickerings and contentions, the Dictatour and Senat both, were overmatched and overcome, yea & forced to accept the Tribunes lawes aforesaid. And also malgree the Nobilitie and doe what they could, there was an assembly holden for Election of Consuls: in which *L. Sextius* was created Consull, the first Commoner that ever sat in Consuls chaire. But the broiles staid not there. For, by reason that the Nobles denied to approve and give assent thereto, the matter was like to grow unto a Seccession and generall departure of the Commons, yea and to other fearfull tearmes and perilous threats of civile wars and intestine troubles. Howbeit, by meanes of the Dictatour, the flames were quenched and the discords appeased upon these capitulations. *Imprimis*, that the Nobilitie should accord unto the Commons, to have one Consull from among themselves. *Item*, that the common people should be content that the Nobles might out of the *Patritij* create a Pretor or Lord chiefe Justice for *oyer* and *determiner* in causes within the citie. Thus when after long anger the two states of the citie were grown to unitie and concord, the Senate thinking it a worthe matter (and good cause they had verely as ever any time before) willingly to determin, for the honour of the immortall Gods, to set out those most stately [Roman] plaies. And whereas before, they had continued but three daies, to ad one more, & to celebrate them full foure. And when the *Ædiles* of the Commons refused that charge and excused themselves, the younger Gentlemen of the Nobilitie cried all with one voice, That they would most gladly doe that service and honour to the immortall Gods, so as they might be made *Ædiles* for that purpose. Thanked they were generally of all hands; and the Senate made a decree, That the Dictator should propose unto the people, that two men of the Nobilitie might be *Ædiles* and that in all the Assemblies and Elections for that yeare, whatsoever passed, should be ratified by the soveraigne assent of the Senatours.

L. Sextius, the first Commoner that was chosen Consull.

THE

THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the Citie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the seventh Booke.

TWO new officers of State, to wit, the Pretorship and *Ædileship* of the Chaire, were adjoined to the rest. The citie was sore visited with the pestilence: which was more noted by reason of *Euricius Camillus* who died therein. The remedie and end whereof, whiles they sought to procure by bringing in new and strange religions, at length they desired strange plaies, which then first were set forth. *M. Pomponius* a Tribune of the Commons, arrested *L. Manlius* for his exceeding rigour in taking muster of soldiors: and for confining and hardly intreating his owne sonne *T. Manlius*, for no crime or bawinous offence. And the young man himselfe, whose confining and misusage was laid unto his fathers charge, entered the bed-chamber of the said Tribune, drew his sheane and forced him to sweare unto him, that he would let fall his suite and proceed no further. Then all mischiefs entended, were laid apart and had an end. *Curtius* armed at all pieces, mounted upon a chafur, rode headlong into the wide gaping chinke or gulf within the citie of Rome, and so it presently filled up againe. The same young *Manlius*, who had freed his father from the troubles of the Tribune, entered into comb at with a French man, that challenged any one of the Roman soldiors to single fight: slew him, tooke from him his collar of gold, which he wore about his necke afterwards himselfe, and thereof was called *Torquatus*. Two Tribes more were added, *Pontina* and *Publicia*. *Licinius Stolo* was condemned by a law of his owne making, because he held in possession more than 500 acres of ground. *M. Valerius* a Colonell of 1000 foot killed a Gaule, who challenged him to fight: and th. at, by the means and helpe of a vulture that sealed upon his morrow, and with talons and bill annioed his enemy, and thereupon was he named *Corvinus*. For which vertue and valourous Act, he was the yeare next following created Consull, being not full three and twentie yeares old. Amities was concluded with the Carthaginians. The Campanes being waied up by the Samnites, craved aid of the Senate against them: and when they could not speed, yielded their citie and victorie to the people of Rome. Whereupon it was thought good, seeing both they and theirs were now become proprietaries to the people of Rome, that they should be defended by force of armes against the Samnites. When *A. Cornelius* the Consull, had led his host into a place of disadvantage and was in great perill, he was by the industrious service of *P. Decius* a Colonell saved: Who having gained the hill top, which commanded the ridge, whereon the Samnites lay encamped, gave the Consull opportunity to escape and passe into a plaine ground: and himselfe, notwithstanding he was environed by the enemy, brake through them, and gat away. The Roman soldiors left in garison at Capua, having conspired to keepe the citie to their owne behoofe, were detected and their plot disclosed: and for feare of punishment revolted from the people of Rome contrary to their allegiance: but by the policie and wisdom of *M. Corvinus*, they were reclaimed from their outrage, and restored againe to their countrie. Moreover, this booke containeth the fortunate warres against *Hernicks, Gauls, Tyburtis, Privernates, T. Aquinians, Samnites, and Volscians*.

THREE ensueth a yeare of especiall note and marke, for the Consullship of a man newly risen: also for two new offices, the Pretorship and *Ædileship* of the Chaire. Both which dignities, they of the Nobilitie purchased to themselves in lieu of granting to the Commons one place of the two Consuls. The Commons bestowed the Consullship upon *L. Sextius* for his good service, in propounding the law, whereby that promotion was first obtained. The Nobles conferred the Pretorship upon *Sp. Furius Camillus* the sonne of *Marcus*: and the *Ædileship* upon *Cn. Quintius Capitolinus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, personages of their owne order and degree: So gracious were they with the people in Mars field. *L. Sextius* had companion with him in government, *L. Aemilius Mamercus* one of the Senatours. In the beginning of the yeare, much debate there was and hard hold, both as well about the Gaules, who at the first ranged abroad over all * Apulia, and were now (as the report went) gathered together: as also concerning the * *Phylæa* rebellion

a prison and house of correction: where, a Dictatour his sonne, a young Gentleman highly descended, by this daily miserie of his, was taught to know, that hee had indeed a lordly and imperious Sir, to his father. And for what great offence, I pray you? Because hee was not so faire spoken, nor all the readiest with his tongue. Which infirmities and defects of nature, ought not a father to have borne withall and cloked (if there had ben any goodnesse, any common humanity in him) rather than to punish it, and by rough handling, and sharpe usage, to make it more knowne and notorious? Why? even the very brute beasts, if it chauce that any of their breed or young ones prove but untowardly, feed and cherish them still never thelesse. But as for this *L. Manlius*, he augmented one inconvenience & default in his son, whom, being but soft and flow of nature, he keepeth down the more: and that little life & smal mettrall that is in him, he goeth about to quench and dull at ones by this peasants life and rusticall usage, and conversing amongst the cattell and beasts. These bitter complaints and accusations moved the patience, and stirred the stomackes of every man els; sooner than the yong man himselfe. Who contrariwise was grieved in his mind, that he should be a cause of his fathers troubles, thus to incur the ill will and obloquie of the people. And that all the world, both heaven and earth might know, that hee desired rather to succour and helpe his father, than to assist his adversaries and foes, he entred into a course becomming and bewraying (I must needs say) a rude and rustical mind. Which, although it favour nothing of civilitie, yet for his kinnesse and dutifull pietie to his father, deserveth commendation. One morning betimes he gets him up, and unknowne to everie one of the house, with a good skeine close by his side, to the citie hee goes: and from the gate straightwaies directly to *M. Pomponius* the Tribune his house. He telleth the porter, that hee must needs speake with his master out of hand, willing him to let him understand, that *T. Manlius*, the sonne of *Lucius*, was there. And being immediatly let in, (for the Tribune hoped, that the son was thoroughly angered with his father, and brought new complaints, and one matter or other against him, or some devise and overture, how to proceed in the commensed Action) and salutations passed to and fro betwene the Tribune and him, hee said, that hee was to talke with him apart out of all mens hearing. So the rume being voided, and all commaunded to depart farre ynough out of the way, he draweth out his skeine: and leaping aloft upon the bed, stood there, and held it full bent against him, and threatened presently to give him the stab, unless he would sweare the oath he should tender unto him, namely, never to call an assemble or hall of the Commons together about his fathers enditement, or impanell a Iurie against him. The Tribune affrighted (seeing the naked weapon glittering before his face, himselfe all alone and unarmed, the other a tall and lustie young fellow, and, that which was as much to be feared as the rest, foolehardie, and presuming upon his strength) tooke the oath in that forme as he put it unto him. And afterwards he gave it out plainly and confessed (for his excuse) that by this meanes hee was forced in spite of his heart, to surcease his suit, and give over his enterprize. But the Commons were not so much offended at the sonne, for giving such an adventure in his fathers quarrell: but they could have bene more contented and better pleased, that it had lien in their power to have passed their voices, for the condemnation of so cruel & proud a prisoner, as they had under their hands. And the more praise-worthie was this desigine of the sonne, because so great rigor of the father, wrought no alienation at all in his heart, from the affectionate dutie that hee owed unto him. So not onely the father escaped his arraignment, but this action of the yong man turned to his owne honor and preferment. For whereas, this year it was first ordained, that the Tribunes or Colonels should be chosen by voices of the legionarie fouldiours (for aforetime, as at this day, the Generals themselves made them, whom they call *Ruffuli*) in sixe places (for so many were elected) he obtained the second rowme: and that, in regard of no desert otherwise, either at home or abroad, which might win him this favour, as who had spent his youth in the countrie altogether far from the civile societie of men.

The same yeare, by earthquake or some other forcible violence, the common place called Forum, clave and opened wide, welneere in the mids; and suncke downe to an exceeding depth: neither could that chyncke or pit be filled up, by casting in of earth (notwithstanding every man laboured and brought what he could) before that they began to enquire, according as they were admonished by the divine Oracles, what it might be, wherein the most puissance and greames of the people of Rome consisted. (For the wisards prophesied, That if they would have the state of Rome to remain sure for ever, they should dedicat and offer it, whatsoever it was, unto that place.)

And

A And when they were in doubt what this should be, it is reported, that *M. Curtius*, a right hardie knight and martiall yong gentleman, rebuked them therfore, because they doubted whether the Romanes had any earthly thing better than armour and valor? Herewith, after silence made, he lift up his eyes, and beheld the temples of the immortall gods, situate neere to the Forum, and the Capitoll likewise, and stretching forth his hands, one while toward heaven, another while to the gaping chynckes and gulfe in the earth, toward the infernall spirits beneath, hee offered and devoted himselfe to assured death. And mounting upon a brave courser, as richly trapped and set out, as possible he could devise, armed as he was at all peeces, he leapt horse and man and all into the hole. The people, both men and women, threw in after him sundrie gifts and oblations, and fruits of the earth in great plentie. The place was after called *Curtius Lacus*, of his name, and not of that *Curtius Metus* in the old time, who was a fouldiour under *Titus Tatius*. If I could by any meanes search out the truth, I would not spare for any paines in that behalfe. But now seeing that by reason of antiquitie the certaintie is not fully knowne, wee must goe by the common voice and report of men. And verily the name of the lake is more renowned and noble by occasion of this later and fresher tale, than the other.

After the expiation of so great and prodigious a wonder, much consultation there was in the Senate that yeare, as concerning the Hernicks: for having sent their heraulds unto them for an appendate of harmes done, but to no effect, they determined with all convenient speed to propose unto the people, for to proclaime warre against the Hernicks, and bid them defiance. The people generally with one voice liked thereof, and approved it. The charge of that service

C and exploit tell to *L. Genutius* his lot, to undertake. Now, for that he was the first Consul of the Commons that by his owne auspices and conduct should manage warre, the citie was in great expectation of the sequele and issue: and according to the event that should fall out, good or bad in this journey, they were to judge, whether they had done well or amisse to communicate these dignities with the Commons. But it fortunod so, that *Genutius* being with great preparation and power set forth against the enemies, was entrapped by an Ambuscado, his legions upon a suddaine feare unlooked for defeated, himselfe (the Consul) environed round about, and slain by them, that wist not whome they slew. Which tidings being brought to Rome, the Senatours were not so pensive and sorrowfull for the common calamitie, as they frowned and tooke on most insolently, for this unhappy expedition and conduct of the Commoner Consul: and muttered in all places these and such like speeches: Now let them go and create Consuls againe out of the comminaltie, and translate the Auspicia whether they ought not. What? Because the Senatours by an Act of the Commons, might be defeated and dispossessed of their dignities, could so inauspicate and irreligious a lawe, prevaile likewise against the gods immortall? Who now themselves have taken the matter into their own hands, and maintained their power, their deitie and Auspices: which were not so soone medled withall, and polluted by one that had no right thereto, nor lawfull title, but both the whole armie, and captaine also, were vanquished and overthrowne; to teach them for ever hereafter, how they make their solemne Elections of Magistrates confusedly, without regard of the rightes and roialties of noble houses. These speeches both Counsell house and common place rong againe withall. So the Consul

E full *Servilius* with consent of the Nobles, named for Dictatour *Appius Claudius*, who had aforetime in an oration before the whole assembly of the Commons, dissuaded the proceeding of that law; and now with greater authoritie blamed the mishap of that counsell, which was by him misliked and reproved. A multer was proclaimed, and a publike Vacation. But before that the Dictatour and these new enrolled legions were gone as farre as the Hernicks confines, the other armie under the leading of *G. Sulpitius* the Lieutenant, by occasion of an occurrent that fell out there, got a good hand against their enemies. For when as upon the death of the Consul, the Hernicks advanced in scornfull and contemptuous manner, close under the campe of the Romanes, with a full hope to be masters of the same; behold, what with the exhortation of the Lieutenant, and what for anger and indignitie, wherewith the fouldiours stomacks were full, they made a sallie out against them. Whereupon the Hernicks came so farr short of their accompt, that they had no hope to assaile, no nor approach the rampier: and so in disaray they dismarched and departed. Afterwards by the coming in of the Dictatour with a fresh power, the old armie was reinforced double. The Dictatour in a solemne audience, having praised the Lieutenant & his fouldiours for defending their tentes so manfully, both encouraged them that heard themselves

Z

so

The kindness of
T. Manlius to
his father.

* At Rome in a
Temple called
Clulare, or the
Colunne, where
of a 1000 of
men]

M. Curtius
offereth his
life for his
country.

Curtius Lacus.

L. Genutius
Consul slain.

so highly commended according to their deserts, and also whetted on the rest to performe the like valorous service. The enemies on the other side were nothing slacke to prepare themselves to fight againe: who in remembrance of the honour they had already won, albeit they were not ignorant that the Romans forces were redoubled, increased their own power also. For the whole nation of the Hernicks, even as many as were able to draw sword, were called forth to the wars. Eight cohorts by themselves consisting of foure hundred in a band were enrolled, even the most able and choise men of all others. These elect and especiall floure of their youth and manhood, they fed with hope and encouraged themore to this service, because they had taken order they should have double paie. Freed they were besides from all other labour and Militarie toile, that being thus reserved to intend the fight and nothing els, they should make reckoning and know, that they were to indeavour and straine themselves above the ordinarie carriage of souldiours. Placed also they were in the battaile, apart from the other ranks: to the end their valour and devoir might be more scene and marked. Betweene both camps of the Romanes and Hernicks, there was a plaine of two miles in length: and there in the mid way in a maner, was the battail fought. First, the fight was doubtfull on both sides, whiles the Romane horsemen charged and recharged againe, but ever in vaine, to see if they could breake their battailions. Thus when the service on horseback, proved lesse in effect than in attempt, they asked the advice and craved leave of the Dictator: which being granted, they abandoned their horses, and with a mightie shout, ran forth before the ensignes, and renewed the battaile afresh. Neither could they have beene any longer endured, but that those extraordinarie bands opposed themselves, and received them with equall might of bodie and valour of heart. Then was the fight maintained betweene the brave youth and principall floure of both nations. And looke what slaughter there was by common hazard of warre, as well of the one side as of the other, the losse was greater for the qualitie of the persons, than the proportion of the number. For the rest of the common souldiours, as if they had thured from themselves the whole conflict, and betaken it to the vawards only, reposed their owne event and hap in the manhood of others. Many a man on both parts was smitten downe and died in the place, but more were hurt and wounded. At last, those horsemen that dismounted, fell to call and rebuke one another, asking what hope remained els besides? If neither on horseback they were able to drive the enemies back, nor on foote force them to give ground and remove them, what third kinde of service looked they for? Why leapt they out so lustily and bravely into the forefront before the ensignes? and fought in the place of others? With these words provoking one another, they pluckt up their hearts, and with a fresh shout set forward and gave a new charge. First, they compelled the enemies to recuile & loose their standing: then to give more ground: and at length plainly to turne their backe and run away. Hard it is to say, being so equally and indifferently matched as they were, what it was that turned the ballance and gave the victorie: unless it were the perpetuall fortune that ever followed both nations, able to advance the spirit and courage of the one, and to daunt and abate the hearts of the other. The Romanes had the Hernicks in chafe, all the way long, so farre as to their campe: but because it was faire in the evening, they staid from assailing it. For by reason that it was long ere the Dictator could by sacrifice gather any assured token of Gods favour, he sounded not the battaile before noone: whereby it continued untill night. The morrow after, were the Hernicks fled and their campe abandoned: only some hurt and wounded souldiours were found left behind. But one troupe of them that forooke their ensignes (when as neere unto their wals and fortres their banners were discovered, slenderly accompanied, and with few about them) was scattered abroad over the fields, and in great feare stragled all about, and shamefully fled away. And yet this victorie of the Romanes cost them well the setting on, and spent some blood: for they lost a fourth part of their men: and that which was no small damage unto them, some of the Romanes horsemen also were slaine.

The next yeare following, when *C. Sulpitius* and *C. Licinius Calvus* the Consuls, were gone with a power against the Hernicks, and finding not the enimie abroad in the countrie, had by force wonne *Forentinum* a towne of theirs: in their returne homeward, the *Tyburts* kept their gates shut against them. And after many complaints & unkindnesse ripped up betweene them: this last quarrell was it, that moved the Romanes by their Heraulds (after restitution and amends demanded) to send defiance, and proclaime war against the people of *Tybur*. That *Titus Quintus Penus* was Dictator that yeare, and *Serg. Cornelius Maluginensis* Generall of his horsemen,

- A it is agreed upon by all authors. *Macer Licinius* writeth that he was created for the holding of an assembly for Election of Magistrates, and that, by the Consul *Licinius*: because when his fellow Consul made hast to have the Election before the warre, thereby to continue his owne Consulship, it was thought good to withstand and meete with his naughtie desire in that behalfe. But *Licinius* [*Macer*] in searching to his name and family, that praise and commendation, maketh himselfe to be of lesse credite in writing of the rest: especially, seeing that in none of the olde records, I finde mention of any such matter. Mine owne minde giveth me rather, that the Dictator was created because of the Gaules tumultuous warre. For certes that yeare they encamped themselves three miles from Rome, beyond the bridge of * *Anio*, in the way *Salaria*.^{T. Livius}
- B the Militarie oath of all the younger sort; and with a puissant armie departed the cittie, and upon the very banke on this side of *Anio* pitched his tents. In the mid way betweene them and the enemies there was a bridge: which they would not breake downe on either part, least they should be thought fearfull cowards. But about the seising and gaining of that bridge, first, there was many a skirmish: and judged it could not be, considering the equall forces of both sides, who should be masters of it. Then advanced forward unto the bridge (void of all guards) a mightie tall and bigge Frenchman, and as lowd as ever he could set out a throte, maketh this challenge; Now (quoth he) let the bravest gallant that Rome hath, come forth and spare not, to combat if hee dare, that the event of us twaine may shewe whether nation is more valiant and warlike. The brave Knights and youtnes of Rome, held their peace a good while, both abashed to refuse the challenge, and also unwilling to run upon the present hazard of a single fight. Then *T. Manlius*, the sonne of *Licinius*, even he who released his father from the Tribunes troubles, goeth forth of his quarter unto the Dictator. Without your leave and expresse commandement (quoth he) o Noble Sovereigne, I would never presume to fight out of my ranke and standing, no, nor if I should see assured victorie before mine eyes: but if it will please your excellencie to give me licence, I will shew unto that beast yonder (that so proudly and lustely is come forth leaping before the enemies ensignes, and braving as you see) that I am descended of that house and race, that gave the whole armie of the Gaules the foile, and turned them downe the Cliffe *Tarpeia*. Then said the Dictator unto him, God blesse thee *T. Manlius*: On forth a Gods name, in this thy dutifull mind and zeale that thou carriest both to father and countrie: Go on I say, and with the helpe of the gods, performe the Roman name to be invincible. Then his feeser and companions holpe to arme the younge Gentleman. A light footmans shield he takes unto him, and a spanish blade by his side, more handsome to fight short and close. Being thus armed and set out, they bring him forth against this vainglorious Gaule, set all upon joy tull foolishly, and (as the auncient writers have thought it worth the noting and remembrance) scornfully lelling and blaring out his tongue. Then the rest departed every man to his owne quarter and warde: and the two armed champions were left in the midst, more like a festivall spectacle and pageant to behold, than any fight at utterance, suiting to the manner, guise, and law of combat, considering they were not equally matched, if a man should judge by the eie and outward view. The one of them of personage mightie and exceeding tall, his coate armour of sundrie colours and gay, his harness glittering and all damasked and engraven with gold. The other, a man of a middle stature of Souldiours, no great shew of armor, and that rather fit and handsome, than gaudie to behold: without any houping, singing, and joyous vaunting of himselfe, without vaine flourishings and shaking of his weapons in the aire: but he had an heart full of resolute courage, stomacke, and close anger within, reserving all his fiercenesse and eagenesse unto the very bickerment and triall of fight. As they stood thus betweene the two armies, and so many men all about looking on, in doubtfull suspence between hope and feare, the Gaule like as he had beene a huge mountaine aloft over the other, readie to fall upon him, held forth his target with the left hand to bear off the sword of his enimie comming against him, & let drive a down-right blow edgelong, that it rebounded againe upon his shield, and did no harme at all. The Romane bearing his own sword with the point upward, and with his shield having smitten the nether part of his enemies target, and turned it aside, got with his whole bodie close within him, and without the danger of being hurt: and when he had wound himselfe betweene his enemies bodie and his swords point, he redoubled one or two foines, and thrust him up into the bellie at the groine, and so overthrew him. There lay the Gaule along, and rooke up a great ground in length. When he was
- Z ij downe,

downe, without any further mangling and tormenting his carcasſe, he deſpoiled him only of his colar of gold, which embued as it was with blood, he did about his own neck. The Gauls with fear and admiration of this ſight, were aſtonied. The Romans with great cheerfulneſſe came forth of their wards & quarters to meet their champion, and with great praife & congratulation brought him before the Dictator. And as they merily caſt forth (as the maner of ſoldiours is) certain pleaſant ditties, ballad wiſe, but without artificial ſkil of poetrie, they were heard to ſurname him * *Torquatus*: which afterwards was taken up & commonly uſed, & became an honorable name to his poſteritie, & the whole houſe beſides. Beſides all this, the Dictator beſtowed upon him a coronet of gold for a reward, and openly before the whole audience of the armie, highly and wonderfully commended that ſight of his. And certainly, that combat was of ſuch conſequence, & made ſo much to the event of the whole warre, that the night next following, the hoſt of the Gauls, fearfully abandoning their tents, departed into the Tyburtine countie: and being drawne into a ſocietie offe arre with the inhabitants of * Tybur, and liberally by them relieved with victuals, they paſſed within a while into Campania. Which was the cauſe that the next yeare, *C. Petilius Balbus* the Conſull (when his fellow *M. Fabius Ambuſtus* was by lot, ſent with commiſſion againſt the Hernicks) led an armie, by the appointment of the people, againſt the Tyburtines. To the aid of whom, when the French were returned out of Campania; there was ſoule ſpoile & havocke made in the Laviane, Tuſculane, and Albane territories, by the leading and conduct, no doubt of the Tyburtines. And wherasthe State ſtood well contented that the Conſull ſhould be the Generall commander, againſt theſe enemies the Tyburtines; this new trouble and tumult of the Gauls, cauſed a Dictator ſor to be created. And that was *Q. Servilius Hala*, who named for his Generall of horſemen, *T. Quintius*. And by the authoritie and aſſent of the Senatours, he vowed to ſet out the great games, in caſe he ſped well in this warre. The Dictator having commaunded the Conſull with his armie to tarry ſtill, that by his own conduct of warre he might keepe in the Tyburtines, tooke the oth of all the yoonger people: and there was not one reſuſed to go to the warre. Not farre from the gate Collina was this battaile fought, in the ſight of their parents, wives and children. Great encouragements, doubtleſſe, to cheere up and animatenem, abſent and farre off: but now before their eyes, partly for ſhame, and partly for pittie and compaſſion, they ſet the ſoldiours all on fire. After much blood ſhed on both ſides, at the laſt the armie of the Gauls turne backe: and being put to flight, they made haſt to Tybur, the very ſtrength and fort of the Gauls warre. But as they fled ſtragling one from another, they were encountered by the Conſull *Petilius* not farre from Tybur. And when the Tyburtines iſſued forth to ſuccour them, they with the reſt were beate into the towne. Likewise the other Conſull *Fabius*, firſt in ſmall skirmiſhes, and at laſt in one notable pight field, vanquiſhed the Hernicks, at what time as his enemies charged upon him with all their forces and whole puiſſance. The Dictator having highly commended the Conſuls, both in the Senate houſe and alſo in a publicke aſſembly of all the people, and attributed the whole honour of his owne Acts unto them, gave up the Dictatorſhip. *Petilius* obtained a double triumph, over the Gauls and the Tiburtes. For *Fabius* it was thought ſufficient, that he ſhould enter into the cittie Ovant in a petie triumph. The Tyburtines ſkoffed an i made good game at the triumph of *Petilius*. For, where was it (ſay they) that they encountered and joined battaile with us? There went forth indeed out of the cittie gates a few of us to behold the flight and fright of the Gauls: but ſeeing our ſelves alſo to be ſet upon, and killed one with another as we came in the way, we retired backe, and got the cittie over our heads. And was that ſuch a doughtie deed, that the Romanes ſhould thinke, it deſerved a triumph? But that they may not deeme it ſtill, ſo noble and ſo wonderous an Act, to make ſome ſtirre and raiſe a tumult in the enemies gates: they ſhould themſelves ſee ſhortly greater fearfullneſſe, even under their owne wals. Heerupon, the yeare following, when *M. Popilius Lenas*, and *Cn. Manlius* were Conſuls, at the firſt watch of the night, they came from Tybur in warlike manner to the cittie of Rome. This ſuddaine occurrent, happening ſo fearfully in the night ſeaſon, ſtroke a mightie terror into them, that haſtily awakened out of ſleepe. Beſides, many there were that wiſt not, either what enemies they were, or from whence they came. Howbeit they cried Al arm with all ſpeed, on every ſide. The gates were fortified with warders, the wals manned with ſtrong gardes. When as early in the morning, they were deſcried to be but a mean number of enemies before the town, and thoſe none other but Tyburtines; the Conſuls ſallied out at two gates, and aſſailed both waies their forces, as they were now come under the wals readie to ſcale. Then was it ſeen that they were thither

A thither come, preſuming rather on the vantage of the time, than truſting in valour & manhood: ſo little were they able to abide the firſt brunt and charge given by the Romanes. Furthermore; it was well knowne, that this their coming turned to the Romanes good: for, the diſcord that was now breeding between the Senators & the Com. ſor feare of this ſo neer danger was quite ſtaied. But in the next war that enſued, the enemies came after another ſort, & were more terrible to the fields and countie, than to the cittie. For the Tarquinians overran all the marches of the Roman pale, waſting and ſpoiling all thoſe parts, eſpecially that border upon Hetruria. And after reſtitution & amends demanded, but to no effect, the new Coſſ. *C. Fabius* & *C. Plantius*, by the ordinance of the people proclaimed war againſt them. The rumors alſo of the Gauls war began to be riſe. But amid theſe manifold and fearefull troubles, this was their comfort, that the Latines had peace granted unto them, upon their own ſure: & from thence a great power was received, according to the ancient league, which for many years ſpace, they had forelet & diſcontinued. The Roman forces by this aid well ſtrengthened, made a lighter matter of it, when they heard that the Gauls were arrived already at Preneste, and were ſet down & encamped about Pedum. It was thought good, that *C. Sulpitius* ſhould be choſen Dictator, named by *C. Plantius*, ſent ſor to the ſame purpoſe. Vnto whom *M. Valerius* was appointed for Commander of his horſemen. Theſe marched againſt the Gauls with the choiſe ſoldiours of two Conſular armies. This was a lingering war and protracted longer a great deale, than both parties liked of. At the firſt, the Gauls only were ſharpe ſet and eger of battaile: but afterwards the Roman ſoldiours, by ruſhing into fight and ſkirmiſh, exceeded farre the ſearceneſſe and forwardneſſe of the French. The Dictator, was nothing pleaſed herewith, to put all up on the hazard of fortune, when there was no need at all, eſpecially having to deale with that enemy, whom tract of time and diſadvantage of the place, made daily worſe and worſe: being unprovided beſides of victuals and making long abroad without any fenced fort: moreover, of that ſtomacke and conſtitution of bodie, as ſerved wholly for expedition and quicke ſervice, and by ſmall delaies waxed feeble and faint. Vpon theſe conſiderations, the Dictator held off ſtill and drew the war on length, and had proclaimed a grievous puniſhment, if any without his expreſſe commaundement ſhould fight with the enemy. The ſoldiours could not well brooke this: but firſt within their wards and watches began among themſelves to carpe at the Dictator: and otherwhiles they let ſie at the LL. of the Senate in generall, blaming them for their direction, in that the Conſuls had not the managing of this warre. They have choſen D indeed (ſay they) a ſingular Generall for the nonce, a captaine alone, who thinks whiles hee ſiteth ſtill and doth nothing, the victorie will fall from heaven, or ſie into his verie lap. After this they began openly abroad, and in the day time, to caſt out the ſame, yea and worſe ſpeeches too and more malepart: namely, that they would either fight, and aſke the Dictator no leave, or go along in order of battaile to Rome. The Centurions alſo joined themſelves to the ſoldiours: and not onely in conventicles and knots together, there was whispering and grumbling: but in the verie * *Principia*, yea and within the quarter of the L. Generall his pavilion, were heard conſuſed ſpeeches together in one accord. So as the multitude began now to grow to a full aſſembly, and from all parts to call and crie aloud, to go preſendy to the Dictator: and that *Sex. Tullius* ſhould in the name of the whole armie ſpeake unto him, as beſeemed his vertue and courage. This *Tullius* now had ben ſeven times already a primipila or principall Centurion: neither was there in the whole armie, of all thoſe that ſerved on foot, a man more renowned for ſeats of armes. He going before the armie of footmen, ſteppeth to the Tribunall. And when as *Sulpitius* intervailed, not ſo much to ſee that companie, as the leader of the companie *Tullius*, who of all the ſoldiours had ever been in beſt order and moſt obedient. This is the matter (quoth he) o Noble Dictator and nothing elſe, The whole armie in generall, ſuppoſing themſelves by you condemned of cowardice, and in a manner to their utter ſhame abandoned, & diſarmed, have intreated me to plead their cauſe before your maieſtie. And I for my part, I aſſure you, in caſe we might be charged to have loſt ground any where, in caſe we had turned our backs upon the enemy, in caſe we had loſt our enſignes ſhamefully, would think it yet a reaſonable ſuit to be obtained at your hands, that you would give us leave to amend that which is amiſſe, to correct our former fault with hardines and valour, and by ſome freſh and glorious exploit, to cancell the remembrance of ſo ſoule ſoile and ſhamefull diſhonor. Even thoſe very Legions that were defeated and put to flight at Allia, afterwards in their returne from Veij, recovered the ſame countie of theirs by valiancy, which they had once before loſt through cowardice. But we by the goodnes of God, through the felicitie of

your selfe and the people of Rome, have hitherto kept both the armie unfoiled, & honor unstained. And yet I scarce dare say, honour; if so be, that not only our enemies may with all reprochfull tearmes scorne and flout us, as if wee were women pent in and mewed up close within our rampier: but also you our Generall (the more is our greefe) deeme us your armie, to be heartlesse, handlelesse, and armourlesse: and before any trial of us made, so despaire of us, as if you tooke your selfe to bee a commaunder and leader of a sort of maimed and feeble persons. For what else may wee thinke of it, that you, an old experienced capitaine and a most valiant warrior, should sit, as they say, with one hand in another, doing nothing? For howsoever the truth is indeed, more meet it is, that you should bee thought to doubt of our valour, than wee of yours. But if this be not a devise of your owne setting, but a publick plot laid: and some matter agreed upon among the Senators at home, rather than any warre of the Gaules, keepeth us away from thence, confined as it were from the cittie and our owne houses: then I beseech you, whatsoever I shall say, you would thinke it as spoken, not by the souldiours to their Lord Generall, but by the Commons to the rulers and Senators. Who may thus replye, that as yee have your pollicies and counsels, so will they have their designs and waies of their owne likewise. For who would thinke, I pray you, that wee are your souldiours, and not your slaves; sent to war, and not into banishment? If any set out the banner of warre unto us, lead us forth into the field, & found the battell, readie wee are to fight like men, and like Romans: but if there bee no need of warre, we will rather sit still at home, than in the campe. And thus much, suppose as spoken to the lords of the Senate. But wee thy souldiours, o worthe Generall, beseech thee first to give us leave to fight, then desirous are we to conquer, and under thy standard and conduct to conquer: to present thee with a glorious garland of lawrell, and in triumph to enter with thee into the cittie: and after thy chariot to go up with joy and mirth to the temple of *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*. This Oration of *Tullius*, the multitude seconded with their petitions, calling aloud unto the Generall on everie side, to found the al arme, and commaund them to arme. The Dictatour, albeit hee thought the matter in it selfe good, but not handled in good manner; and for example sake not to be allowed: yet promised to satisfie the souldiours desire. And calling *Tullius* secretly apart, questioned with him what this geere ment, what precedent or custom they had for their warrant? *Tullius* earnestly besought the Dictatour, not to thinke him to have forgotten either militarie discipline, or his owne place, ne yet the majestie of his soveraigne. And whereas he had not withdrawn himselfe away from the multitude being in a mutinie, nor refused to bee their speaker (who lightly remember those that are their ringleaders) it was onely for feare lest some other should have stept in place, such as the unruly people in mutinies are wont to set up for their Chieftaines. As for himselfe, do nothing he would, without the pleasure of the Generall. Howbeit, hee would advise him to looke well about him, and carefully to see to it, that he keep his armie in order, government, and obedience. And high time it is now, and would not be deferred. For considering their harts were kindled already, and their bloud up, they would be their owne carvers, and chuse themselves both time and place, if the Generall would not graunt it them the sooner. Whiles they were thus in sad communication, there happened two Roman souldiours to take perforce from a Gaule certaine sumpter horses, which feeding without the campe, he was driving away. At whome, the Gaules let stie stones good store. And thereupon rose an al arme from the Roman *Corps de guard*, and running out there was avie, on both sides. So as now they had growne to a full skirmish and battaile indeed, had not the Centurions speedily stickled them, and ended the fray. Vpon which occurrent, the credite of *Tullius* with the Dictatour was confirmed: and seeing the case would abide no delays, he proclaimed battell against the morrow. The Dictatour notwithstanding hee had yielded to fight a field, as presuming more upon the courage of his men, than their forces: began to devise with himselfe, and cast about every way, how by some stratageme he might strike a terrour among the enemies. And having a subtile wit and nimble head of his owne, this new pollicie hee thought upon: which afterwards many warriors, both of our owne countrie, and of others also, yea and some even in our time, have used and put in practise. He gave order, that the mules sumpters should bee taken off their backs, leaving onely two course twillies or coverings upon them, and fettereth the muletours aloft thereon, furnished with the armour of certaine captives, and sicke and diseased persons. Of these he made weel neere one thousand, and joined unto them one hundred good horsemen. All these, hee chargeth in the night time to get above the campe into the hils, and among the glins and woods, to bestow themselves close: and not to stir from

The stratageme
of C. Sulpitius
the Dictatour.

A from thence, before that he gave them a signall. Himselfe, so soone as it was day light, began with great warinesse and considerate care to embattaile and arrange his armie in length, along the very foot of the mountaines: to the end, that the enemy might have the hils full against him. Thus having set out and directed these counterfeite cornets of horse, to skare the enemies with, who, as it fell out, did more good in a manner, than the other forces indeed: at the first, the vaward of the Gaules thought that the Romanes would not come downe on even ground: but afterwards, when they saw them upon a suddaine descended, they also, as desirous of fight, ran on forward presently to joine battaile, and began the fight before the captaines had sounded. The Gaules charged the right wing more fiercely, so that hardly they might have been abidden, had not by good hap the Dictatour been there in person. Who called upon *Sextus Tullius* by name, and rebuked him, demanding whether hee had given his word unto him, that the souldiours should in that sort fight? What is become (quoth hee) of these, that with out-cries and open mouth called for battell? Where are those threats now, that they would begin to fight a field without commandement of the Generall? Lo, your Generall himselfe calleth upon you as lowd as he can, to fall to your businesse, and goeth armed before the ensignes in the vaward: will anie now follow after, that erewhile would needs lead the way afore? Fierce (I see well) in campe, fearefull in the field. And no fable it was that they heard him speake. Whereupon for very shame they were so pricked forward, that without casting any perils, or minding present danger, they ran upon the darts and shot of their enemies. This violence of theirs, as if they had bene welneere out of their right wits, at the very first troubled and disordered the enemies. The horsemen that were sent out hard after them, forced them to turne backe, when they were once in disarray. The Dictatour himselfe seeing the battell of one side to shrinke, advanced forward with the ensignes against the left wing, unto which he saw the maine multitude to resort and gather together, and withall hee gave the signe to them that were within the hils, according as it was before agreed. And when from thence also a new shout arose, and that they were seene to march sidelong overthwart the hill, toward the Gaules campe; then for feare, lest they should be shut out from their hold, they gave over all fighting, and ran by heapes to their camp. Where *M. Valerius*, the Generall of the horsemen encountred and affronted them. For hee seeing the right wing discomfited, had set a compass about, and ridden to the fortifications and munitions of the enemies. Whereupon they fled to the mountaines and the woods. Most of them were received by the counterfeite shew of horsemen, and by the muletours caught up, and came short home: but as many of them as feare drave through into the woods, were (after the heat of the battaile was past) cruelly slaine and hewen in peeces. Neither was there any one, setting *M. Furius* aside, that triumphed more worthily over the Gaules, than did *C. Sulpitius*. He consecrated also in the Capitoll a good weightie masse of gold, gotten out of the Gaules spoile, and compassed it within an encloure of square stone. The same yeare, the Consuls likewise warred, but with diverse fortune and successe. For by *C. Plantius*, the Hernickes were vanquished and subdued. But his companion *Fabius* fought rashly and unadvisedly against the Tarquiniens. The losse in the battaile received, was not so much, but that the Tarquiniens sacrificed three hundred and seven Romane souldiours, whome they tooke prisoners. This foule and shamefull execution, caused the ignominie of the Romanes decrease afore, to bee much more notable, and talked of abroad. Besides this losse, was the Romane territorie much wasted (to helpe the matter withall) by the Privemates, and after them by the Veliternes, who made sodaine inrodes into the countrie. The same yeare also were two more Tribes added, *Pomptina* and *Publicia*. The votive solemne plaies or games likewise, which *Marcus Furius* the Dictatour had vowed, were then set forth and performed.

Then and never before was the first law put up to the people by *P. Petilius*, a Tribune of the Commons, and that by the consent and approbation of the Senatours, against the excessive suit and ambitious standing for dignities. By which law men supposed, that the ambition principally of certaine persons new risen and of the first head, who were wont to haunt faires and places of great resort for that intent, was repressed and kept under. But the yeare ensuing, when *C. Marius* and *Cn. Manlius* were Consuls, *M. Duellius* and *M. Menenius* two Tribunes of the Commons, went through with a law and got it enacted, which was not so well liked of the Senatours, to wit, concerning *Vsurie* of one in the hundred. But the Commons were so much the more forward and better contented, to grant and accept it. Over and besides those new wars the

A law against
ambitious
standing for
offices
of government

A law against
Vsurie.

yeare

yeare before entended, the Falisci were declared new enemies: and that, for two quarrels pretended against them. One, for that their youth had served against the Romanes under the Tarquiniens: the other, because they had not delivered againe those Romanes which fled unto Falerij, after their defeature and unluckie fight, notwithstanding the Heralds had made claime unto them and demanded them. This province fell to *Cn. Manlius*. But *Martius* had the leading of an armie into the land of the Privernates, which by reason of long peace was unfoiled yet, and in very good state, and thereby enriched his souldiors with good prizes. For, to the plentie and store that there was found, he added his owne bountie and liberalitie; in that he set out nothing for the common treasure, but favoured the souldiors, and gave them leave to better their owne private estate. The Privernates lay strongly encamped before their own cittie: and when he had assembled all his souldiors together, Now (quoth he) I give unto you the enemies campe and their cittie for a bootie, so you will promise me to quit your selves like men, and to be as readie to fight as to spoile. Hereupon, with a great crie they call for the Signall of battaile: and so advancing forward and exalting themselves bravely and courageously, with assured hope of victorie, to battaile they go. There, even before the ensignes in the vanguard, *Sext. Tullius*, of whom wee spake before, cried out aloud, Behold, Noble Generall (quoth he) how thine armie performeth their word given unto thee: and therewith laying downe his Javelin, with drawne sword confronteth the enemy. Then follow after *Tullius*, all they that fought in the vaward before the Standerds, and at the first shooke put the enemies to flight, followed the chase & drave them into the towne. And as they were scaling the wals, the towne was rendred up into their hands. So he triumphed over the Privernates. By the other Consull there was no worthie exploit done, but that as he lay encamped before Sutrium, he proposed a law to passe by the Tribes, (a course never taken before, and without example) concerning a twentieth part or vicesime, to be levied of their goods that were made free. The Lords of the Senat (because by that Act there accrewed no small revenue to the Exchequer, that was now wasted) allowed thereof and gave their assent. But the Tribunes of the Com. moved not so much at the qualitie of the law in it selfe, as at the dangerous precedent given, ordained under paine of death, That no man ever after should in making of lawes withdraw the people apart: For, if that were once by law permitted, there would be nothing, were it never so pernicious to the people, but it might be enacted by souldiors, that have sworn to their Consuls allegiance, and were at his devotion. The same yeare was *C. Licinius Stolo* at the suit of *M. Popilius Lenas*, condemned upon his owne statute in * 10000 Asles, for that he together with his sonne, was possessed of a thousand acres of land, and under colour of freeing his sonne, he had deluded the statute in that case provided.

After this, the two Consuls *M. Fabius Ambustus* the second time, and *M. Popilius Lenas* the second time made two wars. That which *Lenas* fought with the Tyburtines was performed with ease and facilitie, For having driven the enemies into the towne, he forraied their fields. But in the other war, the Falisci and the Tarquiniens, discomfited in the first battaile the other Consull. Their greatest feare arose upon this occasion. For, their priests carrying afore them light burning torches, and snakes besides, went after a lunaticke and franticke manner, and with so strange and uncouth a shew troubled and disordered the Romanes souldiors. And therewithall, at that very instant the souldiors, as if they had been besought, besides themselves, and astonished, dismarched fearfully and stumbled upon the munitions and fortifications of their campe. But after, when as the Consull, Lieutenants and Colonels mocked and rated them, for being skared like children with these vaine bugbears: for shame sodainly they tooke heart againe, and like blinde men ran upon those very same things, that before they had fled from. And so after they had dispatched this vaine devise & preparation of their enemies, they fell upon the armed men indeed, discomfited their whole armie and put them to flight: and being the same daie masters of their camp, with a rich bootie returned victours, both recounting in their militarie merie ditties and songs, the foolish preparation of the enemy, and also condemning their owne fearfulness. After this, the whole nation of the Tuscanes arose, having for their leaders the Tarquiniens and the Falisci, and came as farre as Saline. Against which fearfull danger, was *C. Martius Rutilus* chosen, the first Dictator that ever was of the Commoners: who named for his Generall of the horsemen a Commoner likewise *C. Plantius*. But the Senatours thought this a shamefull indignitie, that the Dictatorship also should now be chosen in commune: and did all they could possibly to hinder, that there should be nothing decreed toward the war, nor any preparation made for

C. Martius Rutilus first Dictator of the Commoners.

A for the Dictatour. But so much the sooner, and with more readinesse, all that the Dictator proposed, the Commons granted. So he departed from the cittie, and marched on both sides of the Tyber (transporting his armie in boats and planks fastened together) to what place soever he heard the enemies were gone: and surprised many forraiers of them, as they wandered and straggled one from another, in the fieldes. He set upon their campe also, and wanne it: and after that he had taken eight thousand prisoners, and either slaine or chased all the rest out of the Romanes pale; he triumphed, by the suffrages of the people onely, without the approbation and assent of the Senatours. And for as much as they would not in any case have an assemblie for Election of Consuls, held either by the Dictatour a Commoner, or by the Consull: and because the other Consull *Fabius* was busied abroad in the warres, and not returned; therefore, the matter fell againe to an Interregne. So there were Interregents one after another, *Q. Servilius Hala*, *M. Fabius*, *Cn. Manlius*, *C. Fabius*, *C. Sulpitius*, *L. Aemilius*, *Q. Servilius*, and *M. Fabius Ambustus*. During the second Interregne, there arose some variance, for that both Consuls were *Patritij*, i. of the Nobles. And when the Tribunes interposed themselves, and crossed those proceedings, *Fabius* the Interregent, alleaged a law out of the twelve tables in these termes, THAT WHATSOEVER THE PEOPLE ORDAINED OR GRANTED LAST, THE SAME SHOULD BE GOOD, AND STAND FIRME AND RATIFIED: and in the suffrages and voices of the people, were comprised their graunt and ordinance. But when the Tribunes, for all their gainfaying and stepping between, could prevaile no more, but to prologue the * Comices for the Election, there were at length two of the Nobles created Consuls, *C. Sulpitius Peticus* the third time, and *M. Valerius Publicola*: who the same day they were chosen, entred into their office. Thus in the 400 yeare after the foundation of the cittie, and the 35 after it was recovered from the Gaules, the Commons lost the Consullship againe, when they had enjoied it nine yeares. And two Consuls of the *Patritij*, upon the Interregne, began to governe, to wit, *C. Sulpitius Peticus* the third time, and *M. Valerius Publicola*. The same yeare was Emptulm woon from the Tyburtines, without any memorable warlike exploit: were it that, under the conduct of both Consuls there jointly together, the warre was managed, as some have written: or that about the same time the Tarquiniens countrie was by the Consull *Sulpitius* overrun and wasted, whiles *Valerius* led forth a power against the Tyburtines. But more adoe had the Consuls at home, with the Commons and Tribunes. The Consuls thought now, it concerned them in trust and credit, as well as in vertue and valour, that as they, being *Patritij* both of them, had received the Consullship, so they should make over the same againe to twaine of the Nobilitie: and either wholly to give up their interest and title for ever, if so bee the Consullship should now become a Commoners dignitie: or els to keepe it wholly in their possession, wherof they were first seized intirely, in right of their auncestours. On the other side, the Commons frownded and stormed in these and such like tearmes. What shoulde we live any longer? and why are we accounted citizens? In case, that which was first gotten by the vertue and power of two only persons, *L. Sextus*, and *C. Licinius*, we cannot now all of us together hold and keepe? Certes, better wee were to endure the KK. and Decemvirs againe, or any other heavier and more fearefull name of absolute and lordly Empire, than to see both Consuls of the Nobilitie: and that wee, may not both rule and obey in turnes, but that the one part settled in the place of rule for ever, should thinke us, the Commons, were borne for nothing els but to obey and serve. The Tribunes themselves were nothing behind to set forward these troublesome mutinies. But when people are up once altogether and in an hure, the principall leaders are hardly seene above the rest in the action. And when as they were come downe into *Mars* field sundrie times to assemblie, but ever to no purpose and effect, and that many Comitall daies of assemblie were passed over, only in seditious troubles: at the last, the Commons being overmatched through the stiffenesse and obstinacie of the Consuls, tooke the matter so greevously to the heart, that when the Tribunes brake forth into these speeches, Now farewell freedome for ever: now are wee driven, not onely to forbear come ming into *Mars* field, but also to abandon and forsake the cittie, taken captive and oppressed by the lordly rule of the Nobles, and therewithall departed: the Commons with sorrowfull cheere did the semblable, and followed after. The Consuls being thus left destitute of one part of the people, yet nevertheless went through with the election, as few as they were there remaining. And Consuls there were elected of the Nobilitie both, *M. Fabius Ambustus* the third time, and *T. Quintius*. In some annales or yearely records, I find *C. M. Popilius*, in Reed of *T. Quintius*.

In that yeare, were two warres performed with prosperous successe. And the Tyburtines were fought withall untill they yeelded. From them was the cittie Saffula woen by force: and other townes had tasted of the same fortune, but that the whole nation laid armes aside, and submitted themselves to the Consul his mercie. He triumphed over the Tyburtines: otherwise the conquest was mild and gentle ynough, without extremitie of execution. But the Tarquiniens were cruelly dealt withall: and many a man of them slaine in field. Of the prisoners that were taken, whereof there was a mightie number, there were 358 of the Noblest and greatest Gentlemen chosen out, and sent to Rome. The rest of the common sort were put to the sword. Neither sped they better at the peoples hands that were sent to Rome. For in the mids of the Forum, were they all beaten with rods and beheaded. This execution made quittance with them, for sacrificing the Romanes in the market place of the Tarquiniens. This good successe in warre caused the Samnites also to seeke for peace and amitie. Their Embassadors were courteously answered by the Senate, and so upon covenants they were received into societie. But the Commons sped not so well at home in the cittie, as abroad in warfare. For albeit the Viurie was well eased by bringing it downe from twelve to one, in the hundred: yet the poorer people were overcharged with the payment of the very principall, and became bond & thrall to their creditors. Whereby the Commons in regard of their private freights, that they were driven unto, never troubled their heads with the making of both Consuls of the Nobles, nor with the Assemblies and Elections, nor other publicke affaires. Still the two Consulships remained among the *Patritij*. And created there were Consuls, *C. Sulpitius Peticus* the fourth time, and *M. Valerius Publicola* the second time.

Now when as the cittie was earnestly amuled upon the Tuscan war, by reason that the newes went, how that the people of Cere, for very pittie and compassion, and in regard also of consanguinitie, tooke part with the Tarquiniens: behold the Embassadors of the Latines turned them cleane against the Volscians. Which Embassadors brought word, that there was an armie levied already from thence and in armes, even now upon the point to invade their borders: and would from them enter the territorie of Rome, and spoile as they goe. The Senate therefore thought good to neglect neither businesse, and gave direction, that to both places certaine legions should be appointed, and the Consuls to cast lots for their severall provinces and charges. But afterwards, the greater care was taken for the Tuscan war, upon intelligence given by *Sulpitius* the Consul his letters, whose commission was against Tarquinij, that the countrie was wasted and spoiled all about the Romane Salinae, [or Salt pits] and part of the booties caried away into the confines of the Carites: and that the youth of that people were doublelesse employed in the driving of that bootie. Whereupon *Valerius* the Consul, who was opposed against the Volscians, and encamped in the marches of Tusculum, was called backe from thence, and commaunded by the Senate to nominate a Dictatour. Who named *T. Manlius*, the sonne of *Lucius*, and he taking to him *A. Cornelius Cossus* for his Generall of the horsemen, contenting himselfe with his Consular armie, by the authoritie of the Senate, and the peoples suffrages, proclaimed warre against the Carites, and sent them defiance. Then were the Carites afraid of war indeed, and not atore, as though there had ben more force in their enemies bare words, to denounce and signifie war, than in their owne deeds, who by spoiling and boothaling, had provoked the Romans to war. Then saw they plainly that they were overmarched and not able to make their parts good: then repented they that they had made such wast and spoile, cursing the Tarquiniens for solliciting them to revolt, not one of them making any preparation of armour or war: but every man laboring what he could, that embassadors should be sent, to crave pardon for their trespass & offence. When their Embassadors were come to the Senat, they were from thence put over to the people. And then they besought the gods, whose sacred Images they had received in the French war and devoutly kept and cherished, That the Romanes now in their flourishing estate, would take that pittie and compassion of them, which they in times past had of the Romanes in their calamitie and hard distresse. And turning to the chappels of *Vesta*, they called upon the Flamines and Vestall virgines, sometime their guests, whome they so chastly and religiously had received and given intertainment unto, saying in this wise. Would any man beleve we had deserved no better, but thus of a suddaine, without cause given, to be reputed enemies? Or suppose we had done somewhat sinelling of hostilitie, would any man impute it rather to deliberate counsell, than to some fit of heat and follie? And that we would blemish and marre our owne good deserts, especially conferred and bestowed upon so thankfull persons, with new misdeeds and shrewd turnes?

The embassadors
of Cere, to the
people of Rome.

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and

A and chuse to make the people of Rome their enemies now in their wealthie and flourishing State, and in their most happie felicitie of war: whose friendship in their adversitie we had embraced? Beseeching them not to terme that, considerate advice, which rather were to be called force and necessitie. For the Tarquiniens, say they, passing with a cruell & puissant armie through our countrie, and requesting nothing but away, had drawne with them some of our rusticall peasants, to assist them only in fetching of that bootie, which now so heavily is laid to our charge. Whom if you please to have them yeelded, we are readie to deliver them: if to be punished, they shall suffer accordingly: most humbly craving, that their citie Cere, the verie sanctuarie of the people of Rome, the harbour and hostell of their priests, the place of receit for the Romane sacred images and reliques, they would grant unto them safe from the calamitie of warre, and exempt from the slander thereof: and the rather for the professed vestall virgines sake, so kindly intreated, and for the love of the gods, by them so devoutly honored. The people were moved, not so much with the justice and equitie of the present cause, as for their old deserts and good turnes, to forget rather the harme sustained, than the good received. Whereupon, the people of Cere were pardoned, and agreed it was that a truce for one hundred years should be registred among the Acts of the Senate. Then were the forces diverted against the Falisci, who were tainted likewise with the same offence. But the enemies would no where be found. They waited therefore all over their confines: and forbore to assaile their townes. So they withdrew their legions to Rome. The rest of the yeare was employed in repairing their wals and towers: and the Temple of *Apello* was dedicated. In the verie end of the yeare, the contention between the Sertatours and the Commons, brake off the Election of the Consuls: whiles the Tribunes stily denied to suffer any assemblie therefore to be holden, unlesse it were according to the law *Licinia*. And the Dictatour againe was as stoutly and stily bent, to abolish wholly out of the citie the Consulship, rather than it should be indifferent for the Nobilitie & common people. Thus by adjourning the Election, the Dictatour left his office, and the matter grew to an Interreigne. And the Interregents, finding ever the Commons maliciously set against the Senatours, succeeded one after another unto the eleventh Interregent: and all the while continued the discord and variance. The Tribunes called on hard for the maintenance of the law *Licinia*. The Commons, they had an inward griefe that stuck neerer to them, upon the excessive usurie that still increased: and each mans privat care and grievance, brake out in their publicke contentions and debates. The LL. of the Senate weary of these troubles, commaunded *L. Cornelius Scipio* the Interregent for the time being, for concord and unitie sake, in the Election of Consuls to observe the law *Licinia*. So *P. Valerius Publicola*, had joined with him in fellowship of government, *Caius Martius Rutilius*, one of the Commons.

Now whiles mens minds were enclined oneto concord, the new Consuls labouring to ease also this matter of usurie, the onely spill or bone (as it were) between, that seemed to hinder the uniting of their hearts, and impeach the generall agreement; took order publickly for the payment of debts, by creating five officers or *Quinquevirs*, whom of the despening and disposing of the publicke monies, they called *Mensarii*. And surely, for their equitie and carefull diligence, they deserved in all monuments and records to be remembered and renowned. And these they were, *C. Duellius*, *P. Decius*, *M. Papyrius*, *Q. Publius*, and *T. Aemilius*. Who underwent and managed this matter, so intricate and difficult to be dealt in: so grievous and combersome to both sides for the most part, but evermore to one at the least. Which they performed both with indifferent moderation otherwise, and also with some cost and deffay of charge, rather than any losse and dammage to the State. For the long debts and more entangled, rather in regard of the debtors slacknes and negligence, than their want of abilitie, either the citie out of the common stock crossed out of the booke, by setting up certaine counters or tables with readie coine in the publicke hall (provided, that there were good securitie unto the citie by sureties and cautions put in aforehand) or els the goods of men valued at indifferent & reasonable prices discharged. So as not onely without any wrong done, but also without the complaint of both parties, a mightie deale of debts was satisfied and paid.

Five bankers instituted, called Mensarii.

All debts cleared in Rome.

After all this, a vaine feare of the Tuscan warre, upon a false Alarme given, that their twelve nations conspired and were confedered together, caused a Dictatour to be chosen. So *C. Julius* was named in the campe: for thither to the Coss. was the patent of the Senats decree sent. And to him was joined as Generall of the horsemen, *L. Aemilius*. But all was quiet withoutorth.

Within

Within the cittie the Dictator gave the attempt, that both Consuls should be created of the Patricians: which brought the government for the time to an Interregne. And the two Interregents that were in that while (to wit) *C. Salpurnius* and *M. Fabius*, obtained that which the Dictator had reached at in vaine; namely, that both Consuls might be created of the Nobilitie: for now the Commons were more pliable and tractable, by reason of the fresh benefit received, in the easement and satisfying of their debts. So there were chosen *C. Salpurnius Peticius*, he, who was the former of the twaine that gave over the Interregne, and *Q. Quintus Pennus*. Some there be that give to *Quintus* the addition of *Cajus* for his surname [and of *Cajus* for his forename.] Both of them went forth to warre, *Quintus* against the Falisci, and *Salpurnius* against the Tarquinians. Who, for that they could never meet with the enemy in open field, by burning and spoiling made warre with the fields rather than with the men. By which lingering continuance, as it were of a languishing consumption, the stubbornness of both nations was so well tamed, that they made petition, first to the Consuls, and by their permission after to the Senat, for a truce, and obtained the same for the space of fourtie years. Thus the care was laid aside of the two warres, which seemed to neer at hand. And whilst there was some rest from Armes, it was thought good because the payment of debts abovesaid, had changed the owners and masters of many things, that there should be held a general Selling of the citizens. But when there was an assembly summoned for the choosing of Censors, *C. Martius Rutilus* professing himselfe to stand for a Censorship, even he that had been the first Dictator of the Commons, troubled the peace and unitie of the States of the cittie. This he went about (as it seemed) in a verie undue and unseasonable time. For both Consuls were then of the Nobilitie, as it fell out, who gave it forth that they would not admitt to be a Competitor, nor propound his name at the Election. Howbeit, both he by earnest perseverance in his resolution obtained that which he went about: and also the Tribunes with all their might endeavouring to recover their right, which was lost in the Election of the Consuls, set to their helping hand. And as the countenance and majestie of the man himselfe, seemed worthe of the highest type of honour: so the Commons were right willing, that by the same man who had opened the way unto the Dictatorship, the Censorship also should draw to that side, and be in part conferred upon them. Neither in the assembly was there any variance in the Suffrages, but that, together with *Manlius Nervus, Martius*, should be created Censor. This yeare likewise had a Dictator, *M. Fabius*, not for any feare of warre, but because the law Licinia, for the choise of Consuls, should not be revived and observed. The Generall of the horsemen unto the Dictator was *Q. Servilius*. And yet for all the Dictatorship, the agreement of the Senators together, was in the Election of the Consuls of no more force than it was in the choosing of the Censors. For *M. Popilius Lenas* was Consull, of the Commons, and *L. Cornelius Scipio* of the Nobles. And the Commoner Consul, by good fortune, proved more famous of the twain. For when upon tidings brought, that a mighty armie of the Gaules were encamped in the Latine countie, this Gaules warre was laid extraordinarily upon *Popilius*, because *Scipio* lay grievously sicke. Who having soone levied an armie, and commaunded all the younger men, to meet him in their armour at *Mars* his Church, without the gate Capena, and that the Quellers should bring thither the Slanders and ensignes out of the *Ararium*, [cittie chamber] and after he had chosen out of them, fully foure Legions, he delivered all the residue of the foldiours unto *P. Valerius Publicola*, the Pretor: and moved the LL. of the Senate to enroll another armie to be in readines, against all uncertaine occurrences of warre, what need soever the cittie should have. And now himselfe being at all points, thoroughly furnished, setted forward to meete the enemy. Whose power because he would know, before he made triall thereof with the uttermost hazard, he began to cast a trench and raise a rampier upon the next hill unto the Gaules campe, that he could come unto. The Gaules, a feare kind of people and by nature eager of fight, having discovered a farre off the Romane ensignes, embattelled themselves forthwith, as readie to bid battaile. But when they saw the Romane armie not brought forth into the plaine and even ground, but that they were strongly defended, not onely by the height of the place, but also with a ditch and palisado, and supposing them to be smitten with feare, and the fitter therefore to be assailed, for that they were at that instant busily occupied about their other fortifications; with an hideous noise and horrible shout, gave the charge upon them. The Romanes gave over their worke never the sooner (they were the Triarii of the reereward that made these fortifications) but the spearmen or javellottiers of the vaward, and the *Principes* of the middle ward, who stood

A readie armed in guard for the defence of the pioners, made head and receiued them with fight. Besides their valour, the higher ground was their vantage: so as all their darts and speares light not in vaine (as commonly they doe that are flung and launced on leuell ground) but stucke all fast as though peised with their own weight: so that the Gaules being furcharged with darts either sticking through their bodies, or fast set in their shields, and so weighing them downe; having also run themselves upon the hill; first, as doubtfull what to do, made staie; afterwards, when protracting of time had discouraged themselves, and encouraged their enemies, they were driven backe and fell one upon another; and in that medley made greater havocke and worse, than the slaughter was by the enimie: and crushed they were to death, more in that crowd and thrust, than were slaine by sword. Yet were not the Romanes sure of victorie: for when they were come downe into the plaine, there was a new piece of worke to begin, and afresh trouble behind. For the Gaules, by reason of their number, little feeling such a losse (as if a new armie had started up in sight, out of the ground) stirred up their fresh souldiours and unfoiled, against the enimie in his victorie. Whereupon the Romanes made a stand and staied their egerneesse: both because they being already wearied, were to abide a new conflict; and also for that the Consul, whiles he laid about him with the formost, without regard of his own person, was wounded well neare through the left shoulder with a pike, and thereupon for a while was departed out of the battaile. By occasion of which lingering, the victorie had like to have been lost againe: but that the Consul when his wound was dressed and bound up, came backe againe with speede to the formost ensignes, and said: Why stand yee still first? yee have not to deale now, with the Latines or Sabines.

C your enemies, whom after yee have conquered by sword, yee may make of enemies friends and confederates: but upon very savage beasts we have drawne sword. Either we must have their blood, or they ours. From the campe ye have driven them backe: chased ye have them headlong downe the hill side: over the bodies of enemies lying along, now ye stand: fill the plaine also with their dead carcases, as ye have done the hills alreadie: and never looke that they will flee, so long as ye stand still. You must advance your ensignes, and charge the enimie afresh. With these exhortations they fell to it the second time, and forced the formost ranks and files of the Gaules to loose ground: and then with pointed close battailons of footmen, they brake through into the heart of the maine battaile. Whereupon the barbarous people being disaiaied, such as had neither certaine directions to follow, nor Captaines to commaund, turned their force upon their fellowes, were scattered here and there about the plaines, fled in this randon beyond their tents, & made toward the fort of Alba; which among many hills that stood of even height, they espied mounting above the rest. The Cons. followed the chase no farther than their campe: both because his hurt made himselfe unwell to, and also for that he was unwilling to put his tired armie to a new labour, considering the enimie had gained the hills tops, & so rested from farther pursuit. And when he had given the whole pillage of the campe to his souldiours, he brought backe to Rome his armie with victorie, and enriched with the spoiles of the Gaules. The Consul his wound staied his triumph: which was a cause also that the Senat wished and longed for a Dictatour, to hold the assembly for the Election of Consuls, whiles the other were sicke.

L. *Furius Camillus* being chosen Dictatour, had joined unto him *P. Cornelius Scipio* for his

E Generall of horsemen. Hee restored againe to the Senatours their ancient possession of the Consulship: and for this good turne, was himselfe with exceeding affection of them all, created Consul. And for his companion he chose unto him *App. Claudius Crassus*. But before the new Consuls entred into their office, *Popilius*, with great love and favor of the Commoners triumphed over the Gaules: who mumbling and muttering among themselves, would elsfoones aske one another, whither there were any repented of a Commoner Consul: raving withall at the Dictatour, who despising the law *Licinia*, had gotten for his reward a Consulship; which was more shamefull and infamous, in regard of his private seeking for it, (for being Dictatour, hee had made himselfe Consul) than for any other publicke harme and injurie. This yeare for many and sundrie troubles was very famous. The Gaules from the Albane glinnes (for that they were not

F able there to endure the cold of Winter) raunged all over the champion and the sea coasts, and wasted the countrie. The seas likewise were dangerous by reason of the Greekes navie. Also all the tract along Antium, and the river of Laurentum, even to the very mouth of the Tyber. So as the rovers and men of war by sea, and the land robbers of the French, met both together, & stucke once for all a dangerous battaile: and then departed asunder, the French unto their standing

Aa

canpe,

campe, the Greekes backe unto their ships: both doubtfull, whether they had woon or lost. Amid these troubles, the greatest feare by farre, arose from this, that the Latine Nations held certaine Diets and Councils at the grove of Ferentina; and when the Romanes demanded souldiours from them, flat answere was made, That they must no more thinke to commaund them, whose aid they stood in need of. And as for the Latines, they were resolved rather to beare armes in defence of their owne libertie, than fight for the maintenance of the dominion of strangers. The Senate being grieved and perplexed, as well for these two forraigne warres, as also for the revolt of their confederates, seeing no other way, but to keepe them in by feare, whome loialtie would not restraîne, commaunded the Consuls in their mustering, to extend and straine to the utmost the whole strength of the State: for now that their Allies failed them, they were to trust upon their cittie forces onely. From all parts therefore, the youth as well without in the countie, as within the cittie were taken up, & ten legions (as men say) were enrolled of souldiours, amounting to 4200. foote and 300. horse in a legion. Which puissant armie, if now at this day any forraigne wars were toward, these mightie forces of the people of Rome, which the whole world is hardly able to containe, if they were united and brought into one together, would not easily make againe: so great are we grown in wealth onely and superfluous delights, to which we strive and apply our mindes.

Among other heaue occurrents of that yeare, *Ap. Claudius* one of the Consuls, in the very preparation of the wars, departed this life. Whereupon the whole government was devolved upon *Camillus*. To which sole Consull, either for his qualitie & worthinesse otherwise (not meete to be controlled by the absolute command of a Dictatour) or for the luckie presage of his name so fortunate in all the tumultuous wars of the Gaules, the Lords of the Senate thought it not decent and convenient, that there should be a Dictatour adjoynd. The Consull, having ordeined and appointed two legions for defence of the cittie, and parted the other eight with the Pretor *L. Pinarius*, bearing in minde his fathers valour and manhood, undertooke the Gaules war himselfe, without casting lots therefore: commanding the Pretor to keepe the sea coasts, and to put the Greekes backe from landing on the shore. He went himselfe downe into the countie of Pomptinum, and because he was not willing to give battaile in the champian, unforced therunto; and thought the enemy might be wearied out well enough by keeping him short, for foraging and fetching in booties, who of necessitie was driven to live of prey, chose a convenient place for a standing campe. Where, as they passed the time quietly in their wards, as a settled garrison: there cometh forth a mightie Gaule, in person tall and big, for armour brave and glorious: who clattering his shield and speare together, and thereby making silence, gave defiance and challenged by his interpreter, the Romans to a combat, man to man. There was one *M. Valerius* a Colonell of footmen, and a very young man, who thinking himselfe nothing lesse worthe of that honour than *T. Manlius*, having first knowne the Consull his pleasure, advanced himselfe forth apart from the rest, armed at all points. But this conflict (as touching the devoit of the men) was lesse notable than the other, by reason that the hand of God came between and tooke a part. For as the Roman was readie to joine and cope, behold, sodainly a raven setled upon the crest of his morion, even full in the face of his enemy. Which at the very first the Colonell tooke joyfully as a token of good lucke sent from heaven. Afterwards, he praised devoutly, that the God or goddesse who soever, that sent unto him from above that augurall soule, to presage and foreshew the future event, would be favourable and gracious unto him. And lo, (a wonder to be spoken) the bird not only held the place still, which it first light upon, but also, as often as the champions buckled and closed together, mounting up with the wings, made at the eyes and face of the enemy, with beake and claws both, so long, untill *Valerius* killeth him. For the Gaule being affrighted at this so strange and wonderous sight, both his eyes dazed, and his minde was mightily troubled. Then the raven tooke his rise, flew on height quite out of sight toward the East. All this while the campe on both sides was quiet hitherto. But after that the Colonell began to risse and disarme the bodie of his slaine enemy, neither could the French keepe themselves within their Stations, nor the Romanes containe, but run with more speed unto their Conquerour champion. And so about the bodie of the Gaule that lay along dead, began some skermish, and thereof grew a sharpe and cruell battaile. For now not onely the companies of the next quarters, and *corps de guard*, but also the whole legions on both sides, came abroad and fought. *Camillus* commanded the souldiours, joious for the victorie of the Colonell,

joious

A joious also for the gods, so favourable and readie to helpe; for to go to battaile: and shewing estoones unto them the Colonell, set out bravely, and enriched with the spoiles of his enemy: Follow this brave gentleman, good souldiours (quoth he) and about the dead champion of the Gaules kill their whole troups, and lay them along. In this fight appeared the helpe of God, and man evidently: and they fought it out with the Gaules, and had no doubtfull conflict: both armies had so conceived & deeply imprinted before hand in their mind, the future event of these two souldiours that had fought together. Betwene the formost, whose concurse had raised others, there was a sharpe conflict: but the rest of the multitude, turned backe before they came to the volley of darts. And first they were scattered along the Volscian and Falerne countries: but afterward they tooke their waies toward Apulia and the lower Adriaticke sea.

B The Consull having assembled the souldiours to an audience, solemnly before them all, commaunded the Colonell, and rewarded him with ten oxen & a coronet of gold. Himselfe, by direction from the Senat, to attend the war by sea, joyned campe with the Pretor. And there, because through the cowardise of the Greekes that would not come into the field, the war was like to be long and lingering, he nominated, by the authoritie of the Senat, *T. Manlius Torquatus* for the Dictatour, to hold the Election of Consuls. The Dictatour having named for his Generall of horsemen, *A. Cornelius Cossus*, held the Election, and with exceeding favour of the people, declared for Consull one like himselfe, and tracing the steps of his owne vertue and glorie, *M. Valerius Corvinus* (for that was his surname afterwards) in his absence: a young man, I say, three and twentie yeares olde. To *Corvinus* was adjoynd companion in government a Commoner, *M. Popilius Lenas* the fourth time. *Camillus* performed no memorable exploit with the Greekes: for neither were the Greekes good souldiours on land, nor the Romans at sea. At the last, being kept from landing; and failing, besides other necessities, of fresh water, they left Italie.

C Of what people, or of what nation in Greece this fleet consisted, is not certainly known. I would thinke verely, that they were the Tyrants or potentates of Sicilie, above all other. For all Greece beyond them, at that time wearied and toiled out with civill warres, much feared the greatnesse of the Maccdonians. After the armies were discharged, and that both abroad there was peace, and also at home quietnesse, through the unite of the States: least they should be glutted with too much joie, behold, a pestilence arose in the cittie, and constrained the Senat to commaund the Decemviri, to overlooke the bookes of Sibylla: and by direction thereof, was a Lectisterne celebrated. The same yeare there was a Colonie, drawne out of the Antiates, to people Satricum, and the towne was repaired by them, which the Latines had destroyed. Also there was at Rome a league concluded with the Carthaginian embassadours, who came of purpose to sue for societie and amitie. The same rest continued still both at home and abroad, when *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Plantius* the second time were Consuls. The Vsurie which was before after one in the hundred, became now but halfe so much. The payment of debtes was dispensed and ordered into three yeares by even portions, so as a fourth part should be paid out of hand. And albeit some of the Commons (for all that) were pinched therewith, yet the Senat had more regard to see credite kept with the chamber of the cittie, than of the difficulties of private persons. The greatest matters were well eased, in that they forbore to collect the tribute and to muster souldiours.

D The third yeare after that Satricum was reedified by the Volscians; *M. Valerius Corvinus* the second time Consull, with *C. Peilius*, upon newes out of Latium, that embassadours from Antium went about to the nations of the Latines, solliciting them to rise up in armes, was commaunded to make war upon the Volscians, before the enemies forces were greater: who put himselfe on his journey with a fierce armie toward Satricum. Whither when as the Antiates and other Volscians were come to meete him, with a power provided aforehand, against any preparations from Rome, presently without any staie they joyned battaile, as being through a deepe feted and long hatred, maliciously bent one against the other. The Volscians, a nation more hastie to rebell, than hardie in fight, being defeated in a battaile, fled amaine, and highed apace to put themselves within the wals of Satricum. But when the wals were not able to save them, for that the towne being environed and invested round with souldiours, was readie to be taken by scaling, there were upon 4000. of them, besides the common sort not meete for service, that yielded themselves. The towne was rased downe and burnt. Onely they spared the firing of *Matutales* church. And the whole sackage and spoile was bestowed upon the souldiours. But there

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were not comprised within this bootie, the 4000 that yielded. Those, the Consull in his triumph caused to be led bound before his chariot: and after that, sold them; and brought a round sum of money into the treasure. Some write, that this number of captives, were bondslaves. And that is more like to be true, than that they should be sold, who yielded themselves. After this followed Consuls, *M. Fabius Dorsuo*, and *Servius Sulpitius Camerinus*. Then began the Auruncan war upon a sodaine invasion that they made. And for feare, lest the action of that one State and cittie, had been the resolution of the whole Latine nation and by their maintenance, there was created Dictatour (as if it had been against all Latium already up in armes) *L. Furius Camillus*: who chose for his Generall of horsemen, *Cn. Manlius Capitolinus*. And (as the use had been in time of great troubles and sodaine tumults) he mustered without any respect of Immunitie and Exemption, and therewith proclaimed a Cessation of all courtes of lawe: and the legions with all speed possible were led against the Auruncans. Where they found, that they carried a mind of harriers rather than of warriors. So that in the first battaile, that war was dispatched. Howbeit the Dictatour, because they not onely made the quarrell and warred first, but also offered fight without any drawing backe, supposing there was some neede of Gods help withall from heaven, had vowed a temple to *Iuno Moneta*: and after he had obtained that he vowed for, and thereby was charged to performe his vow, so soone as he was returned home to Rome with victorie, gave up his Dictatorship. The Senat commanded two officers called Duumvirs to be created for the edifying of that temple, according to the magnificence of the people of Rome. The place was appointed & set out on the [Capitol] hill, even the very plot of ground, where sometime before stood the dwelling house of *M. Manlius Capitolinus*. The Consull having imploied the Dictatour his armie in the Volscian war, surprised at unwarres the towne Sora out of the enemies hands. The temple of *Moneta* was dedicated the yeare after it had been vowed, when *C. Martius Rutilius* the third time, and *T. Manlius Torquatus* the second time, were Consuls. Immediately upon the dedication of that church, there ensued a strange wonder, like unto that old marvell of the hill Albanus. For it rained stones, & in the daie time it seemed to be darke night. And the bookes of Sibylla being perused (for that the cittie now was mightily given to superstition) the Senat ordeined, that there should be a Dictatour named for the ordeining of certaine feasts and holy daies. So *P. Valerius Publicola* was chosen, and with him, *Q. Fabius Ambustus* Generall of the horsemen. Order was given, that not onely the Tribes should go in solemne procession with their praier and Letanies, but also the nations that bordered upon them: with a precise direction unto them, upon what daies every one should make supplication. That yeare (as it is reported) there passed heaveie judgements and sentences of the people against the Viurers, with whom the *Ediles* had commensed sute. And without any notable cause to be remembered, they grew to an Interreigne. Upon which, that something might be thought thereby done, both Consuls were made of the Nobles, *M. Valerius Corvinus* the third time, and *A. Cornelius Cossus*.

Now from hence forth will we indite of greater wars, both for the puissance of the enemies, and also for their far distance: as well for their spacious countries they inhabited, as long tract of time that they continued. For this yeare began the Romans to bear armes against the Samnites, a nation powerful in wealth, and valiant in field. After which war, fought on both sides with alternative fortune, there succeeded *Pyrrhus* their enemy, & after *Pyrrhus* the Carthaginians. To see (good Lord) the wonderful stirs & troubles: and how often the Romans fel into extremities of perils, that their dominion and Empire might arise unto this greatnes and high state, which hath much ado to hold it own, and stand maintained. But the cause of the Romans war with the Samnites, being in societie & amitie linked together, arose first from others, and not upon any quarrel between themselves. At what time as the Samnites warred unjustly (as being more mightie) upon the Sidicines: they as the weaker, and forced to flee for succour unto the richer, banded with the Campanians. Who bringing with them a greater name, than power (in deed) to aid & assist their Allies, & flowing in riot and superfluous delights, hapned in the countrie of the Sidicines to be foiled & defeated by the other, who had been inured & hardened by continuall use of arms: and so afterwards drew upon their owne heads, the whole violence and poise of the wars. For the Samnites letting the Sidicines alone, went to the head, and set upon the Campanians, as it were the verie fortresse and castle of defence for all the borderers. For well they wist that there they might win victorie as easely: but riches and honour at their hands they were to achieve much more. And when they had gained and held with a strong garison, the hills called *Tifata*, that were adjoining,

A adjoining, and commanded the cittie Capua. From thence they descended with a four-square ranged battaile into the plaine that lieth betwene Capua and Tifata: where a second field was fought: In which the Campanians had the overthrow, and were beaten within their owne wals. Having therefore no hope neer hand, and seeing the strength of their youth greatly decayed, they were constrained to seeke for aide of the Romanes. Whose Embassadors being admitted into the Senate, and having audience given them, spake much what to this effect. The people of Capua, most noble Senatours, hath sent us in ambassie unto you, to crave at your hands friendship for ever, and succour for the present. Which amitie if we had requested in our prosperitie, well might it sooner have begun, but knit had it been with a weaker bond and not so durable. For then, remembring our selves to have entred league and societie on even ground, and in equall estate with you; friends haply we should have bene as we now are, but bounden and devoted unto you, we had never been. But now, in case by your commiseration and pittie we be gained and won, and in our distresse, by your aid, helped and relieved; we must needs affectionately embrace a benefit from you received, unlesse we would be thought unthankfull wretches, and unworthie of any helpe either of God or man. And albeit the Samnites, have been before us intainted in friendship and confederacie, yet we thinke that, no sufficient barre, but that we may also be received into the same. Onely thus much it ought to make for them, as to be preferred before us in ancientie of time, and degree of honour. For in that alliance between you and the Samnites, there is no expresse clause, no caveat or proviso contained, against the making of any new confederacies. And certes, alwaies heretofore ye have thought it cause good enough of your friendship, if the partie who fought the same, were but willing and desirous to be your friend. Wee Campanians (albeit our present condition suffereth us not to speake magnificently) giving place to no nation but your selves, either for the stately port of our cittie, or goodnesse, and fruitfulness of our soile, in entering into your acquaintance, shall not a little, I suppose increase and better your good estate. And first for the *Aequians* and *Volscians*, those eternall and perpetuall enemies of this cittie, they shall not so soone at any time stirre and put out their heads, but we will be freight upon their jacks. And looke what ye first shall find in your hearts to doe for our safetie, the same will we alwaies doe for your Empire and honour. And when those nations be once subdued that are betwene you and us (which your vertue and fortunate felicitie, promisseth will be shortly) then shall your dominion reach all the way in a continued train, as farre as unto us. A pitifull and lamentable case it is, that our present fortune urgeth us to confesse. To this exigent and hard termes of extremitie are we Campanians driven (right honourable) that subject we must be, either to our friends or to our enemies. If ye defend us, yours will we be; for sake us once, we must be the Samnites. Consult yee now therefore deliberately, whether ye had leifer, that Capua and all the territorie of Capua, should be annexed unto your power and State, or added to the Samnites Seignorie. Your mercy, your succour, o Noble Romanes, ought in equitie to extend unto all men, but especially unto those, who by yielding their reliefe and helping hand (even above their power) unto others, that implored and humbly besought succour, are now themselves fallen all, into the same streights of necessitie. And yet, to say a truth, we fought in shew and semblance of word for the Sidicines; but in verie deed and effect for our owne selves. For, considering a neighbour nation, bordering even vpon us, to be robbed and spoiled most wrongfully by the Samnites; we well foresaw, that when the Sidicines were once set a burning, the same fire would soone be driven and reach unto us. For now are not the Samnites come to assaile us, as discontented for any iniurie received: but, as well pleased that they have cause of quarrell, offered and presented unto them. For if it had been but a revenge onely of anger upon some pretended wrong, and not a meane and occasion, to satisfie their greedie appetite: had it not been enough for them, that they had vanquished and put to the sword our Legions once in the Sidicine countrie, and a second time in Campaine it selfe our owne territorie? What a cankered and mortall malice is this, which bloodshed and massacres in two battailes cannot satiate or assuage? Besides the wasting of our fields, the driving away of booties, as well of people as cattell, the firing of villages, the ruine and havocke they made; and in everie place nothing but fire and sword. Could not their anger and wrath have bene satisfied with all this? But it is their greedie and unsatiable covetousnes and nothing else, that must be fulfilled. That is it which carieth them, that haleth and hurieth them to the assault of Capua. At it their teeth water, that most goodly and beautifull cittie will they either destroy, or be LL. thereof themselves. But

The temple of
Iuno Moneta.

The beginning
of the Samnite
warre.

* *Moneta* and
the Dutche of
B. not enter as far
as to *Nepos*.
* The Inhabitants
of Sidicines
were, otherwise
called *Tranen*,
or *Thran*.

* *Moneta* is
Capua.

The Embassadors
of the
Campanians in
the Senate of
Rome.

may it please you Romanes, to gaine it afore by your owne benefit and good desert: rather than G
suffer them to seize upon it, by wrong and mischief. I speake not this before a people that useth
to make it straunge and goodly to undertake any rightfull and just warres. If ye but shew a copie
of your countenance, as if ye would aid and succour us, I suppose yee shall have no need at all of
further warre. The Samnites overweening of themselves and contempt of others, reacheth to
us onely: further it proceedeth not. So that under the very shadow of your assistance, O Romanes,
we may be safely covered and protected. And whatsoever we shall hereafter gaine thereby, what-
soever we shall be of our selves (even as much as we are worth) readie are we to acknowledge it
all yours. For your sake shall the Campaine ground be tided: for your behoofe shall the citie
Capua be resorted unto and frequented: and accounted shall ye be of us, no lesse than founders,
parents, yea and as the immortall gods. There shall not be a borough or Colonie of yours, H
that shall go beyond us in obsequious dutifullnes towards you. Doe but afford unto us Cam-
paines, O Noble Senators, a token of your gracious countenance, yeeld us your invincible name
as a powrefull deitie, and bid us hope assuredly, that Capua shall remaine still and continue in
safetie. What a number thinke ye of all sorts and degrees of people, followed and accompa-
nied us, when we came from thence? How left we all places filled with their vowes, their praies
and teares? In what expectation now, do the Senate, and people of Capua, our wives and chil-
dren, attend our returne? Assured I am, that the whole multitude stand about the gates looking
toward the high port-way that leadeth from hence thither, waiting to know what news, expecting
what answer, my LL. your pleasure is that we should report backe from you unto them, so care-
full, so heavie, so perplexed. One word presenteth unto them safetie, victorie, life and libertie: I
the other, I dread to bode what it may import. Wherefore to conclude, determine of us, either
as of them that shall and will be, your confederates and faithfull Allies; or else such as must be
worfe than nothing. After that the Embassadours were withdrawne aside, and the Senate fell
to counsell: although a good part of them were of opinion, that the greatest and welthiest citie
of all Italie, the most plenteous countrie, and nere unto the sea, might be as it were the garner and
storehouse, what ever variable chaunges of corne and victuals might happen: yet they set more
by keeping their faith and promise, than of that great commodity that might accrew unto them:
and thus by direction of the Senate, made the Consull answer. The Senate judgeth you O Cam-
paines worthe of aid: but meete it is that we inttaine your amitie, so, as a more ancient socie-
tie and friendship be not thereby violat and broken. The Samnites are in league, and confederate K
with us. We must needs therefore debarre you from making that war against the Samnites, which
should sooner dishonour the gods than hurt and wrong men. Howbeit, as equitie and reason
doth require, we will to our Allies and friends send our Embassadours, to intreat them to offer no
violence unto you. To this answer the chiefe man of the Embassage (according as he had in
commission from home) replied and said: For as much as ye are not willing to defend our right
and cause, by just and lawfull power against violence and injurie; your owne yet, I am sure ye will
maintaine. Therefore, my LL. of the Senat, here we yeeld up into your hands, and to the Seignorie
of the people of Rome, the whole nation of the Capuans, the citie Capua, our lands and pos-
sessions, the sacred temples of the gods, and all things else both holy and profane. And what-
soever from henceforth we shall suffer and abide, we will sustaine it as your liegemen and subjects, L
wholly devoted as vassals unto you. At which words they all held up their hands unto the Con-
suls, shed teares plenteously, and fell downe upon their knees in the verie entrie of the Counsell
house. The Senate moved with consideration of the changeable course and turne of humane
fortune, in this world, to see so great & mightie a people for puissance, so pompous for superfluous
abundance and magnificence (at whose hands but a while before, the nations bordering had
craved and begged their aid) to cary with them now so base and broken hearts, as of their own
accord, to submit themselves and all they had in the whole world, to the power and devoti-
on of others: were perswaded now it was a matter of trust and faithfulness, not to aban-
don and see betraied, those that thus were reduced under their protection. Neither thought
they, that the people of Samnium could in any equitie or colour of Iustice, invade that M
land, or assault that citie, which was surrendered and annexed to the imperiall State of Rome.
Whereupon presently they agreed to dispatch Embassadours unto the Samnites, who had
in charge and commission to make declaration unto them; First, of the Campaines peti-
tions: secondly, of the answer of the Senate returned unto them, implying the remembrance of
the

The great
rejoicing
of the
Romans
at the
returne
of the
Embassadours.

The returne of
the Embassadours
to the Romanes
their duty and
devotion.

A the Samnites amitie: last of all, of the Campaines surrender. Then, to request and desire them in
regard of their mutuall societie and friendship, to spare and forbear those, that were their vaf-
sals, and not with any hostilitie to invade that territorie, which was become subject to the peo-
ple of Rome. If by this courteous dealing they could doe no good, then, to command the Sam-
nites in the name of the people and Senate of Rome, to abstaine from the citie Capua and the
countrie of the Campaines. When these Embassadours debated these matters in the counsell
house of the Samnites, they returned so stout and arrogant an answer againe, not in these terms
onely, That they would goe forward in the war begun: but (that which more was) the rulers com-
ming forth of their counsell house, even whiles the Embassadours there stood, called to the cap-
taines of the cohorts, and with a lowd voice commaunded them forthwith to make a rode into
B the Campaine countrie, for to spoile and fetch booties. This Embassage being returned home
again to Rome, the Senators setting aside the care of all other matters, sent their heraulds to de-
mand restitution: and for default thereof, after the solempne manner to proclaim open war. Where-
upon they decreed with al speed possible to propound this matter to the people: and by the con-
sent of the people, both Consuls with two armies departed the citie, *Valerius* into Campania, *Cor-
nelius* into Samnium: and pitched their tents, *Valerius* at the foot of the hill Gaurus, and the other
at Sarricula. The Samnit legions presented themselves first to *Valerius* (for that way they supposed
all the forces would be bent) for indignation also, against the Campaines, because they were so readie
one while with their own succours, and another while in sending for the aid of others against
them. And so soone as they discovered the Romans camp, in al haste (every one for his part) called
C lustily to their captaines for to strike up and found the battaile: assuring themselves, and saying
plainly, that the Romanes should speed as well in succouring the Campaines, as the Campaines
had done before them in aiding the Sidicines. *Valerius*, after he had amused the enemies not ma-
ny daies together, with some light skirmishes, onely to make triall of them what they could
do, put forth the signall of battaile at the last, but first exhorted his souldiours in a short speech
in this wise, That neither this new warre nor new enemy should terrifie them: for as much as
the farther they warred from the citie, the more cowardly Nations they were, and lesse warlike
still to whom they went. That they should not esteeme the valour of the Samnites, by the late
losses and defeatures of the Sidicines or Campaines: For whosoever they see that contend and
fight together, one side or other cannot chuse, but goe to the wals. The Campaines, doubtlesse, E
had the overthrow rather through their owne effeminate tenderesse, as flowing too much in ex-
cesse and superfluitie of pleasures, than by their enemies hardinesse and valour. And what were
two onely fortunate battailes of the Samnites, in so manie ages, to be set against so many hono-
rable victories of the people of Rome? Who, from the first foundation of their citie, may num-
ber more triumphs we neede, than yeares: who have by warre subdued all Nations about them,
the Sabines, Hetruria, the Latines, Hernickes, Aequians, Volscians, and Auruncanes. And as they
ought to goe into the field, everie man presuming and trusting upon his owne manhood & glo-
rious warfare: so should they have an eye, and consider, under whose leading and regiment they
were to enter into battell. Whether hee were a man that in the hearing of his souldiours, could
onely make goodly and magnificall Orations, fierce in brave words, void of Militarie workes: or
F hee who himselfe knew how to handle his weapon, to advance before the standards, yea, and
to be employed even in the middle medley of all the battell. I would have you (quoth hee) my
souldiours, to follow my deeds and not my words, and of me to learne, not onely discipline, but
also good example. I have not by bribing and factions, nor yet by courting and Orations (usual
matters among Noblemen) but by this right hand of mine, attained unto three Consulships,
and to the highest honour. The time hath bene indeed, when a man might have said thus unto
me: No marvell, For why? You were a Gentleman of noble blood, descended from those that
were the deliverers of their countrie: and in the same year that the citie had first a Consul, this
house of yours had the Consulship. But now the case is altered, the way unto a Consulship, is as
open to you Commoners, as to us of the Nobilitie. Now is it not the guerdon of birth and gen-
trie, as aforetime: but the reward and recompence of vertue and valour. And therefore my sould-
iours, shoot at the highest dignities, and aime at soveraine honour. And although yee that are
men, have by the grace and approbation of the gods, given unto mee this new addition of sur-
name, *Corvinus* yet have not I forgotten the auncient name of the Publicolas, appropriat un-
to our familie. I love and ever will (as alwaies I have done) the Commons of Rome, at all times
alike,

Defiance given
by the Romanes
to the Samnites.

A host of armes
of people or
smaller colour,
hanging forth at
the Generals his
pavilion.
The exhortation
of Valerius Cor-
vinus to his sould-
iours.

alike, both abroad in warres, and also at home in peace: as well a privat person, as in mine offices, were they little, or were they mickle: whiles I was Tribune, whiles I was Consull: and no changing have I been throughout all my Consulships, one after another. Now for this present entering which we are about, with the helpe of God, and in his name, have a cast with mee for a new and fresh triumph over the Samnites. Never was there a Generall more familiar with his souldiours: as willing as the meaneft of them, to lay his hand to any base offices that were to be done; yea, and in the very training and exercises of the souldiours, at what time as equals trie maisteries of activitie and strength, one with another, gently would he otherwhiles take the foile, as well as the victorie, and ever keepe one countenance still: not rejecting or refusing any one, whosoever would offer to match him, or be his mate. For deed, benigne and bounteous to his power, and as occasion required: in his words, no lesse mindfull of the freedome of others, than respective of his owne place and dignitie: and (than which, there is nothing more popular) look by what virtuous demeanure and carriage of himselfe, he sought to attaine unto honours and promotions, with the same he bare them, and went through with them. Therefore the whole armie with incredible cheerefulness accepting this exhortation of their captaine, issued forth of the campe into the field. Never was there battaile fought more indifferently on both sides. Their hope was like, their forces equall, with full trust and confidence in themselves, and yet without contempt of their enemies. The Samnites, for to what their courage, presumed upon their fresh & late achieved acts, and their double victorie but few daies before. The Romans on the contrarie side, stood upon their honour and reputation for the space of foure hundred yeares, and their conquests ever since the foundation of their citie. Yet they were troubled, both the one and the other, to deale with a new and unknowne enemy. The manner of their fight shewed what stomackes they carried. For the conflict was such, as for a good while they seemed on neither part to yeeld one foot. Then the Consull, seeing they could not by fine force bee caused to recule, thought to set a suddaine feare among them: and therefore assaieth, by sending in the horsemen upon the foremost ensignes, to breake their rankes, and put them in disarray. But when he saw, that in so small roume of ground they toiled themselves in vaine, and could not well manage their troupes and cornets, nor breake in upon the enemies, hee rode backe againe to the vaward and forefront of the Legions, and dismounted from horsebacke, Wee that are footmen (quod he) when all is done, must doe the deed I see well. Come on then, and as ye behold me (which way soever I go) by dint of sword to make way and entrance into the enemies battell: so every man for himselfe, downe with him that stands next in his way. Straightwaies shall yee see, that where as now their speares and pikes stand glittering and bent upon us, there will be a wide lane made over their flaine carcases. Hee had not so soone spoken these words, but the horsemen at the Consuls commaundement, ran upon both the wings and points, and made way for the footmen to enter the maine battaile. First and foremost the Consull in person chargeth the enemy, and whomsoever he happened to encounter, him hee killeth in the place. This goodly sight set the rest on fire: and then every man did his best, laid about him manfully, and carried it afore him right worthily. The Samnites stood to it still and moved not, albeit they got more knockes and wounds than they gave. Thus when the fight had continued a good while, notwithstanding much bloody slaughter about the Samnites ensignes, yet no flying was there on any side: so resolute were they, by death onely to bee vanquished. Whereupon, the Romanes feeling their owne strength for wearinesse decayed and spent, and but little day left, inflamed with anger, gave a fresh charge all at once upon the enemies. Then (and not before) began they to shrink and give ground, and encline to flight: then were the Samnites taken prisoners, and flaine thicke. Few or none had escaped alive, but that the night came so fast upon them, that it interrupted the victorie, rather than ended the battaile. Both the Romanes themselves confessed, they never fought with a more stubborn and obstinate enemy: and the Samnites also being demanded the primitive cause, which forced them (so stiffly bent as they were) to run away at the last, said, that the Romanes seemed to have burning fire in their eyes, and to carrie in their faces and visages the furious rage of mad & frantike persons; and therefore first began they to bee affrighted, more than at any thing else. Which fearfulnesse of theirs, they bewraied not onely by the present event of the battaile, but also by their dislodging and departure away in the night. The morrow after the Romanes were masters of their empty and naked campe: unto which all the whole multitude of the Campaines came running in numbers to reioice and congratulate their victorie.

But

The famili-
aritie
of Cornelius
with his souldi-
ours, which is
what we call
patience.

A correct battell
between the Ro-
manes and Sam-
nites.

- A But this joy had like to have been foulely blemished with an overthrow and defeature in Samnium. For *Cornelius* the Consull being departed from Saticula, had engaged his armie unadvisedly within a Forrest, through which went an hollow valley or lawne, forelaid on both sides with an ambush: neither discovered he his enemies over his head, before such time as he could not retreat with his ensignes into a place of safe receipt. But whiles the Samnites staid, onely until hee had brought his armie fully downe into the bottome of the vale, *P. Decius*, a Colonell of footmen, espied in the Forrest one little high hill, which commaunded the place where the enemies lay encamped: and as it was for an armie heavily armed, and charged with carriage, hard to bee gotten up unto: so for them that were lightly appointed and deliver, nothing difficult. Hee perceiving the Consull troubled in mind and affrighted: See you not (quoth hee) *o Aulus Cornelius* yonder hill top above the enemy? That is the very fortresse of our hope and safetie, if so be that we can gaine the same lustily, as the Samnites have left it blindly. I require no more of you, but to let mee have the Principes and spearmen of one onely Legion. And when with them I have once seized the top thereof, set forward you from hence and feare not, neither make doubt to save your selfe and the armie. For the enemy being under us, and lying open to all our shot, cannot stirre without great losse and present mischeefe. As for us, either the fortune of the people of Rome, or our owne manhood shall worke our evasion. Being commended by the Consull, and having received that troupe & guard which he demanded, he marcheth close through the wooddie pace, and was not descried by the enemy before he approached the place that hee went to get. And whiles they all were amazed thereat and wondered, and wholly turned their eyes to him-ward, he both gained the Consull some time to withdraw his armie into a more convenient and open ground, and possessed himselfe of the hill top, and there rested. The Samnites, whiles they turne their ensignes to and fro, (as men that had lost the vantage of both sides) could neither make after the Consull, but through the same valley, wherein a while before they had him under their shot, nor yet erect their squadrons, and march up that hill, which *Decius* over them had already gained. But being more angry with those, that thus had disappointed them of the faire meanes they had of a brave exploit, and considering withall the neerenesse of the place, and their small number which were gotten thither, they were one while of mind to environ the hill round with armed men, and to keepe *Decius* from the Consull; another while, to make them way, that when they were come downe into the valley, they might set upon them. Thus whiles they were in doubt what to doe, the night overtook them. *Decius* at the first, was in good hope to fight with them from the higher ground, as they mounted up against the hill: but afterwards he marvelled much, that they neither began to charge upon him, nor yet when they were disappointed and put by that purpose, through disadvantage of the ground, fortified themselves with trench and rampier, and other piones worke. Then calling the Centurions unto him, What unskilfulnesse (quoth hee) of militarie service, what supine slackenesse and slouth is this? and how got these lozels the victorie of the Sidicines and Campaines? Yee see their ensignes waving hither and thither: one while huddled they are in one together, another while advanced & displayed at length. As for munitions and fortifications, no man beginneth any: & by this time we might have been entrenched round about. But if wee stay here longer than for our vantage, wee might bee counted lazie lubbers like them. Come on then, goe with mee, that whiles day light serveth, we may see in what places they quarter their guards, and what way wee may get from hence and escape. All this went hee to espie and discover himselfe in person, clad in a common souldiours jacket, leading with him the other captaines in the habite of their souldiours; to the end, that the enemies might not take marke of the Generall himselfe, how he went about to view them. After this, when hee had disposed the sentinels and corps de guard, to all the rest hee commaunded a watchword to be given, that when the trumpet sounded the second watch, they should come all unto him armed, and make no noise at all. When they were thither assembled with silence, as hee had commaunded, This stilnesse my fellow souldiours (quoth hee) must yee keepe, whiles yee heare me speake, and forbear all giving assent by uttering your voices (as souldiours use to doe).
- F When I shall have delivered my mind to you, let as many as like thereof, go softly on the right hand, and not speake a word: and looke what side is greater, that course shall stand & take place. And now listen what my conceit is, and what I would have done. The enemy hath not invested you here, as men either fled away for feare, or lagging behind for slouth and idlenesse. The place have yee woon by manhood: by manhood must yee from thence escape. In comming hither, yee have

The politic
valour of P. De-
cius.

P. Decius to his
under captaines.

P. Decius to his
souldiours.

have already saved a brave armie of the people of Rome: and now by breaking out from hence, G
 save your owne selves. Worthie you are, that being but a few, have succoured many, yee should
 not stand in need your selves of any mans helpe. With that enimie yee have to deale, who ye-
 sterday through their senselesse slouth, overslipped their happie oportunitie to defeat our whole
 armie; who were so blind, that they saw not this hil of so great importance, even over their heads,
 before it was by us gained: who being so many thousands, could neither debarre us from clim-
 bing up, as few as wee were, nor when wee had gotten the place, compasse us about with a trench,
 having so much day as they had. These enemies, whom ye have thus deluded & beguiled, whiles
 they were awake, and had their eyesight: yee are to deceive when they are fast asleepe: nay, you
 must doe so indeed, there is no other remedie. For at that passe wee are now, that I am rather to
 shew you, in what tearmes of extremitie yee stand, than to advise you to the execution of any H
 good counsell. It is no consulting at this time, whether ye should here stay, or depart hence; sith
 that besides your weapons, and hearts setting up rest upon their weapons, fortune had left
 you nothing at all. And die wee must, pardie, for hunger and thirst, if wee dread the sword point
 more than becometh hardie men, and valerous Romanes. One way there is therefore, and but one
 way of safetie, even to make a brave fallie through and away. This must wee doe, either by day or
 by night. And that doubt is soone cleared. If we looke for the morrow day, what hope have wee,
 but that the enimie will cast a ditch and bancke, even round about us: who already as ye see ly-
 ing under this little knap, have compassed it with their very bodies. Now, if so be that the night
 be a convenient and favourable time for irruptions and fallies, as in truth it is: then, this houre of
 the night certainly, is of all other the fittest. At the second watches found ye are come hither, at I
 which time all men are in their most sound and dead sleepe. Amid their bodies being fast asleepe,
 shall ye goe. Either by silence deceive them unware, or if they perceive you, affright them with a
 suddaine outcrie. Doe but follow mee, as yee have done already. I, will follow the same fortune
 that guided me hither. Now as many of you as think this good counsel, and a course like to speed
 well, make no more ado, but passe on my right hand. So they all passed, and followed after *De-*
cus as hee went through the quarters, void of watchmen and warders. Now were they escaped
 the mids of the campe, when a souldiour, as he clambred over the watchmens bodies, lying hea-
 vie asleepe, chanced to stumble at a shield, which gave a sound againe. Whereat the watchman
 being awakened, raised his next fellow; and they being start up, call up other, not knowing whi-
 ther they were enemies or fellows, whether the garrison of *Decius* on the hill was broken forth, K
 or the Consull had surpris'd the campe. *Decius* then, seeing his souldiours could not passe cleer
 and undefried, commaunded them to set up a shout. And therewith he amased them with a new
 fright, who were already drowned in drowsinesse, so as they could neither take weapons readily,
 nor make head against them, nor yet pursue after them. While the Samnites were thus maske-
 red and in confusion, the Romane garrison had by this time slaine the warders whom they met,
 and were marching toward the Consull his campe. As yet was somewhat of the night to come:
 but now they seemed to be safe, and past all danger. Then (quoth *Decius*) on forward in this cou-
 rage of yours, o hardie Romanes. This your passage and returne, to and fro, all ages shall extoll
 and praise. But for the full sight and view of so great valour, we had need of broad day light: for
 yee deserve better, than that the still night should hide you in so glorious a returne of yours into L
 the campe. Let us here rest, and wait for day. His words were obeyed; and so soon as the day brake,
 he dispatched a messenger afore unto the Consull: and so with exceeding great joy they made
 speed unto the campe. And when it was knowne in the campe by the privie watchmen, that they
 who had put their lives in most dangerous hazard for the safetie of them all, were themselves re-
 turned safe; then everie one came forth to meet them as fast as they could, with praises and com-
 mendations, calling them both all and some, their saviours: praising the immortal gods, and gi-
 ving thanks, yea, and extolling *Decius* to the skie. This was the triumph of *Decius* in the campe,
 as hee marched through the middelt thereof with his armed garrison, whiles everie man cast
 his eyes upon him, and made him a Coronell, equall to the Consull in all kind of honour. When
 hee was come to the Pretorium, the Consull by found of trumpet, called all the armie to an au-
 dience, and as hee entred into a discourse of the deserved praises of *Decius*, *Decius* himsele
 interrupteth him, and cutteth off his speech. Whereupon the Consull put off the Oration.
Decius then persuadeth the Consull, to set aside all other things, and while the occasion and
 opportunitie was offered, he urged him effectually, to give an alarme to the enemies, both while
 they

*P. Decius to his
 friends.*

A they were amazed with this skare by night, and also lay skattering about the hill, as it were in their
 severall skonces. Besides, he thought verily that some were sent out after him to make fieth fuit,
 and wandred astray in the Forrest. So the Legions were commaunded to arme, and being depar-
 ted out of the campe, and by meanes of the espials better acquainted with the Forrest, they were
 conducted by a wider and more open way toward the enimie: whom sodainly they surpris'd
 and charged, unawares and unprovided as he was. And for as much as the Samnite soldiors were
 stragling abroad, and most unarmed, and could neither rally themselves & take armes, nor retire
 into their trench, they drave them at first with feare into their camp: after, whiles the gards about
 it were disordred and troubled, they were masters therof also. The noise was heard all about the
 hill, and caused everie man to flee out of his hold: So a great part of them took their heeles, before
 the enimie could come. But so many as for feare were driven within the trench (and those were
 some 30000) were all slaine: and the campe rifled and spoiled. The Consull having achiev'd
 this exploit, called an assembly: and not only finished the praises of *Decius*, as he before began, P. *Decius* for
 but also amplified them with fresh commendation of this new service. And besides other militarie
 gifts, he rewarded him with a crowne of gold, a hundred oxen, and one especiall white one, fat
 and faire above the rest with gilded hornes. The soldiors who together with him held the hill
 aforesaid, had given unto them for ever after, a double proportion of corne, and for the present
 one oxe a peece, and two single liveries. After the Consull his reward was bestowed, the Legi-
 onarie soldiors themselves put upon *Decius* his head a wreath of greene grasle, in token of a de-
 liverie from sieg, and with notable shouts and loud cries approved this gift. Another chap-
 let or garland, also, in token of like honour, did his owne band and companie set upon him. And
 thus being adorned with these ornaments of honour, he sacrificed that chosen white oxe unto
 Mars; and bestowed his owne hundred oxen among those his soldiors, who had accompanied
 him in that exploit and service. To the same soldiors the legions gave a pound measure of wheate
 meale, and a sextare of wine, a peece. All these particulars were performed and done with great
 cheerfulness, and seconded with shouting and acclamation of the soldiors, to signifie their good
 liking and generall assent.

*P. Decius for
 his service
 rewarded.*

*The soldiers
 rewarded.*

*A garland called
 a corona.*

** Sextaria much
 about one wine
 measure called a
 quart.*

A third battaile was fought at Sueffula: wherein by *M. Valerius*, was put to flight the host of the
 Samnites. When upon the whole manhood and flowre of their youth that remained at home
 were sent for and assembled, determining to fight it out and trie their fortune once for all. Fear-
 full newes hereof came from Sueffula to Capua: and from thence couriers and postes were dis-
 patched to *Valerius* the Consull, for aid. Forthwith he advanced the standards, and leaving the
 cariages belonging to the campe, with a strong gard, he marched forward in great hast: and not
 farr from the enimie, he tooke a little plot of ground to encampe in; as having besides their
 hories of service, no beasts at all for cariage, nor a rabble of slaues and varlets that follow the
 campe. The Samnites (as if without further delay they were to fight) embattelled themselves.
 But seeing none to encounter them, they came with banner displaid to the verie campe of the
 enemies. And there so soone as they beheld the soldiors upon the rampier, and understood by
 them that were sent out of purpose to view the circuit of the campe, in how small compasie
 they had fortified, guesing thereby how few their enemies were; there ran a noise throughout the
 armie, to make no more ado, but to fill up the ditches, to cut through the banks, and so pre-
 sently to brake into the campe. And even in that rashnesse had the warre beene decided and dis-
 patched, but that the captaines held in the violence of the soldiors. But for as much as their own
 number so great, required good store of victuals, and was both by their lying before Sueffula,
 and also by their long stay there without fight brought to scarcitie well neere of all things: it was
 thought good, that while the enemies kept within their hold as affrighted, the soldiors should
 be sent about the countie a foraging. In which meane time they supposed that the Romanes
 likewise, would have spent all, who were thither come lightly appointed, and had brought no
 more come with them, than they could carie on their shoulders, besides their armour. The Con-
 sull having espied the enemies stragling over the countie, and their guards scenderly man-
 ned, after a brieve exhortation to his soldiors, led them forth to give an assault upon their
 campe. Which when he had woon at the first shout and onfet, and killed more of the enemies
 within their tents, than either in the gates or upon the rampier; hee caused the ensignes that
 he had taken, to be brought together into one place: and leaving there two legions, for a guard
 and defence; with a straight charge, that untill he came againe, they should forbear to rise and
 make

make spoile, he went forward in order of battaile. And when the horsemen which hee made out afore, had like hunters driven the scattered Sannites, as it were, within net and toile, he fell upon them and committed an exceeding great carnage. Fortrighted as they were, they knew neither at what signall they should rally themselves together, nor whether they should make speede to the campe, or flie further away. But so great was their fright and flight both, that there were brought to the Confull, 40000 shields, more in deed than there were men slaine: besides 170 ensignes, together with those that were woon in the campe. Then returned he unto the enemies tents, and bestowed the whole pillage there, upon the souldiors. And such was the happie successe of this war, that it both caused the Falisci being in truce, to sue unto the Senat for a league: and also turned the Latines, who had prepared their forces alreadie from warring with Romans, to wage warre upon the Peligni. Neither rested the fame of this so fortunate a victorie within the marches of Italie: for even the Carthaginians also, sent their embassadours to Rome, with gratulation, and a present of a golden crowne weighing ^{twentie five pounds}, to be set up in ^{the} ^{ancient} temple within the Capitoll. Both Consuls triumphed over the Sannites: and *Decius* followed after, all goodly to be seene, with his gifts and worthie praises: whilst the souldiors as their maner was, with merie jests and rude ditties, magnified and renoumed the name of the Colonell no lesse than the Consuls.

* 75 lib. sterl.

The Mutinie
and conspiracy
of the Sannites,
in
Campania.

After this, the Embassies of the Campanians and the Suesians had a daie of audience: and upon their humble request it was granted, that thither should be sent a standing garrison to winter there, for to stop the excursions & invasions of the Sannits. But Capua, even then no good place for militarie discipline, wrought an alteration in the souldiors there: who having once gotten a smatch, and taken a delight in a world of pleasures of all sorts, quite forgot their owne naturall countrie. For they of the garison, began to lay plots and devise how to get Capua from the Campanians: even by the same wicked practise, by which themselves had woon it first from the auncient possessours and inhabitants: saying it made no matter, and they were but rightly served, in case their owne precedent lewd example, should returne upon their owne heads. Againe, why should the Campanians, not able to defend themselves, nor maintaine their liberties and goods, be LL. of the most plentifull countrie of Italie, and of a citie answerable and correspondent therunto: rather than the victorious army, which with their sweat & bloud, had repelled and expelled the Sannits from thence? And was it any reason, that they who had yielded to be vassals unto them, should enjoy that fruitfull and pleasant tract; while they themselves perished with fighting, struggled still & wrestled in a pestilent aire, & drie barren soile, about the citie of Rome? and within that citie, indured the settled, inveterat and intestine mischiefe and plague of usurie, that turcharged them daily more and more? Whiles these projected conspiracies were contrived in secret conventicles, and as yet not broched and divulged in all mens knowledge, the new Confull, *C. Martius Rutilius* came in place: whose lot it was to be L. Deputie of the province Campania, leaving his fellow *Q. Servilius* in the citie. Who having intelligence by the Captaines and Coronels, of all the particularities of those designs: being a wise man, both for his olde age and long experience (as who was now Confull the fourth time, and withall had been Censour and Dictatour) thought it best to dissimule the matter and to make voide and frustrate the present heat and outrage of the souldiors, by differing and prolonging their hope, as if they might put in execution their plots at their best leisure, whensoever they pleased. He raiseth therefore a rumour, that the garisons should in the same townes winter againe the yeare following. [For divided they were into sundrie citties of Campania: and the webbe begon at Capua, was spread from thence through all the forces.] By meanes of this good respite to bethinke themselves and devise of these matters, the mutinie for the present was well quieted. The Confull then led forth the souldiors into the summer places of abode and repose, and purposed whiles he had the Sannites in quietnesse, to cleanse the armie by cassering and discharging those busie-bodies & troublesome spirites: pretending colourably, and saying, That some of them had served alreadie so long as the law required, others were now well stept in yeares, or waxen feeble and their strength decayed. Some had their passports limited, and were sent home: at the first, one by one singled out; afterwards, certaine whole cohorts or bands, as having wintered far from their dwelling places, from their goods and substance. Under a pretence and colour also of militarie services and imployments, whiles some were dispatched one way, some another, a great part of them were rid cleane away. All this multitude, the other Confull and the Pretor kept still at Rome; devising thus

The singular
policye of M. Rutilius
the Confull.

A this cause, and that, of delays and abiding behind. And verily at first, they being not ware of this delusion, were not unwilling to visit home. But after that they perceived, that neither they who were dismissed first, returned againe unto their colours, nor any in a manner discharged els, but such as had lien in winter garrison at Capua: and those especially, who of them were the authors of the conspiracies; first they marvelled, and afterwards feared in very deepe, that their complots were revealed and come to light, and that now presently, they should be put to examinations and tortures, abide arraignment and judgement, be executed secretly apart one by one, & suffer the insolent lordlinesse, and cruell tyrannie of Consuls and Senatours over them. These and such like speeches low they and whisper secretly, that were in the campe, when they saw the principall authors of the mutinie, who were the sinewes and strength thereof, by the wily pollicie of the Confull to be dismembred from them. One cohort of them, being not far from Anxur sat them downe at Lautula, in a narrow pafe or wood betwene the sea and the mountaines, to intercept and staie, whomsoever the Confull sent about this or that pretended businesse as is above-said. Soone were there gathered together a right strong power: and nothing wanted to make a shew of a full armie, but onely a head and captaine. And disordered as they were, they went robbing and spoiling, as far as the Albane countrie, and under the hill of long Alba they encampe themselves within a trench and rampier. Which worke being finished, they spend the rest of the day in consultation about chusing a Commander, little trusting any one there present in place. And who possibly (say they) could be sent for as far as from Rome? What Senatour or Commoner was there, that either wittingly would venture upon so great and dangerous an enterprise: or to whom the cause of an armie, enraged upon an injurie received, might safely be committed? The next morrow, whiles they reasoned still about this point, and sadly debated the matter, some of the wandering and vagarant forraiers of the countrie thereabout, bring certaine intelligence, that *Titus Quintus* employed himselfe in husbandrie, and held a farme in Tufculanum, minding neither the citie, nor dignities of state and common weale. This man was come of noble linage, and having served with great credit and honour in the warres, by a wound received, was lame of a legge, and gave over soulderie, determining to lead the rest of his life in the countrie, sequestred far from all courting and ambitious suing for civill offices. They had not so soon heard his name, but presently they tooke knowledge of the man, and (that which might turne to their good) agreed with one accord, he should be sent for. Small hope there was that he would willingly doe any thing: they thought therefore to use force and to bring him to it by feare. So, in the dead time of the night, they that were sent thereto, entred the ferme house, and finding *Quintus* sound & fast asleepe, they awakened him: propounded unto him either rule and honor, or els present death: and no mean between, in case he made stay & refused to go with them: and so they haled and brought him to their camp. Incontinently he was saluted L. General at his first comming. And when the man was affrighted at this sodaine and wonderfull occurrent, they endue him with the ornaments and ensignes to that honor belonging, and will him to lead them as their commander to the citie of Rome. Thus having plucked up the Standerds, in this headie fit of their owne, rather than upon any advise or counsell of their Captaine, they march in warlike maner with an armie, toward Rome, within eight miles of the citie, upon the cauley or strete way, now called Appia Via: & had approched immediatly in that train to the very citie, but that they heard there was a power coming against them, & a Dictator created to withstand them, to wit, *M. Valerius Corvinus*, together with *L. Aemilius Mamercus* Generall of horsemen. So soon as they were come in interview one of another, and took knowledge of the armor & ensignes: the remembrance of their native countrie wrought in them straightwaies a mitigation of their mood. They were not yet so far gone, nor so hardie, as to shed civil blood: neither had they knowledge of any other wars but forrein: & the uttermost rage & maddest fit that ever they proceeded unto, was counted their Seccession & departure away from their own countrymen. And therefore both captaines and souldiors on either side, sought means to meet together, and draw to emparle. *Quintus* for his part, who having had alreadie his hands full of wars in defence of his countrie, could worse brooke taking arms against the same: *Corvinus* likewise for himselfe, as one that with loving affection embraced all his fellow citizens, but the souldiors especially, & above all others those of his owne armie, that fought under his banner, came forth to a parle. And forthwith as soone as he was once knowne, he had no lesse reverence done unto him of the adverse part, than silence and audience given of his owne men. The immortall gods (quoth hee) O souldiors, as well those

A mutinie and
secession of the
garrison souldi-
ers of Cam-
pania.T. Quintus fur-
rised by the re-
bellious and male
content of his
armie against his will.

Bb

which

The Oration of
Valerius Corvius
to the Romans

which are common to you all, as mine owne peculiar patrones, when I tooke my leave of the ci-
tie, I adored and worshipped in this wife, craving humbly upon my knees at their hands, to
vouchsafe me the honor, not of a victorie over you, but of procuring concord and unitie among
you. Occasions there have been, and will be ynow elsewhere, to win glorie and warlike renowne:
From hence, peace onely is to be fought. And even that which among my vowes that I made,
I besought so devoutly of the immortall gods, it lieth in you to make me enjoy. Doe but call to
mind that neither in Samnium, nor among the Volscians yee are encamped, but upon Roman
ground: that those hills which yee behold, are the hills of your native soile: this armie which yee
see, are of your owne countriemen and fellow citizens: and my selfe your Consull, under whose
conduct and Auspice, yee have the yeare past twice defeated the Samnite legions, twice by fine
force woun their campe, and driven them out of the field. I am, sirs, that *M. Valerius Corvi- H*
nus, whose noblenesse yee have had triall of, not by any wrongs done, but by good turnes on
your part received. Author have I bene of no proud law, nor cruell Act of Senat against you:
a man in all my government and rule that I bare, more rigorous to my selfe than severe to you.
And it ever there were one, who might be proud either of Noble race and gentrie, or of his own
vertue and valour, of majestie and high calling or honorable dignities; of such progenitors am
I descended, such prooffe of prowesse have I given: at that age attained I to Consular honour,
that being three and twentie years old, I was able to have bene feared and dread, not of Com-
mons onely, but also of the Senatours. But what deed or word hath passed from me in your know-
ledge, more grievous & odious when I was once Consull, than all the time I was but a Colonel?
The same course held I still during my two Consulships ensuing: and such shall my carriage be,
and none other, whiles I am Dictatour: that I will be no more mild and gracious to these here
about me that are mine own and my countries soldiours, than to your selves affronting; who are,
I tremble to speake it forth, mine enemies. Yee shall therefore draw sword upon me, before I draw
upon you. The trumpets from thence shall begin sound, the shouting from thence shall arise,
the charge from thence shall be given first, if we must needs go to it and fight. Now, find in your
hearts (if you can) to doe that, which neither your fathers nor grandfathers before you ever
could: no, not they who went away and departed into the mount Sacer, nor those who afterwards
held and kept the Aventine. Expect, untill your mothers and wives, with their haire hanging
about their eares, come forth of the citie to meet with you one by one, as sometime they did to
Coriolanus. Then, the Volscian legions were quieted and pacified, because they had one Ro-
mane for their leader: will not yee then, being a whole armie, all of the Romanes, surcease this
unkind and impious warre? And thou *T. Quintius*, howsoever thou art come there to stand,
whether with or against thy will; in case there bee no remedie, but fight wee must, retire thy selfe
among the hindermost: nay, with more honestie flie thou shalt, and shew thy naturall countri-
men a faire paire of heeles, than fight against thy countrie. But stand still hardly with honor and
credit among the foremost, to make attonement: thou shalt be a truchman in this our parley and
conference, to all our goods. Ask and have, any reasonable and indifferent conditions: although
in truth we were better to yeeld unto hard and unequall capitulations, than wickedly and ungod-
lie, one to fight with another. Then *T. Quintius* with teares gushing out at his eies, turning
to his owne companies: And even me also (quoth hee) o soldiours (if need there be at all of me)
ye have a much better captaine for peace than warre. As for him who even now uttered those
words in your hearing, was neither Volscian nor Samnite, but a Romane, even your owne Con-
sull sometime, soldiours, and your owne Generall heretofore: whose Auspicate conduct, you
having tried for you and in your defence; doe not prove now against your selves to your perdi-
tion. Others had the Senat to send as captaines, who would have fought more maliciously with
you: but they have made choise of him who above all others, could beare with you, yea and for-
beare you that have been his soldiours: whom you of all others especially must trust, as having
been your Generall. Peace, yee see, even they desire that are able to get the victorie. And what
is it then that we ought and should desire? Why then set we not anger and hope aside, two false
motives, two deceitfull guides and counsellors; and betake our selves and all we have to a man of
approved trust and fidelitie? These words being liked well of all (as appeared by a generall shout)
T. Quintius went forth before the ensignes in the forefront, and pronounced that the soldiours
should be at the Dictatour his devotion and pleasure: beseeching him to consider and under-
take the cause of poore and wretched citizens; and having taken it into his hands, to maintaine
and

T. Quintius
his speech

T. Quintius to
the Dictatour.

A and protect the same, according to that faithfulness wherwith he used to governe the Common-
monweale. As for himselfe privately, he would not indent ought for his owne securitie: neither
reposed he hope in any thing else but innocencie. The soldiours indeed were to capitulate, as
once heretofore the Commons, and a second time the legions had done with the Senatours:
namely, that this their revolt and petie rebellion, might not be laid unto their charge, to their
hurt and utter undoing. Then the Dictatour, after he had first commended *Quintus*, and willed
the rest to be content and of good cheer, rode post to the citie, & by the advise of the Senators,
preferted a bill unto the people in the grove Petelinus: THAT THE MUTINIE AND INSUR-
RECTION SHOULD TURN NO MAN TO SCATH AND DANGER. He besought the *Quirites*
also of thus much favour besides, THAT NEITHER IN POUER NOR EARNEST, THIS SHOULD
BEE LAID IN NO MANS DISH. The same time therewas proposed besides, a sacred militarie
law under pain of death, THAT NO SOLDIORS NAME ONCE ENTRED INTO THE MUSTER-
MASTER HIS BOOKE, SHOULD BE RAISED OUT AGAINST HIS WILL: With this branch
annexed over and besides, THAT NO MAN WHO HAD BEEN AFORETIME A COLONEL OR
TRIBUNE, SHOULD AFTER HAVE THE LEADING OF BANDS, AND BE A CORPORAL. This
was followed hard and urged by those of the conspiracie, in regard of one *P. Salinius*, who in man-
ner each other yeare had bene either a Colonel, or a chiefe Centurion, whom now they call *Primi-*
pili. Him the soldiours spighted much, & were maliciously set against, because he had alwaies op-
posed himselfe against their conspiracies and innovations, and tooke not part with them who fled
from Lantula. But when this one point could not be obtained of the Senat, for the favour they
bare to *Salinius*: then *Salinius* himselfe besought the Senators that they would not regard his
honour, more than the concord of the whole citie: and so at length it also was granted and en-
acted. As unreasonable a damaund was this also, That of horsemens pay, (and that was triple at
that time) *some Ases should be deducted for that they also had withstood the conspiracie*. Over and be-
sides, I find in some writers, that *L. Genutius* a Tribune of the Commons, published this law unto
the people, That *Vsurie might be made altogether unlawfull*. Likewise in other Acts of the Com-
mons it was provided, That *no man within ten years space, should be capable of the same office twice*:
nor in one yeare beare two offices: and that both Consuls might be of the Commons. Which if they all
were granted to the Com. it appeareth that this insurrection caried some sway and force with it.
In other Chronicles it is recorded, that neither *Valerius* was chosen Dictatour, but that all this
busines was by the Consuls managed: nor so great a multitude of conspiratours rose, before
D they came to Rome, but even in Rome tooke armes: ne yet that they came by night, in forcible
manner into *T. Quintius* ferme-house, but into the dwelling house of *C. Manlius*: and that he was
taken up by the rebels to be their Generall, and from thence went as farre as foure miles end, and
there encamped in a fortified place: that the motion of concord arose not from the captaines,
but that of a suddaine, when both armies stood aranged in order of battaile, they fell to greeting
one another: and that the soldiours began to take one another by the hands & embrace with tears:
and that the Consuls seeing the soldiours so backward from fight, were forced to move the Senat
for an atonement. So as among ancient writers, there is no certentie set downe, but that a sedition
there was, and the same appeled. But the rumor thereof, and the cruell warre which the Samnites
E begun, withdrew certaine nations from the Romanes societie and alliance. For besides
the faithlesse and untrustie league (a long time) of the Latines: the Privernates also with suddaine rodes, invaded and wasted Norba and
Setia, two Colonies of the Romanes neere
bordering and adjoining.

* The next de-
gree is a Colonel.

THE EIGHTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the
Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the eighth Booke.



H The Latines together with the Capuans revolted: and the Latines having sent their Embassadors to the Senate (of Rome) offered and presented peace, upon this condition onely, that they would create one of their Consuls out of them. This Embassie thus declared, *Annii* their Pretor, who had audience in the Capitoll, in going downe from thence, took such a fall, that he died in the place. *T. Manlius* caused his owne sonne to loose his head, because contrarie to his expresse commaundement, he had sought against the Latines, notwithstanding his good successe in that combate. At what time as the Romans were greatly distressed, and like to lose the field, *P. Decius* then Cons. with *Manlius*, devoured and offered himselfe to present death, for to save the armie: and setting spurs to his horse, rode into the midst of the enemies battaile: where he was slaine, and by his death recovered victorie to the Romanes. The Latines yielded and rendred themselves. When *T. Manlius* returned into the cittie, there was not one of all the youth came forth to meet him, and doe him honour. *Manlius*, a professed Virginitie, was condemned for his incest, or incontinent life. The *Ausoni*ans being subdued, a Colonie was planted in *Calio*, and another like wise in *Evagella*. Many *Romane* dames were detected of practising poison: and most of them were forced to drinke of their owne empoisoned cups first, whereof they died presently. Whereupon was the first law then ordained against poisoning. The *Paleopolitans* were defeated in battaile first, and after siege, surrendered upon composition. *Quintus Fabius*, who besieged them within their walls, was the first man that had his commission renewed, and continued still in government, when the ordinarie time was expired: and by means of the Consuls, had a triumph granted unto him. The common people were delivered from the danger of their creditors, by occasion of the filthy lust of one of them, *Lucius Appur*, who would have forced, and against nature abused *C. Publius*, a debtor of his. When *L. Papirius* the Dictator was returned from his omie into the cittie, for to take the *Auspices* anew, by reason of some error supposed in the former, *Q. Fabius* the Generall of the hosten, having in his absence espied the oportunitie and advantage of performing a wartime exploit, gave battaile contrarie to his Edict, and put the Samnites to the worse. For which cause, when the Dictator would come to punish him accordingly, *Fabius* made an escape and fled to Rome. And when his cause would not bear him out, he had his pardon, at the earnest sute and prayers of the people. This booke containeth also the fortunate exploits against the Samnites.



Now was *C. Plautius* Consull the second time, with *L. Aemilius Mamercus*: when as the *Setines* and *Norbans* brought tidings to Rome of the *Privernates* revolt, with complaints of harms sustained at their hands. Newes came likewise, that an armie of *Volscians*, under the conduct of the *Antiates*, were encamped at *Satricum*. Both these warres fell by lot to *Plautius*. Who taking his journey first to *Privernum*, forthwith had them battaile: and with no great conflict gave his enemies the overthrow. The towne was woon and restored againe to the *Privernates*, with a strong garrison therein placed, but two parts of their lands were taken from them. The armie thus having obtained victorie, was conducted thence to *Satricum* against the *Antiates*. Where was a cruell battaile fought with much bloodshed on both sides: and when as the tempestuous and stormie weather parted them asunder, before that either side inclined to victorie, the Romanes no whit wearied with that conflict so doubtfull, addressed themselves to fight against the morrow. But the *Volscians* having taken a view and account what men they had lost in fight, were not of like mind to adventure the hazard againe: and therefore as vanquished men they dislodged

A dislodged by night in disorder, and fearefully took their way to *Antium*, leaving behind them their wounded, and part of their baggage. Great store of armour was there found, both upon and among the slaine bodies of the enemies, and also within the campe. Which the Consull promised to dedicate to dame *Luna*, and so hee harried and spoiled the confines of the enemies, even as farre as the sea coast. But against the other Consull *Aemilius*, who was entred into the *Sabellian* land, neither were the Samnites encamped, nor their legions opposed any where. Whiles therefore with fire and sword hee wasted their countrie, the Samnites Embassadors came unto him, craving peace: but being by him posted off to the Senate, after they had audience given, they let fall their stout stomackes, and requested peace for themselves with the Romanes, and libertie to make warre against the *Sidicines*: which petition they enforced with more reason and equitie. First, in that they had entred into amitie with the people of Rome, during their prosperitie, and not as the *Campaines* in their adversitie: againe, they were to take armes against the *Sidicines*, enemies alwaies to themselves, and never friends to the people of Rome: who also, neither in peace (as the Samnites) sued for friendship and alliance, nor in time of warre (as the *Campaines*) sought for aid and succour: and finally, were neither under the protection of the people of Rome, ne yet their vassals and subjects. When as *T. Aemilius* the Pretor had consulted with the Senate, about these points demanded by the Samnites, and that the LL. thought good that the league with them should be renewed; the Pretor in the name of the rest, made answer to the Samnites, That neither the fault was in the people of Rome, that the confederacie betweene them, was not perpetuall; neither gainesaid they, but for as much as they were wearie themselves first, and repented of the warre commensed through their owne default, the league might yet be newly made againe. Touching the *Sidicines*, they would be no hinderance, but that the Samnite people, might use their libertie, & do what they thought best, either for war or peace. The league being thus concluded and confirmed, and they returned home, presently the Roman armie was brought from thence upon receipt of a yeeres pay, and came for three months, according to the capitulation covenanted with the Consull, in consideration of a truce granted, untill their Embassadors were returned.

The Samnites, with the same forces which they had employed to withstand the *Romane* war, went forth against the *Sidicines* with undoubted hope, speedily to win the citie of their enemies. Then, had the *Sidicines* before made an offer to yeeld themselves unto the Romanes, but seeing the Nobles to reject them, as comming too late, and wrested as it were perforce from them in their last extremitie, they rendered the same to the Latines, who were already of their owne accord risen up, and had taken armes. The *Campaines* likewise (so readie and forward were they to beare in mind an injurie of the Samnites, rather than a good turne of the Romanes) forbore not to join in this quarrell. Thus was there raised a mightie power of so many Nations banded together, under the conduct of the Latines, and invaded the borders of the Samnites, where more hurt was received by rodes than skirmishes. And albeit the Latines in fight had the better hand, yet were they well content for avoiding so many conflicts, to depart out of the enemies countrie. Which gave the Samnites leasure to send Embassadors to Rome, who before the Senate complaining, that they endured the same measure still, being now associates, which they had abidden before when they were enemies: besought most humbly, that the Romanes would bee satisfied with that victorie of the *Campaines* and *Sidicines*, their enemies, which they had gotten out of the Samnites hands, and not suffer them to bee troden underfoot by those Nations, the most dastards and cowards of all others: requesting moreover, if so be the Latines and *Campaines* were under the dominion of the people of Rome, that they would commaund them by vertue of their authoritie, to forbear the Samnites countrie: and if they refused to obey, then to chastise & keep them in by force of war. To these demands they framed a doubtfull answer, as being loth & ashamed of the one side to confesse, that the Latines were not at their devotion, & fearing againe on the other side by reproving & provoking them to turn away their harts, and loose them for ever. And this was the answer. As touching the *Campaines*, their case was otherwise, who were not by covenants and conditions in form of league, but by voluntarie & simple submission, under their protection; and therefore they should be quiet whether they would or no: but as for the Latines, by any capitulation comprised in their accord, they were not prohibited to levie war with whom they list. Which answer, as it sent the Samnites away, in doubt what to think the Romanes would do; so it estranged and alienated the *Campaines* for feare: and made the Latines more stout, as sup-

posing the Romans now would give them the head, and yeeld any thing unto them. And therefore under a colour of preparing warre against the Samnites, they summoned and helde many Councils one after another: and in all their meetings and consultations, their princes & chiefe men secretly amongst themselves did nothing but plot & practise war with the Romans. In which conspiracie also, the Campaines had their hand as deepe as the rest, even to beare arms against those, who had been their Protectors. But although they did what they could to keepe all close of purpose, and were desirous before the Romanes should stir, to be secured from the Samnites, (an enimie pressing hard on their backs) yet nevertheles this complot was discovered, and intelligence thereof given at Rome, by meanes of certaine persons linked to the Romanes in private acquaintance and mutuall hospitalitie. Hereupon were the Consuls commanded to resigne their magistracie before the ordinarie time, that so much the sooner there might be new created against so great a danger and preparation of warre. But here rose a scruple of conscience, that the assembly for Election should be holden by them, whose government was thus shortned and abridged. Whereupon they proceeded to an Interreigne. And two Interregents there were one after another, *M. Valerius* and *M. Fabius*: who created Consuls, *T. Manlius Torquatus* the third time, and *P. Decius Mus*.

In that yeare, it is recorded for certaine, that *Alexander* King of Epirus, arrived in Italie with a navie: who, no doubt if he had sped well at his first entrance, would have proceeded farther and warred upon the Romanes. In this age flourished *Alexander* the Great in glorious conquests, who being this man his sisters sonne, and a warriour invincible, whiles he achieved feats of arms in another part of the world, hapned to die in his best time and prime of his youth. But to proceed forward. The Romanes although there was no doubt but that their associates, and namely the Latines, were revolted: yet as though they were carefully busied about the Samnites only, and nothing intended them; they sent for to Rome ten of their chiefe Peeres, pretending to give them in charge what their pleasure was to have done. At that time the Latines had two Pretors or Provolls, *L. Annius* of Setia, and *L. Numitius* of Circeia, both Romane Colonies. By whose means, besides Signia and Velitre, being also Colonies of Rome, the Volscians were solicited likewise to take armes. And thought good it was, that those Latine Pretors by name, should be cited with the rest. No man was ignorant for what intent they were sent for. The Pretors therefore, called a Councell before they went, and there declared how they were convented by the Senat of Rome, demanding their advise what answere to make as touching those matters, wherewith, as they supposed, they should be charged. When some were of this opinion, some of that; then *Annus* spake & said: Although I myselfe have moved you to resolve upon an answere, yet I thinke, it concerneth us more in our main estate, to determine what to do, than what to say. And when we are growne to a resolution once of our affaires, and what course to take, an easie matter wil it be to frame words fit for the purpose. For if even now already under a shadow & pretence of an indifferent league, we can abide and finde in our hearts to endure bondage, what standeth in the way, but that having abandoned & betrayed the Sidicines, we be obedient not only to the Romanes commandement, but also to the Samnites? and answere the Romans in these plaine termes, That at their beck only, and if they doe but nod their head, we will presently lay downe all armes? But if at length, the desire and longing after libertie doe touch our hearts, and give an edge unto our spirits: if there bee a league betwene us: and if confederacie ought to be no thing els but a societie and equall fruition of libertie and priviledges: if I say, we may now glorie and vaunt, wherof sometimes we were ashamed, that we are of kin to the Romanes and of their blood: if they have an armie of associates, by the addition wherof they redouble their forces, and which the Consuls in leaving or levying their proper wars, will not part and sever from their owne: why is there not equalitie in all things els? Why is not one of the Consuls a Latine? Look where is part of power and forces, there also is part of rule and command. And certes, even this in itselfe, is not a matter of so great honour unto us, as who have granted and confessed Rome to be the head of Latium: yet by long patience and continuall sufferance onely, we have brought to passe that it might seeme honourable. But if ever yee wished to see the day M wherein ye might participate in government and recover your liberties again, lo, that time is now come, presented unto you by your own valour, and the gracious goodnes of the immortall gods. Tried their patience ye have in denying soldiours: who doubteth not but that they were in a great choler and angrie at the heart, when we brake a custome of two hundred yeares prescription and

A and above: yet neverthelesse this griefe have they put up, and given us not one foule word. We warred upon the Pelignians in our owne name and quarrell: and they, who sometimes allowed not us the libertie so much as to defend our own marches of our selves, nothing gaind & crossed it. That the Sidicines were taken to our mercy and protection, that the Campaines revolted from them and sided with us, that we levied an armie against the Samnites their confederats, they heard and knew well enough: and yet they stirred not once forth of their cittie. How come they to be so calme and quiet, but upon a privy and knowledge, both of our puissance and of their owne weaknesse? I am able to avouch by the report of men of good credit, that when the Samnites complained themselves of us, they had such an answere againe of the Senat of Rome, that it plainly appeared that they themselves pretended not to require that Latium should be under the Romane Empire. Doe yee but take upon you, and lay claime unto that which they secretly do yeeld unto you themselves, & repossede it at your pleasure. Now if any man be affraid to be the speaker, Lo, here am I, who professe to be the man, and to say thus much not onely in the audience of the people and Senat of Rome, but also of *Jupiter* himselfe, who is resiant in the Capitoll, namely, That if they will have us to be of the league and confederacie, they shall admit from among us one of the Consuls, yea and a part also of the Senat. As he with great spirit and boldnes, not onely advised this, but promised also thus to doe; all that were present with a generall applause & assent, permitted him, to doe & say what soever he thought expedient for the common good of the Latine nation, according to that trust which they reposed in him. So soone as he was come to Rome (with other Embassadors) he was admitted into the Senat, and audience given him in the Capitoll. Where when *T. Manlius* the Consul by the authoritie and direction of the Senatours, had dealt with him and the rest, not to make warre upon the Samnites their confederats: *Annus* faring like a conquerour, as if he had woon by force and armes the Capitoll; and not as an Embassador, who was to deliver his mind and message safely, by the protection of the law of nations, began in this sort: The time required (quoth hee) now at length, *O T. Manlius* and yee Senatours of Rome, not to treat and deale with us in any affaires by way of authoritie and commaundement, namely, when you saw Latium by the favour of the gods to flourish exceedingly both in men and munition, as having subdued the Samnites, confedered with the Sidicines & Campaines, and now also combined with the Volscians: and besides even your own Colonies and townships, to have made choise to submit themselves to the Latines rather than the Romanes. But for as much as you cannot find in your hearts of your selves, nor see, how to make an end of your proud and outrageous lordship and tyrannie; Wee, albeit we are able to restore Latium into her auncient freedom by force of armes, yet for kined sake wil be content to offer indifferent articles and equall conditions of peace, for as much as it hath pleased the immortall gods, that we are egall unto you in power and puissance. *Imprimis*, there is no remedie now, but your two Consuls, must be one a Romane, and the other a Latine: *Item*, that the number of Senatours be elected as well out of the one nation as the other. *Item*, that we become one people incorporate, and one Commonwealth. And to the end that there may be one imperial seat, and one name of al, and therefore we or you must needs yeeld, we are content a Gods name (and to the good of both nations may it prove) that this cittie and state of yours be counted the better and more noble: and let us be called all, by the name of Romanes. By good hap it so fell out, that the Romanes also had for their Consul, *T. Manlius* to match him; one as stout & hot as the other: who could not contain his anger no longer, but openly said, That if the Senatours were so farre oversene and besides themselves, as to take conditions of a Setine, he would come with his sword by his side into the Senat house, and what Latine soever he saw there in counsell, he would not faile but sleigh him with his own hand in the place. And therewith turning to the image of *Jupiter*: Hearken (quoth hee) *O* good god *Jupiter*. Heare this wickednesse and indignitie: heare *O* Iustice, and pietie to godward. Wilt thou abide to see, *O Jupiter*, in this thy holy and sacred temple, wilt thou indure, as taken captive & troden under foot, to see Consuls of aliens and a Senat of foireiners? Are these the covenants *O* yee Latines, which *Tullus* king of Rome made with the Albanes your forefathers? or which *L. Tarquinius* after him, concluded with you? Remember yee not the battaile at the lake Regillus? Have yee so forgotten indeed, both your owne calamities and overthrowes of old, and also the good turnes and benefits received at our hands? When this speech of the Consul, was seconded with the indignation also of the Senatours, it is recorded, that when they called upon the gods, witnesses of those covenants, and reiterated

The Oration of Annus in the Senat of Rome.

The Oration of T. Manlius.

iterated their names oftentimes. *Annus* in mockerie of those protestations, was over-heard **G** to despise and skorne the power and godhead of the Romane *Iupiter*. But this is certaine, that as he in heat of anger stepped hastily to the entrie or porch of the temple, and went apace, hee fell downe the staires, and so hurt his head that dashed against the bottome staire, that hee swoyned withall, and lay for dead. But because all writers agree not, that hee yeelded up his last breath thereupon, I also will leave it doubtfull as I find it: as also this, that in the very charging of him with breach of covenants, there poured downe a tempestuous storme with many mightie thunderclaps. For, as these and such like things may be very true, so they may be prettily devised and invented for the nones to represent and shew the wrath and vengeance of God. *Torquatus* being sent by the Senate to give the Embassadors their dispatch, seeing *Annus* there to lie **H** along, cried out aloud, in the hearing both of the Senate and the people, and said, No force, it is well, and as it should be; thus begin and blesse, o yee immortall gods, our just and rightfull war. Surely there is a god above, there is a power divine and deitie in heaven, thou art no feigned, imaginary god, o mightie *Iupiter*, and not in vaine have we hallowed thee in this place, as the father both of gods and men. Why stay yee then, o Romane *Quirites*, ye likewise my LL. of the Senat, to take armes in the name of the gods, having them already as you see, to bee your Leaders? I for my part, shall soone so overthrow and lay the legions of the Latines along on the earth, as yee now see their Embassadors, lying here at the staires foot. The words of the Consull, received with so great applause of the people, animated and enkindled them in such sort, that had not the caretull diligence of the Magistrates ben more (who by commandement of the Consull accompanied the Embassadors as they went) than the ordinarie safeconduct of the law of Nations, they had not escaped the rage and furie of the multitude.

The Senate also gave their assent to this warre, and the Consuls having levied two armies, and passed through the countrie of the Marfians and Pelignians, & joined unto them the Samnites power, encamped themselves before Capua, whither the Latines with their associates, were already come together. There, as the report goeth, the Consuls both of them in their sleep, had a vision: and there appeared unto them, one & the same shape of a mans personage, much greater and more stately than the ordinarie port of men, who should deliver these words unto them, That of the two armies embattailed and affronting one another, the one was appointed as a due tribute to the infernall spirits, and to Mother Earth: and of the other, the cheefe Generall only. And looke of whether armie the said soveraigne Generall should devow and offer unto those **K** infernall spirits, and to mother Earth, the Legions of the enemies, and his owne person withall, that part and that Nation shall have the victorie. When the Consuls had imparted one to the other these night-visions, it was thought good and agreed (for to divert and appease Gods anger) that certaine sacrifices should be laine, and also if the same shewed in their inward, as appeared in their sleepe, then one or other of the Consuls should fulfill the destinies, and accomplish fatall appointment. When as the answers of the Soothsayers agreed also to that secret religion which was now entred and settled already in their minds, then the Consuls calling together the Lieutenants and Colonels to a counsell, and openly declaring before them all, the pleasure of the gods, (to the end, that the wisfull and voluntarie death of one of the Consuls, might not fright his armie in the field) they agree betwene themselves, that of whether side the Roman battailions began first to give backe and recule, the Consull of that armie, should devow and be take himselfe to die for the people of Rome and the *Quirites*. It was debated also in that assembly, that if ever at any time before there had ben warre managed by severe rule and government, the militarie discipline should now be revived and reduced to the old manner and ancient rigour: their care in that behalfe was the greater and more redoubled, for that they were to fight against the Latines, sitting altogether to them in language, fashions, armor, & especially above all, in the orders and lawes of warfare. For, many a time, in these two armies, souldior with souldior, Centurion with Centurion, Colonell with Colonell, had sorted and conversed together, as colleagues and compeeres in the same garrisons, yea, and under the same colours and pennants. By reason whereof, to the end, that by no error the souldiours should be mistaken or deceived, **M** the Consuls made proclamation through the campe, That no man should fight with his enemy out of his owne rancke, and place appointed unto him. It fortunied now, that among other Captaines and guidons of horsemen, which were sent out every way as skouts and espials to discover the coasts, *T. Manlius* the Consull his sonne, together with the rest of his cornet and troupe,

was

A was passed above the enemies campe, so neere, as he was within an arrow shot of their next *camp de guard*. In which was quartered the cavallerie of *Thufculum*, under the leading of *Geminus de guard* a knight, both for birth, and also for his noble feats of armes highly esteemed in his countrie. He espying the Roman horse, and knowing the Coss. sonne, advancing before them, and of especiall marke above the rest (for all Noblemen and of qualitie, were well ynought knowne one to another.) What will ye Romanes (qd. he) with one cornet of horse, fight with the Latines & their confederates? What shall your Consuls, what shall two Consular armies doe the meane while? *Manlius* (quoth *Manlius*) they will be here time enough for you, and with them *Iup.* himselfe, a witness of league and covenants by you broken. *Iupiter* I say, who only can do more, than all mens forces in the world. And we who at the poole *Regillus*, have given you fighting your bellies full, will here also quit our selves so, that never after yee shall have any great joy and pleasure, to encounter and joine battaile with us again. With that, *Geminus*, riding forth as he was on horse backe, a little from his companie, Wilt thou then (qd. he) till that day come wherein ye meane with so great a doe, to set forward your armies to a generall set field, break a staffe with me in the meane time; that by the prooffe and event of us twaine, it may henceforth appeare, how far the Latine men of armes, surpass the Romane? The young man his blood and courage was soone up either upon anger and choler, or for very shame to refuse the combat, or because God would so have it, and it was his destinie that could not be avoided. Forgetting, therefore his fathers commandement, and the expresse edict of the Consuls, he runneth on head and rashly to a single fight: wherein, it skilled not much, whether he had the better or the worse, for any great odds thereby in the maine triall of the quarrell. Thus when the rest of the horsemen of both parts were retired aside (as it were) to behold some spectacle or running at tilt in the void place of the plaine field that lay betwene, they ran their horses in full carriere one against the other, with sharpe and deadly speare in reit. *Manlius* with his launce aloft, glid over any thing the motion of his enemy, and *Metius* with his speare lightly touched, and passed by the horseneck. Then having turned about their horses, *Manlius* came upon him first with a second charge, and so redoubled the push, that he thrust the others horse in, between the eares. At the snart of which wound the horse reared and cabred with his forefeet, and with great force shaking his head, cast his rider. And as hee bare his speare and shield, to raise himselfe from his greivous fall, *Manlius* ran him through at the throat, so as the spear head came forth at his ribs, & nailed him fast to the ground. And having disarmed & spoiled him, rode back to his own troupe: and both together with exceeding joy, hastened to the campe, and so to the Generals pavilion, even to his father; full little knowing his fatall destinie, & what was to befall unto him, whether he had deserved praise, or incurred danger of punishment. That all the world qd. he (o father) may be persuaded & report truly that I am defended indeed of your blood, and your undoubted son, Lo here I am, who being defied and challenged to fight man to man, have killed mine enemy a man of arms: see here the spoiles of him slain and dead. Which so soone as the Coss. heard, presently he could not abide to look on his son, but turned away, & by sound of trumpet, commanded the host to a publicke audience, Which being assembled in great number. For as much (qd. he) as thou, *T. Manlius*, without regard of Coss. authoritie, or dread of thy fathers majestie and power over thee, against our edict and expresse commandement, hast fought with the enemy, and that without thy ranke & place; and as much as lay in thee, hast broken the discipline of warre, whereby to this day the State of Rome hath stood maintained, and hast brought me thy father to this hard point, that I must forget either the Commoweale, or else mine owne selfe and mine: we will abide rather the punishment and snart for our own misdeeds, than the whole state, to her so great prejudice & damage, should pay for our folly and transgression. A fearefull and dolorous example will wee afford: but good and profitable to all youth for ever hereafter. As for mee verily, both the unbred love and affection of all fathers to their children, and also this shew & prooffe of thy valor and knight-hood (although seduced with deceitfull apparence and vaine resemblance of honour), moveth me not a little: but since that, either by thy death the Coss. herests must bee established, or by impunitie of thy disobedience, for ever disannulled, I would not with thee to refuse (if there be any of my blood in thee) but by thy punishment to restore & set up again, the militarie discipline which thus day by thy default is fallen down & ruinate. Go serjeant, & bind him to a stake. At this sentence, they were all amazed and in an extasie, that were present: and as if they had seen the edge bent against themselves, for fear more than for any modestie or reverence, they were quiet.

So

So when they were come againe to themselves, as if their spirits had bene recovered after some deep impression of a wonder which had astonished them, they stood still with silence: but so soon as the poore wretch his head was chopt off, and his blood seen to gush & spin out, then began they all of a suddaine to speake freely and complaine with open mouth, so as they forbore neither lamentations nor curses: they covered the youth his bodie with his owne victorious spoiles, they erected a funerall pile of wood over his corps without the trench and rampiers, set it on fire, and burnt him accordingly; and so with as great love and affection as soldiors could shew, performed their last dutie unto him, and solemnized his obsequies. Thus the commandements of *Manlius* were not onely dreadfull for the present, but gave an heave and fearfull precedent for the future, to all soverain Commanders of an armie. Howbeit, the rigor of this punishment made the soldiors more dutifull to their captaines and leaders: and besides that, the rounds and sentinels, and the *set corps de gard*, were everie where more carefully looked unto and observed: even in the verie hazard & extremity also of the battaile afterward, that austere severitie did much good. For their fight was much like unto a civile warre. So little, or nothing at all in a manner, differed the Latines from the Romanes Commonwealth, but onely in heart and courage.

Aforetime they used Romane long large sheilds, covering their whole bodies; but in proceffe of time, after that they became Stipendiaries and to take pay, they bare shorter targets. And where as aforetime they had their battaillons thicke and close together, like to the Macedonian Phalanges, afterwards they began to range their battails into bands more loosely and distinctly, and last of all they were divided into thinner orders and squadrons: everie such order or squadron contained threescore soldiors, two Centurions, and one Port ensigne. The forefront of the vangard, were javeliniers called *Hastati*, in fifteen squadrons, distant some litle way one from another: such a squadron had twentie soldiors lightly armed, and all the rest a sort of targaters. And those were called light armed, who caried onely a speare or javelin to fight with at hand, and other darts to launce from them aloofe. This forefront contained the flower of youths, that grew up as apprentices to warre-service. Then followed after them of stronger and riper age, as many bands or squadrons, which were called *Principes*; whom there followed hard at heeles, thirte squadrons, all targaters or shieldbearers, with brave armor above all others. And this battailon of thirty companies, they called *Antepilani* [avant-darters] for that the other fifteen orders or bands, were placed hard before the ensignes. And of these, everie band consisted of three parts: and ech of them they called *Primum pilum*, & it was composed of three banners or pannones: and everie such banner contained 186. men. The first Pannone or banner conducted the *Triarij*, who were old soldiors of approved valour: the second, those that were called *Rorarij*, of lesse puiſſance both for age and prowesse: the third, such as were named *Accensi*, who were of least account and trust, and therefore they were cast behind unto the taile of the battailon. When the armie was thus ordered in battaile array into these bands and squadrons, the javeliniers foremost of all began the fight: if they were not able to discomfit the enemies, then they with steedie footing and soft pace retired back into the void places betweene the squadrons of the *Principes*, who received them: then began the *Principes* to enter in the medley and to maintaine fight, and were seconded by the *Hastati* or Javelins. The *Triarij* remained standing all this while firmly, about their ensignes, setting out their left legs afore them at length, with their targets on their shoulders, & their pikes or javelins sticking on the ground, with their heads somewhat bending forward, much like as if their battaile were fortified with a Pallisado or rampair of pales and sharpe stakes. Now if those *Principes* had not good successe in fight, they retired themselves by litle and litle from the forefront, to the *Triarij*. And hereupon grew the proverbe, that when a thing was at a dead lift and in distresse, they would say, We are come to the *Triarij*. Then the *Triarij* standing up right, so soon as they had received the *Principes* and *Hastati*, into the void place between their files, presently drew in their rankes and files close together, and shut up as it were all waies of passage and entrance, and with one maine joinct and close battailon (as if now there were no more hope behind) advanced toward the enemy. And this most of all feared and terrified the enemies, when thinking to chase those that they seemed to have vanquished, they saw a new battaile of fresh men starting up, and the same increased in number.

Now were there commonly foure legions enrolled, consisting of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse to everie legion. As many more were added unto them, and those mustered out of the Latines, who at that time were enemies to the Romanes, and had ordered their battaillons

A battaillons after the same manner in all respects. And they knew well enough that not onely ensigne with ensigne, all pikes and javelins with pikes and javelins, *Principes* with *Principes*, but one centurion with another, if the arraies were not broken, were to encounter. Two *Principi* or chiefe Centurions, there were amongst the *Triarij* in the one armie & the other. The Roman, of bodie not so strong and well set, howbeit a good souldior otherwise, skillfull and of great experience: the Latine, exceeding mightie, and a notable fighter of all others. Well knowne they were one unto the other, because at all times they had the same conduct and equall place of charge. The Roman not greatly trusting to his owne strength, was permitted even at Rome by the *Coss.* to chuse unto him an under-centurion whom he would: who might protect and defend him safe from an enemy, that should happen to deale with him hand to hand. And it fortuned that the yong man by him elected, fought in the medlie & got the victory of the Latine centurion. B As for the battaile, it was stricken not far from the foot of the hill *Vesuvius*, in the very way that leadeth to *Veris*. The Romane *Consuls* before they came into field, killed their beasts for sacrifice. And the bowell-prying Soothsaier (as it is reported) shewed to *Decius* the head of the Liver on the inner side wounded (as it were) and cut off: otherwise in all respects, his sacrifice was acceptable to the gods. As for *Manlius*, he had as good signes of Gods favour in his, and all as well as might be. That is well yet (qd. *Decius*) if my colleague speed well, and have good successe by his sacrifice. Their battels being so arranged, as I said before, they marched into the field. *Manlius* led the right wing, *Decius* the left. At the first they fought on both sides with equal forces and like courage & heat of stomach. But afterwards, on the left wing, the Roman *Hastati*, not able to sustaine the violent charge of the Latines, retired to the *Principes*. In which trouble and fearfull disorder, *Decius* the *Col.* called aloud to *M. Valerius*. We have need of Gods helpe (qd. he) *o Valerius*. Where art thou, the publike high priest of the people of Rome? Come & say afore me that forme of words, whereby I may devow and betake my selfe for the legions. The priest commanded him to put on his long purple robe embroidered before, called *Pretexta*, to cover his head, and to put forth his hand under the said robe at his chin, & standing upon his javelin, with both his feet, to pronounce these words after him, as follow. O IANUS, IUPITER, FATHER MARS, QUIRINUS, BELLONA, O YEE LARES AND DOMESTICAL GODS, THE GODS NOVENTES AND INDIGETES; YE GODS LIKEWISE, WHOSE POWER EXTENDED OVER US AND OUR ENEMIES, AND O MANES THE INFERNALL GODS, YOU I INVOCAT D YOU I WORSHIP AND ADORE, YOUR PARDON I BESEECH AND FAVOUR, CRAVE, THAT YEE WOULD PROSPER ALL POWVER AND VICTORIE UNTO THE PEOPLE OF ROME AND QUIRITES; AND PUT TO FEARE, FRIGHT, AND DEATH, THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE OF ROME AND QUIRITES. AND IUST AS I PRONOUNCE IN SET VWORDS, SO FOR THE VWEALE PUBLICKE OF THE QUIRITES, THE ARMIE, LEGIONS AND AIDS OF THE PEOPLE OF ROME, I BETAKE WITH ME UNTO MANES THE INFERNALL SPIRITS, AND DAME TELLUS, THE LEGIONS AND AIDS OF THE ENEMIES; AND MY SELFE AFTER THEM. Having made this praier, hee willed the serjeants or Lieftours to go to *Manlius*, and with all speed to tell him, that his colleague was devowed for the armie. Him selfe gyrded after the Gabine fashion, and armed at all peeces, mounted on horseback and E so rode into the midst of his enemies. Of both armies he was seene, to carrie with him much more stately and venerable port than a man, as sent from heaven to be a satisfaction of all gods wrath, and to turne away all plague and mischief from his owne people upon the enemies. All terror and feare he caried with him as he went, and first disordered the ensignes of the Latines in the edge & border of the battaillons, and afterwards entred withinforth into the whole armie. This was noted and seene most evidently, that which way so ere he rode, the enemies were smitten with feare, as if they had been blasted and stricken with some untoward aspect and influence of a planet. But so soone as he was fallen and overcharged with shot of darts, presently from that place all about, the cohorts of the Latines (out of all question) as amazed men, fled away and avoided. And therewithall likewise, the Romanes as if they had been discharged and freed from their religious feare and scruple of conscience, and as if they had but then and not before, heard the sound of trumpet to battell, began to charge and fight afresh. For both the *Rorarij* advanced forward and ran among the rankes of the *Antepilani*, and thereby reenforced the *Hastati* and *Principes*, and caused them to fight more stoutly: and the *Triarij* kneeling on their right knee, waited till the *Col.* gave them some token to arise. Afterwards in proceffe of fight, when in other parts the

the Latines in their number prevailed, *Manlius* the Consull, having heard of the finall ende of G his companion, and (as right and pietie would) accompanied as wel with plaints and tears as with due praises so worthy & memorable a death, for a while doubted, whether it were yet time for the Triarij to arise. Afterwards thinking it better that they should bee reserved in heart and fresh, unto the last push of extremitie, he biddeth the Accensi from the hinmost taile of the reeward to come forth before the standers. Who so soone as they were come in place, forthwith the Latines, supposing the enemies had done the like, raised their Triarij. Who having for a good while fought fiercely and wearied themselves, and either broken their javelins or dulled their points, and yet by fine force repulsed their enemies; thinking now all had been done and the victorie atchieved, as being come as farre as to the utmost skirts of the battaillons; Then, quoth the Consull to the Triarij, Rise now fresh and lustie as ye are, against the wearied, mindfull of your H countrie, parents, wives and children, mindfull of the Consull, who for your victorie hath taken his death. The Triarij all heartie and unfoiled, were not so soone risen up, shewing themselves in their bright and glittering armor, but there began on a sodaine & unlooked for, a new medley and conflict. For they receiving the Antepilani between their files, set up a shout & outcrie, troubled & disordered the Principia of the Latines, gored their faces with their javelins, slew the principal flower and strength of their best & formost men, and passed untouched in a manner through the other bands, as if they had beene disarmed: yea and brake through their pointed and close battaillons, with so great a murder, that scarcely they left behind them a fourth part of their enemies alive. The Samnites also under the foot of the hill, being seene a farre off in battaile aray, smote a terror among the Latines. But among all either citizens or allies, the especiall commendation of that service, rested in the Consuls: of whom, the one turned all the threats & dangers from the gods both above and beneath, upon himselfe alone; the other in that battaile shewed such valour and policie, that it is confessed both of Romans and Latines, who have written of that journey and commended it to posteritie, that of whether armie *T. Manlius* had the conduct, that way doubtlesse would the victorie go. The Latines after their defeature and flight, retired to Minturne: their campe presently upon the battaile was woom, and many a man there surprised alive and cut in pieces, but the Campaines especially. That day, could not the corps of *Decius* be seene, for that the night came upon them as they sought for it: the morrow after it was found amongst a mightie companie of Ilaime enemies, overwhelmed with swords, darts and javelins: and with all honour and solemnitie according to his death, performed by his brother K Consull were his funerals.

This also amongst the rest, seemeth worth the remembrance and to be inserted in this place, namely, That it was lawfull for Consull, Dictatour, and Pretor, whensoever they sacrificed and betooke to the Divell the Legions of their enemies, for to devow & offer withall, not themselves in any case, but any citizen whom they would: provided alwaies that he were one of the enrolled legion of the Romanes. AND IF THE MAN WHO IS THUS ADDICTED AND DESTINED TO DEATH, HAPPEN TO DIE, ALL IS WELL, AND AS IT OUGHT TO BE: BUT IF HE DIE NOT, THEN VVAS THE IMAGE OF HIM, 7. FOOTE HIGH OR ABOVE BURIED IN THE GROUND, AND A PURGING OR PROPITIATORIE SACRIFICE VVAS SLAIN IN HIS STEED: BUT VVHERSOEVER IT CHAUNCED THAT IMAGE TO BE SO ENTERRED; THEN VVAS IT NOT LAVVFULL FOR ANY ROMAN MAGISTRAT TO SET FOOT AND COME. BUT IF A MAN WOULD NEEDES OFFER AND DEVOWY HIMSELF TO DEATH, AS *Decius* DID, AND DIE NOT, HE SHALL NOT PURELY PERFORME ANY SACRED DUTIE, OR DOE SACRIFICE, EITHER FOR HIMSELFE OR THE CITTIE, THAT HATH ONCE THUS BETAKEN HIMSELFE. IF HE WILL BEQUEATH AND OFFER HIS ARMOR TO *VULCAN*, OR TO SOME SAINT WHOMSOEVER HE LIST, BE IT PERMITTED AND LAVVFULL FOR HIM SO TO DOE, EITHER BY VVAY OF SACRIFICE OR OTHER OFFERING AS HE PLEASETH. AS FOR THE VVEAPON OR SPEARE OVER VVHICH THE CONSULL STANDING ON BOTH HIS FEETE, MADE HIS PRAIERS AND INVOCATIONS, IT IS NOT LEFFULL THE ENEMIE TO SEISE THEREON: BUT IF HE FORTUNE M TO VVIN THE SAME, A PROPITIATORIE SACRIFICE MUST BE OFFERED TO APPEASE *MARS*, TO VVIT, A SVVINE, A SHEEPE, AND A BULL. And albeit the records both of all devine and humane customes and traditions, make no mention hereof, and are now growne out of use and remembrance, by reason that we prefer new and forreine ceremonies, before the olde

A olde auncient rites of our owne countrie and auncestours, yet I thought not a misse, to make report thereof, even in those verie wordes and termes, as they were used, delivered, and pronounced.

In some writers I finde, that the Samnites having waigted to see the event of this battaile, came to aide the Romanes when all was done and past. Also, that there was succour a coming from *Lavinium* unto the Latins, but not before they had the overthrow; by reason that they spent a great time in deliberation. And when as now, the formost ensignes and some part of the armie was gone forth of the gates, and newes came of the defeature and slaughter of the Latines; as they turned their banners and returned into the cittie, it is said, That their Pretor or Provostual mede *Millonius*, spake these words, That so finall a way as they had gone, must cost them deare, B and full sweetly would the Romanes be paid therefore. Such as were remaining of the Latines after the battaile, and were scattered a sinder in many and divers waies, when they were rallied together, shrowded themselves for safetie in the cittie *Vesicia*. Where, in their Councils and assemblies, *Numisus* their Generall, averred, and assured them, that *Mars* in deede was common, and the hazard indifferent to both parties, as having made an equall massaker in the one armie and the other; & that the bare name only of Victorie went with the Romanes: for otherwise, they carried away with them the fortune of men vanquished, and sped no better than they. For (saith he) The two roiall pavilions of their Cos, are polluted & defiled; the one with the paricide of his own son, the other for the death of the Cos, who had devowed himselfe to die: all their forces in manner flaine: their Javeliniers & principals killed: a bloudie slaughter committed both before C and behind the Standers: and onely the Triarij at the last upshot, renued the medley and set all upright. And albeit (quoth he) the power of the Latines also be shrewdly abated, yet for a fresh supplie, either Latium or Volscie are nearer than Rome. And therefore if they so thought good, he would with all speede raise the lustie floure and chosen manhood, both out of the Latins and the Volscians, and retume againe with a fresh armie to Capua: and with his sodaine coming unlooked for, surprise and decaie the Romanes, expecting as then for nothing lesse, than a second battaile. So by dispatching his cautelous and deceitfull letters into all parts of Latium and the Volscian nation, (by reason that they who had not been present at the battaile were sooner induced to give rash credit) there was a tumultuarie armie in great hast levied, enrolled, and assembled together out of all quarters. This host as it marched, *Torquatus* the Consull met at *Tifanum*, a place betwene *Sinuessia* & *Minturne*. And before they could chuse out a plot of ground D to encampe in, they bestowed their eariages and baggage on heaps, of either side: fell to a battaile presently, and made a finall end and conclusion of all the war. For the enemies were brought to encampe in, and this their rendring the Campaines likewise followed. Thus Latium and Capua forfeited and lost part of their territories. The lands of the Latines with the *Privernates* laied thereto, and the territorie of *Falerij* which belonged to the people of Capua, even as farre as the river *Vulturinus*, was divided amongst the Commons of Rome. Two acres in the Latine countrie, with a supplement of three foure parts out of the *Privernates* land to make up the whole: and three acres in the territorie of *Falerij*, with addition of a fourth part to boote for E amends because it was so farre off, were assigned for a man. The *Laurentines* only, of all Latium, and the horsemen of the Campaines, escaped this punishment and were exempted from the rest, because they had not revolted. And a decree passed, that the league with the *Laurentes* should bee renewed: and from that time usually every yeare, is it renewed, after the tenth daie of the Latine holidays. Those Campaine horsemen were made free denizens of Rome: and for a monument and memoriall thereof, they set up and fastned a brazen table at Rome in the temple of *Castor*. The people of Capua were enjoined to pay yearly to every one of them, (and they were a thousand and vi. hundred in all) 45. * Deniers.

Thus after the war fully determined, and both rewards dealt, and punishment inflicted according to each mans desert, *T. Manlius* returned home: whom the elders onely (for certaine) went forth to meete on the way: the youth, not onely then, but ever after, during his life abhorred and with curses detested him. The *Antiates* made certaine rodes into the territories of *Hostia*, *Ardea*, and *Solonæ*. And for that *Manlius* the Consull was not able himselfe in person to intend and manage that warre, by reason of sicknesse, he nominated for Dictatour, *L. Papyrius Crassus*, who as it hapned was at that time Pretor: by whom was named for Generall of the horsemen, C c

* 45. Denarii.
amount to 28 s. 6 d. ob. sterl.

men, *L. Pappyrus Cursor*. This Dictatour, albeit he kept the field and lay encamped certaine months within the confines, yet achieved no worthie and memorable exploit. After this yeare thus renowned for the victorie of so many and so puissant nations, and withall for the noble and famous death of the one Consull, and for the government of the other, albeit sterne and rigorous, yet notable and renowned; there succeeded Consuls, *T. Aemilius Mamercus*, and *Q. Publius Philo*, who met not with the like subject and matter of great affaires: and they themselves were more mindfull either of their owne private busines, and studious to maintaine a side and faction in the Commonweale, than to advance the State of their countrie. Howbeit, the Latins (who rebelled for anger that they lost their lands) they discomfited in the plain of Feneſta, drave them out of their camp, & forced them to leave the field. Where, whiles *Publius* (by whose governance and conduct that victorie was achieved) received surrender of the Latines, the floure of whose youth was there all slaine and killed up, *Aemilius* lead his armie against *Pedum*. As for the *Pedanes* they had maintenance from *Tybur*, *Preneſte*, and *Velitern*, who tooke their parts: there came also aid from *Lanuvium* and *Antium*. Where the *Romane* Consull, albeit he had the better hand in skirmish, yet for that there remained behind a new peece of service about the citie it selfe *Pedum*, and the campe of their confederates which was adjoined close to the towne: all of a suddaine he gave over the warre unfinished, because he heard that triumph was decreed unto his brother Consull. He also himselfe returned to Rome, and called earnestly for triumph before victorie. At which untimely and covetous desire of his, the Nobles being offended, denied flatly; that unlesse he either forced *Pedum* by assault, or won it by composition, he should not triumph. Herupon *Aemilius* being discontented and alienated from the Senat, bare his Consullship afterward like to the seditious Tribunes. For so long as he was Consull, he ceased not to charge and accuse the Nobles before the people; and his Colleague no whit gainſaid him, as being himselfe one of the Commoners. He tooke occasion of these accusations upon this, that the lands in the Latine and Falern countries, were divided in pinching and skant measure, among the Commons. And after that the Senat, desirous to abridge the time of the Consuls government, had decreed that a Dictatour should be declared against the Latine rebels, *Aemilius* (whose turne it was at that time to governe) nominated his owne companion in office to be Dictatour, by whom *Junius Brutus* was named Generall of the horse. This Dictatorship was popular and altogether framed to the humour of the common people: both by reason of ſclaunders and accusatorie Inveſtives made against the Nobles: and for that it enacted three statutes, most favourable and pleasing to the Commons, and as crosse and adverse to the Nobilitie: first, That the Actes devised and enacted by the Commons, should bind all the *Quiritis* or citizens of Rome: secondly, That all lawes which were propoſed, and to passe by the suffrages of the Centuries, before the *Scrutinie* began, & their voices gathered, the nobles should allow and approve: thirdly, That for as much as they were come thus farre already, that both the Censors might be of the Commons, now one censour at the least should be a Commoner of necessity. In so much as the Nobles thought verily that there was more lost at home this yeare by these Consuls and Dictatour, than gained to the Empire abroad, by their victories and warlike exploits.

In the yeare following when *C. Furius Camillus* and *Q. Menius* were Consuls, to the end that *Aemilius* the Consull of the former yeare, might be more notably reproched for the quitting and letting slip of a victorie that should have bene achieved in his yeare, the Senate began to mutter in their speeches, that *Pedum* by force of armes, by valour of men, and all possible means whatsoever, should be destroyed and rased to the ground. Whereupon, the new Consuls being forced to lay aside all other affaires, and to go in hand with that service, first tooke their journey thither. Now was *Latium* growne to those termes, as they could neither abide warre nor endure peace. To maintaine the wars they wanted meanes: and peace they could not away with nor abide to here of, never since the losse of their lands. So they thought best to hold a middle course; to stand upon their guard, and to keepe themselves within their townes: that the Romans being not provoked, should make no quarrell of warre: and if there were tidings brought of any town beleaguerd, there might be aid sent from all parts to the besieged. And yet for all this, were the *Pedanes* succoured but of verie few. The *Tiburines* and *Preneſtines*, whose countrie lay neereſt, came to *Pedum*. But for the *Aricines*, *Lanuvines* and *Velitern*, who joined their forces with the *Antiates* and *Volsicians*, were suddainly assailed and set upon, neer the river *Astura*

by

A by *Menius*, and vanquished. *Camillus* fought before *Pedum* with the *Tiburines*, who came into the field with a right puissant armie, and put him to much trouble & hazard: howbeit he had as good successe in the end as *Menius*. The greatest tumult & trouble was caused especially by occasion of a suddaine fall of the townsmen in the verie time of the conflict. Against whom, after that *Camillus* had opposed part of his forces to make head, he not only drave them within the wals, but the same day also, when he had discomfited both them and their succors, he scaled the town & was master therof. Then it was thought good, with greater preparation of power & courageous resolution, then the winning of that one citie, to go about with the victorious armie from one to another, and so to subdue and tame for ever, the whole nation and name of *Latium*. Neither rested they, untill partly by maine force, and partly by taking one citie after another by way of surrender, they had brought all *Latium* under their subjection. After this, having disposed and placed garrisons in everie town which they had gotten, they departed to Rome for triumph: which was to them by a generall consent of all men granted. Besides their triumph, this honour was to them done, that two statues of horsemen (a rare thing in those daies) should be erected for them in the Grand place, called *Forum*.

But before that they gathered the suffrages of the people, in the assembly for Election of Coss. against the yeare following, *Camillus* in this wise made a speech to the Senat, touching the Latine nations. My LL. and Senators of Rome, That which by warre and force of armes was to be done in *Latium*, is now by God his goodnes and the valour of our soldiours brought to good passe. The armies of our enemies slain before *Pedum* and *Astura*: The Latine townes all, and *Antium*

The Order of Camillus to the Senate of Rome,

C a citie of the *Volsicians* either by force won, or rendred by composition, are now held and kept to your behoofe, by your owne garriſons. It remaineth now to consult (for as much as they trouble us oft by rebellion) and to devise some meanes how to keepe them quiet in continuall peace. In this consultation, the immortal gods have given you thus much power to resolve upon, that it lieth wholly in your hands, to chuse whether *Latium* shall continue still a nation or no: and therefore may ye for ever procure your selves repose and securitie from thence, either by rigour & punishment, or by clemencie and pardon, chuse you whether. Are ye minded to proceed by way of crueltie against those that have yeelded themselves, & are vanquished? Ye may, indeed, destroy all *Latium*, and make all wast and a desert wilderness, from whence oftentimes in sundrie and dangerous wars of yours, ye have had the helpe of an armie of *Allics*, and found them fast and glorious. But will ye (as your anceltors have done before you) enlarge the Roman Empire by receiving unto your citie those whom ye have conquered? Then have ye matter & means to grow up still and wax mightie, to your great honour and glorie. Certes, that government and domination is of all other most strong and sure, wherein the subjects take joy in their obedience. But whatsoever you meane to determine in this behalfe, ye have need to make speed and resolve betimes. So many nations yee hold in suspence of mind betweene feare and hope: and therefore behooveth it is, that you both rid and deliver your selves (as soon as you can) of the care they put you to; and also whiles their heads are busied and minds unresolved (standing as they doe amazed in doubtfull expectation) either by punishment or by benefite, to forestall and prevent them before they take heart againe. For, our part it was hitherto and devoite to effect & bring about, that yee might be able to dispose of all at your pleasure, and as you would your selves: now your dutie it is to determine what is best for your selves and the Commonweale. The lords and chiefe of the Senat praised this motion of the Coss. and deemed it good in generall. But for as much as the condition of the parties was divers, and their cause not all one, they said that they might resolve and determine best, according to the desert of each state, if they were specified by name, and the opinions asked in particular. So they fel to consultation of them severally as they were propounded: and set downe this order and decree, *Imprimis*, that the *Lanuvines* be enfranchised citizens of Rome, and enjoy againe their owne religion and sacred ceremonies, with this proviso, that the chappell and grove of *Iuno Sospita* should be common to the Burgeoises of *Lanuvium* and the people of Rome. *Item*, that the *Aricines*, *Nomentanes*, and *Pedanes*, shall bee made denizens of Rome, and endued with the liberties and priviledges of the *Lanuvines*. *Item*, that the *Tusculanes* retaineth still that freedome of their citie safe, which as then they enjoyed: and the crime & attaindre of rebellion, to be charged upon a few of the cheefe, to save the common state from danger. *Item*, that there should be grievous punishment inflicted upon the *Veliterns*, who being auncient *Romane* citizens, had notwithstanding so often taken arms & rebelled: that their

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wals

wals should be dismantled and rased: their Senatours from thence translated, and confined be-
yond Tyberis, there to dwell, upon paine, that whosoever were found on this side the water, it
might be lawfull for any man to take him as his prisoner, and to ransom him at a * 1000 Alles.
Provided alwaies, that he should not enlarge him, nor release him of his yrons, untill the monie
were fully satisfied and paid. Into the possessions and lands of those Senatours, were tenants and
Coloners sent to inhabit: who being once enrolled, Velitres seemed againe as populous as be-
foretime. At Antium was there a new Colonie planted, with this proviso, that the auncient inha-
bitants of the Antiates (should be permitted (if they themselves would) to be enrolled there, and
remaine still. From thence were their long Gallies and war-ships had away, and the people of
Antium, wholly forbidden the sea: but the freedome of Romane citizens to them was graun-
ted. The Tyburts and Prenestines forfeited their lands, not for their late trespasses of rebellion, H
common with other Latines, but because they repining and envying the good estate of the Ro-
manes, had in times past joined armes with the Frenchmen, a savage and unsociable nation.
From the other Latine cities & States, they took away the priviledge of mariage, the commerce
of traffick, and entercourse of mutuall intelligences, & holding counsels themselves, for ever af-
ter. To the Campaine gentlemen that served with horse aforelaid, for that they would not give
consent to revolt with the Latines: to the Fundanes also and Formanes, through whose countie
they had alwaies had free, safe, and quiet passage to and fro, this honour was done, as to be made
citizens of Rome; but without the liberie of giving voices. Item, it was decreed, that the Ci-
manes and Sueffulanes, should be of the same condition and state that Capua was. The ships of
the Antiates were part of them transported to the Arsenal at Rome, and the rest set on fire and I
burned. With the stems, beakeheads, and brazen pikes whereof, it was thought good, that
the pulpit of common pleas and Orations in the grand place of Rome, should be beautified and
adorned: which publicke pulpit was therupon called Rostra.

Whiles *C. Sulpitius Longus*, and *P. Aelius Patrus* were Consuls, when as the Romanes held
peaceable under their dominion all the countries, as well through the favour which they woon
by bountifull dealing, as by might and strong hand, there arose war betweene the Sidicines and
Auruncians. The Aurunci, who had yielded afore to *T. Manlius* Consull, and were taken into
protection, afterwards rebelled not: whereby they had a more just cause to request and seeke for
aid at the Romanes hands. But before that the Consuls had led forth their power out of the citie
(for the Senate had commaunded, that the Aurunci should be defended) tidings came, that
the Aurunci for feare had quirt their towne: and being fled with their wives and children, had
fortified Sinuessa, which now at this day is called Aurunca: and that the auncient wals, with the
towne it selfe, were by the Sidicines destroyed. Hereat, the Senate offended with the Consuls, by
whose delay and lingering, their allies had been betrayed in time of their necessitie, ordained a
Dictatour to be chosen. So there was elected *C. Claudius Regillensis*, who appointed for Generall
of horsemen *C. Claudius Horator*. But hereupon rose a scruple of conscience about the creation
of the Dictatour. And when the Augurs had pronounced, that they thought him not rightly cre-
ated, both Dictatour and Generall of horsemen, gave over their roumes. The same yeare *Mi-*
natia a Vestall Nun, was first suspected of incontinencie, for going in her apparell more trimme
than was decent for one of her calling and profession: and after that, brought in question and
accused by a bondservant, that informed against hir to the high Priests. First, by a decree of theirs
she was awarded to abstaine from divine service, to keepe her house, and not to manuprise and
set free any of her bondslaves, but to have them forthcomming, whersoever they were, called
for: and after farther examination and judgement passed, was buried quicke under the ground,
at the gate Collina, in the paved cauley on the right hand, within the plain or field called *Scel-*
latus. Execrable or polluted. I suppose, that place took the name of such *incest or filthy whore-
dome. The same yeare *Q. Publius Philo* was elected Pretor, the first that ever was of the Com-
mons, notwithstanding the mind of *Sulpitius* the Consull, who said, That hee would not take his
name to propound it for Election, nor admit him among other competitors. But the Senate
strived the lesse in impeaching this Pretorship, seeing they could not have their will in the high-
est roumes and dignities.

The yeare next ensuing, under the Consulship of *L. Papyrius Crassus*, and *Casus Duellius*, was
notable and famous for the warre of the Ausonians, in regard rather of the noveltie, than the
greatnesse and danger thereof. They were a people that inhabited a towne called Cales, and had
joined

A joined their power with the Sidicines their next neighbours. The whole power of which two na-
tions being discomfited in one battaile, and the same not so memorable, was for the neerer
of their cities more readie to die, and in their flight more safe and secured. Yet the Nobles of
Rome omitted not the care of that warre: for that the Sidicines so often, either had themselves
moved warre, or aided those that began, or els were the cause of all troubles. Whereupon they
endeavoured all that they could, to make Consull the fourth time, the noblest warrour in those
daies, *M. Valerius Corvinus*, who had for his brother in government *M. Attilius Regulus*. And
least haply some error by chaunce should be committed, suit was made to the Consuls, that ex-
traordinarily, and without casting lot, that province might fall to *Corvinus*: who having received
the armie (after the victorie at Cales) of the former Consuls, went forth. And when at the first
B shout and onset hee had discomfited his enemies, who in remembrance of their former late
overthrow were affrighted, hee assaied to assault their very wals: and so eager and hotely bent
(I assure you) were the fouldiours, that even at the first they would have set ladders to, as mak-
ing full account to scale up to the top, and enter the towne. But *Corvinus*, because that was
an hard adventure, was desirous to accomplish that enterprize by the long toile of his fouldiours,
rather than their present perill: hee raised therefore a countermure, and platformes, and rolling
frames, mounted against the wals: but as good hap was, by an opportunite that fell out, they had
no use of these munitions and fabrikes. For *M. Fabius* a Romane prisoner, taking vantage of the
negligence of his keepers upon a feastivall holyday, and making meanes to breake his bonds,
let himselfe downe by a long cord, fastened at one end to a pinnacle or battlement of the wall, and
C slid by the armes, among the munitions and fabrikes of the Romanes: who so perswaded and
prevailed with the Generall, that hee caused him to give an assault upon the enemies, now being
fast asleepe, as having filled their bellies with wine and good meats. So that with as little ado were
the Ausonians and their citie surprisid, as they were afore vanquished in fight. A great bootie
of pillage was there gotten: and after a garrison placed at Cales, the legions were brought back
to Rome. The Consull by decree of the Senate triumphed: and that *Attilius* should not bee
without his glorie too, both Consuls were appointed to lead forth an armie against the Sidicines:
but before they went, they appointed by a decree of the Senat, *L. Aemilius Mamercus* to be Di-
ctator, to hold the election of Consuls. Who named *Q. Publius Philo* for his Generall of horse-
men.

D In this Election, holden by this Dictator, there were created Consuls, *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Po-*
sthumius. Who, albeit there remained some part behind of the Sidicines warre, yet to the intent
they might gratifie the Commons by some good turne, and prevent their longing before they
spake themselves; proposed an Act concerning the bringing of a Colonie to Cales: and when
as the Senate had ordained, that two thousand and five hundred men should bee enrolled and af-
signed thither; they created *Triumvirs* for to bring them thither, and to divide the lands, name-
ly *Casus Duellius*, *T. Quinctius*, and *M. Fabius*. After this, the new Consuls having received the ar-
mie of the old, entred into the enemies confines, wasting all before them, untill they came to the
very wals of their citie. Now, for that the Sidicines had assembled a puissant armie, and seemed
themselves fully resolute and bent upon utter despaire to put all unto the last adventure, and to
E fight it out to the last man. Moreover, because it was noised, that all Samnium was risen up in
armes: by authoritie from the Senate, the Consuls appointed *P. Cornelius Rufinus* Dictator, and
M. Antonius was nominated Generall of the horse. But hereupon grew againe another scruple,
that there was some error escaped in the creation: so they resigned up their places, and because
there ensued also a plague hereupon (as if all their Auspices for the Elections of Magistrates
had been touched and infected with that error and default) the managing of all affaires fell to
an Interregne. Which being now entered upon by the first Interregent, *M. Valerius Corvinus*,
then Consuls were created, *L. Cornelius* the second time, and *Cn. Domitius*.

When all things els were at quiet, the rumor of the Gauls war was so rise and hot, that it was ta-
ken for a very *Tumult. Whereupon it was thought good, that a Dictator should be created. And
F *M. Papyrius Crassus* was nominated, who had *P. Valerius Publicola* for Generall of the horsemen.
When they had mustered the soldiors more streightly and with greater regard than would have
been for wars neare hand, the espials who were sent out, brought word that all was well and quiet
among the Gauls. But suspected it was that Samnium now the second yeare was readie to drop
out of their allegiance and seeke a change. Whereupon the Romane armie was not withdrawnne

* Simple f. m. i. c. a. r. i. u. s. i. n. c. o. n. t. i. n. e. n. c. i. a. i. n. a. p. r. o. p. r. i. e. t. a. t. i. o. n. e. w. a. s. c. a. l. l. e. d. i. n. c. e. s. t.

* The rumor of the Gauls war, was taken for a Tumult (quasi timor multus) and suspected more dangerous than another ordinarie warre.

out of the Sidicine countrie. Howbeit the warre of *Alexander* King of Epirus, drew the Samnites G into the Lucanes countrie, which two nations uniting their forces, gave the King a battaile, as he made rodes from Pegasus. In which conflict, *Alexander* having gotten the upper hand, entred into a league and amitie with the Romanes: although it was much doubted, with what faithfulness he would observe the same, if all his affaires prospered as well. The same yeare was a solemne Cense or Numbring of the people of Rome holden, and the newe cittizens were matriculated and enrolled. And therefore two Tribes were annexed, *Misia* and *Capia*: the Censors that ordained them, were *Publ. Philo*, and *Sp. Posthumius*. The Acerranes became Romane cittizens, by an act proposed by *L. Papyrius* the Pretor: by vertue whereof, they were enfranchised Denizens, but without the privilege of giving voices. These were the acts for this yere both at home and abroad.

The yeare next following (were it through the unkinde distemperature of the aire, or by some wicked practise of man) was infamous, when *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *T. Valerius* were Consuls. I finde the surname of this Consull to varie in divers Chronicles, in some *Flaccus*, in others *Patius*. But it matters not much whether be true. This rather I could willingly have wished (and yet all authors doe not record it) that it had been falsely recorded, That those persons by sorcery and poison were made away, whose death hath diffamed that yeare with the note of a pestilence. But yet as the thing is left in writing, I purpose to deliver it, lest that I should seeme to derogate ought from the credence of any writer. When as the chiefe personages of the cittie died upon like diseases, and after one and the same manner of symptomes, a certaine chamber-maid presented her selfe to *Q. Fabius Maximus* (being for the time an *Aedile* of State) and professed to bewray the cause of that publike and contagious maladie, if she might be assured by faithfull promise from him, that by the utterance thereof, she should not come to harme nor trouble. Forthwith *Fabius* delivered this matter to the Consuls: and the Consuls made relation thereof to the Senate: by the consent of which State, assurance was made accordingly unto the partie aforesaid, to reveale the matter. Then shee declared, that by the lewd and mischievous wickednes of women, the cittie was thus afflicted: and namely, That certain dames of Rome even their owne wives, boiled and tempered ranke poisons, (to kill their husbands) and if they would follow it presently, they might be taken in the maner. So they went straight waies with the wench, and found some women as they were seething and preparing venomous drugs, yea and some poisoned confections aheaide put up. Which were brought into the market place, and about 20 of those dames, with whom the poisons were found, were sent for by a serjeant. Two of them, *Cornelia* and *Sergia*, both noble women borne, stoutly standing upon these termes, and stiffly avouching, That they were soveraine medicines and holsome for the bodie of man, were by the chamber-maid aforesaid confuted, and enjoined to drinke therof, that they might disprove her, and make her a liar, and to have devised of her owne fingers ends this false slander. Who tooke a time to commune and conferre together, and the people were avoided aside to make them way. Now when as in sight of all the world, these two dames had propounded the matter to the rest there in place, they also refused not: and so having drunke the poisoned potion, they all perished by their owne mischievous practise. Then presently were their complices apprehended, who detected and discovered a great number of other wives: of which one hundreth and seven- L tic were condemned. Never afore that daie was there any inquisition nor processe at Rome, about poisoning and forerie. So as the thing was taken for a prodigious wonder, and imputed rather to their minds, besotted and bewitched, than to any felonious intent of theirs. Whereupon the Magistrates of the cittie, calling to mind and searching the old Chronicles, found, that in times past, at what time as the Commons in a mad fit withdrew themselves and departed the cittie, there was a spike or great naile driven and fixed by the Dictatour: and that the mindes of the people, which by discord had been bestraght and out of their right wits, were by that ceremoniall satisfaction, brought againe in good tune: and therefore it was thought good, that for the fastning or sticking up of such a naile, there should a Dictatour be created. So *Cn. Quintilius* was nominated, who named *L. Valerius* Generall of horsemen, who so soone as the naile was M fastned, gave over their places.

Consuls then were created, *L. Papyrius Crassus* the second time, and *L. Plantius Venox*. In the beginning of which yeare, there came from the countrie of the Volscians as Embassadors to Rome, the Fabraternes and Lucanes, making request that they would take them into their pro- tection;

A tection; promising that if by them they were defended from the forces of the Samnites, they would become loiall and obedient subjects to the people of Rome. Then were Embassadors sent from the Senat, to give commandement to the Samnites, to forbear doing any violence upon the borders of those nations. Which embassage sped well and tooke place; not so much for that the Samnites desired peace, as because they were not as yet readie prepared for war. The same yeare began the Privernates warre. The confederates whereof, were the Fundanes, and their Leader likewise a Fundane, one *Vitruvius Vaccus*, a man of great name and reputation, not onely in his owne countrie, but also at Rome. His dwelling house stood sometime in mount Palatine, even the very same, which after the building was pulled down, and the ground forfeit and confiscated, was called *Vacci Prata*. Against whom as he wasted and spoiled farre and neare the B Setine, Norbane and Corane countries, *L. Papyrius* went forth with a power, and rested not far from his very campe. But *Vitruvius* neither had the wit to keepe himselfe within his trench against a mightier enemy, nor yet the heart to encounter farre from his fort. But having put his souldiors in battaile array, before they were all well out of the gate of the campe, whiles the souldiors had more minde to flie backward than march forward and encounter the enemy; without either advice or confident courage he fought: and with as little adoe, and without any question of the matter he was vanquished: so by reason of the shortnesse of the way, and the easie retire into the campe so neare, he found no great trouble to save his souldiors from much slaughter. For in the verie conflict, few or none in a manner were slaine, and not many in the presse of the rout and taile of the flight, at what time as they rushed into their campe. And in the beginning C of the night, the armie thus discomfited, made hast to Privernum, there to defend themselves within a wall rather than a trench. *Plantius* the other Cos, having from Privernum, overrun and forraied the territorie, and driven booties away, conducted his armie into the Fundane countrie. The Senat of the Fundanes as he entred into their confines met him, saying: They were not come as Orators to entreat either for *Vitruvius*, or for those that tooke his part; but for the people of the Fundanes: who that they were innocent and not culpable for this war, *Vitruvius* him- selfe hath plainly proved and declared, in that he chose Privernum to be his place of retreat and refuge, and not the cittie Fundi the verie place of his nativitie. And therefore at Privernum the enemies of the people of Rome were to be sought for and pursued, who unmindfull of both their D Fundi, they were at peace with Rome, nay they were Romanes in heart, and carried a thankfull remembrance of a benefit received: they intreated therefore and besought the Consull to forbear hostility with a guiltlesse people: assuring him that their lands, their cittie, their owne bodies, their wives and children were and should be at the devotion of the people of Rome. The Consull after that he had commended the Fundanes, and sent letters to Rome that they remained firme and fast in their allegiance, turned his way to Privernum. But before hee dislodged (as *Claudius* writeth) the Consull executed those that were the heads of the conspiracie, and three hundred and sitie of those rebellious conspiratours were sent prisoners to Rome. But the Senat accepted it not, and were not content with that submission, as judging the Fundane people, desirous to be excused and discharged, with the punishment of the needie and base sort of people. E Now when as Privernum was besieged and invested with two Consular armies, the one of the Consuls was called home, to hold the Election of magistrates. That yeare were erected in the great race called Circus, the Barriers, from whence the horses and their chariots are let forth, when they run their prices. But before they were well past the care of the Privernates warre, there arrived a terrible and fearefull brute of the Gaules warre, which never was regarded slightly of the Nobles of Rome. Incontinently therefore the new Consuls, *L. Aemilius Mamercus*, and *Cn. Plantius*, on that verie day, namely on the *Calends of Iuly, wherein they entred their offices, were commanded to determine and agree between themselves upon their provinces: And *Mamercus*, who had the charge of the Gaules warre, levied and enrolled an armie without allowing any immunitie and exemption from warfare. Moreover and besides, even the poore handi-crafts F men and artificers, such as keep their shoppes, and live by sedentarie occupations, a sort far unmeet for martiall service, are said to have been called forth, and prest to the wars: and a mightie armie was assembled and met together at Veij, that from thence they might march to encounter the Gaules: For it was thought good that they should now go farther forward; for feare least the enemy taking another way, might deceive them and march directly to the cittie of Rome. But a few

a few daies after, when it was knowne for certaine that all the trouble and feare for that time was overblowne, they diverted their forces from the Gaules, and bent all against Privernum. But the vsitie hereof is reported two manner of waies, some write that the citie was forced by assault, and that *Vitruvius* came alive into their hands: others, that before the utmost extremities of assault was used, they of their owne accords, carying before them white wands in token of peace, yeelded themselves unto the Consull: and that *Vitruvius* by his owne countreimen was rendred and delivered unto him. The Senat being moved, & their opinion asked concerning *Vitruvius* and the Privernates, sent for the Consull *Plautius* to triumph, after that he had disinanted the walles of Privernum, and there placed a strong garison: and they gave order in the meane time that *Vitruvius* should be kept fast in prison untill the Consuls returne, then to be whipped and put to death. They appointed also that his habitation in Palatium should be pulled down, and his goods consecrated to their Idoll *Semon Sangus*. And look what mony [of brasse] was raised thereof, it served to make brasse round plates, which were offered and set up in the chappell of *Sangus* towards the temple of *Quirinus*. Touching the Senat of the Privernates, thus it was decreed, that everie one of Senators calling, who remained at Privernum after their revolting from the Romans, should in the same condition and state as the Veliternes, be confined beyond Tybris, and there dwell. These Actes being thus set downe, there was no more talke of the Privernates untill the triumph of *Plautius*. After the triumph, the Consull having executed *Vitruvius* and his complices, supposing now that he might safely propound the cause of the Privernates, to the LL. of the Senat, whiles they were newly satisfied with the execution of the guilty offenders. Since that (quoth he) my LL. of the Senat, the principall authors of this revolt and rebellion, have both at the hands of the immortal gods, and at yours, suffered now alreadie condigne punishment; what is your further pleasure, and what shall be done with the innocent and harmelesse multitude? For my part verily, although I be rather to demaund your opinions than to deliver mine owne: yet seeing the Privernates neere neighbours unto the Samnites, with whom we now at this time intertaine a most uncertaine and slipperie peace, I would have as litle grudge and rancor left as may be, between us & them. As the question in it selfe was doubtfull and ambiguous, whiles men gave advise some to proceed cruellly, others to deale gently, according to ech man his nature and inclination: so, there was one of the Privernate Embassadors that made it more doubtfull, and put all out of square; a man mindfull of that state wherein he was borne, more than of his present need and extremity. Who being demaunded of one (that had spoken to the point, and delivered some sharpe censure and heavey sentence against them) What punishment he judged the Privernates deserved? Mary (quoth he) that which they deserve, who deeme themselves worthy of libertie and freedome. At whose stout and arrogant answer, when the Consull saw those to be more eagerly and bitterly bent, who before impugned the cause of the Privernates: to the end that he himselfe by some mild and gentle demaund might draw from the partie more modest language: What (quoth hee) if we should remit & pardon your punishment; what kind of peace might we hope to have at your hands? If (quoth hee) yee offer us good peace, yee shall find it on our part loiall and perpetuall: but if yee tender hard conditions of peace, yee shall have it last but a small while. But then one gave out, that the Privernate began to threaten plainly: and said moreover, that such speeches were enough to stir up any peaceable and quiet people to war, that never thought to have fought. But the better part of the Senate drew these his answers to a better sense, and said that it was the speech of a man, and of a man free borne. For, was it credible (quoth they) that any state, nay any particular person, would longer abide (than needs he must) that condition which he misliketh and goeth against his stomacke? There onely is peace sure and like to hold, where men are contented and willing to keepe themselves in peace: and never let men look or hope to find faithfull loialtie, where they will impose thraldome & servitude. And to this purpose the Consull himselfe especially moved & inclined their hearts, reiterating these words to the Senators that were first to give their opinions, and that so lowd, as he might of many more be over-heard, That they above al other, and none but they indeed were worthy to be made Romane citizens, who minded and esteemed nothing in the world, but their freedome. Whereupon, both in the Senat they obtained their suit: and also by the authoritie of the LL. a Bill was exhibited to the people, That the Privernates might be enfranchised Romanes.

The same yeare were three hundred sent as a Colonie, to inhabite Anxur: and had two acres of ground a peece allowed them. The yeare following was memorable in no respect, either of home

A home affaires or forraigne, in the time of *P. Plantius Proculus*, and *P. Cornelius Scapula* Consuls. Onely this fell out that yeare, that in Fregellæ (which sometime was in the territorie of the Sidicines, and after, of the Volscians) there was a Colonie planted: and unto the people there was given a dole, or distribution of raw fleish amongst them, by *Marcus Flavius*, at the funerall of his mother. Some there were that thought, how under a colour of honouring his mother, he defraied and paid unto the people a deserved hire and reward, in that when he was by the *Ædiles* arrested and brought to his answer for adulterie committed with a dame or married wife in the citie, the people had by their voices acquit him. This dole given for a favour past at his triall, was the occasion also of a dignitie following: for in the next Election notwithstanding he were absent, he was preferred to the Tribuneship of the Commons, even before those competitors that were present in place.

B There stood sometime the citie Palæopolis, not farre from thence where as now Naples standeth. In those two cities, one and the same people inhabited, descended and deriving their beginning from Cumæ, & the Cumanes fetch their offspring from Chalcis in Eubœa. With that fleet wherein they sailed from their owne countrey, they were able to doe much at sea, and were mightie upon those coasts where they dwelt. And first landing in the llands *Ænaria* & *Pitheculus*, afterwards they adventured to seat themselves in the maine and continent. This citie relying and trusting in their owne power, as well as presuming upon the faithlesse and disloyall societie of the Samnites with the Romans, or bearing themselves bold upon the rumor that ran of a pestilence that reigned in the citie of Rome, wrought much mischief and hostilitie against such Romanes as inhabited the Campaine and Falerne countries. Whereupon, when as (in the time of *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Quintus Publius Philo* Consuls, the second time) there were *Ædiles* sent to Palæopolis, for to demaund restitution againe, and a proud answer returned backe from the Greekes, a Nation more stout and valiant in tongue than in deed and execution; by the authoritie of the Senate, the people decreed, that there should be warre made upon the Palæopolitans. And when as the Consuls had divided their Provinces betwene themselves, it fell to *Publius* his turne to warre upon those Greekes. *Cornelius* with another armie was opposed against the Samnites, if they should happen to stirre any way. For the report went, that they looking and expecting assuredly the revolt of the Campanians, would encampe neerer and joinewith them. There, *Cornelius* thought it best to keepe a standing campe. The Senat was certified from both Consuls, That they had small hope of peace with the Samnites. *Publius* gave intelligence, that two thousand Nolane souldiours, and foure thousand Samnites, were rather by the compulsion and importunitie of the Nolanes, than with the good will of the Greekes, received at Palæopolis. At Rome it was for certaine knowne, that in Samnium there were new musters taken by the Magistrates direction, and that the whole countrey, and the people adjoining, were raised, & out in armes. Moreover, That the Privernates, Fundanes, and Formians were without all dissimulation solicited and moved to rebell. Upon which causes, it was advised by the Senat, first to send Embassadors to the Samnites, before they made warre: and from them they had an insolent answer. And they themselves made quarrell, and charged the Romanes with wrongs offered first: and nevertheless they justified themselves for any thing by them done, and answered all objections that were laid against them full stoutly. Namely, that the Greekes were not aided by any publicke counsell or order of theirs, nor yet were the Fundanes and Formians by them solicited, as who need not to be ashamed of their owne power, but thought themselves sufficient enough to warre if they listed. Thus much moreover, they could not dissimule, but speake it out in plaine tearmes, That the Nation and State of the Samnites take it in illpart, that the people of Rome had reedified & repaired Fregellæ, a town by them conquered, and woon from the Volscians, and by them laid ruinate: and not onely so, but they had placed a colonie also in the Samnites countrey, which the inhabitants called Fregellæ. Which contumelie and reprochfull injurie, unlesse they that were the authors thereof would do their best to abolish and cancell, they would with all their might and maine repell it from them. And when as the Romane Embassador made a motion, and would have had them to put the matter for to be decided unto the common confederates and friends of both parties; What double and indirect dealing is this (quoth the Samnites?) What frapling is here to no purpose? As for the quarrels and differences betwene us (o yee Romanes) neither the babling words of Embassadors, nor yet any daies-man or arbitrator, but the very Campaine field, wherein wee must encounter

counter in earnest, even dint of sword, and the speares point, and the doubtfull chaunce of G
battaile, shall determine. And therefore encampe we betwene Capua and Sueffula, in the sight
one of another, and let us then trie the issue, whether Samnite or Romane shall be lord of Italie.
The Embassadors of Rome made answer, that they were not to go whether the enimie called
them, but whether their Generall and Captaines led them. In this meane while *Publius* had al-
readie gotten a convenient peece of ground betwene Palapolis and Naples, and thereby en-
peached the enemies of the mutuall entercourse of succours from the one to the other, which
they had used reciprocally, as either place had need, and was distressed. Therefore, when as the
time of Election of Magistrates at Rome drew on apace, and expedient it was not for the Com-
monweale, that *Publius* (now approaching neer the enemies wals, and readie to assault) should be
called away from the hope which daily hee had of winning the citie; the Tribunes were dealt H
with. II, to propose an Act unto the people, That when the time of *Pub. Philo* his Consulship
should be expired, he might in qualitie and name of Proconsull, remaine in government, untill
the warre with the Greekes were fully ended. And unto *L. Cornelius* were letters sent, implying
thus much, That whereas it was not thought good, that hee now being entered into Samnium,
should be called away from the cheefe path of the warre, he should nominate a Dictator to bee
President of the Election of Magistrates: Who named *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and by him was
appointed for Generall of horse *Sp. Posthumus*. Yet for all this, was no assemblie for the said Ele-
ction, holden by the Dictator. For it came in question, Whether hee were rightly created or no.
And the Augurs being hereabout consulted with, pronounced, that the Dictatour seemed not
created aright. But the Tribunes discredited and made suspicious and infamous, by their accu-
sation speeches, this their sentence and declaration, saying, That neither it was easie to know the
fault and error in the creation, seeing that the Consull nominated the Dictator in the beginning
of the still night, neither had the Consull written to any man publickely or privately thereof, nor
yet was there any person could come forth and say, that he either saw or heard ought, that might
marre and interrupt the Auspices, neyer could the Augurs sitting at Rome, ascered and divine,
what error had happened to the Consull in the campe so farre off. And who saw not (say they)
that the Augurs found fault herewith, because the Dictator Elect, was a Commoner? These and
other such allegations were (to no purpose) by the Tribunes given out. For the matter grew to an
Interreigne, and the foresaid Election being still put off and adjourned for one cause or other, at
length the foureteenth Interregent, *L. Aemilius*, created Consuls, *C. Petilius*, and *L. Papirius*, sur-
named *Mazilianus* or *Cursus*, as I find in other Chronicles.

In that yeare it was recorded, that the citie Alexandria in Ægypt was founded: and that *Alex-
ander* the King of Epirus was murdered by a certaine Lucane, a banished person, to verifie the
Oracle of *inp. Dodoneus*, which had foretold his death. For when he was sent for into Italie by
the Tarentines, he had warning given him, To take heede of the Acherusian wa-
ter, and the cittie Pandosia, for there it was his destinie to end
his daies: and therefore, with more speede he passed over into Italie, to be as far off as might
be, from the citie Pandosia in Epirus, and the river Acheron; which issuing out of Molossis into
the lower Meeres and Lakes, dischargeth it selfe, and falleth into the Thesprotian gulfes. How-
beit (as commonly it is seene when men seeke most to flie and avoid their fatall death, they run
headlong and plunge themselves into it) he, having oftentimes vanquished and overthrowne
the legions of the Brutians and Lucanes; woon by force Heraclea a Colonie of the Tarentines,
and Consentia in Lucania, and Sipontum, and also Acerina a Colonie of the Brutians, & other
citties afterwards of the Messapians and Lucanes: sent into Epirus three hundred noble houses
and families, whom he meant to keepe as hostages: he encamped not farre from Pandosia, a citie
situate neer to the confines of the Lucanes and Brutians. And there he held three hills somewhat
distant asunder, from whence hee might make excursions and rodes into every part of his ene-
mies countrie: and he had in ordinat about him almost 200. banished men of the Lucanes, for
his sure trustie guard: who notwithstanding (as the nature is of such for the most part) charged
with every winde, and carried mutable minds according to the varietie of fortune. Now it tell
out so, that the continuall raines which overflowed all the fields, had foreclosed and stopped the
passages three waies betwene his armies, so as they could not help one another: wherby those
two garrisons where the King was not in person, were surprized by the unexpected coming of
the enemies: who having put them al to the sword, turned their whole forces to besiege the King.
From

A From whence, there were by the Lucane exiles, messengers sent to their own countymen: who in
the name of the rest capitulated, that if they might be restored againe, they would deliver the
K. either dead or alive into their hands. Howbeit he himselfe with an elect number of men, made
a noble and hardie adventure, and brake through the midst of the enemies: and encounting the
chiefe Commander of the Lucanes hand to hand, killed him outright: and having rallied his men
neare together, who were scattered asunder in fight, he came at length to a river, which by
the fresh ruines of a broken bridge, that the violence of the water had borne downe, shewed pas-
sage. Which as the armie passed over at an unknowne and blinde foord, one souldior wearied
with feare and travaile, cursing and detesting the unluckie and abominable name of the river,
fortuned to say, Thou hast not thy name * Acheros for nought: which word when it came once
to the King his eare, he presently began to thinke and muse of his finall end; and there staid stil,
in a deepe suspence whether he should passe over or no. Then *Scipius*, one of the Kings servitors
and Henxmen, asked him why he lingered and made delay, being in so great a perill and jeo-
pardie as he was? and shewed him withall, how the Lucanes intended to plaie false with him, and
sought opportunitie to forelay and doe him a mischief. With that the King looked behinde
him, and espied them a far off in a troupe comming against him: wherupon he drew his sword,
put his horse to it, tooke the river, and rode through the midst thereof: and when he was now
so far passed that he was readie to take the land, one of those banisht Lucanes launced a dart a
loose at him and strake him quite through. Whereupon he fell downe dead with the dart stick-
ing in his bodie, and the streame carried it downe as farre as to the corps de guard of the ene-
mies. Where his breathlesse corps was shamefully misused and mangled. For they having cut
it crosse the middle, sent the one halfe to * Consentia, and kept the other with themselves still,
to practise a thousand villanies upon it. And as they shot and flung stones at it a far off, a certaine
woman being amongst this outrageous multitude (faring beyond all measure of anger and ma-
lice that mans heart can devise or beleve) after she had besought them to forbear a while, with
her cies gushing out tears said unto them, That her husband and children were prisoners, and in
the hands of the enemies: but she hoped with the Kings bodie, howsoever it were abused & mar-
tured, to redeeme them againe. This staid them from farther mangling thereof: Thus all that
was left of the Kings bodie, by the meanes of one onely woman, was burnt at Consentia: and his
bones sent back afterwards to the enemies unto * Metapontum, and from thence conveyed to
D Epeirus, unto *Cleopatra* his wife, and his sister *Olympias*, whereof the one was sister, the other mo-
ther to *Alexander* the Great. Thus much concerning the wofull and unhappy end of *Alexan-
der* the K. of * Epeirus. Whose fortune albeit was such, that he came short, & was cut off before
he intermeddled in the Romane war, yet because he warred in Italie, let it suffice that briefly by the
way I have touched his storie.

The same yeare was there a Lectisterne at Rome, (which was the fift after the foundation and
building of that citie) for the pacifying of the same gods as heretofore. Afterwards, the new Con-
suls by the ordinance and direction of the people, sent defiance and proclaimed war against the
Samnites. And as they themselves made greater preparation every way than against the Greekes,
so they had besides new aides, whereof (as then) they least thought of. The Lucanes and the
E Apulians (nations which to that day had no dealing nor commerce at all with the Romanes) be-
came their liege & loyal Allies, offering men & munition toward that war. Wherupon they were
by forme of covenant and league interteined and received into their amitie. At the same time
also the Romanes had good successe in the Samnits quarters: for three townes there, yielded un-
to them, and they became Masters thereof, to wit, Allife, Callife, Ruffrium: all the territorie be-
sides at the first coming of the Consull, was pilld and spoiled far and neare. These exploits
thus prosperously achieved, the other enterprise also of besieging the Greekes, was well follow-
ed and at the point of an end. For over and besides, that by certaine skonces and bloccuzes be-
tweene the enemies fortes and forces, one part was cut from the other; they endured also within
their own wals, much more miserie and calamitie, than the enimie menaced & threatened with-
out: and as if they had been captives to their owne garrison souldiors, whom they had called to
them for their defence, they suffered infinite villanies, and indignities, in the persons as well
of their wives as of their children, and even the hardest extremities, that follow upon citties
forced by the enimie. And therefore when it was noised abroad, that there were new succours
comming from Tarentum and the Samnites: they supposed that for Samnites, these were alrea-
die

Lucanes, together with the Tarentines the hatchers thereof, held the Senators of Rome in care and perplexitie ynough: behold over and above all these, the Vestine people, as a surcrease to their troubles, joined and banded with the Samnites. Which new occurrence, as, for that yeare it rather maintained discourse amongst men in their ordinarie talke every where, than ministered cause of serious debating in publicke councell; so the Consuls of the yeare following, *L. Furius Camillus* the second time, and *Jun. Brutus Scaeva*, thought no one thing more important than it, and needfull to be treated of in the Senate, with the first. And albeit the thing were but new, and a breeding, yet so greatly were the *L.L.* hereabout troubled, that they feared no lesse to begin to take it in hand, than to neglect it altogether, & not to see it: doubting, least if they were let go unpunished, the neighbour nations would grow too lustie and proud: and again, if they seemed to chastice them by warre, the rest for feare of the like measure, might bee provoked to anger, take armes, & enter into a generall rebellion. And all, and every one of them, namely, the *Marsi*, the *Pelignians* and *Marucines*, were in feare of armes comparable and egall to the *Samnites* every way: which nations they might be sure to have their enemies, if they medled with the *Vestines*, and touched them once never so little. Howbeit, that part prevailed and took place, which for the present, seemed to carrie more courage and valour, than sage advice and wisdom: but the issue and event shewed, that Fortune favoureth Fortitude. So the people by authoritie and direction of the Nobles, decreed warre against the *Vestines*: the charge whereof light by lot upon *Brutus*, and *Samnium* fell to *Camillus*. To both places were the armies conducted: and by the care and industrie employed in the defence of the marches and frontiers, the enemies were empeached for joining their forces together. Howbeit the Consull *Furius Camillus*, who had the greater and weightier charge laid upon him, fortun'd to fall greivously sicke, and thereby could not follow the warres: who being commaunded to nominate a Dictatour, for to manage and conduct his affaires, declared the noblest warrior in those daies, *L. Papyrius Cursor*: by whome *Q. Fabius Rutilianus* was named Generall of horsemen, a couple certes, of great name and highly renowned for their worthie acts, atcheev'd in this their government; but yet more famous and voiced abroad, by reason of variance and discord which fell betweene them; whereby they grew weleare to the utmost tearmes of contesting one another in all extremitie. The other Consull warred with the *Vestines* many and sundrie waies, but evermore with like fortune and happie successe. For hee forraied and wasted their countrie: and by pilling, rising, and burning their houses & corn, forced them against their wils into the field: and in one battell so enfeebled and abated the forces of the *Vestines* (but not without bloudhead of his owne men) that his enemies not onely fled into their campe; but also as not trusting now to their rampiers and trenches, they were constrained to steale away into their townes, minding for to save themselves, as well by the naturall situation of the places, as the strength of their good wals. In the end, he made assault upon those walled cities, purposing by force to win them. And first he gained *Cutina* by the skalade, either through the exceeding courage of his soldiours, or their anger, being so chafed as they were at their hurts received: for that scarcely one escaped out of the medley and skirmish, clear and not wounded. Then he likewise took *Cingilia*: and gave the pillage of both cities among his soldiours. Neither gates nor wals could stand in their way and keepe them out. But into *Samnium* the journey was undertaken by the Dictatour with doubtful Auspices and uncertaine knowledge of the will of the gods. The default and terror whereof tooke not effect in the maine event and issue of the war, (for it was prosperous and fortunate) but turned to the rage and anger of the chiefe leaders, who fell out deadly one with another. For *Papyrius* the Dictatour, advised by the *Pullarius* that had the custodie & charge of the sacred *Pullets* went back to Rome to take the Auspicium, or the presage by the bird-flight again: and straightly charged his Generall of horse to keepe himselfe close within his hold, and in no wise to give the enemies battel during his absence. But *Fabius* after the Dictatours departure, advertised by the espials, that the enemies were even as carelesse, as loose and disordered, as if there had been no *Romane* in *Samnium*; whether it were, that being a stout and lustie young gentleman, he tooke foule skome and thought it an indignitie, that all should seeme to rest in the Dictatour onely: or that he was inducd with the good opportunitie of doing some brave exploit (I wot not:) but he went forth with an armie in order of battaile, to *Irbrinium* (that was the places name) and there fought a field with the *Samnites*. But such was the happie issue of this battaile, that if the Dictatour himselfe had been there in person, he could not have been better managed. For, neither captaine failed

A failed his soldiours, nor soldiours their captaine. The horsemen also under the leading of *L. Camillus* a Colonell by his place, (who sundrie times charged and recharged againe, and could not with force breake the enemies arraies) unbridled their horses, and so ran them all on the spur, that no strength was able to abide them: such an havocke, such a lane made they all about over armour and men. The footmen seconding this hot charge of the horse, advanced the ensignes against the enemies thus put in disaray: and twentie thousand men (by report) were that day slaine. In some authors I find, that twice in the Dictatours absence hee fought, and twice had the upper hand. But in the most ancient writers I read but of one battaile. In some Chronicles the whole matter is passed over and left out clean. The General of the horse having gained a mightie masse of spoile, as otherwise he could not chuse, upon so great a slaughter & massacre; gathered together into one heape all the enemies armour, made a fire under, & burned them; were it that he had made some such vow to one of the gods: or (as I list rather to beleeye) it was a motive of *Fabius* himselfe, that the Dictatour should not reape the fruit of his glorie, and entitle his name thereto; or in pompe carie those spoiles before him at his triumph. Moreover, the letters of this victorie by him sent to the Senat, and not a word thereof to the Dictatour, were some prooffe, that he was not willing to impart and communicate his praises with him. But certes, the Dictatour tooke the matter in so ill part, that when every man else was joyfull for this noble victorie achieved, he onely shewed anger and sadness in his verie countenance. Whereupon suddainly he dissolved the Senat, and departed in great hast out of the court, giving out and often repeating these words: Then hath the master of horsemen in deed as well everted and overthrown, both Dictatours Majestie and Militarie discipline, as defeated the *Samnite* legions; if he can so go cleere away and escape unpunished, with so manifest contempt of my expresse commaundement. Whereupon, full of threats and indignation, he hastened to the campe, and tooke long journeyes; yet could he not prevent the bruit of his coming. For, there were Vanturiers that posted from the citie before, to bring word that the Dictatour was coming, full of revenge, and set upon punishment, & at every second word almost, commending the late exemplarie justice of *T. Ananias*. Then *Fabius* immediately calling an audience, besought the soldiours, that with what valour and vertue they had defended the Commonwealth from most deadly and mortall enemies, with the same they would protect him from the outrageous crueltie of the Dictatour, himselfe (I say) by whose conduct and fortune they had gotten so glorious a victorie. For now, comming heis (qd. he) for envie out of his right wits, and beside himselfe: for anger at another mans manhood and felicitie, furious and horse-mad: and all is no more but this, that in his absence, as forsooth we have sped well; who wisheth rather in his hart, if he could change the course of fortune, that the *Samnites* had won the victorie than the *Romans*: & nothing is so rise in his mouth, as, That his commandement was contemned: as who would say, he forbad not battaile with the same mind, wherein hee now greiveth that we have fought. For as then his will was good, even as for verie envie to hinder and suppress the proesse of another, and went about to take weapons away from most forward soldiours, desirous of fight, that in his absence they might not lay hand to their sword: so now, see how he fretteth and fumeth in great choler at this, that without *L. Papyrius* the soldiours were not disarmed, dismembred as it were, and maimed: and for that *Q. Fabius* forgot not his place, but bare himselfe as Generall of the Cavallerie, and not as a Henxman and follower of the Dictatour, standing at receit, & waiting at an inch when some under-captaine ship would fall, that he might step into the place. What would this man (thinke ye) have done, how would he have frowned, if (as the fortune and doubtfull chance of warre oftentimes goeth) we had been put to the worse and lost the day; who now that the enemies be vanquished, the field so well fought, the State so well served, as by the most singular captaine in the world, better it might not be, thus menaceth execution to me the Generall of the horse, even in the honour of my conquest? Neither is he (my masters) cruelly bent and set upon mischief against the Generall of the horse more than against the Colonels, the Centiniers, & common soldiours: nay, he would (be ye sure) if he had been able, have rag'd and fared as bitterly, yea and executed his yre and furious rage upon all. But because he cannot, now he dischargeth his gall upon me alone. For even as envie, like a flaming fire, searcth & mounteth up to the highest, so runneth he upon the chiefe captaine, and aimed at the head of this worthie exploit. If he had once extinguished him, together with the glorie of this brave service, then like a conquerour and lord over a poore captive armie, whatsoever he might by law execute against a Generall of the Cavallerie, he would

would attempt and extend, upon the simple soldiours. Make reckoning therefore, that in standing G
tall to me and in defence of my cause, yee uphold the libertie of all. For in case he shall perceive
once, the same agreement of the armie in the maintenance of the victorie, which was wel seen in
the batell, and that yeall have a care & regard of the life and safetie of one, his stomack wil come
down, his heart will relent & incline to clemencie, and a milder sentence. To conclude; I recom-
mend my life, & whole estate to your vertue & faithfull protection. Then from all parts of the audi-
ence they cried unto him aloud, & bad him take a good hartfor so long as the Legions of the Ro-
mans were safe, there should no person do him harm or injurie. Soon after came the Dictator, and
presently by sound of trumpet summoned a generall assemblie. And the publike crier after an
oiez made, called by name for *Q. Fabius* Generall of the horse. Who so soone as hee was come
from a lower place where he was, and approached heer the Tribunall, (then qd. the Dictator) I de-
mand of thee *Q. Fabius*, since that the rule of the Dictator is soveraine & highest above al others, H
whereunto the Consuls, endued with kingly puissance and government, do obey, yea and Praetors
created with the same authoritie that Consuls are; whether thou esteeme it meet and right, that
a Generall of horse should bee obedient to his commaundement or no? I demaund likewise,
whether I my selfe, knowing that I tooke my journey and went from home, with doubtfull
and uncertaine Auspices, ought to have put the maine state of the Commonweale in hazard
against the order and religious observation in that behalfe; and not rather, to go againe to take
new Auspices, that I might adventure & attempt nothing so long as I stood in doubt of the grace
and favour of the gods? And withall, this I demaund, whether the Generall of the horsemen could
be freed, exempt, and discharged of that scruple of conscience, which checked and staid the
Dictatour from execution of his charge? But what mean I to make these demands? I see-
ing that if I had departed without saying one word, yet thou shouldest have framed thy opinion
and applied thy mind according to the interpretation of my will and pleasure? Why saiest thou
nothing? Answer me I say. Forbad I thee not expressly, to do any thing in my absence? Forbad I
not thee to fight with the enemies? How durst thou in contempt of my commaundement, whiles
our Auspices were uncertaine, whiles our consciences were unresolved and with scruples trou-
bled, against all Militarie customes & statutes against the discipline of our ancestors, and against
the will & direction of the gods: how durst thou, I say, be so hardie as to encounter with the ene-
mie? To these interrogatories make answer directly. Answer I charge thee, to all these points, and
nothing but these, and at the perill of thy life, not a word besides. Now come Sergeant and doe
thine office the while. To which severall articles, when *Fabius* could not readily answer point
by point, one while complaining that he had him for his accuser, who was the judge of his life
and death: otherwhiles crying out aloud, that sooner might his life be taken from him, than the
glorie and honour of his acts: and as he justified and excused his own selfe, so he began againe
to challenge and accuse [the Dictatour.] Then *Papyrius* being in more heate of choler than
before, commanded the Generall of the horsemen to be stripped out of his clothes and uncased,
and the rods and axes to bee brought forth readie. With that, *Fabius* calling earnestly for the
helpe of the souldiours, whiles the officers were a tearing and renting his clothes from his backe,
made meanes to retire himselfe into the ranks of the Triarii, who began already to make a mu-
tinie and upore in the assemblie. From whence there arose an outcrie over all the audience. L
Some were heard to intreat, others to threat. They who fortun'd to stand next to the Tribunall,
because that being within the view and eie of the Dictator, they might be knowne and noted, be-
tought his Majestie to spare and pardon the Generall of the horse, & not with him to condemne
the whole armie. They that were furthest off in the skirt of the assembly, & especially that plump
and companie about *Fabius*, rated and cried out upon such a rigorous and mercilesse Dictator.
And a little thing more would have made them mutinie: nay, within the very compasse of the Tri-
bunall he was not cleare & quiet. The Lieutenants or Coronels of whole legions, standing about
his seat or chaire of estate, intreated him to put off the matter untill the morrow: to give his cho-
ler some time to coole, and allow space and respite to consider of it with advise and counsell: say-
ing, That if *Fabius* had plaid a youthfull part, he had paid sufficiently for it already, and his M
victorie had received disgrace and dishonour enough. Beseeching him not to proceed to these
extremities of utmost execution, nor to set such a brand and note of ignominie & shame upon
the young Gentleman himselfe, so rare and gallant a Knight; or on his father, a most honoura-
ble and excellent personage; ney upon the noble house and name of the *Fabij*. But when they

A they saw how little they prevailed by their prayers, and as little by any reasons they could allage;
then, they admonished him to have a regard to the furious assemblie, of the souldiours: and that
it was not for a man of his years and wisdom, thus to put more fire to the hoat stomacke of sol-
diours enkindled already, nor to minister more matter of mutinie: and if such a thing should
happen, no man would impute the blame to *Q. Fabius*, who fought and humbly craved par-
don of punishment, but to the Dictator; if he overcome with choler, should blindly so far passe
himselfe in wilfull peevishnesse, as to provoke the outrageous multitude against himselfe. Finally,
that he should not thinke, how they laboured thus for any affection at favour they bare to *Quin-
tus Fabius*; but were readie to take an oath, that they thought it not safe for the State and Com-
mon-weale, that he should proceed at such a time, to execute the rigour of Justice upon *Q. Fa-
bius*. By these and such like remonstrances, when as the Lieutenants had stirred up the Dictator
his blood against themselves, rather than pacified his moode against *Fabius*, they were com-
manded to go down from the Tribunall. And when as the Crier had assaid to make silence al in
vaine, for that by reason of the noise and tumult, neither the Dictator his voice, nor any of his
apparitors & halbards about him, could be heard, the night came upon them and ended the hur-
ley and garboile, as if it had been a battaile in field. The Generall of the horse was comman-
ded to appeare on the morrow. Now when as every man gave it out and avouched unto him, that
Papyrius would proceed more vehemently, for that contesting of the Lieutenants, and that the
more hee was dealt withall, the worse hee was: *Fabius* privily stole out of the campe and fled to
Rome. And by the meanes of his father *M. Fabius*, a man who had been already thrice Con-
C
sull and Dictatour, the Senate was called together immediately. And as he was in the midst of
his grievous complaints before the Lords, touching the violence and wrong of the Dictatour,
all of a sodaine, there was heard before the Councell house dore, a great noise & hurrying of the
Dictours, whiles they made way and voided the preasse. And no mervail; for the Dictatour
himselfe was come with a revenging mind. For so soone as he had heard how *Fabius* was depar-
ted out of the campe, he followed after with his light horsemen. Then began the broile to bee
renued afresh, and *Papyrius* caused *Fabius* to be attached. Whereupon the chiefe of the No-
bilitie, and the whole bodie of the Senat began to interpose themselves by way of mediation: but
all their intreatie notwithstanding, he persisted still in his implacable anger. Then stept forth
M. Fabius the father. For as much as (qd. he) neither the authoritie of the Senat, nor mine old
D
age, whom you seeke to make childlesse, ne yet the valiancie & noble courage of the Generall of
horse, by your own selfe chosen and nominated, can prevaile; nor any humble prayers, which are
able to appease the furie of the enemy oftentimes, yea and to pacifie the wrath & indignation of
the Gods: I implore the lawfull helpe of the Tribunes, and to the whole bodie of the people I
appeale. And since that you challenge and except against the judgment of your own armie, and
of the Senat, I offer and present unto you that judge, who onely is of more force and puissance,
I am sure, than your Dictatourship. I will see, whether you will yeeld to this appeale, whereunto
the Romane King *Tull. Hostilius* gave place. Then out of the Councell house they went straight
to the Common place of audience: and when the Dictatour, attended with some few, was ascen-
ded up, and the Generall of the Cavallerie accompanied with all the whole troupe of the chiefe
E
of the citie, *Papyrius* commanded that he should come downe or els be fetched, from the Ro-
stra, unto the lower ground. The father followed after him. Well done (quoth he) in com-
manding us to be brought hither, from whence we may be allowed to speake our mindes, if we were
no better than privat persons. At the first there passed no continued speeches so much, as wrang-
ling and altercation. But afterwards, the voice and indignation of old *Fabius*, surmounted and
drowned the other noise: who greatly blamed and cried out upon the pride and crueltie of *Pa-
pyrius*. What man (quoth he) I have been also a Dictator of Rome my selfe, and yet was there
never so much as a poore Commoner, no Centurion, nor souldiour hardly entreated or misfu-
sed by me. But *Papyrius* seeketh victorie and triumph over a Romane Grand-Captaine and Ge-
nerall, as over the Leaders and Commanders of his enemies. See, see, what difference there is
F
between the government of men in old time, and this new pride and crueltie of late daies. *Quin-
tius Cincinnatus* a Dictatour for the time, proceeded no farther in punishment against *Minutius*,
when he was faine to deliver him lying enclosed and besieged within his own campe, but to leave
him as a Lieutenant in steed of Consull, in the armie whereof he had charge. *M. Furius Ca-
millus*, not only for the present tempered his choler toward *L. Furius*, who in contempt of his old

age and authoritie, had fought most untowardly and with dishonour in the ende; and wrote no-
 thing to the people or the Senat but well, of his Colleague: but also being returned, made a spe-
 ciall reckoning of him above all the Tribunes consular, whom also of all his colleagues, when as
 hee had the choise granted him by the Senate, he elected to be his coadjutor in the charge
 of his government. Neither the people verely, whose power is soveraigne over all, were ever
 more angrie against those, that through rashnes and want of skill lost whole armies, than to fine
 them at a summe of money. For the losse and miscarriage of any battaile, that a Generall should
 be brought into question and answer for his life, was never heard of to this daie. And now, rods
 and axes, whipping and beheading, are prepared for the Commaunders under the people of
 Rome, and those, who are conquerours and have deserved most justly triumphs; which by no law
 can be offered to those that have been vanquished. What els I pray you should my sonne have
 endured, if he had beafully suffered the field to be lost and his armie withall? If he had been dis-
 comfited, put to flight, and driven cleane out of the field, how far forth further would the Di-
 ctatour his yre and violence have proceeded, than to scourge and kill? And see how fit and seemly
 a thing it is that the citie for the victorie of *Q. Fabius*, should be in joy, in processions to the
 gods, and thanksgivings, with congratulation & feasting one another: and he himselfe by whose
 meanes the temples stand open, the altars smooke with incense and sacrifice, and are heaped up
 againe with vowes, oblations, and offerings, to be stripped naked, to be whipped and tewed in the
 sight of the people of Rome, looking up to the Capitoll and the Castle, lifting up his eyes to the
 gods, upon whom in two such noble battailes he called and invocated, not in vaine nor without
 good and happie successe? With what heart will the armie take this, which under his leading
 and conduct, and under his fortune, atchieved victorie? What lamentation will there bee in
 the Romane campe, and what rejoycing on the other side amongst the enemies? Thus fa-
 red the good olde father, thus pleaded hee by way of expostulation and complaint, calling
 upon God and man for helpe, and withall embraced his sonne in his armes, and shed many a
 teare. On the one side, there made with young *Fabius*, and tooke his part, the majestie and coun-
 tenance of the Senat, the favour and love of the people, the assistance of the Tribunes, and the
 remembrance of the armie absent. On the other side were alledged against him by *Papirius*, the
 invincible government and Empire of the people of Rome, the discipline of warfare, the Di-
 ctators commandement (observed and revered at all times, no lesse than the Oracle and will
 of the gods) the severe edicts of *Manlius*, whose fatherly love and affection to his deare son was
 set behind the service and common good of the State. Also it was alledged, that the same ex-
 emplary justice, *L. Brutus* the first founder of the Romane libertie, executed in his two sons: and
 now, mild and kind fathers, indulgent and fond old men, in the case of contempt of other mens
 commandement, give libertie to youth, and pardon as a small matter, the overthrow of militarie
 discipline. Howbeit, he for his part would persist in his purpose still, nor remit one jot of condign
 punishment to him, who contrarie to his commaundement, and notwithstanding the trouble
 and confusion of religion, and the doubtfull Auspicia, had given battaile, saying, That as it was
 not in his power to abridge any jot the majestie of that State and Empire, for being everlasting:
 so, *L. Papirius* would diminish nought of the authoritie thereof, wishing, That neither the Tri-
 bunes puissance sacred and inviolable it selfe, should by their opposition and interposing of
 their negative voice, violate the Empire of Rome: nor that the people of Rome, should in
 him above all others abolish and extinguish both Dictatour and Dictatorship. Which if it did,
 the posteritie hereafter should lay the waite and blame (although in vaine) not in *L. Papirius*,
 but in the Tribunes, and the perverse judgement of the people: when as the Militarie discipline
 being once polluted and stained, neither soldiour would obey the Centurions commaundement,
 nor the Centurion the Colonels, nor Colonell the lieutenants, nor lieutenant the Consuls, nor
 yet Generall of horse, the Dictatour: whiles no man hath regard and reverence either of men,
 or of gods; no Edicts of Dictator, no sight of birds observed; but that without passport, the
 souldiours may wander and rogue, either in their own ground or the enemies land, and unbind-
 full of their sacred militarie oth, may casle and discharge themselves from souldierie, through a
 licentious libertie of their owne, whensoever they list; leaving their ensignes and colours not at-
 tended, not meeting at summons, not repairing to the *Rendez-vous*, according to proclamation:
 without all discretion, making no difference whether they skirmish by day or night, on even
 ground or uneven, with vantage or disadvantage, with direction of capitaine, or without obser-
 ving

A ving no signals and watchword, no array. In summe, the whole course of militarie service hence-
 forth, blind, rash, and inconsiderate, after the guise of robbing, to stand and goe currant for so-
 lemne and sacred warfare. With these crimes and absurd inconveniences (O yee Tribunes) char-
 ged you must be to the worlds end: lay down you must, & gage your own lives for the audacious
 disobedience of *Q. Fabius*, for whom ye are now answerable. The Trib. were astonished hereat, and
 for themselves now, rather carefull and perplexed, than for him who had recourse unto them for
 refuge & succor. But the generall consent of the people of Rome, turning to praier and intreatie,
 eased them of this heave load and burden: and with one voice humbly besought the Dictator,
 to remit the punishment of the Generall of horse, for their sake. The Tribunes also, seeing that
 was the way, and all enclining and growing to Petition, followed after, and did the semblable; ear-
 nestly beseeching the Dictatour to forgive this humane fragilitie, and youthfull folly of *Q.*
Fabius, saying, That he had suffered chastisement ynough. Then the young man himselfe, then
 his father *M. Fabius*, forgetting all strife, and laying aside debate, fell downe at the Dictator his
 feet, and besought him to appeale his wrathfull displeasure. Hereupon the Dictator after silence
 made, Yea marie (quoth he) O *Quirites*, this I like well, and thus it should be: now hath militarie
 discipline got the victorie, now hath the majestie of your Empire prevailed indeed, which lay
 both a bleeding, and were in hazard to have been abolished and overthrowne for ever, after this
 day. *Q. Fabius* is not acquit of his offence, in that he fought against his soveraigns commaun-
 dement: but being thereof convicted and cast, is forgiven, nay is given rather to the people of
 Rome and the Tribunes power, whose assistance and helpe is graunted for their instant praiers,
 C and not of dutie. Well Rise up *Q. Fabius* and live, a more happie man for this agreement of the
 citie in thy defence, than for that victorie, upon which erewhile thou barest thy selfe so bravely.
 Live (I say) thou that hast been so bold to commit that fact, which thine owne father here, if hee
 had been in *L. Papirius* his place, would never have pardoned. And as for mee, into my grace
 and favour thou maiest come againe, at thine owne will and pleasure: But to the people of
 Rome, to whom thou art beholden and obliged for thy life, thou shalt performe no greater du-
 tie and service, than that the example of this daies work may be a teaching & warning to thee for
 ever, to obey, as well in warre as in peace, all lawfull hefts of superiour Magistrates. After that hee
 had pronounced the pardon of the Generall of horse, and discharged him of the court, and
 was departed himselfe out of the common place of audience: the Senat joyfull and highly con-
 tented, and the people much more, came all about them, and on the one side bidding joy to the
 D Generall of the horse aforesaid, and on the other side giving thanks to the Dictatour, followed
 after, and accompanied them both: and it was generally thought, that militarie government
 was no lesse confirmed and established by this perill and daunger onely of young *Q. Fabius*,
 than by the late pittious execution of young *Manlius*.

By chance that yeare it so fell out, that as often as the Dictatour absented himselfe from the
 armie, so often the enemies rose and raised troubles in Samnium. Howbeit, the fresh example of
Q. Fabius was ever in the eye of *M. Valerius*, Lieutenant Generall and governour of the campe,
 who feared as well the dread wrath of the Dictator, as any violent attempts of his enemies what-
 soever. In so much, as when purveious for come being entrapped by an ambush were slaine, in a
 E place of disadvantage; commonly it was thought and beleevied, that they might have beene by
 the Lieutenant rescued and saved, but for feare of these rigorous and terrible edicts. For anger
 hereof, the Dictatour lost the hearts of the souldiours, who were already discontent, for that
 he was so inexorable in the cause of *Q. Fabius*, and had denied them that, at their instant intreatie,
 which afterwards hee yielded unto and pardoned, at the suit and request of the people of
 Rome. The Dictator, after that he had left for the government of the citie *L. Papirius Crassus* the
 Generall of horse, discharged *Q. Fabius*, and forbidden him to administer any thing by vertue of
 that office, returned into the campe. Whose coming was neither very welcome and joyfull to
 his owne countrymen the souldiours, nor yet stricke any terror in his enemies the Samnites.
 For, the next morning, were it, that they knew not that the Dictatour was come, or little cared and
 F weighed whether he were present or absent, they approached the campe in order of battaile. How-
 beit, that one man, *L. Papirius* the Dictator, was of such valour and importance, that if the love
 of the souldiours had seconded the policie and sage conduct of their commander, the warre
 with Samnites had that day been quite dispatched and ended, past all peradventure; so skilfully
 set he the battaile in array, so warily chose he his ground of advantage, so strengthened hee the
 same

same with supplies out of the reregard, in all warlike skill and singular policie. But the souldiours G failed for their parts, and went coldly to their businesse, even of purpose, that the valiant & commendable parts of the captain might be discredited and depraved; and so the victorie was much hindered and impeached. Howbeit, many of the Samnites were slaine; and in exchange, as many of the Romanes hurt. But he like a wife and expert captaine, soon perceived, what was the cause that staid the victorie. He saw well ynough, that hee was to temper his own nature, and to allay that severitie of his, within mildnes & courtesie. And therefore, taking with him the Lieutenants, himselfe in person went about to visite the wounded souldiours, putting his head into their tents and cabbins, asking each one how they did; charged the Lieutenants, Colonels, Provost-Marschals, and other offices of the campe, to tend and looke unto the sicke souldiours, recommending their care unto them particularly by name. This being a thing in it selfe popular, hee handled and ordered with such dexteritie; that by curing their bodies, their minds also and hearts were much sooner gained and reconciled to their Generall. And nothing made more for the speedie recoverie of their health, than their thankfull acceptance of that care and diligence of his. VVhen he had thus refreshed and repaired his armie, hee encountred once againe the enemy with assured hope of himselfe and his souldiours, to obtaine a finall victorie; and so discomfited and put them to flight, that the Samnites after that day, durst never fight againe with the Dictator. Then the victorious armie marched, as any hope of bootie & pillage guided and directed them: and as they overran their enemies countrie, they found no force nor resistance, either in open shew, or covert ambush. This also encouraged them the more, and cheered their hearts, for that the Dictatour had by proclamation given away the whole spoile among the souldiours: I so that their privat gaine whet them on against their enemy, no lesse than the common anger and publicke quarrell. The Samnites tamed and subdued by these losses and overthrowes, sued to the Dictatour for peace: with whom they capitulated, and made offer to allow unto everie souldiour one liverye, and the full wages of one yeare. But being commaunded to goe to the Senate, they made answer, That they would accompanie the Dictatour, recommending and putting their cause and whole estate to his faithfull protection, to his vertue and goodnesse onely. Thus the armie was withdrawne from the Samnites, the Dictatour with triumph entred the citie: and when he would have resigned up the Dictatourship, the Senate ordained, That before hee gaue over, hee should create Consuls, So, *C. Sulpitius Longus* the second time, and *Q. Aemilius Cretanus* were elected.

The Samnites not having concluded peace, (for that they varied about the conditions, and were to treat farther thereupon) yet brought with them from the citie of Rome, truce for a year. VVhich they observed not faithfully: so loone were their stomackes up againe to make warre, after they had intelligence, that *Papirius* was out of government. VVhiles *C. Sulpitius*, and *Q. Aemilius* (or *Aulus* as some Chronicles have) were Consuls, besides the revolting of the Samnites, there arose a new warre also from the Apulians. Both waies was there a power sent. *Sulpitius* his lot was to go against the Samnites, and *Aemilius* against the Apulians. Some write, that upon the Apulians themselves no warre was made, but contrariwise, that the confederate States of that Nation were defended from the violence & wrongs of the Samnites. Howbeit, the low estate of the Samnites, at that time, hardly able to maintain and defend themselves, maketh it more likely and credible, that the Apulians, were not warred upon by them, but that the Romanes made war with both Nations at once. But no memorable act or exploit was there performed: onely the Apulian countrie, and Samnium was wasted: and the enemies no where at all to be found. But at Rome there happened a scare by night, which raised every man so suddainely out of their first sleepe, and so affrighted the citie, that presently at one instant the Capitoll and the Castle, the wals and gates were full of armed men. And when as from all places there was running, and crying al arme, the morrow morning at the breake of day, there appeared neither authour, nor cause of this feare.

The same yeare the Tuscules were judicially convented before the people of Rome by procelle, and that, by a law that *Flavius* preferred. This *M. Flavius*, Tribune of the Commons, exhibited a bill of enditement to the people that some punishment might be inflicted upon the Tuscules; For that through their assistance and counsell, the Veliternes and Privernates had taken armes against the people of Rome. The Tuscules with their wives & children resorted to Rome. VVhich multitude having changed their apparrell, & clad in poore array and habit, as prisoners

- A soners at the barre, went about from Tribe to Tribe, falling downe upon their knees to everie man. Whereupon, pitie prevailed more to obtaine pardon of punishment, than the goodnesse of their cause to the purging of their guilt. So all the Tribes except Pollia, disannulled and made void the enditement aforesaid. But the sentence of the Tribe Pollia was, That as many as were of age and undergrowne, to wit, fourteen yeare old & upward, should be skourged and put to death. Item, That their wives and children, by martiall law, should be sold in open port-sale. And for certaine it is reported, that the Tuscules tooke so deepe an anger against the authors of so hard a Censure and cruell doome, that they have caried it in mind even to our fathers daies. For in dispite thereof no candidate, or competitor for an office of the Tribe Pollia, was ever woont to get the voices of the Tribe Papyria. The yeare following, whiles *Q. Fabius* and *L. Fabius* were Consuls, *A. Cornelius Arvina* Dictatour, and *M. Fabius Ambustus* Generall of horse; B having taken a streighter levie of souldiours than ordinarie, for feare of a greater warre in Samnium (for it was reported that the whole manhood and floure of the youth were taken up and waged out of the countries adjoining) lead forth a goodly and puissant armie against the Samnites. But they pitched their camp so carelesly in the enemies ground, as if the enemy had been farre off: and the Samnite legions came on a suddaine so proudly, that they set forward the trench and rampier, and encamped close to the Corps de gard of the Romanes. Howbeit they night approached so fast, that they were hindred for assailing the campe: but they gaue it out plainly, they would do it the morrow after by day light. The Dictatour seeing that he must fight neerer than he expected or hoped, for feare lest the streightnes and disadvantage of the ground, C might prejudice and hinder the valliance of his souldiours, leaving fires thicke burning in the campe, for to disappoint the sight of the enemies, in the still night with silence leadeth forth his legions: but yet could he not for the neernes of their camp escape, but be espied of them. The horsemen forthwith followed upon them in the taile, and preased hard upon the armie in their march, yet in such sort, that before it was day, they would not fight, nay the verie footmen were not all yssued out of the campe before day light. At length when it was broad day, the horsemen adventured to charge upon the Romanes, and partly by playing upon the taile of the hindmost, and partly by skirmishing in places that were hard to be passed over, they hindered their march and kept them behind. In the meane while their Infanterie also overtook the Cavallerie, so as now the Samnites with all their forces came upon them. The Dictatour seeing he could not go farther without his great losse and disadvantage, commanded his men to fortifie even in D that very place where he stood: but for as much as the light horsemen of his enemies were overspread all about, they could not possibly go to provide stakes to make a parapet or rampier, nor begin to cast a trench. VVhen he perceived therefore that he neither could go forward, nor stay and fortifie, he removed all his baggage out of the ranges, and set his men in battaile array. The enemies doe the like, and were not behind either in courage or in forces. But this most of all heartened and encouraged them, for that they being ignorant that the occasion of the enemies retreat was the disadvantage and straightnes of the place, presumed that they did it upon feare; and therefore they in terrible manner followed after them, as if the Romanes had fled and beene affrighted. And even that for a good while held the fight in doubtfull balance, albeit the Samnites now a long time had not been used to abide so much as the first shout of the Roman armie when they give the charge. But verily that day, from the third houre unto the eight, E it is said that the battaile stood so equall and indifferent, that neither the shout and crie was redoubled, nor heard the second time, after it was once set up at the first buckeling: nor the ensignes were set forward, or withdrawne backward, but remained where they first were: ne yet of any part were they seene to retire or recule, but every man in his degree and place, bending forward and preasing with his shield, without breathing or looking backe, still fought a front: the same noise, one resolution to die or fight it out, and not to give over before utter wearines or darke night. Now began the strength of men to faile, now the speare point and edge of the sword, began to turne and loose their force, and now the captaines themselves were to seek for counsell and what to doe: By what time all at once the Samnites horsemen, hearing that the cariages of the Romanes with one onely Corner were gone a good way off from the armed souldiours, without any other guard and fortification; for greedinesse of spoile F set upon them. VVhich when a messenger in great hast and feare reported to the Dictatour, Let them alone (quoth hee) let them encomber themselves with the spoile, and spare not. Then came

From nine of the clock in the morning, untilt one after noone.

came others one after another, windlesse with running, crying out and saying, that all was gone: and that everie where the soldiours goods were rifled, ransacked and caried cleane away. Vherenpon he sent for the Generall of horsemen, See ye not (quoth hee) *o M. Fabius*, the battaile abandoned of our enemies Cavallerie? They stand still and are encombred and pestered with our cariages. Now therefore charge upon them, disbanded as they are, (which usually happeneth to any multitude, busie in pillage) find them you shall (no doubt) few on horsebacke, and as few with weapon in hand: and whiles they are loding their horses with spoile, kill them unarmed, and make it a bloodie bootie to them, and let them buie it full deely: as for me, let me alone with the charge of the legions and footmen; have you the honour of the horsemens service. Then the Cavallerie raunged into a Squadron, as exquisitely and skilfully as possibly might be, ran forcibly upon the enemies disarraied and clogged with carriage, beating them down, and making a miserable massacre of them in everie place. For being (as they were) among packs & fardels which they cast from them suddainly, & now lay against their feet to stumble on as they fled, and in the horses way, that were masked and affraid, they were not able well, either to flie or to fight, and so were slain. When as the enemies Cavallerie were thus defeated and well-neere all come to nought, then *M. Fabius* wheeling about his wings of horsemen, for to fetch a compasse, set upon the Infanterie at their backs: Vherupon arose a new fearfull crie, which caused the hearts of the Samnites to tremble and quake. The Dictator withall, seeing formost of the enemies fighting in the front, looking back ever & anone, their ensignes out of order, and all their battalions waving and floting to and fro, called hard upon his soldiours, & exhorted them to fight lustily: cried unto the Colonels, the sergeants of Bands and Caporals severally by name, to re-charge and renew the medley againe with him. Thus with a fresh and new shour, they advance the standerds, & set forward the ensignes: and the farther they march on, the more perceived they the enemies to be troubled, and in disaray. And now by this time, the horsemen also were within the sight of the formost in the vanguard: and *Cornelius* looking backe to the bands and companies of his footmen, making signe with hand and with voice as well as he could, shewed and made demonstration unto them, that they saw the guidons and targuets of their owne fellow horsemen. Which when they once heard, and saw withal, presently as if they had forgot the battaile which they endured almost a whole day, and felt no smart of their wounds, they bestirred themselves against the enemy as lustily, as if they had newly come out of their tents, fresh and in heart, and scene but now the signall, and heard the sound of trumpet, to a battaile. Now were the Samnites no longer able to sustain the terror of the horsemen behind, & the violence of the footmen before: but were either slaine in the mids between, or skattered abroad in flight. Such as staied and were environed about, the footmen slew: those who fled, were trodden under the horse feet and killed: among whom, the Generall himselfe left his bodie on the earth. This battaile above all other, so quelled and daunted the hearts of the Sabines and crushed their forces, that in all their Diets and Councils they muttered and gave out, That it was no mervaile that they sped so ill, in all their affaires of armes, the quarrell was so bad and ungodly, and the warre begun so contrarie to a covenant of truce, and having the verie gods, and that justly, more against them and greater enemies than men: and that such a warre must needs cost some great overthrow, and might not be expiate without some notable satisfaction. Here onely was the difficultie and difference, whether vengeance and punishment should be taken of the guiltie blood of some fewe, or the guiltlesse blood of all. And even then, some there were, that durst nominate the very authors of this war. And one especially, to wit *Brutulus Papius*, whose name was by the common voice and consent heard above all the rest. A noble and mightie man he was, and without question, the principall breaker of this last truce. The Pretors being enforced therefore, to determine as touching him what was to be done; at length decreed, That *Brutulus Papius* should be delivered to the Romanes, and that together with him, all the Roman pillage and their prisoners should be sent to Rome: and that of all the goods, unto which according to the covenant and composition, the Feccials laid claime, there should, according to right and equitie, restitution be made. Then were the Heraulds, by vertue of the decree, sent to Rome, together with the dead corps of *Brutulus*: for he to avoid shame and punishment, wilfully killed himselfe. It was thought good, that with his bodie all his goods also, should be delivered. Howbeit none of all these things but only the captives, and whatsoever could justly be owned out of the bootie, was received: all the rest were offered, but in vain, for nothing was accepted.

The

- A The Dictator by vertue of an act of the Senat, triumphed. Some write that this war was fought by the Consuls, and that they triumphed over the Samnites: and that *Fabius* also went forward into Apulia, and from thence brought away great and rich prizes. But without all controversie *A. Cornelius* was Dictator that yeare: this onely was the doubt, whether he were created for the conduct of this war, or at the Romane games *Circenses*, (because *L. Cautius* happened to bee grievously sick) to give the signall when the chariots & steeds should be let out of the Barriers to run the race for their prize: & that having done that function of a charge (yvis not worth the remembrance) he should leave his Dictators place. It is not an easie thing to prefer either one matter, or one author before another. I suppose rather for my part, that the record and memoriall of these matters hath been depraved and corrupted, by these funerall Orations of praises, and by these counterfeit and false titles of images: whiles every house and familie draweth to it, the honour and renowne of noble exploits, martiall feats, and dignities, by any untruth and lie, so it be colourable. And hereupon, certes it is, that both the deeds of particular persons, and the public records and monuments of Actes, are confounded: neither is there extant any one writer, who lived in those daies, upon whom, as a true and certaine author, we might ground, and rest our selves.



THE NINTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the
Cittie of Rome.

D

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the ninth Booke.



E

- Two *Veturius* and *Sp. Posthumius* Consuls, having engaged their armie so far, within the Gullet or stright of *Caudium*, into a place of great disadvantage, that they had no means nor hope to get forth againe, fell to capitulation with the Samnites, and compounded with them: and after they had delivered unto them 600 Roman horsemen for hostages, they went away with the rest of the armie, but so, as they were forced all of them to passe shamefully under the gallows. The same Consuls (even by the motion of one of them, *Sp. Posthumius*, who persuaded the Senate, that by rendering of those into the enemies hands, through whose default so shamefull and ignominious covenant was concluded, the citie might be delivered and discharged of the promise given in the name thereof) with two Tribunes of the Commons, and as many besides as had subscribed to the foresaid accord and agreement, were sent, and yielded to the Samnites: but they might not be received. Not long after, *Papirius* sonne named *Censor*, defeated the Samnites, & put them likewise under the gallows: and recovered againe those 600 Roman horsemen as was said, that were left for hostages. By which means, the shame and disgrace of the former basefly Act was cancelled and abolished. Two Tribes were added to the rest, *Vesentina* and *Falerina*. New inhabitants were sent to people *Stessa* and *Pontia*. *Ap. Claudius* being Censor, brought a channell of water to the citie, called of his name *Claudia*: and paved the high way named after him likewise, *Appia*. He admitted also into the charge of Senators the sons of Libertines. But for as much as this state and degree of Citizens seemed as it were polluted with these unworthie persons among them, the Consuls of the yeare following, in the review of the Senators, and chusing new, held themselves to the order that other Consuls next before had observed. This booke containeth moreover the prosperous wars against the *Apulians*, *Tuscanes*, *Umbrians*, *Masians*, *Pelignians*, *Aequians*, and Samnites: with whom was renewed the ancient League and amitie. *Flavius* the Tribune or notarie, sonne of a Libertine or enfranchised Roman, was made *Edile Curiule*, by the faction of the base common people. Which faction, because it troubled and disquieted all the assemblies for Elections, and whole court in *Mars* field, wherein they have a great shoke and vuled all by means of might and strong hand, were by *Q. Fabius* the Censor, reduced into foure Tribes by themselves: which was the thing that purchased *Fabius* the surname of *Maximus*. [i. right. Great.]

After



The Oration of
C. Pontius to
the Samnites.

After this yeare, immediately followed the peace made at Caudium, so memorable for the Romanes foile and misfortune, which happened in the Consulship of *T. Peturinus Calvinus*, and *Sp. Posthumus*. During which, the Samnites had for their Generall Conducker *C. Pontius*, the sonne of *Herennius*, a most prudent and politicke father, and was himselfe a worthy warrior, and a most excellent captain. This *Pontius*, after the Embassadours aforesaid (who had been sent to yeeld and deliver the goods) were returned home without peace concluded, spake thus in a frequent assemblie of the Samnites, and said: Maisters and friends, thinke never, but good there hath ben done in this voiage, and our Embassage hath taken some effect. For look what wrath the gods in heaven conceived against us, by our breach of covenant & truce, is thereby wholly satisfied, and fully done away. This I know assuredly, that the gods above (whose pleasure it was, that we should be driven to this neere point and hard exigent, as to render the goods claimed of us, by vertue of an accord and covenant) were nothing contented and pleased, that this our satisfaction and recompence for the breach thereof, was so proudly and disdainfully despised and rejected of the Romanes. For what could possible have ben done more, either to pacifie the gods, or to appease men, than that which we offered and performed? Whatsoever we won by way of hostilitie and spoile, from our enemies, and which by right of warre seemed to bee ours, wee sent backe againe: the counsellors and persuaders of taking armes, because wee could not find alive, wee delivered dead as they were: and their very goods also (because nothing might remaine with us, to bring us within the compasse of their guiltinesse) we brought to Rome. What owe I more to thee o Romane? what am I bound to performe besides, in regard either of covenant, or of the gods, the judges of the covenant? Whome shall I chuse and take for an indifferent arbitratour betweene thine anger and my punishment? No State and bodie of people in generall, no privat person in particular doe I refuse: and if no equitie and reason for the poore & needie, be reserved amongst men against the greater & more mightie, yet he will I, & have recourse to the gods, the revengers of such intollerable pride: and I will pray them to turn their anger upon those, whom neither restitution of their owne goods, nor the tendering of other mens withall to boot, will serve and content: whose fell crueltie, neither the death of the guiltie persons, nor the deliverie of dead bodies, neither the owners themselves yeelded, nor all they had in the world rendered with them, can satisfie: breefely, who may not possible bee appeased, without wee should part with our hart blood unto them, for to drink, and give our bowels & entrails to be torn in peeces. The war (o Samnites) is just and right on their behalfe, who have no way and meanes to avoid it: and ever lawfully take they armes, who have no other hope, but in force of armes. Since then, in all the affaires of this world, nothing is of more importance than this, That men weigh and consider, whether the gods be gracious or adverse unto their enterprises: be sure of this, that as wee made our former warre not so much against men as the gods; so, wee shall fight that which is now in hand, in the name of the gods, and under their conduct and guidance. Having spoken by way of prophesie these wordes, (which as they were right pleasant and plausible in the hearing, so they proved as true and were verified in the successe ensuing) he lead forth an armie into the field, and about Caudium he encamped himselfe, as covertly as he could. From thence, he sendeth to * Calatia (where he heard that the Romanes Consuls and their forces lay in camp) ten souldiours disguised in the habit of Heardmen, and commanded them to keep their cattell grazing apart, some in one place and some in another, but never farre from the Romanes fortes and guards: with this instruction, That when they hapned upon any of the Romanes foragers and vancouriers, they should agree all in one tale, and say, That the Samnite legions were in Apulia, besieging Luceria with all their forces, and were at the point of winning it by assault. This rumour also was for the nonce by others before, set abroad and spread of purpose, yea and came to the Romanes eares: but these captives made it sound more credible and like to be true, for this especially, that all their words agreed one with another. No man doubted but that the Romanes would aide the Lucerines, their good and faithfull Allies, and the rather for feare least all Apulia would upon this present trouble and fearfull example revolt, and band with the Samnites: and the onely thing they stood upon was this, Which way to go unto them. For twaine there were leading to Luceria; the one, broad & open, along the coast of the Adriatick sea: but as

* Calatia.

A it was the safer, so it was the farther about. Another shorter cut there was through the streights or gullet of * Caudium called *Furcula Caudine*. But the naturall situation of the place is thus: There are two deepe, narrow, and wooddie pases, or dales, one in the taile of the other, with continuall crestes and ridges of hils round about them: betweene them lieth enclosed in the middt, a good large plaine or meadowe, greene of grasse and full of waters, through the middt whereof, there lieth a direct passage. But before yee come to that greene; yee must enter into that first streight aforesaid, and returne againe either the same way that ye went in, or if yee proceed to go forward, ye must passe through another such passe or streight, but narrower and more comberfome than the other. Into that plaine aforesaid the Romanes marched downe with their armie another way, through an hollow rocke, but when they went on forth to the other B streight valley, they found it stopped and made up with the fall of trees, one crosse over another, and likewise with an huge heape of mightie stones, laied full against them in the way. And they had not so soone discovered this guilefull practise of their enemies, but they might deserie withall, a power of them also on the top of the hill. Then with all speed they secke to go back againe the same way they came; but it they found also dammed up in like fort, and beset with armed men. Whereupon they made a stand, without any mans commaundement: and as their minds were all amazed and astonied, so their bodies also were possessed as it were with a strange and extraordinarie nummednesse in their limmes: and whiles they looked one upon another, each man thinking his fellow to bee more wittie, and have better understanding than himselfe; for a good while they stood still, and said not a worde. But afterwards, when as they sawe the two Consuls pavillions a setting up, and some making readie things necessarie to fortification; although they saw well enough, that in this desperate case, past all hope of recoverie, for all the defences they could devise, they should but loose their time and travaile and proove foolles in the end: yet nevertheless, because they would not seeme to encrease their distressed fortune, and double it with their owne default and negligence, everie man what hee could, to his power, without the direction of any leader, settled himselfe to worke, and to fortifie along the water side their campe, with a trench and rampier. And besides the insolent and proud scoffing and derision of their enemies, everie man with pittifull confession scorned and checked his owne worke and travaile, as vaine, and to no purpose. As the Consuls then were pensive and discomforted, & called none about them to counsell, (for that in deed they supposed they were past all advice and helpe) the Lieutenants and Colonels came unto them of their selves unfeint for, and the soldiours turning to the Prætorium or Consuls Quarter, cried to their captaines for helpe and succour, which hardly the verie immortal gods could afford and give them. But they, rather made their mones and complaints one to another of their misfortune, than sat in sage counsell to give or take advice, until the night came upon them: whiles ech man according to his naturall humour and fancie, muttered diversly. One said, let vs breake though the stoppages opposed against us in the way: another, let us passe over the mountaines and woods before us, what way soever we may be able to carie armour; for so we get to the enemy once, whom we have almost for these thirtie yeares vanquished and chased before us; all will be plaine, even and easie unto us Romanes fighting against these faithlesse, perjured, & disloyall Samnites. Tush, saith another, whether should we go, or which way? What? Are we about to remove mountaines out of their places? So long as these tops of hils are over our heads, how will you possibly come to the enemy? Armed or unarmed, courageous or cowards, all is one, entrapped we are and undone everie one. Our enemy will not so much as offer us the sword, wheron we may die like men with honour: he will sit still and end this ware. Thus passed words too and fro, and thus passed the night away: unmindful were they of taking repast, never thought they of taking repose and sleep. The Samnites on the other side, in this so fortunate and happie opportunitie presented unto them, were as much to secke what to doe, and what course to chuse and follow. Whereupon, they all in generall were to dispatch letters to *Herennius Pontius*, the father of their Generall, and to know his opinion. Now this man beforetime, by reason of his great age, had given over not only Militarie affaires, but also all civile businesses: howbeit in that old crasie and spent bodie of his, he bare the fresh vigour of the mind and a pregnant wit to give counsell. When hee understood that the Romanes armie was shut up fast within the two forrests, at the Caudine Gullers, and that his advice was asked by his sonnes messenger: hee gave presently this counsell, That with all speed they should bee let goe from thence every one, with-

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he mangled despiteously and cut in peeces; that every man forgetting his own estate, wherein he stood, turned away his eyes, as it were from an abominable spectacle, and could not indure to behold that disgracing & disfiguring of so great state and maiestie. The first that were put under the gallows, were the Coss. welneere halfe naked: and according to their degree and place, so was every one in order put to the shame: and afterward, the legions one after another. The enemies in their armor stood all the while about them, scorning, mocking, & making a game of them: many had swords and daggers set against their hearts, in menacing wise, some were hurt and stabbed to death, namely, such as with stern countenance and grim looks above the rest, for the indignitie of these things, offended the conqueror. Thus were they sent with shame inough under the gallows, and (that which was more grievous than the thing) even in the sight & view of their enemies, they were not so soon gotten out of the Forrest, but although they seemed but then as plucked out of dark hell to see the day, yet the very light it selfe was worse than all kind of deaths, when they beheld so ill favored an armie & unseemly. And therefore, albeit they might have reached to Capua before night, yet being doubtfull of the faithfulness and protection of their allies, or els disinclined for very shame, they cast their poore and filie bodies upon the ground, about the high waies not far from Capua. Whereof, when news came to Capua, the just & due pittie which they took of their allies, overcame the inbred arrogancie and pride of that people by kind. Immediately they sent unto the Coss. the ensignes & ornaments belonging to their place of authoritie, the liectors & serjeants with their rods, they sent armor and horses, apparell & victuall also for the soldiours bountifully: and as they came neer to Capua, the whole Senat and people went out to meet them, and performed all duties of kindnes & hospitalitie, both privat and publick, that could be devised, and as meet was and requisite. And yet neither the courteous usage, the pleasant countenances and lightsome speeches of their allies, could draw from them any words, no, nor so much as make them to hold up their heads and eyes, and to looke again upon their friends, when they yielded them all these comforts they could. So as, besides their greefe and sorrow of heart, a certaine bashfulness and shame forced them to shun all communication and conversing with men. The morrow after, when as certaine young gentlemen of the Nobilitie were returned, who had been sent in convoy from Capua, to accompanie them and bring them on their way, as farre as their liberties and confines; they were sent for into the Senate house, and being demaunded by the auncients and elders, what news they reported, that they seemed unto them much more heavie & cast downe than before, so silent and in manner dumbe, they marched along: that noble mind and courage of the Romanes was now mute and mum, their hearts cleane done and gone, together with their armour, not able to greet againe, no nor to give a word to those that saluted them, nor one of them for feare able to open his mouth, as if still they bare that yoke and gallows upon their neckes, under which they went. That the Samnites had indeed not onely a brave victorie, but also a perpetuall over them, and the hand of them for ever; and had now woon not Rome, as the Gauls aforetime, but also (which was a more hardie and warlike exploit) had conquered the Romanes courage, stoutnesse, and valour. As these newes were reported, and audience given thereto, with such assent, that every man lamented now the Romane name, as desperate; and concluded generally it was in the counsell of these their faithfull confederats, that they were past recovery; one *Cassius Calavicus*, the son of *Ovius*, a man right noblie borne, renowned for his valiant Acts, and besides, very grave and reverend for his age, spake by report in this manner and said, That he took the matter far otherwise than they all did: for that stubborn & resolute silence, (qd. he) those eyes fastened so wistly on the earth, those deafe ears to admit all solace & comfort, that shame of theirs to look up and behold the light, were expresse and certain tokens of them that tossed and rolled from the very root & bottome of their heart, a huge heap and masse of anger & despite. Either (qd. he) I know not the nature of the Romanes, or els that filenes & silence will shortly cost the Samnites, wofull cries & dolefull grones: and the remembrance of this Caudium accord, will be more heavie and dolourous a good deale to the Samnites than to the Romanes: for, as for them, they wil every man find their hearts and courages again, whersoever they shall hap to encounter; but the Samnites shall not meet every where with the Caudium streights for their purpose.

And now by this time was this shamefull overthrow and disgrace knowne at Rome. Intelligence they had before, how they were beset and enclosed about: but afterwards arrived a messenger with news more heavie and sorrowfull for that ignominious peace, than for any perill and danger otherwise. At the first noise and bruit that they were besieged, they began to misgust; but

after

after they heard, that they had so shamefully yeelded themselves, all that preparation of aid and succour was discharged and sent away: and presently without any order from publicke authoritie, they gave themselves every one to all manner of mourning and lamentation. The shops all about the market place were shut up. A generall vacation began of it selfe, and pleading in all courts ceased, before proclamation made: the purple and skarlet robes were left off, the golden rings laid away, and the whole cittie in a manner more sorrowfull and heavie, than the very armie. Neither were they angrie and offended with the captaines onely, with the authours of the peace, with the cautions and sureties for the same; but hated also the guiltlesse souldiours, denying flatly, that they were worthie to be received into cittie or house. Which heat of stomacke and wrathfull indignation, the first arrivall of the armie, utterly allaid, which even to angrie persons was pittifull and lamentable. For they returned not as men that escaped safe, alive, and unlooked for into their countrie, but like captives in habit and countenance; they entred late into the towne, and hid their heads, every man within his owne house: so as the morrow after, and for certaine daies following, none of them would come into the market place, nor put his head out at dores to looke into the streets. The Consuls likewise for their part, kept in as private men, and would exercise no function pertaining to their charge, but onely that which they were forced unto by an act of the Senate, namely, to nominate a Dictatour for to be President at the Election of Consuls. So, they elected *Q. Fabius Ambustus* for Dictatour, and *P. Aelius Paetus*, General of horse. Who being wrong created, and without the approbation of the Auspices, there were chosen in their roume, *M. Aemilius Pappus* for Dictatour, and *L. Valerius Flaccus* General of the horsemen, and yet by them was not the assemblie holden for the Election above said.

And for as much as the people were even wearie againe of all that yeares Magistrates, as unluckie and unfortunate, it grew at length to an Interregne. So Interregents there were, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *M. Valerius Corvinus*, who created Consuls, *Q. Publius Philo*, and *L. Papyrius Cursor* for the second time; with the whole consent, no doubt, of the cittie, for that in those daies there were not two more noble and renowned captaines to be found.

The same daie they were created, they entred their Magistracie (for so the LL. of the Council had decreed) and after certaine solemne and ordinarie actes of the Senat passed, they went in hand to consult about the treatie of the Caudine peace. And *Publius*, whose course it was then to have the sovereignty of rule, Spake (qd. he) *Sp. Posthumius*, to the matter propounded, and let us heare your opinion, and what you can say. Who after hee was risen and stood up,

with the very same countenance and cheer that he went under the gallows; I am (not quoth he) o yee Consuls, ignorant, that I am first called forth, not for honour, but to my disgrace; and commanded to speake, not as a Senatour and Counciller, but as a man culpable and accused, both for an unfortunate warre administred, and a shamefull peace concluded. Howbeit, seeing that ye have not propounded and touched ought, concerning either our trespasse or our punishment, (setting apart all kind of excuse and defence, which would be no very hard matter to maintain, before men that are not ignorant of humane fortune, and of necessities, whereto men may be driven) I will in brieve deliver my mind concerning that, which you have moved and propounded. Which sentence of mine may sufficiently witness and testifie, whether I meant to spare

mine owne life, or save your legions, when as I became bound to that dishonest or necessarie stipulation and promise, call it whether ye will. And yet, seeing it was made without the peoples privitie and grant, the State of Rome is not obliged thereto, and thereby nothing due to the Samnites but onely our bare bodies. Let us therefore be rendered by the hands of the Feciales and Heralds, in our shirts, and fast bound: let us deliver and rid the people of all scruple and trouble of conscience, if we have entangled them with any; that there be no let in lawe of God or man, but that both justly and lawfully ye may begin the war anew. In the meanwhile my mind and advise is, that the Consuls levie, enroll, arme, & lead forth an armie: but not to enter within the enemies marches, before all things duely belonging to the deliverie of us into their hands, be fully accomplished. Now, I pray and beseech yee, o immortall gods, that seeing it was not your good will and pleasure, that *Sp. Posthumius* and *T. Veturius* Consuls, should with fortunate conduct fight against the Samnites, yet yee would be satisfied herewith, That ye beheld us put under the gallows: that ye saw us obliged in an infamous and shamefull bond of covenant: that ye now view us naked and delivered bound into the enemies hands, readie to receive upon our heads even with the losse of our lives, all their anger, malice, & despight: and that it would please

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you,

The Oration of
Sp. Posthumius
late Consul in
the Senat.

you, that the new Consuls and Legions of the Romanes, may in that fort war with the Samnits, G
as evermore the wars before us Consuls have been conducted, managed, & performed. When
he had spoken these words, all men both so wondered at this man and pitied him too, that one
while they would not believe he was the same *Sp. Posthumus*, who had moved and persuaded so
soule and dishonest a treatie of peace: otherwhiles they lamented that so brave and noble a per-
sonage, should suffer any especiall torment above other, at the enemies hands, for anger and de-
spite of reversing and breach of that accord. When as now they all after singular praises of the
man, condescended to his opinion; the Tribunes of the Com. *L. Livius* and *Q. Melius*, attempt-
ed for a while to oppose themselves against this proceeding: saying, That neither the people
could be acquit and assailed in conscience, by their deliverie, unlessse every thing were againe re-
stored to the Samnits, in the same estate wherein they stood at Caudium: nor they themselves (in
that they subscribed and became bound for the accord of peace, to save the host of the people
of Rome) had deserved any punishment: ne yet, last of all, ought they being sacred Magistrates
and Inviolable, to be yeilded to the enemies, and expoed to any outrage and violence. Then
(quoth *Posthumus*) in the meane while deliver us up that are but lay and profane men, whom
with safe conscience and without offence ye may. And as for these, so sacro-saint as they now be,
ye shall hereafter render them likewise, so soone as they are out of their charge. But if ye will be
ruled by me, let them before they be thus yeilded, here in this common hall bee whipped and
scourged, for the usury and interest of their punishment, which they would seeme to deferre and
put off so long. For whereas they all eage and say, That by the deliverie and yeelding of us, the
peoples consciences cannot be cleared and assailed; who is so ignorant in the Fecciales and He-
rauld's law, that knoweth not that these men spake this, for this end rather, that they themselves
might not be rendered, than for that the truth requireth so. Neither doe I denie my Lords, that
bare promises and stipulations are unviolable, and to be kept as well as covenants & obligations
with those men, among whom both religion to godward, and faithfulnessse to men is in regarde
and estimation: but I denie againe, that without the peoples assent & grant, any thing can be esta-
blished good and effectually, to bind the people thereunto. What! if the Samnites, in the same
pride and insolencie, wherein they obtruded and forced upon us this stipulation, yea and wrung
it from us, would also have urged us to utter and speake, the solemne forme of words, which they
use to doe that surrender up cities; would ye (my Masters that are Tribunes) infer and say, that by
vertue thereof the people of Rome is surrendered into their hands? and that this citie, with the
temples, chappels, limits, and waters, by strength thereof, are the Samnites possession? Well,
I let passe to speake of dedition, because the matter in question is touching onely a stipulation.
on. What, I pray you, if we had promised and undertooke, that the people of Rome should
forsake and abandon this citie? or set fire on it? or not have Magistrates, Senat, or lawes any lon-
ger? or to be governed againe by Kings? God forbid and forfend that, say you. Well, it is not
the indignitie of things, that easeth the bond of Stipulation. If there be any one case, where-
in the people may be obliged, then in truth may they be in all as well: neither skilleth it any
whit, (whereat happily some will make a stay, and thinke it is materiall) whether Consull, Di-
ctator, or Pretour, enter into bond and become suretie. And even this it was, that the Samnites
themselves judged so to be, and stood upon: thinking it not sufficient, that the Consuls became
bound, but they put the Lieutenants, the Treasurers, and the Colonels there, to the same. And
now, let no man demand of me, why I entred so into stipulation, being a thing not incident to
the Consull his charge and right, neither was I to undertake unto them peace, which was not in
my power to effect: nor in your name to promise it, from whom I had no commission and war-
rant. Certes my Lords and Senators, there was nothing at Caudium done at all by mans polli-
cie and counsel. The immortall gods bereft both your Generals and the enemies too, of all their
sense and understanding: for neither we, in the conduct and ordering of our service, stood warily
enough upon our good guard: and they againe, as they gat the victorie full badly, so they lost it
as lewdly: whiles they hardly trusted the strength of those places, by meanes of which they had
gained the vantage and better hand of us: and while they made such hast, upon what agreement
they cared not, to disarme men that are bom martial, & naturally made for wars. For, if they had
been in their right wits, what an hard matter was it for them, in the time that they sent for olde
aged men from their home, to come to Councell, for to have dispatched their Embassadors to
Rome? and so to have dealt and treated with the Senat and people, about a perfect peace and fi-
nall

The Dedition of
Sp. Posthumus.

A nall league in deed? It had been but three daies journey for men not encombred, but lightly ap-
pointed. All that meane while, there might have been truce, until the Embassadors from Rome, G
had brought them either certaine victorie or assured peace. For that had been a covenant and
stipulation good in law, the which we should have agreed unto, by warrant of the peoples wil and
approbation. But ye would never have granted & allowed it: no more should we have entred into
any such stipulation. Neither was it Gods will and providence, that there should be any other
issue and end of things, than this: that both they, should vainly be deluded, and feed themselves
as it were, with the fancie of a more joyfull dreame; than their mindes could well conceive
and apprehend: and also that the same fortune, which had entangled, snared and brought in-
to danger our armie, should losen the same, and rid it againe out of perill: that as their victo-
B rie was frivolous and vaine, so a vainer and more frivolous peace, should make it frustrate and
worth nothing: and that such a stipulation & promise should be interposed and come between,
which might oblige and binde no person, but the very makers themselves. For what dealing hath
there been with you my Lords of the Senat? or with the people of Rome? Who can challenge
you? Who can call you into question? Who can come forth and complaine that he is by you de-
ceived? enemy? or citizen? To enemy ye have passed no promise: citizen to undertake for you
and in your name, ye commaunded none. Therefore yee have, nothing to doe to meddle with us,
to whom ye gave nought in charge: and with the Samnites as little, with whom ye had no treatie
at all. To the Samnites, wee are sufficient pledges enough, and answerable to performe that which
is our own: for that, I say, which we are able to make good and yeeld; even our bodies and lives:
C upon these let them exercise their rage, upon these let them whet their swords and their spight-
full malice. And as for the Tribunes of Commons, consult ye together, whether they may be
rendred presently, or ought to be reserved and put off to an other daie: let us in the meane time
(o *Peturius*, and yee that are the rest) offer these wretched heads and lives of ours, like caitives to
discharge our bonde, and by our punishment and execution, deliver and set free the Romane
armie.

Both the cause it selfe, and the advocate also, moved the Lords of the Senat: and wrought so
much not only with the rest, but also with the Tribunes themselves [of Commons] that they pro-
mised to be at the Consuls ording and appointment. Whereupon immediately they gave up
their offices, and were delivered into the Feccials hands with the other, to be led all, to Caudium.
D There was not so soon an act of the Senat passed hereof, but it seemed that the very light and raies
of the sun shone upon the citie againe. *Posthumus* was in every man his mouth, him they praised
and extolled to the heavens: comparing him with the voluntarie offering of *P. Decius* the Con-
sull, for the safetie of the armie, and other worthie and noble actes of others: Saying, that by his
ouverture, by his meanes and travaile, the citie was delivered from a servile, dishonourable and
unhonced peace: He (say they) hath offered himselfe to all the torments, anger, and vengeance of
the enemies, & made full satisfaction therby for the people of Rome. Nothing now but war, war:
Al' arme, now cried every man: and, oh, that ever they might see the day, to encounter once again
with the Samnits, in their armour and with weapon in hand. So, whiles the citie was thus infla-
med and boiled with hatefull yre and indignation, there was an armie levied, well neare all of vo-
E luntaries. New legions were mustred and enrolled againe out of the same souldiors, and a puis-
sant armie set forth to Caudium. The Feccials marched before, and when they were come to the
gate of the citie, commanded the Suerties, such as had subscribed and signed the accord afore-
said, to be depoyled and stript out of their clothes, & their hands to be pinnioned behind them.
And when the Licour or serjeant, for very reverence of Majestie in *Posthumus* his person, bound
him at large and at ease, Why doest not thou (qd. he) draw and pull the cord straighter, that the
rending and delivery of us may be according to lawe and as it ought to be, and no fault to be
found withall? Afterwards, when they were come into the assembly of the Samnits, & before the
Tribunall judgment seat of *Pontius*; *A. Cornelius Arvina* one of the Fecciales or Heraulds thus
spake: For as much as these persons, without commandement and commission from the Quiri-
F tes and people of Rome, have undertaken by stipulation, That there shall a league and peace be
made with you; and in so doing have offended and trespassed against the State, therefore, to the
end, that the people of Rome might be freed and assailed from a detestable and heinous offence,
Here I deliver and yeelde unto you, the selfe same men. No sooner had he uttered these words, but
Posthumus with his knee smote the Fecciall his thigh, with all the might he could: & with a loud
voice

voic. said, That he being now a Samnite citizen, and the other an Embassadour and an Herald of the people of Rome; had against the law of nations injured him and offered him the abuse; whereby the Romanes might more justly make warre. Then quoth *Pontius*. This deliverie neither will I accept of and admit, neither shall the Samnites hold it good and lawfull. But why doest not thou *Sp. Posthumus*, if thou beleeve there be any gods, either undo and cancelle all, or stand to thy bargain and covenant? For by right either are they all due unto the Samnites, whom they once had in their power; or els peace, in lieu of them. But why speake I thus, and chalenge thee, who doest yeeld thy selfe againe prisoner to the conqueror as faithfully and loially as thou canst? The people of Rome I challenge, who, if they repent of the promise and bargain made at the streights of Caudium, let them bring againe the Legions into that gullet, wherein they were environned, enclosed, and compassed. Let no man deceive and delude other. Let all be undone againe, and every thing as it was: let them take againe their armour, which by covenant they yeelded up: let them returne into their owne campe, and have whatsoever they had the day before the Parle. Then let them please themselves with war, with valiant and magnanimous deeds: refuse they then, and spare not all covenant: reject they then all treatie of peace. Let us have the same fortune, the same oportunitie and vantage of the places, which we had before the mention of peace: and so make warre, and trie the issue. So shall neither the people of Rome, blame the Consuls stipulation, nor wee find any lacke and default in the faithfulness of the people of Rome. And will yee never have done, but alwaies find shifts and excuses, and not stand to your covenants, when yee are overcome, and have the worfe of your enemies? Yee gave sometimes hostages to King *Porſenna*; and when yee had done, afterwards stole them away. For a summe of gold you bought againe your citie of the Gauls; and as they were receiving the same gold, murdered they were by you & hewen in peeces. Peace ye have covenanted with us, upon condition that we should restore againe your legions unto you; that peace you cancell and make void, & evermore ye set some colour of right upon your cautelous and fraudulent dealing: Well, aloweth not the people of Rome of the saving of their Legions, by a dishonorable and shamefull peace? Say it is so. Let peace goe whether it will: but give you againe to the Victor, your Legions captivate. Is this your faithfull dealing? are these your covenants, & ceremonies of Fecials and heralds? that thou, according to the agreement and accord, shouldst have that desire of thine, even so many citizens lives saved? and I not have the peace (which by letting mine hold go unto thee an enemy) I bargained for? What Iustice is this, that thou o *Cornelius*, and yee that are heralds, prescribe to Nations abroad? Nay verily, I neither will accept of those persons whom ye make a shew to deliver, neither can I beleeve, that they are yeelded in veritie and good earnest. Nay, I passe not at all, whether they returne againe into that citie, which is obliged by a covenant made, attended upon with the wrath and displeasure of all the gods, whose heavenly power and deitie is thus deluded. Now go and make warre, seeing that *Sp. Posthumus* erewhile jostled and pushed an Embassadour herald with his knee; and so the gods will beleeve no doubt, that *Posthumus* is a Samnite citizen, and no Romanes; and that by a Samnite, a Roman Embassadour hath ben abused: and thereupon you may take a just occasion and good quarrell to make warre upon us. Are you not ashamed, and bauld you not to broach and set abroad, in the view and face of the world, such mockeries of religion? What? old and aunient grave personages, and such as have ben Consuls, to seeke such subtle devises (not fit for verie children and babes to play with) and all to shift off and falsifie their promise made by covenant. Go Licor, loose the Romanes of their bands: and no man so hardie as to stay them, but that they may depart when they will at their owne pleasure. So they, having thus perhaps discharged the publicke fidelitie, or at leastwise quit themselves undoubtedly of their owne, returned from Caudium, unhurt, to the Roman campe.

The Samnites seeing that in lieu of a proud and unreasonable peace, there was a most cruell warre new sprung up againe, not onely forecast and apprehended in their minds, but well neere saw evidently with their eyes, all that ever ensued after. Then, all too late and in vaine, God wot, they praised the two-fold counsell of old *Pontius*: and how they taking the middle way betwene, were deceived, and had exchanged the certain possession of victory, for an uncertaine and doubtful peace: and having lost the oportunitie both of grausifying the Romanes, or doing them harme any more, were now to fight and wage warre with them, whom they might either have disabled for being hurtfull enemies, or made their fast and assured friends for ever. And

A so without any weakning of their power and forces of either side by battaile: their hearts after this Caudine peace were so changed, that *Posthumus* by his voluntarie yeelding was more honored among the Romanes, than *Pontius* his bloodless victorie among the Samnites: and the Romanes made this reckoning, that the possibilitie of making warre was to them as much as undoubted victorie: and the Samnites beleeved verily, that the Romanes had at once made warre againe and gotten the upper hand.

B Whiles these things thus passed, the Saticanes revolted to the Samnites: and the Colonie at Fregellæ, by the suddaine and unlooked for arrivall of the Samnites (with whom it is certaine the Saticanes were banded) in the night was surprisid and taken. But the mutuall feare one of the other, kept them in on both sides that they stirred not out untill the morning. Then began the fight, which for a certain time was equall and indifferent: yet, for that the Fregellones within fought for their Church and chimney (as they say) and by reason that the multitude, unmeet for armes, stood them in good steed in annoying their enemies from off their houses; they held out and found them play a long time. But afterwards, a wilie and deceitfull policie turned all backwards & was their undoing: for they suffered the voice of the crier to be heard through the town, who proclaimed, That whosoever laid down weapon, should depart alive & safe with bag & baggage. The hope whereof, caused them to slack somewhat of their fight, and therewith they began to cast away their armour in everie place. But the resolute fort armed still, brake away through a posterne gate, whose venturousnesse proved to them more safe, than the inconsiderate feare of the other which made them credulous & too light of beliefe. For the Samnites compassed them about with fire, and for all they called upon the gods for their helpe, and to theist enemies for performance of their promise, yet they burned them most piteously.

C The Consuls parted betwene themselves, their provinces. *Papirius* tooke his way to Luceria in Apulia, where the Roman horfmen given for hostages at Caudium were kept in ward: but *Publius* staid in Samnium to make head against the Caudine legions. Which thing much troubled and distracted the minds of the Samnites: for neither their hearts would serve them to go to Luceria, least the enemy should come on their backs; nor yet to stay behind, for feare least in the while, Luceria should be lost. They thought it best therefore, to put all in hazard of a battaile, and to trie it out with *Publius*. Whereupon they bring forth their power into the field: with whom when *Publius* was minded to joine in fight, he thought it not amisse, first to make some speech unto his men, and so commanded them to assemble unto an audience. But, as they came running to the Prætorium, with exceeding great cheerfulness, so by reason of their noise that called hard for battaile, no exhortation of the Generall could be heard: each man his owne heart mindfull of the former disgrace, served well enough to encourage and animate them. So they march out to battaile, putting forward the standerd-bearers and port-ensignes. And because they would loose no time, they first charge with launcing their javelins and shooting darts, and after that, in drawing their swords, they threw away their javelins, as if they had had a signall given them so to doe, and with naked drawne sword, they ran upon their enemies. No cunning was there to bee shewed of warlike captaine, no skill to be shewed either in setting in array the files and ranks, or placing of the rereward for supplies: the soldiors furious anger, with raging violence, marshalled & managed all. So, the enemies were not onely discomfited and put to the rout, but also because they durst not hinder their flight by retiring to their owne campe, they made all the hast they could, disbanded as they were, toward Apulia. Howbeit they were rallied together in one companie, and so came to Luceria. The Romanes, in the same boiling heat of blood that they pierced through the mids of the enemies battaile, entred also into their campe: where was more bloudshed and execution than in the battell: and the greater part of the pillage was in their choller marred and cleane lost.

F The other armie commanded by *Papirius* the Cos. marched along the sea coast to Arpi: and all the countrie they passed thorow, shewed them friendship & courtesie, more for the outrages and losses sustained by the Samnites, & the hatred they bare them, than for any love to the people of Rome, or good received at their hands. And now the Samnites at that time dwelling upon the hils in villages, being mountaineers & wild people, and as it is commonly seen, of like disposition to the places which they do inhabit, wasted the plaine Champaine & sea coasts, despising indeed their more civile life & conversation. Which countrie, if it had ben true to the Samnites, either the Roman armie had not ben able to come to Arpi, or els the penurie and scarcitie of all things

things between Rome & Arpi, would have consumed them, being cut off from all provision of victuals. For even then, being gone from them, & lying encamped before Luceria, as well they with- out in the leaguer and those that were within the citie besieged, were nipped and bitten with hun- ger. The Romanes were served all from Arpi, but so slenderly & skantly, that whiles the footmen were occupied in their guards warding, watching, and working uncessantly; the horsemen, were faine to bring corne from Arpi, in little leather bagges: and otherwhiles, if they met the enemie, were forced to cast the corne from off their horse backs, to fight more nimble. They that were within besieged, before the other Consull came with his victorious armie, had both from the mountaines of the Samnites, victuals brought vnto them, and succours also of men let in to them. But the coming of *Publius* made all provisions more streight: for, leaving the charge of the siege to his brother Consull, he rood lightly appointed without cari- age, all over the countrie, and so beat all the quarters, that they were too hoar for the enemies to forage and purveigh victuals. Then the Samnites, seeing that they within the citie besieged, were past all hope to abide the famine any longer, encamped about Luceria, and were forced to gather all their forces together from all parts, and to give *Papyrius* battaile. At which very instant, when they were on both sides preparing to fight, the Tarentine Embassadors came betweene, dischar- ging and forbidding, both Samnites and Romanes to fight: professing withall, that whosoever they were that refused to give over war, against them they would fight in defence and favor of the others. *Papyrius* having heard that embassage, making semblance, as if he had greatly regarded their speeches, answered that he would conferre with his brother Consull; and having sent for him, and bestowed all the meane time in preparation to fight, when hee had talked with him as touching the execution of matters already resolved, he presently gave the signall, and set out the bloudie banner of battell. Now as the Consuls were busie in sacrificing and performing du- ties belonging to God and man (as their manner is when they purpose to go to a battaile) the Tarentine embassadors aforesaid, encountred them and expected an answer. To whom *Papyrius*, The Chick-matter (qd. he) o ye Tarentines, sendeth mee word, that the birds feed right, and all is well; and besides that, the gods in our sacrifice seeme passing well pleased. And in the name of the gods, & under their conduct (as ye see) we are going to battell. Then commanded he to set forward the standers, and led forth his power, mocking the foolish nation for their great vanitie, who, not able to manage their owne affaires by reason of home seditions and civill discords, thought it meet to be moderators betweene others, and to prescribe them warre or peace. The Sam- nites on the other side, having slaked all their care and desire of war, for that they desired peace in good earnest, or els thought it expedient for them to make a semblance thereof, for to winne unto them the Tarentines; seeing the Romanes all of a suddaine arranged in battaile array and ready to fight, cried forth aloud, that they rested stil in the authoritie of the Tarentines, and were at their direction: neither would they come forth into the field, nor put themselves in armes out of their fort: choosing rather being thus disappointed, to abide the chance of fortune what- soever, than to seeme to have despised the Tarentines, who had interposed themselves as medi- ators for peace. Marry (quoth the Cons.) we take that for a good osse and preface of luckie suc- cesse: & we would wish no more at Gods hands, but to put into their enemies heads that resolution, not to defend their trench & rampire. So the Cons. when they had parted between them their forces, approached the very campe of their enemies, and set upon them with an hot assault on every side. Thus while some filled and dammed up the trenches, others plucked up the stakes of the rampier, and threw the banke and all downe the diches under their feete: whiles not onely their owne inbred valour by nature, but also anger and choler provoked and pricked to the quick, their hearts already fretted and cankered at the very roote, for the last disgrace received; they entred the campe. Every man for his part gave out and said, Here are not the straight gullees of Caudium, here are not the impassable nor inaccessible passes, & forrests, where as proud fraud had gone beyond their feely error and want of foresight: but Roman vertue and prouesse, which no rampier never so strong, no trench how deepe soever, is able to put by and withstand. So they killed all afore them indifferently, as well them that made resistance and stood to it, as M those that recoiled and gave way: armed and disarmed, bond and free borne, old and young, as well under age as undergrowne man and beast, one with another: neither had there escaped any living creature drawing breath, but that the Consuls founded the retreat, and with minatorie wordes commanded the souldiors, to greedie of murder and bloudthirstie, to go forth of the campe.

A campe. Whereupon when they were highly discontented and in great indignation, for that they were staied and interrupted in this sweetnesse of wreaking their anger, and satiating their re- venge to the full; it was time to deliver this speech unto them, wherein the souldiors were given to understand, how the Consuls neither were behinde any of them in malice and hatred to their enemies, nor would bee hereafter: but as they were their chiefe conductours to the war, so they would be their leaders and shew them the way, to unsatiabie appetite of revenge and execution; had not the care and regard of those 600 horsemen, which were kept as hostages in Luceria, coo- led their thirst and staied their stomackes; lest happily the enemies in despair to finde pardon and mercie, should run upon them in a blind fit of furie and rage, and put them all to the sword; chusing rather to torment and kill them first, before they died themselves. The souldiors greatly B commended this course, and rejoyced that thus their choller was allaid, and their furie bridled, confessing, That they were indeede to abide all whatsoever, rather than the life of so many of the forwardest and principall yong gentlemen of Rome, should be betrayed, or in danger. This audi- ence being dismissed, they drew together to a counsell, whether with all their forces they should assaile and presse hard upon Luceria, or with one of the armies and cheefe leaders, give the at- tempt to found the Apulians, a close and secret kind of people therabout, who ever to that day had stood in doubtfull reames with them.

Publius the Consull, who had taken this journey to overrun all Apulia, in that one voiage and expedition, either by force subdued and brought under his obeisance certaine States, or upon conditions entred league & societie with them. *Papyrius* also, who staied at the siege of Luceria, C within a short time sped according to his expectation: For having forelaied and beset all the waies, by which victuall was conveyed thither out of Samnium, the Samnites who lay in garison at Luceria, pinched and tamed with famine, sent Embassadors to the Romane Consull, making offer to releafe and deliver up into his hands those horsemen; (the onely cause of the present warre) in case he would raise and levie the siege. To whom *Papyrius* made this answer, that they should have gone first to *Pontius*, the sonne of *Herennius*, by whose counsell they had put the Romanes under the yoke and the gallows, to learne and know of him, what in his opinion they were to abide, who were vanquished and overcome. Howbeit, for as much as they had leifer, and chose rather to bee censured indifferently, and to receive equall conditions of their enemies, than of their owne selves, he willed the Embassadors to give them to understand in Luceria; that D they should leave their armour, their bag and baggage, their beasts of carriage, and impotent multitude not fit for the warres, within the wals. And as for the fighting souldiors, he would put them to passe under the gallows in their single shirts, for to revenge the shame first offered them, and not to inflict any new ignominie upon them. Nothing was denied and refused: seven thou- sand men of warre were put under the gallows, a rich and huge pillage raised within Luceria, all their owne ensignes and armour regained, which they had lost at Caudium: and that which sur- mounted all other joies, they recovered again those gentlemen of armes, whom lying for pledges and securitie of the peace aforesaid, the Samnites had sent to Luceria to be kept in safe custodie. There is not lightly to be found a victorie more noble, and of greater consequence to the peo- ple of Rome than this, in regard of the suddain change of fortune, in case (as some records beare E witnesse) *Pontius* also himselfe the sonne of *Herennius*, and Generall of the Samnites, to make sa- tisfaction and quittance for the Consuls disgrace and shame, was put under the yoke, as well as all the rest. But I lesse marvel, that it is not cleare, but left uncertaine, that the enemies Generall was rendred, and went under the gallows: this rather I wonder at, that doubted it is, whether *Lucius Cornelius* Dictator, with *L. Papyrius* Curfor, Generall of the horsemen, managed these acts first at Caudium, and then afterwards at Luceria: and being the only revenger of that disgrace of the Romans, triumphed most worthily (I dare be bold to say) of any man before that time, next to *Furius Camillus*; or whether the cheefe honour hereof pergain by right to *Papyrius* as Consull. Vpon this error followeth another in the necke of it, whether *Papyrius*, surnamed *Curfor*, for his good service at Luceria, in the next Election, continued in Magistracie, and were made third F time Consull with *Q. Aemilius* Caracianus, the second time: or whether it were *L. Papyrius* Mu- gillanus, and the error grew upon the surname. But it is agreed upon by all writers, that from this time forward all the reliques of the warres, were performed and finished by Consuls. *Aemilius* in one prosperous battel made a final conquest of the Ferentanes, & upon composition had the citie delivered up unto him, whither they had retired their forces for succour, after their defea-

ture in the field, and hostages were imposed upon them. With like good success fought the other Consull with the Saticranes, who being Romane citizens, had revolted to the Samnites, after the losse at Caudium, and had received into their citie a garrison of theirs. For when as the Romane armie approached under the wals of Saticum, and that the citizens within (after Embassadours sent to treat by way of humble petition for peace) had received this hard and heauie answer from the Consull, That unless they would kill the garrison of the Samnites, or deliver them into his hands, they should come no more againe to him: the Coloners and inhabitants were more frighted & terrified with that speech, than at all the forcible attempts of their armie. Whereupon the Embassadours followed their suit hard, and continued still, demanding excuses of the Consull how hee could beleeeve, that they being but few, feeble, and disarmed, should be able to force a garrison so strong & well appointed, against their wils? being willed to aske counsell of them, by whose means they had received the said garrison into the towne, they departed their waies: and having hardly obtained leave & licence at his hands, to consult with their Senat, & to bring answer, they return home again. Their Senat was divided into two factions, which distracted & held them in suspence, that they could not soone resolve. The one, consisting of the cheefe personages & head men, who had solicited them to revolt from the people of Rome; the other of true hearted and loyall citizens. Howbeit, both sides strove in the end, and endeavored to labour the Consull for reconciliation of peace. The one part thought it sufficient (because the Samnites garrison having not provision enough aforehand to hold out the siege, was to depart the night following) to give notice to the Consull, what howe of the night, through what gate the enemies would go forth, & which way they would take: the other, namely against whose will they were revolted to the Samnites, the verie same night, opened another gate besides the Consull, and privily let their enemies armed into the citie. So by a twofold complor of treason, they were surprisid unawares and all their throats cut, not onely the garrison of the Samnites (by reason that the woods all about the high way were laied for them and beset) but also at one instant there was a shout and alarme raised by the enemies, within the citie, which was full of them: and thus in the space of one hower both the Samnites were slaine, the Saticranes taken, and all they had in the world seized into the hands of the Consull: who after diligent inquisition by torture, Who were the principall authors of this revolt? whomsoever he found guiltie, those he skourged and beheaded: and setting there a strong garrison, he tooke from the Saticranes all their armour. From thence *Papyrius Cursor* departed to Rome for to triumph (as they write, that say, by his leading Luceria was recovered, and the Samnites put under the yoke). And without question, a man he was worthe of all commendations of a warrior, surpassing not onely in fortitude and courage of spirit, but also in force and naturall strength of bodie, and namely for his good footman-shipp: whereupon he got his surname **Cursor*. For in running (they say) he had not his peere, but went away with pricke and prise before all other in those daies: and were it by reason of his bodily vigour and strong constitution, or his much exercise, a stout and mightie eater he was, he dranke as liberally to his meat, & could carie it as well. Never had foot or horse under any captain more rough & harder service, for that himselfe was of so tough mettall & Steele to the verie backe (as they say) that he could abide any paines and travaile whatsoever. His horsemen upon a time were so bold, as to request him in lieu of their good service in some exploit, to ease them a little of their ordinarie toyle and labour: yes marie will I (quoth he) and that yee shall not complaine that ye have no easment at all, I will ease you of this paines, That when ye alight from your horses, ye shall not need any more to stroke their shoulders, backe and buttocks. He was a man besides for severitie strenght, and of right great command, as well over his allies and confederates as his owne citizens. The Pretor of Preneste, for verie feare chanced once to be somewhat behind, and slacke in bringing forward the rereward, into the vanguard and front of the battell: as he walked before his pavilion he commanded him to be called unto him: when he was come, he willed the sergeant to bring forth his axe immediatly: at which word when the Prenestin stood amazed and well neere dead, Dispatch Lictor (quoth hee) stocke me up and grub this root that hindereth them that walke this way: and when he saw him astonished and his heart in his heeles for feare of death, he set a good round fine upon his head, and so let him go. Doubtlesse in all that age (than which there was never any more fertile and fruitfull for vertue and valor) there was no one man, upon whom the state of Rome rested & relied more: In so much as men had destined, & in their minds appointed him to have matched and made head with *Alexander* the great,

- A if after the conquest of Asia, he should have bent his power hitherward, and warred in Europe. Albeit it may well appeare that I have nothing lesse fought, ever since I began this worke, than to digresse and decline more than was needfull, from the order and course of mine historie, and by extravagant garnishing and mingling my writings with varietie of matters, both to seeke for the readers pleasant starts and diverticles to repose themselves, and for my selfe some ease and recreation of my spirits: yet the mention of so mightie a king and renowned captain, maketh me to thinke upon, and to utter abroad the secret conceits and discourses, which often I have cast & tossed in my mind: & which induce me now to serch & examine willingly, what event would have happened and befallen to the Romanes, in case they had waged warre with *Alexander*. First and foremost, the things that seeme to beare sway and prevaile in warre, be these (to wit) number of soldiours, valour, and courage withall, wit, sufficiencie and dexteritie of their cheefe leaders, and lastly, fortune, which as in all other humane and worldly affairs beareth a great stroke, so in war most of all. Which points, if a man consider either severally by themselves, or jointly altogether, do prove that the Roman Empire & government had stood as well against him, as other princes & nations invincible. And first, to begin with comparing of the captains themselves; I doe not denie, but that *Alexander* was a noble and singular warrior: and this maketh more for his fame and renowne, that he was a sole commander of himselfe, that he was a yong man, and died in the grough of his prosperous affaires, before he had felt and tasted of adverse fortune. For to let passe other glorious Princes and brave captaines, (the great mirrours and examples of humane changes and varieties of this world) what was it that exposed *Cyrus*, whom the Greeks commend and magnifie above all other, as also of late time, *Pompeie* the great, to disfavor & the turning wheele of fortune, but onely this, that they lived long? Let me but rehearse and reckon up the Romane captaines, and those not all, nor in everie age, wherein they flourished; but even them only, with whom being either Consuls or Dictators, *Alexander* should have warred, if he had come: namely, *M. Valerius Corvinus*, *C. Martius Rutilius*, *C. Sulpitius*, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, *Q. Publius Philo*, *L. Papyrius Cursor*, *Q. Fabius Maximus*: the two *Decij*, *L. Volumnius*, *M. Curius*. Besides other brave men and valiant personages that followed after, in case he had fought the Carthaginian were first (for if he had lived he ment to have warried there) and then passed over into Italie, when he had been well steeped in years. In everie one of these, there were the same good parts, the like towardnesse of nature, as much forwardnesse of courage and spirit, as in *Alexander*, yea and as good Militarie discipline, which even from the foundation of the citie, passing from hand to hand, grew at length to the forme and perfection of an Art, framed & compiled of continual rules and precepts, and confirmed by experiments. For so, after one course the Kings conducted their warres: even so, next unto them the banishers of the Kings, (to wit the *Junij* and *Valerij*) so, consequently the *Fabij*, the *Quintij*, and *Cornelij*: so did *Furius Camillus*, whom those two Romanes in their youth (*Manlius Torquatus* and *Valerius Corvinus*) with whom *Alexander* should have encountered, saw an aged man in the latter end of his daies. And whereas *Alexander* ventured his own proper person in battaile, & performed all Militarie duties with other soldiours, (which was not the least part of his praise and glory) would *Manlius Torquatus* have given him one ynoch of ground, thinke ye, if he had met with him in the medlie equally matched? or *Valerius Corvinus* either, both of them brave & doutie soldiours before they were leaders and captaines? Or would the *Decij* have given him place, who with devoted bodies to death, came among the thickest of their enemies into present danger? Would *Papyrius Cursor* have given him way, a man of that incomparable strength of bodie, & invincible courage of hart? And (not to name every one particularly) would that Senat & Counsell have been overwrought with the stratagemes & pollicies of that one yong man? which, who soever he was that said, it consisted and was composed altogether of kings, was the only man that conceived & comprehended the true image and Idea of the Romane Senat. Mary heere was all the doubt (forsooth) least that he knew not how to chuse out a convenient plot of ground, to pitch a camp in, more wisely and cunningly than any one of those before named, to make provision for victual, to foresee and beware of ambushes, to picke out and take a meet time for to fight a battail, to set his battaillons in array, & to strengthen the same with sufficient succors & supplies from the reregard. Certes, he would have said himselfe, that he had not now to deale with *Darius*, which Monarch carrying with time a traine of daintie women, and tender Eunuches, weakened and made effeminate with wearing purple and gold, with all his rich furniture, for shew and ostentation of his wealthie and superfluous fortune, *Alexander* without

any bloodshed, with doing nought else, but knowing well how to contemne such toys and vanities conquered as a prey and bootie rather than an enemy and warrior. He would have thought verily that the situation and nature of Italy farre differed from that of India, through which hee marched at his ease with his drunken armie, feasting and banketting all the way; but specially, when he should have beheld the woody forests and vnpassable streights of Apulia, the high hills and mountaines of Lucania, and the fresh marks and tokens of the losse that happened in his owne name and house, namely, where not long before his vnkle *Alexander* late King of Epirus miserably perished. Our talke all this while is of *Alexander*, not drowned yet with the overflow of prosperitie; wherein no man had ever lesse rule of himselfe than he. Whome if we consider, as he was attainted in the habite and attire of his new fortune, and (if I may so say) of a new nature, whereinto after his conquests and victories he was transfigured; surely he would have come into Italy more like a *Darius* than an *Alexander*, and brought a battard armie with him, nothing at all resembling but quite forgetting their native countie of Macedonie, degenerated already, and growing out of kind, into the manners and fashions of the Persians. It grieueth me, and I am ashamed, in so great a Monarch as he was, to report the proud changing and varietie every while of his apparell, his excessive vainglory and desire of being courted & crouched unto (as he was) in flattering manner, by men lying upon the earth groveling and prostrate at his feete. Such abiect basenes should have bene hardly endured of Macedonians conquered and subdued; much lesse then, being conquerours as they were. Abashed I am to recount the foule & horrible torments and executions, the murders of his well deserving friends, even in the midst of his cups and deintie viands: last of all, his vanitie, his overweening, & forging to himselfe a diuine race & pedigree from the gods. But what if his drunkenness & unmeasurable love of wine, were every day more than other? what if his fell anger & exceeding heat of choler increased daily? (for I report nothing, but that which all writers agree upon) reckon we not these infirmities for great blemishes, & wonderous hinderances, to the vertues and perfections of a warrior & generall commander? But here is all the danger & feare (which some are wont to give out & alledge, even the vainest persons of all other Greekes, who fauour & magnifie the glory of the very Parthians in comparison of the Romane name) that the people of Rome had never bene able to abide the very majestic and name of *Alexander* the great. (And I thinke verily, that even themselves that talke so much of him, never heard the truth, so much as by the bruite & fame) and that against whom in Athens, a Citie mightily decayed by warre with the Macedonians, & even then, when as they might see before their face the ruines of Thebes in manner smoking full in their eyes, the Oratours durst freely make publike inuectiues (which appeareth by the very records of their Orations now extant) against him: I say, not one of so many States & noble personages of Rome durst have opened his mouth, and given one word againe frankly & boldly. How much sooner the grandeur & greatnesse of this man may be conceived & imagined in the mind, all that, shall be but one onely man, rising, growing, & come to his height with the felicity of little more than ten yeares. Which happinesse of his, they that extoll in this respect, that the people of Rome, although in no war they were subdued, yet in many battailes had the foyle and lost the day; whereas *Alexander* neuer fought feild but he woon the victory; little understand, that they compare the exploits of one person, and him a yong man, with the deedes and acts of a State, which had now warred eight hundred yeares. And can we meruaile, if when on the one part there may be reckned more ages, than yeers on the other, that in so long a time, fortune should varie more, than in the space of thirteene yeares? But why compare you not man with man, Captaine with Captaine? and lay their fortunes together? How many Romaine Chieftaines and Generals, in this case am I able to name, who never lost field? Yee may turne every leafe & page of the yerely annales of Magistrates, of day-bookes & journals of those Consuls & Dictators, whose valour & felicitie, the people of Rome had never cause to repent of and be discontented for, so much as one day. And that which maketh them more wonderful, and to be admired above *Alexander* or any other king in the world, some of them bare the Dictatorship but ten or twentie dayes; and none the Consulship longer than a yeare. Their leues and musters now & then were letted and impeached by the Tribunes of the Com. The due and best time for warre otherwhiles overlapped them, and yet they went forth. Before their terme expired, they were often called home, for to be presidents of the Magistrates Election. In the very midst and busiest time of their affaires, the yeare cfsuones turned about. The inconsiderate

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A rashnesse one while, & the peevishe crookednesse another while of a Colleague and companion in government, was hindrance & harme both. They succeeded sundry times after the losse & overthrow of their predecessors, & received an armie either of raw untrained souldiers, or such as were in ill discipline nuzelled up: whereas Kings & Monarks contrarywise, not only freed & exempt from all such obstacles & inconveniences, but also Lords & Masters, & of absolute command, over their enterprises, over times and seasons fit for execution, give direction to others, draw all after them to their aduise and counsell, and are themselves directed and overruled by none. Say now, that *Alexander* were invincible, and delt with these Captaines as invincible as himselfe, he should likewise have hazarded as great pawns & fauours of fortune as any of them; nay rather he should have adventured & incurred more jeopardie, in that the Macedonians had but *Alexander* alone, a man not only subject but also exposing himselfe, to many perilous chances: but many Romanes there had bene egall to *Alexander*, either for glorie or greatnes of their worthie deedes: who every one should have lived and died according to the fatall course of his owne severall destinie, without the hazard of the whole and maine chance. It remaineth now that forces be compared with forces, and armies to armies, either in number, or in qualitie of souldiours, or multitude of Allies, from whom they had their aides. There were esteemed by computation in the Taxing yeares, & Surveies taken by the Censors of that age, two hundred & fiftie thousand polls Citizens of Rome. And therefore in all the revolts and rebellions of their allies the Latins, they were able to levie and enroll ten legions complete, of Romane citizens well neere and none else. And for many yeares often times, there were foure and five armies employed at once, which maintained warres in Tuscane, in Heturia, in Vmbria, take also the Gaules with you their enemies, likewise Lucania in Samnium. Besides all these, *Alexander* should have found all Latium with the Sabines, Volsciens, and Aequians; all Campania, part of Vmbria and Heturia, with the Picentes, the Marsians, Pelignians, Vestines and Apulians, and all the coast adjoining thereto of the Greekes, along the nether Tyrrhen sea, from the Thurians to Naples and Cumes, and from thence, the Samnites, as farre as Antium and Hostia. All these he should have met with, either mightie and puissant allies and friends to the Romanes, or if they were enemies, vanquished and subdued by their armes. He should have passed the seas himselfe, having of old Macedonian bands, not above thirtie thousand foote, & four thousand horse, and those, most of them Thessalians; for this was all his power. And in case he had joynd thereto, the Persians, Indians, and other such nations, he should have drawne along after him, more let and encombrance, than help and succour by them. Take this over and besides; The Romanes had fresh supplies alwaies readie and neere at hand, at home in the Citie: whereas *Alexander* his armie (as afterwards it happened to *Annibal* warring in a strange countie) would have waxed old and decayed. They had for their armor and weapons, a shield or buckler, and a speare in manner of a pike. The Romanes had a target of larger capacitie to cover the whole bodie, and a javelin, being a weapon much better and more forcible than the pike, either to strike and push withall neere hand, or to be launced a far off. The souldiers, I confesse, both of the one side and the other, stood their ground surely, kept their place and array still, within their severall ranks. The Macedonian massive Phalanx moved not, was stedfast, and alwaies after one sort: but the Romanes battaillon more distinct, and consisting of many parts, easie both to divide and display, or to joyne and reunite upon any occasion. To speake now of painefull worke and travaile, what souldier is comparable to the Romane? who better able to endure all sorts of labour? *Alexander* by the losse but of one battaile, had bene cleane done, and his warre at an end for ever. But the Romanes, whose hearts, neither the shameful disgrace at Caudium, nor the wofull defeature at Cannæ, could mate and daunt; what power would have discouraged? what battaile in the world would have broken their backs? Certes, *Alexander*, although he had great prosperitie and good successe in his first beginnings and enterprises, would oftentimes heere, have missed his Persians and Indians, and desired with all his heart to have had dealing with them againe, and other cowardly and dastardly nations of Asia: nay, he would have sayd, that he had warred before but with women, as

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that one warre, and against one of those two States. And peradventure, when both Carthaginians and Romanes had beene combined, either according to the auncient leagues, or for equall feare of a common enemy, & those two cities most puissant both for men and munition, had taken armes at once against him, he would have beene overwhelmed with the Punicke and Roman warre together. Moreover, the Romanes have made good prooffe of the Macedonians as enemies, if not when they had *Alexander* to be their Captaine, nor whiles the Empire of Macedonia was at the best, and stood upright unfoiled: yet tried them they have, & made head against them under the conduct of *Antiochus*, *Philip*, & *Perfes*: & it never cost them the losse and overthrow of their owne part, no, nor so much as any appareance of danger at all. I would nor bee thought to speake a proud word, but be it said without arrogancie, and setting all our civile wars aside; never were wee distressed, either by horse or foot, never in open field and battaile ranged, never on even and plaine ground, never in unequall places of disadvantage, were wee endangered. The soldior in heave & complete harneis, I confesse, may feare the Cavallerie in the plaines: may feare shot of arrowes, comberfome Forrests and woods, streight gullets, & unpassable wilds, without waies forward or backward: but let there bee a thousand armies greater and stronger than the Macedonians or *Alexanders*, so long as we hold together, and continue still in this love of peace and care of civile concord, wherein we live at this present, wee are able, and ever shall bee, to discomfite and put them all to flight.

After this, were *M. Follus Flaccina*, and *L. Plautius Venox* Consuls. The same yeare there came from sundrie Nations of the Samnites Embassadors, to treat for the renewing of the league, and moved the Senat, most humbly kneeling prostrate upon the ground: but being put off & referred to the people, their prayers availed not to such effect: for as touching a league, they had a flat nay. And after they had for certain daies together, importuned them one by one apart, with cap and curse: at length after much suit, they obtained truce for two yeares. And out of Apulia the Theanenses and Canusines wearied with rodes and spoile made in their territories, after they had put in hostages to *Lucius Plautius* the Consull, yielded themselves to his protection. The same yeare first began Provosts to bee created at Capua, to governe under certaine lawes given unto them by *L. Furius* the Pretor: after that themselves had made suit for the one and the other, as a remedie for their state, greatly decayed through civile discord. And at Rome were two more Tribes added to the rest, *Vientina*, and *Falerina*. When Apulia began once to shrink & go backward, the Theatines, being also Apulians, presented themselves unto the new Consuls, *C. Iunius Bubulcus*, and *Q. Aemilius Barbula*, and sued to enter into a league with the Romanes. And since they were the men that led the way first, and by their example and persuasion induced all Apulia to be in peace with the Romanes, and had confidently undertaken, as sureties and pledges to bring it to passe, they obtained their request. Yet was not the league indifferent and formall, with equall conditions, but so, as they should be in subiection to the people of Rome. After that Apulia was conquered (for *Iunius* had woon also *Tarentum*, a strong town and a rich) they marched forward against the Lucanes. Then upon the suddain comming of *Aemilius* the other Consull, *Nerulum* was by force taken. And after that it was noised abroad amongst the allies of the people of Rome, that the state and weale publicke of Capua were established by Romane discipline and government; the Antiates also, who made mone and plained, that they lived without positive set lawes and magistrates, obtained of the Senate certaine advocates or Commissioners, to ordaine statutes likewise for that Colonie. So, that not onely the Romane armes, but also their law and jurisdiction extended farre and neare, and was of great request. *C. Iun. Bubulcus*, and *Q. Aemilius Barbula* Consuls, in the end of the yeare, delivered their legions not to the Coss. by them created, *Sp. Nautius*, and *M. Popilius*, but consigned them to *L. Aemilius* the Dictatour. Who with his Generall of horse, *L. Fulvius*, began to lay siege to *Satricula*, whereby he gave the Samnites occasion to rebell. Which brought upon the Romanes a double feare two waies. For of the one side the Samnites having assembled a mightie armie, to deliver their allies from the siege, pitched their campe not farre from the Romanes leaguer: on the other side, the Satricianes set open their gates suddainely, and with a great tumult brake into the wards and corps de guard of their enemies. And so both parts, relying rather upon hope of succour and helpe elsewhere, than trusting upon their owne strength, within a while began to charge the Romanes in full battell, with banner displayed, and distressed them. And although the Dictatour was assailed both waies, yet was hee sure and safe on either side, because hee

had

A had gotten a plot of ground, not easie to bee compassed, and made head both against the one and the other, advancing his ensignes accordingly. Howbeit, hee charged more hotely upon them that sallied forth, and without much adoe beat them againe within the wals. Then turned he the whole battaile upon the Samnites. Where there was hard hold, and more to doe. The victorie, though long first, was neither doubtfull nor variable. The Samnites being chased and driven into their campe, having in the night put out all their fires, dislodged and departed privily away: and being past all hope of defending *Satricula*, they besieged *Plistia*, a town confederate to the Romanes, to requite their enemy with the like displeasure. The revolution of the yeare being gone about, the warre continued under the conduct of *Q. Fabius* Dictatour: and the new Consuls, like as the former, remained still at Rome. And *Fabius* came before *Satricula* to receive the armie of *Aemilius*, bringing with him a new supplie to make up the broken bands: for the Samnites made no stay at *Plistia*, but having levied and sent for fresh souldiours from home, presuming upon their great numbers, encamped in the very place where they lay afore: where by braving the Romanes, and challenging them with many skirmishes, they would have forced them to raise the siege. But the Dictatour so much more earnestly bent his forces against the wals of the enemies, thinking it the best peece of service to assaile the towne, as being of such importance to the rest of the warre, which depended thereon: and was more carelesse therefore of the Samnites, and onely opposed against them certaine guards both day and night, along the trench and rampire, to keepe them from making any assault upon the campe. But the Samnites on the other side, so much the more fiercely skirmished on horsebacke about the fortifications, and never gave them rest. In so much, as when the enemy now was at the point to enter the gates of the campe, the Generall of the horse, *Q. Aemilius Cereanus*, without advise and direction of the Dictatour, riding forth in a great noise with all his cornets of Horse, repelled the enemy. But even in that light manner of skirmish, and no set battell of any long continuance, Fortune so plaied her part, and shewed what shee could doe, that on either side there befell a notable losse, with the glorious death of both the captaines. For the Generall of the Samnites first taking it to the heart, to see *Aemilius* so fiercely ride and give the charge, and himselfe to bee disarraied and driven out of his place, with much intreating and exhorting his horsemen, renewed the fight. Against whom, as he advanced himselfe, bravely to be seene amongst his men, and fought most valiantly, the Romane Generall of the horse, with speare in rest, so galloped his horse, that with one push he unhorsed him and left him for dead: and yet for all this was not the whole troupe besides (as commonly it is seene) at the fall of their captaine so much amazed, as provoked rather to fight. For they that were about him, charged *Aemilius* hard, as hee rashly rode without heed, and engaged himselfe too farre within the thickest of the squadrons of his enemies, and launced their javelins at him: but they gave the especiall honour to the brother of the Samnites captaine, to bee revenged for his death. Hee, full of anger and sorrow, plucked *Aemilius* from his horse, and slew him in the place, even in the midst of his victorie: and for that hee fell among the troupes of his enemies, hee had like to have left his dead corps among the Samnites. But presently the Romanes alighted on foot, and the Samnites were forced to doe the same: and thus being raunged suddainely in great hast into battaillons, there began a cruell fight on foot about the bodies of the captaines. Wherein the Romanes went cleare away with the better, and having recovered the corps of *Aemilius*, in great joy, entermingled with sorrow, they returne winners into their campe. The Samnites thus having lost their captaine, and tried their strength what they could doe in fight on horsebacke, left *Satricula*, which they supposed could not possible be defended, and so returned againe to the siege of *Plistia*. After fewe daies, *Satricula* was rendered by composition to the Romanes, and the Samnites by assault wan *Plistia*. Then changed they the seat towne of the warre. For out of Samnium and Apulia, the Legions were removed to *Sora*. This *Sora* was revolted to the Samnites, and had slaine all the inhabitants therein that were Romanes. Against which place, when the Romanes were come first by great journeyes to revenge the losse of their countrymen, and to recover the Colonie, their espials and vaunt-courious whome they had sent out dispersed along the high waies, brought word, that the Legions of the Samnites followed, yea and one after another gave advertisement, that they were not farre off. Hereupon they went forth to meet with the enemy, and neere to a place called *Lautula*, there was fought a doubtfull and dangerous battaile: for no slaughter it was, nor flight of either part, but the verie night that

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parted them, and they knew not whether they had the better or the worse. In some Chronicles I find, that the Romanes lost the day, and that there died in this battaile *Q. Aemilius* Generall of the horse. *C. Fabius* chosen into the rounge of *Aemilius*, came with a new and fresh armie from Rome, and having dispatched messengers before to the Dictator to know his advice, where he should stay and rest, at what time, and on which side he should set upon the enemy: after he was well enformed and instructed in all points what to doe, he put himselfe close in ambush, The Dictator himselfe, who had for certaine daies after the last skirmish, kept his soldiours within trench, more like one beseegeed, than beseegeing; all on a suddain, put forth the signal and token of battaile: and thinking nothing more effectual to animate & kindle the courages of hardie men, than to know of no other helpe or hope, nor to trust upon any man but in themselves, he concealed from his soldiours the coming of the Generall of horse and his fresh forces; and as if there had been no other way but one, even to breake forth and fallie with violence: We being (quoth hee) my soldiours, pent here and taken tardie in these streights have no other yssue but that which by victorie we shall make open. Our hold wherein we lie is fortified sure enough, but the same for scarcitie of all things noisome, ykesome, and hurtfull to us: for all parts heere about are revolted, from whence we should have convoie of victuals: and were it that the people were disposed to help us, yet the adventures & passages are hard, and the place of our abode, incommo- dious. Therefore will not I deceive and abuse you any longer, by leaving heere your tents into which ye may after (ye have missed the entiere victorie) betake your selves for safetie, as ye did the other daie: for our fortifications and holds, ought to be defended by force of armes: and not our armes by fenced forts. Let them have their campe well fortified, to yssue forth and to retire thither againe at their pleasure, who have a purpose to make a long warre of it. But let vs cut off all regard of other matters, but onely of a present and finall victorie. Advance then your ensignes directly against the enemy: and so soone as our armie is once without the trench and rampiers, let them set the tents a fire, that have the charge so to doe: you shall make up your losses againe, my soldiours, with the spoile of all the nations hereabouts, that have re- volted. At this speech of the Dictator, which shewed no other semblance but of extreme ne- cessitie, the soldiours tooke heart and were hote set to march straight to the enemy. And there- fore sight of their tents burning behind them (albeit those onely which stood next were set on fire, for so the Dictator had given commandement) was no small provocation and pricke unto them. And therefore they gave a charge like mad men, and at the first push and brunt they brake the ar- ray of the enemies: and withall, in good time, the General of the horse, when he saw a farre off the tents on fire (for that was the signall agreed between them) came hastily upon the backe of the enemies and assailed them. So the Samnites being environed round about, made everie man what shift he could to get forth and escape, and so fled. But the maine multitude that were thrummed together all on a round heap, for feare, being an hinderance one to another in the prease, was flaine in the mids and cut in peeces, the enemies camp woen, & ransacked: with the pillage whereof the soldiours were laden, and the Dictator brought them back unto their own camp: who were not so joious for the victorie, as for that they found (besides a litle part thereof disfigured by fire) all the rest safe and sound, beyond their expectation.

From thence they returned to Sora, where the new Consuls *M. Petilius* and *Caius Sulpi- tius*, tooke the armie at the handes of *Fabius* the Dictator: who discharged many of the old soldiours, and brought certaine new cohortes for supply in their stead. But when by reason of the difficult and unaccessible site of the towne, they knew not well which way and by what meanes to make assault, and seeing that the winning of it would either aske long time, or be exposed to manifold and present dangers: a certaine runaway traitour of Sora who was closely stolen out of the towne, gat to the Romane Sentinels, and required forthwith to be brought to the Consuls: who being presented before them, promised to betray the towne: and being questioned withall, how and by what meanes he would performe that which he undertooke, seemed unto them to alleage some reasons to good purpose, and prevailed so farre with them, that he caused the Romane campe, which lay in a manner close under the wals, to be removed sixe miles off the towne, saying, that thereby, the wards by day, and the watch by night, would be neglected, & lesse carefull and diligent to keepe the citie. Himselfe the night fol- lowing after he had willed certain cohortes of footmen, to lye in ambush within the woods neere the towne, tooke with him ten elect and chosen souldiers; and through steepe places, and such as

were

A were not well passable, conducted them into the Castle, having brought therewith more shot and darts to throw, than to serve so small a number of men: besides, there was good store of stones at hand, which lay there, either scattering by chaunce (as commonly in such craggie and rockie ground) or els heaped together by the townesmen of purpose, for the better defence of the place. Where, after he had bestowed the Romanes, and shewed them a narrow and steepe path- way out of the towne into the Castle, From getting up heere (quoth he) there needes no more but three men onely well armed, to keepe backe the greatest multitude that is: yee are in num- ber ten, and more than that, Romanes; & of Romanes the most hardie & valiant: the place will steed you, I know, the darkenesse of the night will be for your purpose, the night, I say, which by reason of uncertainties, maketh all things seeme much more than they are, to men affrighted and amazed already. I will for my part set all presently in a hurrie, looke you in the meane time that yee duly keepe the fortresse. This sayd, he runs downe with as great a noyse and shewing as he could, crying Al'arme, help help citizens, the Castle is taken by the enemy, come away to defense. These words he resounded ever, as he rapped at the gates of the principall citi- zens and noblemen: these words he redoubled alowd, to all that he met, and to as many as ran forth affrighted into the streetes. This fearefull alarme received from one man, was set abroad by many more all over the citie. The Magistrates quaking for feare, sent certaine to the Castle in spiall to discover the truth: and advertised by them that the Castle was surprized indeede by armed men, and full of armour (for they made the number & every thing els more than it was) were cleane put out of all hope to recover their fortresse. So every where they fell to running away: the gates were broken open by them that were not well awake, and those most part unar- med. At one of the gates, those companies of the Romanes aforesaid, who lay in ambush, and were raised with the noyse and clamor, brake in, and killed all that in this affright ran head- long in their way. Thus was Sora woen, against the Consuls should come in the morning be- times by breake of day: and looke whole fortune it was to scape out of the massacre made in the night, and to flye away, those they tooke to mercie upon their submission: whereof 225. even those who by the generall voyce of all were pointed at, and reputed above the rest the principall actors in that horrible massacre above sayd, of the Romane Coloners, inhabitants, and the authors of the revolt, they had away with them to Rome, bound hand and foote. The other mul- titude they left at Sora safe and unhurt, and planted there a garrison. All they that were brought to Rome, were in the market place scourged with rods, and beheaded, with the exceeding joy & contentment of all the commons, whom it concerned most, that the multitude which should be sent into sundrie Colonies, might in every place live in safetie, and securitie of their lives.

The Consuls being departed from Sora, marched forward to make warre upon the lands and territories of the Ausonians; for by the coming of the Samnites after the battaile of Lau- tula, they were all out, full of insurrections and commotions, and many conspiracies there were in all places about Campania: neither was Capua it selfe without blame and faultlesse. Nay, this matter passed as farre as to Rome, where information was made against some of the Nobles, and warning given to enquire into them. But the whole nation of the Ausonians, by reason that the Cities were betrayed like as Sora, was reduced under obedience to the people of Rome. Auso- nia, Minturne, and Vestina were the Cities, out of which, twelve of the chiefe young Gentlemen having conspired and sworn together to betray their owne Cities, presented themselves unto the Consuls; giving them to understand, that their countrymen wished long ago for the com- ming of the Samnites, and so soone as they heard of the battaile before Lautula, made account that the Romanes were utterly vanquished, & helped the Samnites both with men & munition. But now, say they, that the Samnites were chased from thence, they lived: unresolute in doubt- full termes of peace, and shut not their gates in dread upon the Romanes; for feare of bringing warre upon themselves, yet obstinately bent to shut them, if their army approached toward them. In this wavering and doubtfull floating of their minds, they might at unawares be sodainly sur- prised. By this perswasion of theirs, they encamped neerer, and at one and the selfesame time were souldiers sent about those three townes before named, some in armour closely to lye in ambush in convenient places neere the walles: others in side gownes with swords under them, who alittle before day, so soone as the gates were set open, should enter into those Cities. By whome the matter was so handled, that at one instant they began to kill the warders at the gates, and gave a signall to those armed souldiers who lay in ambush, for to rise all at once and come to succour.

A Conspiracie of the Auso- nians.

succour. Thus were the gates seized and possessed, and three townes in one houre by the same stratageme surprized. But because this exploit was performed in the absence of the Captaines, there was no stay in execution and carnage, but beyond all measure, and without all mercy, no sexe nor age was spared: and so the whole nation of the Aufones, before they were detected for certaine of reuolt, was destroyed and extinguished, as if they had warred mortally, and bene at deadly feawd.

The same yeare Luceria came into the hands of the Samnites, by reason that the citie had betrayed and delivered the Romaine garison to them; but the traitors went not long unpunished for it. The Romaine armie chaunced to be not farre from thence, and at the first assault, the citie standing as it did on a plaine, was woon. The Lucernes and Samnites both were put to the sword every one: and so farre forth proceeded their furious rage, that when the Senat sat in counsel at Rome, about sending men to inhabit Luceria, many were of mind, that the citie itselfe should be rased to the ground and destroyed: for besides the cursed and execrable hatred they bare against them being twise conquered, and as often revolted; the distance also of the place so remote, caused them to mislike greatly, and abhorre the confining as it were of their citizens, so far from home, to live amongst such a kind of people so cruell and dangerous. Howbeit, their opinion tooke place and prevailed; who gave aduise, that Coloners and inhabitants should thither be sent, and to the number of 2500. were there planted.

The same yeare when as the Romaines found all unloyall unto them, and nothing but falsehood on all sides; at Capua also certaine secret conspiracies of the Nobles and best of the Citie were detected and revealed. Touching which, the Senates aduise was asked, and the matter not neglected by them, but commissions were appointed: and thought good it was that a Dictator should be nominate, for to sit upon the same commissions and inquisitions. And *C. Manius* was created, who named *M. Fellius* Generall of Horse. Great was the terror of that Magistrat, and thereupon, either for feare, or guiltesse of conscience, the two *Calpurnij*, *Ovinus* and *Nervius*, who were the chiefe of that complot, before information was given against them by name to the Dictator, died: and questionlesse by their own hands thorned their daies, & so avoided the trial of justice and punishment accordingly. After that, when the inquisition wanted subject matter once about the Capuans, the Inquisitors (by interpretation of the words in the commission) proceeded to Rome, saying, that the Senate had good warrant to make enquire and streight search, not by name and precisely, who at Capua onely; but generally, who in any place whatsoever, had used conventicles, and conspired against the Common-wealth; and all secret meetings, say they, & packings together, for to get dignities & Offices, were directly against the State & Common-wealth: so that the Commission extended larger both for person and reall action. Yea and the Dictator himselfe nothing gaine said, but that the vertue of his Commission was directed without limitation. Hereupon were certaine Gentlemen of the Nobility brought into question: and notwithstanding they called unto the Tribunes for to assit them, with interposing their negative, yet there was not one of them would succour and releeve them, but presentment was taken against them, and they indited. Then the Nobility, I meane not them alone who were in trouble, but generally the whole Gentrie of the City, at once, pleaded, That they were not the naturall & true Noblemen in deede, who were to be touched and charged with this crime: who if it were not for sinister and indirect courtes, had easie and open access unto all honourable places and promotions; but certaine new upstarts and Gentlemen of the first head: saying, That it was the very case of the Dictator himselfe, and his Generall of horse, who were rather parties guiltie, and offenders themselves, than sufficient inquisitors, and competent judges: and that should they well know and understand, when they were once out of their place and office. This made *Manius* to bestirre himselfe, who mindfull rather of his good name and reputation, than respectue of his high place and absolute government, went up into the common place of audience before all the people, and spake to this effect. My maisters and friends all, Citizens of Rome, well assured I am, that privie ye are to the whole carriage and course of my former life; and besides
 22 that, even this very honor and dignitie which you have bestowed upon me, is able to testifie and
 23 approve mine innocencie. For, to sit upon these inquisitions, there was not to be chosen now
 24 for Dictator (as oftentimes heretofore, according to the dangerous occasions and necessitie of the time) a man reputed the best and noblest warrior of all other; but such a one,
 25 as throughout his whole life hath most of all misliked and condemned ambitious conventicles.

Howbeit,

The Oration of
Manius the
Dictator.

A Howbeit, for as much as certaine persons of noble lineage, (for what cause, it is more meet for you to deeme and judge, than for me being a Magistrat, to speake without booke, as they say, and upon no sure ground) first have endeavoured with all their might and maine to overthrow the procelle of the inquisition it self; and afterwards, seeing they were not able themselves to bring that about (notwithstanding they were *Patritij*) have fled to the holds of their very adversaries, even the protection of the Tribunes and their negative, rather than to iustifie themselves and stand to the trial of their cause: and at last having there also a repulse (thinking all means safer than to approve their innocencie) have fallen upon us, and bashed not (privat men as they are) to accuse and touch the person of him that is Dictator: to the end therefore, that both God and man, and all the world may know, that as they have assaied to compass that which they are not able to bring to passe, namely, to avoid the rendering an account of their life and demeanour; so, I am readie (to set forward their accusations) to offer my selfe unto mine adversaries; and giving them means to call mee to mine answer, here I resigne up my Dictatorship. And I beseech you, O Consuls, if so bee this charge bee laid on you by the Senate, to proceed in examination against mee first, and this gentleman the Generall of horse *M. Fellius*: that it may appeare, how we, through our owne innocencie alone, and not by the countenance and privileged of our dignitie and high calling, are protected and safe from these slanders and intended crimes. Herewith hee gave over his place of Dictator: and after him incontinently, *M. Fellius* yeelded up his rounne likewise of Generall over the horse. These persons were the first, who being charged and put to their trial judicially before the Consuls, (for to them by order from the Senate, was the commission directed) notwithstanding all the depositions and testimonies of the *Patritij*, were in every point found unguiltie, and acquit. *P. Philo* also, albeit hee had so many times attained to the supreme dignities of State, after he had atcheeved to many worthie deeds, as well in peace as warre, yet a man malliced or envied rather of the Nobilitie, was put to plead for himselfe, and finally absolved. But this inquirie into such men of name and qualitie, lasted no longer in force, (as it is usually seene) than whiles it was fresh, and in the first heat thereof. From them it began to fall to persons of lesse reckoning and baser account, untill such time, as by the same conventicles and factions, against which it was devised, it fell to the ground, and was troden underfoot.

The brunt of these things, and more than that, the hope of the Campaines revolt, whereto certaine had conspired and sworn (as ye have heard) recalled the Samnites backe againe to Caudio, who were turned & bent wholly into Apulia: that from thence, being so neer at hand unto Capua, they might (if haply any insurrection and trouble presented the ouverture and opportunity) seize upon it and take it perforce from the Romanes. Thither came the Consuls with a strong and mightie armie: and at the first they staied and lingered about the passes and streights, having on the one side & the other an ill way of passage unto the enemies. Afterwards the Samnites fetching a short compass about, came downe with their armie through the open places into the plains, I mean, the champaine countrie and fields about Capua. And that was the first time that the enemies had a sight one of the others campe. Whereupon by light skirmishes, on horsebacke oftener than on foot, they tried maisteries on either side: neither were the Romanes one jot discontented with the issue & event thereof, nor repented of the delay wherby they drew the warre alength. Contrariwise, the Samnite captaines perceived their forces to weare daily by small losses, and their courage to coole and decay evidently by that lingering war. Whereupon, they came abroad into the field, and devided their Cavallerie into wings: with a speciall charge, to have a more carefull eye backward toward their campe (for fear of any impression and assault that way) than to the maine battaile: which would be guarded safe enough by the infanterie. The Consuls marshalled themselves in this manner, *Sulpitius* led the right point of the battell, and *Petilius* the left: the right side (wheras the Samnites also were arraunged in thinner ranks and files, of purpose to compass and environ the enemies, or not to bee compassed and enclosed themselves) shewed itselfe more broad & open. They on the left hand, besides that they stood thicker and more close, were by occasion of a suddain policie of *Petilius* the Consul further strengthened. For those cohorts & bands which were reserved apart in the rereward, for help at any need, & kept fresh against all occurrents and hazards of long fight, he advanced presently to the forefront in the vaward, & with all his forces at once charged the enemy at the first encounter, & forced him to recule. When the footmen of the Samnites were thereby troubled and disarraied, the horsemen followed close and entered into the medley. But as they rode crosse and overthwart between the

THE NINTH BOOKE OF T. LIVIUS.

the two hostes, the Romane horsemen pricked and gallopped their horses to flanke them; and disordred and hudled the ensignes, guidons, squadrons and troupes of foot and horse, pell-mell together, until he had caused the whole battaile of that side, to turne their backs. In this left point not *Petilius* alone, but *Sulpitius* also joined with him, and was present in person to exhort and encourage the souldiours: for he had transported and distracted himselfe from his owne men, who as yet were not come to joine battell at the crye and shout that arose first from the left side: and seeing on that part undoubted victorie, he went towards his owne charge, accompanied with a 1200 men: Where he found a change of fortune, namely, the Romans to have reculed and lost ground, and the enemy as victour, advancing forward his ensignes upon them fore dismaied and daunted. Howbeit, the Consull his coming made a present alteration: for both at the sight of their captaine were the souldiours hearts refreshed and comforted; and for to aid them, there came a greater supplie indeed, than in shew of number, of tall and lustie men. So when they heard first, and saw soone after, the victorie gotten of the other part, they renewed the fight, after this on all sides the Romanes had the better hand, and the Samnites giving over fight, were either slaine or taken prisoners: saving only those, who fled to Maleventum a town now named Beneventum. It is left in record, that there were upon 30000 Samnites, either left killed in the place, or brought away captive.

The Consuls having obtained this notable victorie, forthwith from thence lead their Legions, to lay siege unto Bovianum: and there wintered before the towne, untill such time as *C. Petilius* (chosen Dictatour together with *M. Feltius* his Generall of the horse, by the new Consuls *L. Papyrius Cursus* the fifth time, & *C. Iun. Bubulcus* the second time) received the armie at their hands. Who hearing, that the castle of Fregellæ was by the Samnites taken, left Bovianum, and went forward to Fregellæ, which he recovered again without drawing his sword; for that the enemies had quit the place, and were fled by night: and when hee had placed a strong garrison there, he returned from thence into Campania, of speciall purpose to regaine Nola by force of armes. Thither were retired within the walls, a little before the Dictatour his coming, both all the whole multitude of the Samnites, and the rusticall peasants about Nola. The Dictatour having viewed the situation of the towne, to the end hee might have the more open access to the wals, set all the houses on fire that were in the suburbs along the counter-carpe (and there they stood thicke and were well inhabited.) And not long after, whether it were by *Petilius* Dictatour (I know not) or *C. Iunius* Consull (for it is reported as well of the one as the other) Nola was forced & won. They that would draw unto the Consull the honour of winning Nola, ad moreover & say, That hee won also Arina and Calatia: and that *Petilius* upon a pestilence that began, was made Dictatour for the setting or fastening of a spike or great nail. Two Colonies that yeare were conducted to Sueffia and Pontia. Sueffia belonged to the Aurunci. The Volscians inhabited the lland Pontia, situate over against their owne shore within a kenning. And a decree passed from the Senate, that to Cassinum also, a third Colonie, there should be sent inhabitants. *M. Valerius* and *P. Decius*, the Consuls that next succeeded, ordained three Triumvirs, for that purpose, and sent foure thousand to people those places.

The warre with the Samnites was in a manner now dispatched and brought to an end: but before that the Nobles and Senators of Rome had left the care thereof, a brute was blowne of the Tufcanes warre. And there was not in those daies, another nation (setting the Gaules tumults aside) whose forces and hostilitie they more feared; for that their countrie was so neere a neighbour and so populous withall. Therefore, whiles one of the Consuls was occupied in dispatching the reliques of the warre in Samnium, *P. Decius* who staid at Rome grievously sicke, by authoritie of the Senate, named Dictatour *C. Iunius Bubulcus*. He according as the important affaires required, caused all the younger sort to take the militarie oath: and prest them for souldiours. Armour and whatsoever requisite besides, with great diligence he prepared. And albeit hee were thus furnished and well appointed, yet was hee nothing bold and forward to begin war, willing (no doubt) to be quiet and stand upon his guard, unless the Tufcanes shewed themselves first in armes. The same purpose had the Tufcanes also, both in preparing for war, and in making stay to begin war. So, of neither side they departed out of their owne limits.

In that yeare was there a famous Censurship of *App. Claudius* and *C. Plautius*. But the name of *Appius* became more memorable of the twaine, and of happier renowne unto posteritie, for that hee paved with stone the caufey or * Port-way (bearing his name) and conveyed a channell

* So named Censurship, after the name of Appius.

THE NINTH BOOKE OF T. LIVIUS.

A of *water into the cittie of Rome. Which worke hee finished alone, for that his Colleague for shame of an infamous and odious choise of certaine Senators which he made, gave over the office. But *Appius* having the stout stomack, engraffed in his name and house from the beginning, bare the Censurship alone. By the motion and meanes of the same *Appius*, the *Pontif*, to whose familie properly belonged the priestly service, at the alter of *Hercules* called *Maximus*, had taught certaine publicke servants (for that the function might be committed over to them as delegates) the solemne rites and ceremonies of that sacred ministration. Hereupon is reported a wonder to be spoken, and that which might strike a scruple of conscience, and make men afraid ever after, to alter any thing in religion from the former state and first institution. For whereas at the same time, there were twelve houses of the *Pontif*, and in them upon a thirtie that were above 14 years of age; within one year it (is said that) they died all, with their whole issue and off-spring. Moreover, that not onely the name of the *Pontif* became thus extinct, but that *Appius* also the Censor, within certaine yeares (such was the ire of the gods, mindfull of revenge) fell stark blind. Therefore the Consuls that followed in the next yeare, *C. Iunius Bubulcus* the third time, and *Q. Amylius Barbulus* the second time, in the very entrance of their office framed a complaint unto the people: That by the leawd and corrupt Election of some new Senators, that honourable state and order was deformed, & namely, how some were over-hipt, who were of more worth than those that were taken in: And saying plainly, That they would not observe & have in any regard, such a choice, which without respect of good and bad, was made for favor and affection to some, & at the pleasure of the Censors: and immediatly they cited the Senat by name in that order and forme, as had been used before the Censors, *App. Claudius* and *C. Plautius*.

C And in that yeare were two places of charge and command, first given by the people, both pertaining to warfare: the one, that sixteen Colonels for foure * Legions, should from that time forward by the people be created, which before were in a manner the gifts and favours, conferred by the Dictatours and Consuls; and few or none of the people had any hand or voice therein. This Act and Ordinance was propounded by *L. Petilius* and *C. Martius*, Tribunes of the Commons. The other was, That the same people should have the appointment and ordaining of two Duumvirs at sea, for the rigging, repairing, and trimming of the navie. The maker of this Act was *M. Decius*, another Tribune of the Commons.

I would let passe one thing that happened this yeare, as of small weight and importance, and not worth the speaking, but that it seemed a matter pertinent to religion. The minitrels that played upon the fluit and haut-bois, for that they were prohibited and debarred by the last Censors, to have their good cheare any more in the temple of *Iupiter*, according to an old custome and tradition; tooke snuffe thereat, and in a pelling chaufe all in one companie, went their waies to Tybur: so, as there was not one of them in the cittie left to sing and pipe before the pompe of sacrifices, and on their feastivall daies. The Senate made some conscience hercof, and were troubled in their mind. Whereupon they dispatched certaine messengers to Tybur, to travell with the townesmen, and endeavour all they could, that these good fellowes might bee restored and sent home againe to the Romanes. The Tyburines undertooke the matter, and promised right courteously to doe their best: and first they sent for these musicians into their towne hall, and persuaded with them to returne againe to Rome: but when they could not bee brought to that, for any thing they could do, then they wrought another pollicie and feat with them, that sorte and fitted well the humour of such kind of people, and of their coat. Upon a feastivall hollyday, under a colour of making merrie with minstrelsie and musicke about them, some invited one, and some another, to give them a fit of mirth accordingly. But they plyed them so with wine (which all the sort of this profession love but too well) that they dranke untill they wincked, and wincked so long, till they fell fast asleepe. And being found asleepe, the Tyburines brought them gently to their beds in certaine waggons, and thus bestowed, conveyed them to Rome. Neither perceived they ought, senselesse druncken nols they, before that their waggons were left in the market place of Rome. Nay, before they had slept out and concocted their wine that steemed up into their heads, and clouded there, the day light came upon them, & then they awoke.

F The people came running together from all parts to them, and after they had either gotten at their hands, or charged them to stay, and make no more such braides, it was graunted unto them that three daies every year, being disguised & dressed in a mask for the purpose, they might range and walke about the cittie, with singing, and founding their instruments, after this licentious manner.

* Out of the river Arno, and not called Aqua Claudia.

* A Legion consisted now of 4000 footmen: 300 horsemen: 100000 as other times, of 5000, 5000, 3000, and 6000, and the Colonies fewer or more in a Legion, according to the quantity thereof. There belonged besides to every Legion ordinarily 3000 footmen, whom the Tribunes or Colonels afore said had nothing to do, being cap-tives of 1000 foot a peece.

ner and iollitie, which now a daies is yearly used, and their priviledge of eating in the temple was restored to them again, namely to such as sung and plaied in time of their divine service and sacrifices: and all was well. This ridiculous pageant hapned amid the care and preparation of two great and dangerous warres.

The Consuls parted their provinces betweene them: To *Iunius* fell by lot the Samnites, to *Aemilius* the new warre in Hetruria. In Samnium, Cluvia, a fortreffe and hold of the Romanes being impregnable by any assault, was a long time besieged; and forced by extreame famine, was delivered up to the Samnites. After they were once masters of the fort, they tooke the garrison soldiers, and not withstanding they yeilded themselves, yet they whipped and tare their flesh most beastly, and in the end, without all mercy killed them. *Iunius* exceeding wroth at this crueltie, thinking nothing more needfull to be done first, than the winning againe of Cluvia, laid all other matters aside, and the same day that he assailed the wals, tooke it by force, and slue all he could finde above fourteene yeare of age. In this traine of victorie the armie was brought against Bovianum. This was the chiefe place of the Pentrians in Samnium, the welthiest citie, the best provided, and most furnished of all other with men and munition. The soldiours verie eager and sharpe set for hope of a rich pillage, wan the towne. But for that they were nothing so angrie & hote of revenge as before, they dealt not so cruelly with the enemies: but they got together and caried away more spoile and sackage from thence, than they ever had well nere, out of all Samnium; and as liberally was it bestowed everie whit upon the soldiours. And for as much as no pitched battaile in plaine field, no campe so well fortified, no cities and fortes howsoever fenced, were able to withstand the puissant Romanes in force of open armies: all the Princes in Samnium studied and applied their wits, to find meanes of sleight and subtilie pollicie; if haply, as they wasted and forced the territories after a loose and licentious manner, the armie disbanded once, might be entrapped and enclosed within some ambush. It fell out so, that certaine fugitive pezants of the countrie, and captives, some by chance and other of purpose, comming in their way, made relation of tidings to the Consuls, well agreeing all in one tale, and the same founding of a truth indeed; namely that a great sort of sheepe, and other cattell were driven together into a by-forest out of the way: and so induced them to lead thither the legions lightly armed, and to fit their hands with a fat bootie. Now the Samnites had privily forelaid all the high waies with a mightie armie, and after that they saw the Romanes to have entred and engaged themselves within the chafe or Forrest aforesaid, all of a suddaine they rose up and with a great crie and shout ran upon them to charge them when they least thought of any such thing. At the first this so strange and unexpected occurrence, made them afraid, while they tooke them to their weapons, and laid their fardels and baggage together on a heape in the mids. But after that every man was eased of his lode, and had put on his armor, they rallied on all sides to their ensignes; and without the commaundement or direction of any man, they of themselves put the battaile in array, ech one knowing his raunge and place according to the accustomed order of the ancient Militarie discipline. The Consull perceiving that hee was brought to a most doubtfull and dangerous battaile, alight from his horse; and protested before *Jupiter* and *Mars*, & the other gods whom he called all to witnesse: That he came not into that place to get glorie to himselfe by any enterprise, but onely a bootie for his soldiours: and that no fault else could be imputed unto him, but an overmuch desire and affection of his, to enrich his soldiours by the spoile of the enemy. From which blame and shame both, nothing could free and acquitte him else, but the manhood and proesse of his soldiours: exhorting them with one accord, but to staie themselves and endeavour all together to set upon their enemy, defeated and vanquished in battaile, driven out of campe and field, bereaved of his townes and strong holds, and come now to attempt his last and utmost hope, of privie & cheevish traines of forlayning, trusting vpon the vantage of the ground, and not pure force of armes. But what place is there now unaccessibile or unpregnable to the valiant Romanes? Heerewithall he named the castle of Fregelle and Sora, and what place of disadvantage and hard access soever, they had woon by force. With these words the soldiours encouraged and enflamed, forgetting all difficulties and dangers, marched apace & advanced forward up to the armie of the enemies that now approached them, and were over their heads. Where the Romanes found some difficultie, all the while they climed up the cliffe or ridge of the hill against them. But after that the foremost ensignes were mounted up and had gained the plaine in the top, and perceived they were embattailed upon an even and

Under the Consull
the first of the
warre.

A equall ground, presently the terror turned upon those that lay in waite for them, and being disbanded, scattered, and driven to fling away their weapons, they fled and trudge as fast as they could, to recover againe those starting and lurking holes, wherein before they had hidden themselves. But even those difficult places which they had sought of purpose for their enemy, and their owne deceit and guile, encumbered themselves. For verie few of them could find the way out, and escape by flight. In somuch as to the number of 20000 were slaine. And then the Romanes after this victorie, ran up and downe at their pleasure, to that bootie of sheepe and cattell, which was first presented unto them by the enemy, as a baite to catch them with.

Whiles these things thus went in Samnium, all the people of Hetruria by this time, but only the Aretines, were up in armes, and entred into a right great warre; beginning first with the siege and assault of Sutrium: which citie being allied to the Romanes, was (as a man would say) the verie Barriers of all Hetruria. Thither came the other Consull *Aemilius* with an armie, to rescue & deliver their allies, and to raise the siege. Against the Romanes comming, the Sutrines courteously brought victuals for the campe, lying before the citie. The Tuscans spent the first daie, in consulting whether they should make a short warre of it, by hot assaults, or temporise and protract the time by lingering siege. The morrow after, when as the captaines liked rather of expedition and hastie courses, than of more sage and safe proceedings, at the sunne rising they set out a flag of defiance and the signall of battel, & armed they go forth of their camp into the open field to fight. Which after it was told the Consull, presently he commaunded a watchword to be given, that the soldiours should take their breakfast: and after they had refreshed and strengthened their bodies with food, go freight to arme themselves: which was obeyed accordingly. The Consull seeing them well appointed in rediness, commaunded the ensignes to advance forward out of the rampier, and not farre from the enemy marshalled his battailes. For a good while they stood on both sides, wistly looking, & waiting that the shout and charge should begin from the adverse part. But it was past noone before there was one dart flung or javelin lanced, either from the one side or the other. But then, because they should not go away without doing somewhat, the Tuscans began to set up a crie, the trumpets found the charge, and the standers came forward. Neither were the Romanes any jot behind to begin battaile. Thus they ran to it, and encountred with exceeding animositie and furie; the enemies more in number, the Romanes better in hardines & vertue. The fight was doubtful, & dangerous, and cost the life of many a man on both sides, and namely, those that were most forward and valiant: neither began they to shrink on any part, before that the second battalion of the Romanes, fresh and lustie, advanced to the forefront of the vanguard, into the place of their wearied fellows. The Tuscans, for that their vaward was not supplied and reenforced by any new succours, both before and all about their ensignes were beaten downe and slaine everie man. Never in any one battaile had there been lesse running away, or more bloudshed, if the night had not protected the Tuscans: so resolute were they all to die in the place: in so much as the winners gave over play before the loofers. After the sunne set, the retreat was sounded: and by night both parts returned into the campe. After this, no exploit was performed before Sutrium that yeare, worth remembrance: both for that, the foreward of the enemies armie, was wholly in that one battaile defeated & destroyed; and they had none left but the Subsidiarie soldiours of the rereward, & those hardly able and sufficient to gard and defend the campe: and also, the Romanes were so hurt and sore wounded that there were more of them died after the battaile of their hurts, than were slaine in the verie medley outright. *Q. Fabius* Consull for the yeare following, succeeded and entered upon this warre at Sutrium. And for his colleague he had *C. Martius Rutilius*: and like as *Fabius* brought a new supply from Rome to furnish out the broken bands, so there came fresh forces also unto the Tuscans, levied at home.

For many years there had been no jarres and debates, between the magistrats of the Nobilitie and the Tribunes of the Commons: but now there began a variance and contention, out of that familie and house, which even then was fatall (as it were) and born to do mischief to the Tribunes & Commons both. *Appius Claudius* the Cenfor, after eighteen moneths expired (which by the law *Aemilia*, was the full terme of bearing that Magistracie) notwithstanding that *C. Plautius* his colleague, had given up his office; could by no meanes possible be forced himselfe to go out and give over the place. Then rose up one *P. Sempronius*, a Tribune of the Commons, who tooke in hand this matter, as touching the demission of the Censureship, within the time prefixed by

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the law: an action doubtlesse, not more popular than just and rightfull, nor lesse acceptable to the better sort, than pleasing to the verie Commons and base people. He having estoones rehearsed and reiterated the law *Æmylia*, extolled with prayles up to the skye, the author and maker thereof, *Mamercus Æmylius* a Dictator; who had reduced the Censorship, an office a foretime of five yeares continuance (a puissance and authoritie, which by the length thereof favored of Lordship) within the compasse of a yeare and fixe moneths. Come on, quoth he *Ap. Claudius*, answere and say, what you would have done in case you had bene Censor, when *C. Furius* and *M. Giganus* were Censors? *Appius* answered and said, that this demaund and question of the Tribune, did not greatly touch or concerne his cause. For put the case, that the law *Æmylia* had obliged those Censors, during whose magistracie the Act was made, (for that after those Censors created, the people had graunted that law, and looke what they last allowed and ordeined, the same was good, lawfull, and ratified) yet neither he nor any of them, who after that law enacted were created Censors, could be bound by vertue of that law. Whiles *Appius* thus cavilled, and no man there present footed him up, or gave applause and assent unto him: Behold *Quirites*, quoth *Sempronius*, againe, the progenie and race of that *Appius*, who being created Decenvir for one yeare, elected himselfe the second yeare: and in the third, being chosen neither by himselfe nor by any other, in qualitie of a private person, held the soveraigne dignitie and government, with all the regall marks and ensignes thereof: and thus continuing still in rule and dominion, would never give over, before that those usurped governments of his, ill gotten, badly borne, and naughtily kept and retained, were his finall fall and utter overthrow. This is the same family and house, (my maisters and friends, citizens of Rome) by whose violence, by whose wrongs and oppression, ye were driven like poore banished persons to forgo your owne deere native cuntry, and to seise and hold the Mount Sacer; the very same, against which ye procured and purchased to your selves, the support and helpe of Tribunes; the same, for which with two armies ye were faine to possesse your selves of the Aventine hill; the same, that alwayes withstood the Statutes devised against *Vsurie*; the same, that ever impugned the lawes for division of wast lands among the people; the same brake for the time, and interrupted the mariages betweene the Nobles and commons; the same kept out the commons so long from bearing any Dignities of the Chaire, and of Seate: finally, this name is much more spightfully and mortally bent against your freedome, than that of the *Tarquines*. And is it so indeede, *Ap. Claudius*? would you have vs beleieve, that being now an hundred yeares since *Mamercus Æmylius* was Dictator, there have bene so many Censors most noble and valiant personages, that none of them all ever read the twelve Tables? and none of them knew that to be law which the people last granted and allowed? Yes ywis, they all wist that well enough: and thereupon yeelded they, and obeyed rather the law *Æmylia*, than the old and auncient Statute, (whereby at first Censors were created in the common wealth) even because the people approved it last: and by reason, that where there are two ordinances repugnant and contrarie one to the other, there the new, alwayes repealeth and abrogateth the old. And is this your saying, *Ap. Claudius*? That the people are not bound to the law *Æmylia*? or rather that they are tyed unto it, but your good selfe alone, is free and exempt therefro? Vvas the law *Æmylia* able to bridle and curb those violent Censors *C. Furius*, and *M. Giganus*, who shewed sufficiently what harme and mischief this magistracie could do in a common-wealth, when for anger and despite that their terme was abridged and cut short, they disfranchised, and deprived of the right of voyce and Suffrage, yea and brought within the raunge of Tributaries, *M. Æmylius* the worthiest and most excellent personage of his time, both at home in peace, and abroad in warre? This law tooke hold of all the Censors, one after another in order, for the space of an hundred yeares after; and bindeth now *C. Plautius* your Colleague, created with the same Auspices, and in equall authoritie with you. Tell me (I pray you) did not the people elect and make him with as good right and authoritie, as any Cenfor might be? Are you the only and speciaall man among (all others, to have this prerogative, this privilege and singular preeminence by your selfe? Suppose a man should create the King Sacrificer, should he, having once gotten the name and title of a King, give out and avouch, that he was a King indeede, of as great a prerogative as any King of Rome? Who, thinke you, will be content with a Dictatorship of fixe moneths, or with an interreigne for five dayes and no more? Whom may a man boldly and confidently create Dictator, either to fasten a spike or great naile? or for the stately playes and games, or horserunning, and such

The Oration of
P. Sempronius
a Tribune of the
Commons, at
Claudius Appianus
[1. 1. 10]

A such like? How foolish, thinke ye my maisters, how base-minded and simple were they in this? man his conceipt, who within twentie dayes, after notable exploits done & achieved, gave over their Dictatorship? or they that being created, with some error and default, went out of their place? But what neede I to rehearse examples of old date? Of late, even within these ten yeares, *C. Menius* Dictator, for enforcing a commission more severely, than stood with the safetie of some great & welthie persons, was charged by them with the guiltinesse of the same crime, whereupon he fate & made inquisition; who, to the end, that being a private person, he might answere the accusation of his adversaries, and justifie himselfe, resigned up his Dictatorship. But I would not, that you in any hand, were so modest: no, no, degenerate not a jot from that most imperious stock and proud race: go not you forth of your office, howsoever you do, a day, no nor an houre sooner, than you needs must: but see then withall, that you exceede not the ordinary time limited and set downe. At lest wise, it might content you to draw out your Censureship a day longer, or to stretch it farther by a moneth. A moneth? what tell you me of a moneth? I will exercise my Censorship (quoth he) three yeares and fixe moneths, more than may be by the law *Æmylia*: yea, and by my selfe alone will I exercise it. Yea mary fir, this is somewhat like indeede, and spoken like a King. What? will you substitute unto you a Colleague in the roume of the other? will you so? to whome lawfull it is not to be subrogated and chosen, no not in the dead his place? for you thinke it not enough, belike, that you (religious holy Cenfour that you be) have translated and transmitted, that most auncient solemnitie, and onely instituted by that good [Hercules] in whose honor it is celebrated, from the function of most noble Sacrificers and Chaplaines, of that divine and sacred service, unto the ministerie of base servants, and abject slaves: and that a kindred and lineage of greater antiquitie, than the very first foundation of this citie, so sanctified by interteinment and lodging of the immortall gods, by your meanes, and by occasion of your Censorship, within one yeare is rooted out and perished every mothers sonne: unlesse also by the same meanes, you hazard the whole common-wealth, and bring all into the same enormitie, & guilt of wickednesse, which even to offe & bode, my heart doth tremble and quake againe. In that Lustrum [or 5 yeares space] was the citie of Rome taken by the Gaules, wherein *L. Papyrius Cursor*, because he might not go out of his Censorship, tooke a colleague unto him, *M. Cornel. Maluginensis*, in the place of *C. Julius* the Cenfor late deceased. And yet see, how much more sober and moderate was his ambitious humor in that behalfe, than this of yours, *Ap. Claudius*. For *L. Papyrius* neither alone, nor yet beyond the just set time by law, administrated his Censorship: yet found he never any one person after him, that would imitate and follow his example. All Censors from that time forward afterwards, upon the death of their fellow Cenfor, gave up the office. But as for you, notwithstanding that the date of your Censorship be fully out, and your companion in government departed out of the place; neither law nor shame, is able to rule and restraîne. You suppose that vertue consisteth in pride, in audacious boldnesse, in contempt both of God and man. For mine owne part truly, *Ap. Claudius*, for the reverence and majestie of this honorable place, which you have borne, I would not willingly enter into any such hard courtes, as to touch your person by violence of hand; no nor so much as to offend your name with any soule or unkind language. But as, these words that have already passed, your own peevish & perverse frowardnesse, your opinative contumacie, and insolent pride, have wrung & forced from me: so unlesse you will obey the law *Æmylia*, by your leave, I will be so bould as commaund you to ward and prison. And since our forefathers and auncestors have so provided and ordeined, that in the Election of Censors, if either of the twaine come short of sufficient voices requisite for to choose him, the other can not be admitted and declared Cenfor; and so they must proceede againe to a new election, and the former Scrutinies are of no effect: shall I suffer you to exercise the Censorship alone, who may not lawfully be created alone? These and such like remonstrances after he had alledged, he commaunded the Cenfor to be attached and committed. In these proceedings of his, fixe of his fellow Tribunes adhered unto him, and three onely assisted *Appius*; who called instantly upon them for their protection and lawfull succour: and so with exceeding ill will, and highest discontentment of all states and degrees, he went cleere away, and bare the Censorship alone.

These matters thus passed at Rome, & Sutrium was besieged still by the Tuskans: and as the Conf. *Fabius* was leading about at the foot of the hills, certain forces to succour his allies, & to as-

saile the fortifications of the enemies what way he could, they with an armie in battaile array met G with him. Whole great multitude when hee might discover upon the plaines underneath, because he would helpe out the small number of his men by some advantage of the ground, he wheeled a little about, up toward the hill tops (which were rough and craggie places spread all over with stones) and from thence he turned his banners full upon the face of the enemies. The Tuscans forgetting all things else, and thinking upon nothing but their multitude, whereof onely they presumed; gave battaile so hastily and in such greedinesse, that casting away their shot and darts from them, to the end they might the sooner come to hand strokes, they drew their swords, as they marched against the enemy. The Romanes on the contrarie side, laid load with shot, and plicd them one while with darts, another while with the stones which the place plentifully afforded them. Which, as they thumped and clattered, and stucke upon their H shields and morions, although they hurt them not much, yet masked them not a little: neither could the enemies easely come within them to fight neere and close, nor any darts or javelins had they to sling and lance as farre off, and thereby to annoy their enemy. And whiles they stood still exposed as butts, to receive all that came, and had nothing now to cover & protect them sufficiently; whiles some of them also gave ground & reculed, and the whole battell was wavering and unsteadie, the Roman Hastati & Principes, came forward with a new shout, & charged them a fresh. This violent assault could not the Tuscans beare, but turning their ensignes, fled a maine in disaray toward their camp. But when as the Roman horsemen who were ridden over through the plaines and had gotten before, met them afront in the rout, they left their way unto the campe, and turned toward the mountains: from whence with their whole companie in a manner disarmed & sore wounded, they recovered the Forrest Ciminia. The Romanes having slaine I many thousands of the Tuscans, gained thirtie eight ensignes of the field, and wan also their tents with rich pillage; began to consult about pursuing the enemy. The wood Ciminia was at that time more unpassable and to be feared, than were of late daies the German Forrests: for never to that day had it bene travailed and frequented so much as by merchants. And scarcely any one but the captaine himselfe durst venture to enter into it: for, all the rest had not forgotten as yet the unhappy lucke they had at Caudium. Then the Consul his brother, one that was there, (M. Fabius, as some say, as others, Cato, and as other some C. Claudius, his brother only by the mother side) promised that he would go as a skout in spiall, to descric the wood, and within a while bring certaine newes. He had in his tender yeares been brought up at Cere, among the K ancient friends of his house & familie, where afterwards he was taught the Tuscan learning and knowledge, and thereby was perfect in their tongue and language. And I find some authors of credit that write, how in those daies the Romanes yong children went to schoole for to learne to parle Tuscan, as now they do to speake Greeke. But it standeth more like a truth, that there was some speciall matter in this man, who with so bold semblance and dissimulation, durst intrude and insinuate himselfe amongst the enemies. It is said, that one onely servitour accompanied him, one who had bene brought up and noursed together with him, and thereupon not ignorant of the same language. And all the way as they went they did nothing else, but superficially and after a generall sort, learne the nature and site of the quarters which they were to enter into, and the names withall, of the chiefe rulers & principall personages of that countrie and nation: to the end that in their speech and talke, they might not falter and trip, & be taken tardie in any apparent thing, which might bewray and discover them. They went clad in pastorall weeds like herdsmen, armed like countrie Kernes or peasants, each of them with a faulchion and two javelins. But neither the familiar use and commerce of the tongue, nor the fashion of apparel which they wore, or weapons that they caried, saved them so much as this one thing, That no man would ever believe, that any foreiner and stranger durst enter upon those thicke Ciminian Forrests. Well, forward they went (by report) as farre as to the Camertines in Vmbria. There, the Romanes ventured to bewray who they were: and when he was brought into their Senat, he treated with them in the Consuls name, about a league and amitie. Whereupon, after he had bene courteously entertained and friendly intreated, he had his dispatch, and was willed to relate M to the Romans, That there should be readie for their armie, sufficient victuals for one whole month, if they would come into those parts: Also, that the youth of the Camertines in Vmbria should be at their command, prest in armes at all times. These tidings being reported to the Consul, after that he had sent before his cariages at the first watch of the night, and commanded the legions

- A legions to goe after, himselfe staid still with the horsemen: and the morrow morning by daylight he began to skirmish with the *corps de guard* of his enemies, which were quartered without the Forrest, and when he had long ynough kept them play, & amused them at his pleasure, hee retired into his camp; from whence he went forth at another gate, and before night overtaketh the main armie. The morrow after, at the point of day break, he was gotten up to the crell of the hill Ciminus: from whence, after he had beheld & viewed the goodly prospect of the rich grounds and fields of Hetruria, hee sendeth out his souldiours abroad to forage and fetch in prizes, and by that time they had gotten, and were driving away a fat bootie, certaine tumultuarie bands of the rusticall peasants of Hetruria, gathered together in great haile, and of a suddain, by the States of that countrie, met with the Romanes; but so out of order were they, that being come to rescue B a prey, they had like to have ben a prey themselves. A number of them were slain or put to flight, and the Romanes, having wasted and made spoile all over the countrie, enriched with store of all things, returned victorious into their camp. Thither were arrived (as it selfe out) five messengers or purlevants with the Trib. of the Com. to warn & command *Fabius* in the name of the Senat, not to passe through the Forrest Ciminus. But these messengers being glad that they came too late for to hinder and interrupt their enterprises, returned home again to Rome with news of the victorie.
- By this expedition and journe made by the Cos. the war rather encreased and spread farther, than was dispatched and brought to an end. For all that tract lying along the bottome & foot of the mountain Ciminus, felt the smart of this rode: and provoked to anger & desire of revenge, nor only the States of Hetruria, but also the borders and marches of Vmbria. Whereupon there came to Sutrium, a greater power than ever afore: for not only they removed their camp forward C out of the woods, but also for eager desire of fight with all speed, they come abroad into the plain field. Afterwards, they stood first embattelled in a plot, by them fitly chosen, leaving over against them a space of ground for the enemies to set themselves in order of battell: but perceiving the enemies to fall off, and no point fight, they approached the very trench and rampiers; but finding there, that the sentinels & guards were retired within their hold, al at once they began to crie with one voice to their captaines, for to give order, That the rest of their allowance of victuals for that day, should be brought them thither out of the camp; for they would stay in their armor and liarnies, as they were, & either in the night, or els in the morning betimes by daylight, give the assault upon their enemies campe. The Roman armie was no more quiet than they, yet at their Generals D commandement kept in. Now it was welnear the * tenth houre of the day. When as the Consul * *Future a clocke after noone.* willed his souldiours to take their refection, and warned them to be readie in armes at what hour soever by day or by night, hee should give them the signall of battaile. And in the meane time maketh a short speech unto them, praising highly, and setting out the Samnites wares, debasing the Tuscans, saying, that there was no comparison betwene either enemy to enemy, or number for number: over and besides, he said that he had another feat and secret devise in store for them, which they should know when time served; in the meane while they must keepe silence of necessitie, and hold their peace. By these darke speeches and hidden mysteries, hee made semblance, as though hee had some privie intelligence, that one part of the enemies would betray the rest when time came: this did he, to the end, that the hearts of his souldiours (which haply E were dismayed and discouraged at their great multitudes) might be comforted and refreshed: and for that the enemies lay abroad in field without any hold and fort, it was more likely & probable, which he pretended. The souldiours having taken their repast, they laid their bodies to repose and sleepe, and somewhat before the releefe of the * fourth watch, they were raised without noise, and armed themselves. The souldiours boies & lackies, and such as followed the campe, had mattocks and spades divided amongst them, to cast downe the rampire, and to fill up the ditches with the banke, whiles that within the compasse and circuit of the campe, they were marshalled in battaile array. The chosen * cohorts or bands were placed at the gates and passages forth. Then at the sound of trumpet, a little before day (which in summer nights, is the time of the deepest and soundest sleepe) the whole armie, when the rampire was laid along and levell, issued forth at F once, and charged the enemies on all sides, lying here and there scattered on the ground. Some before they were stirring, others halfe asleepe and halfe awake in their couches; but the greatest part, making haile in that suddaine fright to take armes, were slaine & cut in peeces. Few had time to put themselves in armour, and they having no ensignes, no colours to follow, and no captains to direct them, were by the Romans soone discomfited, put to flight, and pursued in chace. Some made

made halt to the campe, other to the woods, sundrie waies one from another. But the woods were the safest place of refuge. For their campe pitched in a plaine, was the same day taken and woon. All the gold and silver there found, was by expresse commandement brought unto the Consull his pavilion; the rest of the pillage, was the souldiours share. Slaine and taken prisoners that day, there were of the enemies to the number of 60000. This so noble battaile (some writers say) was fought on the other side of the wood Ciminia, before Perusia: who also report, that the citie of Rome was in great feare, least that the armie being enclosed within so dangerous a wood, should have been surprised and defeated by the Tuscans and Vmbrians, who were risen up in armes together from all parts. But whersoever it was fought, the Romanes had the day. Whereupon there came Embassadors from Perusia, * Cortona, & * Arretium, which were in manner the chiefe and principall citties at that time of all Tuscan, treating and suing to the Romanes for peace, and a league: but they obtained truce onely for thirtie yeares.

During these affaires in Hetruria, the other Consull, *C. Marius Rutilius*, wan from the Samnites the towne * Allifas. Many other villages and castles were either utterly demolished & destroyed by way of extreame hostilitie, or yelded safe and whole unto their subjection. At the same time the Romanie navie also, under the conduct of *P. Cornelius*, whom the Senate ordained Admirall of the seacoast, set saile for Campanie; & being arrived at * Pompeij, the mariners and sea-servitors went a land to wast & harrie the territorie about * Nuceria: and after they had made spoile, and pilled by snatches the parts lying neere unto the sea, from whence they might safely againe returne to their ships; they adventured farther for sweetnesse of gaine and bootie (as usually it falleth out) and so gave the al' arme to the enemies for to rise. As they stragled all over the fields, no man made head against them, at what time, as they might have bene soone slaine every one: but as they were returning with a disordered march, and stood not upon their guards, a troupe of the peasants of the countrie overtook them, not farre from their ships, and cased them of their spoile and pillage, and slew some of them: the rest of the multitude, as many as escaped the sword, were chased to their fleet.

The journey of *Q. Fabius* beyond the Forrest Ciminia, as it caused great feare in Rome, so it gave occasion of as joyfull newes in Samnium. For the rumour ran, that the Romanie armie was shut up and besieged. And hereupon they called to remembrance, and alleadged the like example of a losse and shamefull disgrace at Caudium; reporting and giving forth, that these Romans being a nation greedie alwaies of encroching farther, and winning more ground, were through the same rashnesse now runne headlong into the blinde Forrests impassable, and environned not so much with the power and force of enemies, as the dangerous difficulties of those passages. In such sort as amid this joy of theirs, they envied also that fortune had turned the glorious honour of the conquest over the Romanes, from the Samnites to the Tuscans. And therefore being well appointed with men and armour, they ran out from all parts, to tread down and confound *C. Marius* the Consull for ever: minding from thence, in case *Marius* would not abide a battell, to goe into Hetruria through the Marsi and Sabines. But the Consull met with them by the way; where was fought a sharpe and cruell battell with doubtfull event, and much effusion of blood on both sides. And, as uncertaine as it was, whether part lost more blood, yet the rumour went, that the Romans had the worse, by reason of the losse of certain knights and gentlemen of Rome, and Colonels, and one Lieutenant; and that which made most, for that the Consull himselfe was hurt. Hereupon the brute (as commonly is scene) got more feathers still as it flew, and made every thing greater: so as the LL. of the Senat in Rome, were in great feare and perplexitie, and agreed to create a Dictatour. Neither was there any doubt at all, but that *Papirius Cursor* should be the man, who in those daies was reputed the onely warriour above all others. But neither could they be assured of sending a messenger safely into Samnium (considering all the countrie was up in armes) nor that the Consull was for certaine alive. And as for the other Consull *Fabius*, upon an old secret and privat grudge, he maliced *Papirius*: which quarell, least it might hinder the service of the Commonweale, the Senate thought good to send unto him certaine Embassadors (as it were) even such as had bene Consuls; who of their owne authoritie, as well as by vertue of publick commission from the State, should admonish and counsell him to remit and forget all old displeasures and rancours, for his countries sake. When these personages were come to *Fabius* the Cos. and had delivered unto him the decree of the Senate, and used withall such speech & reasons of their own, as suited well to the errand they had in charge: the Cos. casting

his eyes downe toward the ground, departed from the embassadors without giving ever a word, and left them doubtfull what he would doe. But the night following, in the dead time (as the manner is) he nominated *L. Papirius* for Dictator. And when these messengers or embassadors gave him great thanks for mastering and ruling his affections so exceeding well, he held his resolution still of silence, and without any answer given, or mention made of himselfe, dismissed them; that it might appeare, how upon a high mind and haughtie stomacke, he bridled and kept in that griefe of heart, and despitous anger of his. *Papirius* named *C. Iunius Bubulcus* commander of the horse. And whiles he proposed an act concerning the regiment & command of his armie, before the people assembled by the Curia or wards, there hapned a matter of ominous presage, which caused that businesse to be put off until the next day: for that the ward Fautia, which by lot had the prerogative now to give the first voices, was noted already for infamous and unhappie, in regard of two calamities which fortun'd in both yeares, wherein the same Curia likewise began the suffrages first; namely, the taking of the citie of Rome, and the Caudine peace. *Macer Licinius* maketh that ward ominous and unluckie, for a third losse and calamitie received at Créméra. But the next morrow, the Dictator, after he had taken new Auspices, went through with the act, and obtained his commission, and set forward with the legions lately mustered and enrolled upon the fearefull alarme given, that the Romanie armie was passed the wood Ciminia, until he arrived at Longula: where, after he had received of the Consull *Marius*, the old bands of souldiers, he brought his forces into the field to give battaile. The enemies for their part seemed not to refuse fight: howbeit, as they stood armed and arranged, and neither the one side nor the other would begin to charge, the night came upon them, and forced them to retire. Then they abode encamped neere together in rest and quiet for certaine dayes, neither distrusting their owne puissance, nor yet disdaining and despising their enemies. In this meane time there was some doings & war in Etruria; for both there was a battaile fought with the armie of the Vmbrians: howbeit, the enemies were rather discomfited and put to flight than slain, for that they were not able to hold out and maintain fight long with such courage and animositie as they began: and also neer the lake & Meer * Vadimon, the Tuskans had levied a new armie, according to a sacred law, whereby one man had chosen another (who as sworn brethren were to live and dye together) where they fought a field, not onely with greater number, but also with more courage than ever at any time before; and with such heate of anger and malice one against the other they encountred, that on neither side they thought of discharging shot and launching darts, but began at first with their very swords to go to handstrokes: and the conflict being right fiercely begun, increased still, and waxed hotter in the very medley, and continued for a good while so doubtfull, that the Romanes thought they dealt not with Tuskans so often by them defeated and vanquished, but with some new nation more warlike than they. No shew of flight on neither side; downe go the formost, and lay dead before their Standards: and least that the ensignes should be left naked and bare, and without defendants, the second rancke and ward of the battaillon came in place to supply the first: and so still new succours and fresh were set even as farre as from the rereward behind, destined for the last help and utmost refuge. And to that extremitie of travel and perill they proceeded, that the Romanie horsemen abandoning their horses alighted on foot, & were faine to go to the footemen in the forefront of the vaward, over armor, and over dead bodies, lying all spread upon the ground: which new troupe & battaillon risen and sprung (as it were) afresh, to reenforce and strengthen their distressed fellows, disordered the squadrons and ensignes of the Tuskans. The other legionarie souldiours, wearied (as they were) followed hard, and seconded their violence and forceable charge, and at length brake through the ranks of their enemies. Then the Tuskans as stiffe as they stood afore, began to have the worse, and certain bands gave side and reculed: and when they once turned back, they fell plainely to take their heeles and run away. This was the first day, that overthrow and laid along the puissance of the Tuskans, who abounded so long in wealth and fortunate prosperitie. Their whole floure and strength which they had, was in this battaile slaine, and at the same vie their camp woon and ransaked.

With like hazard and glorious successe in the end, was the warre managed with the Samnites soone after; who besides all other preparations and ordinarie furniture of warre, gave order that their armie should glitter and shine againe with a new kind of garnishing their harness and armours. For having divided their forces in two armies, the one had laied their sheelds with gold,

the other with silver. The forme and fashion whereof was this, that upper part wherewith the G
breft and fhoulders are covered, was broader, and the head of it of even heighth; but the nether
end growing downward to the bottome was more pointed wedgewife, for to weld it more
nimble: Their breft & fto:ack was fenced with fponges, the left leg armed with a good greeve,
their morions with high crefts made a fhew of tall stature. The fouldiers aforefaid with gilded
fhields, wore coates of funderie colours; the other with filvered, white linnen: and thefe had the
leading of the right wing, or point of the battaile; but they of the left. The Romanes had a
notice and knowledge alreadie what preparation there was of brave and goodly armour: and
their Captaines had taught them afore, That a fouldier ought to be dreadfull and terrible, not
dight and decked in his damasked gold and filver, but trufting in the fharp edge of yron and
fteele, and a good heart and courage withall: and as for that other furniture, it was rather a good H
bootie than armour of prooffe; faire and replendent, before men come to the fharp, but foule
and unfeemly amongst bloudie wounds. The true ornament and beautie of a fouldier, is valour
and hardineffe; as for all thofe braveries, they went commonly with victorie: and to conclude,
that a rich enemy would ferve well for a good prize to the conquerour, were he never fo poore
and needie. With thefe fpeeches, after that *Curfor* had animated his fouldiers, he leade them
into the field: himfelfe he put in the right wing: the left he committed to the conduct of the
Generall of horfe. So foone as they charged one another, and buckled together, a great conflikt
and hardie had they with the enemy, and no leffe emulation there was betwene the Dictator
and him; ftiving avie whether of them twaine fhould begin the victorie. But as hap was, firft
I *Iunius* difordred the enemy, and from the left point which he commanded, he charged right
lufily the right wing of the enemies: faying ever and anon, That he offered & facrificed unto the
Devill and infernall fpirits, thofe fouldiers of theirs, consecrated alreadie unto them after the
manner of the Samnites, and decked accordingly in white liverie, & bright filvered armour, fit-
ting in colour thereunto: and withall advanced forward his ftanderds, brake their araes, and
made the battaile to shrinke evidently & recule. Which when the Dictator perceived, How now
quoth he, fhall the victorie begin at the left wing, and fhall the right, wherein the Dictator fight-
teth in perfon, come behind and follow the battaile of another, and not cary away with it the
greateft part of the victorie? Herewith he feteth on his fouldiours, yet gave the horfemen no
place in manhood to the footemen, nor the fervice of the Lieutenants was inferiour to the
Captaines themfelves and chiefe commanders: *M. Valerius* on the right point, *P. Decius* on K
the left, both Confular men, put themfelves forward, & rode out to the horfemen arranged in the
wings, exhorted them to take part with them in honor, and charged acroffe upon the fides and
flanks of the enemies. While this new terror upon the former, had on every fide entred the bat-
taille of the enemies; and the Romane legions, to terrifie them the more, had redoubled a frefh
fhout, and charged them with great furie, then began the Samnites to flie amaine. Now were the
fields overfpread with the bodies of flaine men, & ftrewed thick with armour, erewhile fo brave &
glorious: and at the firft, the Samnites in great affright recovered their tents; but being there,
were not able fo much as to keepe them, for they were woon and rifled before night, and fire fet
upon them. The Dictator by a decree of the Senate triumphed: and the faid armour which was
taken from the enemy, made the goodlieft pageant of all other, in the pomp of triumph: L
which caried fo ftately a fhewe and magnificent, that the gilded fhields were divided
amongft the warders of the companie of Bankers and Goldfmiths, to the beautifying of
their Hall and Marker place. And hereof began firft the custome of the *Ediles*, to adorne and
fet out the common place of the citie in their folemne proceffions, when the fared images of
the gods, and holie reliques were caried about for pomp in filver chariots. And the Romanes
verily for their part put this goodly trim armour of their enemies to this ufe, namely, to honor
their gods withall. But the Campaines upon a pride, and inveterate hatred that they bare a-
gainft the Samnites, ufed to arme their fwordplayers and fencers at the fharp (which was a fo-
lemne fight and paffime they had at their great feasts) with this fame attire, and termed them in
mockerie, by the name of Samnites.

* *Perugia*.

The fame yeer *Fabius* the Confull fought with the reft of the Tufcanes at **Perusia* (which cit-
tie alfo had broken the covenant of truce) where neither doubtfully nor hardly hee obtained vic-
torie. And the very towne it felfe he had forced and woon (for in the fame train of his conquelt
hee approached the wals) but that their Embaffadours came forth and yeelded the citie. When
he

A he had placed a good garifon at *Perusia*, and fent before him to Rome unto the Senate, the Em-
baffadors of *Hetruria*, who treated for peace; he being but Confull, made his triumphant entrie
into the citie, for a more magnificent victorie, than the Dictator. And for that a good part
of the honour of fubduing the Samnites, was afcribed to the Lieutenants *P. Decius*, and *M. Valeri-
us*, therefore at the next Election, the people with great affent declared the one Confull, and
the other Pretour. *Fabius* for taming *Hetruria* fo bravely and valiantly, continued Con-
fultill, and had for his Colleague *P. Decius*. *Valerius* was created Pretour the fourth time.
The Confuls parted betwene them the provinces, *Hetruria* fell to *Decius*, Samnium to *Fabius*.
Who taking his voiage to *Nuceria*, laid fiege to the citie of the *Allifates*, and woon it by affault:
and notwithstanding they made fuit for peace, hee rejected and defpised them; for that when it
B was offered, they would not accept it. With the Samnites he fought a battaile: but without any
great conflikt, the enemies were vanquished. Neither had the remembrance of that field ben left,
in record, but that the Marfians firft tooke armes and warred with the Romanes. After the Mar-
fians were revolted, the **Pelignians* did the femblable, and fped alike. *Decius* alfo the other Con-
fult had good fucceffe in his warres. He drave the *Tarquiniens* for feare, to find the armie corne,
and to fue for a truce of fortie yeeres. Certaine caftles and holds of the *Volfiniens*, hee forceably
wain: fome of them he utterly rafed, for that they fhould not be any receptacle or harbor for the
enemies. And with warring round about every where, hee became fo terrible, that the whole
Tufcane nation made fute to the Confull for peace and confederacie. It, they could not obtain;
but truce for a yeere was granted. In regard whereof, for that yeere they fatisfied the whole pay
C for the armie, and a double livecie for every fouldiour was exacted and taken of them. This was
the penfion and fine that their truce coft them.

But now when all was quiet among the Tufcanes, the suddaine revolting of the *Vmbrians*, a
nation free, and faved hitherto from the calamities of warre, but onely, that the Romane armie
paffed through their territories troubled all anew: for they having raifed the ftrengh and flower
of their youth, and follicited alfo a great part of the Tufcanes to rebell, levied fo great a power,
that making no account of *Decius*, whom they left behind them in *Hetruria*, they gave out
proud words of themfelves, and fpake bafely of the Romanes, vaunting and boasting that they
would march right forth to affault Rome. Which defigne of theirs, fo loon as it was reported to
Decius the Col. he made fpeed, and by long journees departed out of *Hetruria* toward the citie,
D and in the countrie of the *Papinians*, encamped himfelfe; liftening ever after the enemies, what
they ment to do. Neither at Rome was the *Vmbrians* war neglected & fet light by: for their verie
threats and menaces feared them, as who alreadie had feene by experience, by the foile they had
at the *Gauls* hands, how unfure a citie they inhabited and not unpregnable. Therupon meffen-
gers were difpatched to the Col. *Fabius*, That if he had any breathing time, & rcft from the Sam-
nits war, he fhould with all fpeed lead his armie into *Vmbria*. The Col. obeyed, and by great jour-
neis went forward to **Mevania*, where at that time the forces of the *Vmbrians* lay. This suddaine
& unexpected coming of the Col. whom they thought verily occupied in Samnium far inough
off from *Vmbria*, fo terrified the *Vmbrians*, that fome gave advife to retire backe to their walled
townes, others to relinquifh the war altogether. One canton or tract of their countrie (which they
E themfelves call *Materina*, not only kept the reft in arms, but alfo fet them on to fight immediatly,
fo as they charged upon *Fabius*, as he was trenching & fortifying. Whom when the Col. faw ru-
fhing upon his rampires in fuch heaps, he called his men from their work, and as the ground and
time would give leave, he marfhalled them in order of battel: & after he had encouraged his fol-
diors with a true report & difcource of many glorious and honorable journees achieved as well in
Tufcia as alfo in Samnium; he willed them to difpatch this fmal refidue of the Tufcan war, that
hung by and remained behind, and to be revenged of that accurfed and impious fpeech, whereby
they threatened to affaile the citie of Rome. Thefe words of his were heard by the fouldiours with
fuch alacritie and cheerefulnes of hart, that before their Generall had made an end of his fpeech,
they fet up a fhout of themfelves and interrupted him: and thus before commaundement and
F fignall given by found of trumpets and cornets, they ran amaine upon the enemies, and charged
them as if they had not been men, and thofe alfo armed. For (a wonderfull thing to be fpo-
ken) at the very firft they began to plucke the banners and ftreamers out of the bearers hands;
after that, the enfigne-bearers themfelves were led to the Confuls, and the fouldiours armed as
they were, transported out of one battaillon into another, and where there was any fcufling, they
fought

fought not so much with sword, as buckler: and what with their boffes and yron pikes, and what G with jusseling, shouldering, and striking the enemies about the arme-pits, they were overthrowne and telled. In which medley, more men were taken, than slaine: and no other crie was heard throughout the field, But down with weapon, down with weapon. So that in the very conflict, the principall authours of the war rendered themselves: and the morrow after, & other daies following, the rest of the people of Vmbria likewise yielded. The Otricularians by stipulation only and pledges given, were received into amitie. And *Fabius* having thus gotten the victorie in that war, which tell to another mans lot and charge, led backe his armie againe into his owne province. And in regard of his prosperous & happie exploits, like as the people the yeer past continued his Consullship: so the Senat against the year following, when *App. Claudius*, and *L. Volumnus* were Consuls, proroged his martial rule stil, maugre the hart of *Appius*, who was greatly against it. In some H
Chronicles I find, that *Appius*, whiles he was Censor, sued to be Consull, & that his Election was crosse and staied by *L. Furius*, a Tribune of the Com. untill he had resigned up the Censorship. Being created Cos. and the war with the Salentines (declared new enemies) allotted unto his Colleague, he remained at Rome; that by civile pollicie, and managing home-affaires, he might augment his owne state and authoritie, since that the honor of warre-service rested in the hands and conduct of another. *Volumnus* had no cause to repent of his charge & province: for many fortunate battailes he fought, and some townes of the enemies by force he wone. He was a bountifull giver of the spoile away unto his souldiours: and this bountie in it selfe alone acceptable, hee helped much with great courtesie and gentleness, by which vertues and artificiall meanes, he made the souldiours both venturous in perils, and tough in travell.

Fabius on the other part, in qualitie of pro-Consull, gave battell to the Samnites neere the citie Allisa, where the day was nothing doubtfull. The enemies were discomfited and beaten into their campe: neither had they beene able to have kept the field, but that there was but a little day left behind: and yet before night, they were beset round about in their hold, yea, and watched with good guards all night long, that none should make escape. The morrow morning ere it was well day light, they began to yeeld themselves, and to capitulate. That as many Samnites as there were among them, should bee sent forth in their single garments, and they all went under the gallows. As for their confederates and allies, there was no such proviso nor composition made; but they all, to the number of seven thousand, were sold as slaves, and ware a garland. As many as adowed themselves to be Hernicks, were kept apart by themselves to be forthcomming. All those *Fabius* sent to Rome to the Senat, and untill such time as enquire was made, whether in a publicke muster they were pressed souldiours, or voluntarily served under the Samnites against the Romanes, they were committed to bee kept in ward among sundrie Nations of the Latines: during which time, the new Consuls, *Publius Cornelius Arvina*, and *Quintus Martius Tremulus* (for those were now created) had in charge to propose that matter anew unto the Senate. The Hernicks tooke that ill. Whereupon the Anagnines held a Diet or generall councell in the round Cirque, which they call *Maritimus*, of all the cities of that Nation, except the Alatrines, Ferentinates, and the Verulanes. Where the whole State of Hernicks proclaimed warre against the people of Rome. In Samnium also, for that *Fabius* was departed thence, there arose new troubles and rebellions. Calatia and Sora were forced, and the Romane garrisons that there lay, were put to the sword, and upon the bodies of as manie as they tooke alive, they exercised much torture and crueltie. Whereupon *Publius Cornelius* the Consull was thither sent. And to *Martius* were the new enemies appointed (for by this time decreed it was, That warre should bee made upon the Anagnines and the other Hernicks.) At the first, the enemies had so seised all the convenient advences and waies betweene both the Consuls campes, that there could not readily passe a lackey or currier betweene, in so much, as for certaine daies both Consuls abode doubtfull how the world went, and uncertaine one of the others state. The feare wherof, spred to Rome, so as all the younger sort [from seventeen yeers of age to seven and fortie] sware to serve: and against all suddain occasions, and occurrents whatsoever, two full and complete armies were levied and enrolled. But the Hernick war was nothing correspondent either to the present menaces, or to the ancient glorie and reputation of that nation: for having done no worthe adventures, and within few daies lost their campe thrife, they covenanted for to have thirtie daies truce; during which time, they might send Embassadours to the Senate of Rome; and in consideration hereof, they

A they promised to lay downe two moneths pay and to find corne for the armie, and allow everie soldiour one core. But from the Senat they were put off and referred to *Martius*: unto whom by order from the Senat, a large commission was granted, to dispose of the Hernicks as he thought good: and so he tooke the whole nation as yeilded to his devotion. The other Consull in Samnium being in forces more puissant than the enemy, was notwithstanding encombred much with the difficultie of the ground. All the passages had the enemy stopped, & possessed himself of the Forrests and woods which were thorow-fares, that no way victuals might be conveyed unto him. Neither could the Consull, for all that daily he displaid banner in field, traine them forth to fight: so as it was well seene, that neither the Samnites could abide present battel, nor the Romans long delay of war. But the arrivall of *Martius*, who upon the subduing of the Hernicks, made haste to aid his Colleague, caused the enemy to differre no longer the triall of the field. For, they who thought themselves not good enough to match so much as the one armie, knew full well, that if they suffered two Consuls armies to joine together, there had beene no hope left. They therefore set upon *Martius* as he marched without order of battaile. Hereupon in all haste their trustes and fardels were brought together and laid in the middle; and as the time would permit, he set his soldiours in array. At the first encounter, the shout was hard into the campe of the other Consull. Afterwards the dust desired a farre off, gave an al'arme, and made a trouble and garboile there. Then the Consull presently commaunded to arme: and hastily bringing his soldiours forth into the field, entred upon the battaile of the enemies in the flanke, whiles they were busied in another skirmish. He, cried aloud to his men, that it were exceeding great shame, to C suffer the other armie to carry away double victorie, & not themselves win the honor of that war, which was their proper charge. Thus, wheresoever he charged, he brake in and made entrance: and having pierced and made a great lane through the midst of the enemies battaile, he passed on toward their campe; which finding void of defendants, he tooke and set a fire. Which when the soldiours of *Martius* saw burning before their faces, and the enemy likewise, as they looked behind: then began the Samnites on all hands to flie: but killed they were every where down right: all places full of murder and carnage: so in no part could they finde meanes to escape and save themselves. Now when there were a thirtie thousand of the enemies slaine, the Consuls sounded the retreat, and gathered both their armies together, with great congratulation one to the other: by which time, behold, there were deskied a farre off, certaine new bands of enemies, D enrolled for a supply; and they gave occasion of a new & fresh slaughter. Against whom without commandement of Consull, or any signall received from their leaders, the Romanes advanced lustily, crying aloud, that these Samnites were to be welcomed with an ill hanfell, and this their first training should cost them deere. The Consuls let the legions alone in this their furious heat, as who knew well enough, that these new commers seeing the old beaten soldiours so stationed already and flying away, would soone have enough of it, and not once adventure fight. And they were not deceived in their opinion; for the whole forces of the Samnites as well old as new, fled apace unto the next mountaines: and thither the Romanes also make as great speed. But no safe place could those vanquished enemies find: for even from the verie hill tops which they held, they were beaten downe, so that with one voice they all craved peace. Then after the Consuls had imposed upon them corne for three moneths, and a years pay, and for everie soldiour a liverie besides, they were permitted to send Embassadours to the Senat; to treat and capitulate therefore. During which time, *Cornelius* was left in Samnium, and *Martius* returned into the citie, with triumph over the Hernicks. Moreover a decree passed, that his statue riding on horsebacke should remaine in the common place of assemblies, which was erected accordingly, even before the Temple of *Cassor*. To three States of the Hernicks, to wit, the Alatrines, the Verulanes and Ferentinates, their owne lawes, and ancient liberties were restored againe, because they made choise thereof, rather than to bee enfranchised cittizens of Rome: and permitted they were to marrie amongst the Romanes, which libertie they onely of the Hernicks for a good while enjoyed. The Anagnines, and those that had borne armes against the Romanes, were incorporate free denizens at Rome, but without the priviledge of giving voices and suffrages: F debarrd they were of holding any counsels and making marriages with them, yea and denied at all to elect any magistracie, but onely the function and ministerie of divine service and sacrifices.

The same yeare the Chappell of daine *Salus* was by *C. Iunius Bubulcus* now Censor, set out at a price

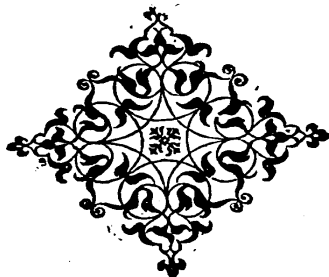
a price to be buile, which he in his Consulship had vowed, in the Samnites warre. By his direction & appointment, together with his colleague *M. Valerius Maximus*, were the great high waies and caufes made, of all sides of the citie, through the fields, at the common charge and expenses. The same yeare also, was the league renewed now the third time with the Carthaginians; and their embassadors who came for that purpose, were courteously entertained, and rewarded liberally with rich gifts. In that yeare there was a Dictator *P. Cornel. Scipio*, with *P. Decius*, Generall of the horie: and these were Presidents at the election of Consuls, for to that purpose they were created, because neither of the two Consuls could be spared from the warres. Consuls were created *L. Posthumus*, and *T. Minutius*. But *Piso* sayth, that these Consuls immediately succeeded *Q. Fabius*, and *P. Decius*: leaving out those two yeares, wherein we have written, that *Claudius* with *Volumnius*, & *Cornelius* with *Martius* were Consuls. Whether he forgot himselfe in digesting his Annales and yearly records, or of set purpose overhight two couple of Consuls, thinking that they were not in truth Consuls, I wote not.

The same yeare the Samnites made rodes into the territorie of Stella, within the liberties and appertinances of the Campanes, and therefore both Consuls were sent into Samnium: who when they were parted into divers wayes, for *Posthumus* tooke his journey to Tifernum, and *Minutius* to Bovianum: first there was a battaile fought at Tifernum, under the leading of *Posthumus*. Some make no doubt, but write, that the Samnites were discomfited, and put to the worke, and thirtie thousand of them taken prisoners: others say, that the conflict was equall, and that they departed on even hand: also that *Posthumus* making semblance of feare, journeyed by night, and closely retired unto the hils adjoyning, & that the enemies followed after them, two miles, & from thence encamped, & fortified also themselves in strong places of advantage. The Consull because he would be thought to have fought & chose a safe place, and plentifully stored with all necessities (as it was no lesse in deed) where he might keepe a standing camp; after he had fortified the same, and furnished it with all kind of provision, leaving behind him a strong garrison for defence; at the reliefe of the third watch, leadeth the neereft way, his legions not encombred with carriage, to his Colleague; who also himselfe lay in camp over against another armie. There, by the perswasion and advice of *Posthumus*, *Minutius* gave battaile: and when as the conflict continued doubtfull untill it was farr on the day; then *Posthumus* with his fresh legions, on a sodaine charged the battailions of the enemies, now already overytoyled: thus partly for weeriness, and partly for wounds, they being disabled for to flee away, were out of all measure slaine every one: and xxj. banners were taken: and so from thence they went forward to the camp of *Posthumus*. Where these two victorious armies, finding the enemy discouraged and amazed at the tidings of this overthrow, set upon them, discomfited, and put them to flight, and wan from them xxvj. ensignes: where the Generall of the Samnites *Status Cellius*, with many a man besides, was taken prisoner, and both their camps woen. Bovianum also, which the morrow after began to be assaulted, was shortly after forced: and finally with great glorie of so noble acts atchieved, both Consuls triumphed. Some write, that the Consull *Minutius* being grievously hurt, was brought back into the camp, and there died: and that *M. Fulvius* was substituted Consull in his rounge: and that it was he, who being sent unto the armie of *Minutius*, wan Bovianum. The same yeare, Sorat, Arpinum, and Consentia were recovered from the Samnites; and the great image of *Hercules* was in the Capitoll set up and dedicated.

When as *P. Sulpitius Averrius*, and *P. Sempronius Sophus* were Coss. the Samnites desiring either to see an end of warre, or els to delay it, sent embassadors to Rome pretending peace. To whom as they pleaded and intreated most humbly, this answer was given; That if the Samnites had not so often treated for peace, when they intended and prepared warre, they might after certaine enterviews, and conferences passed betweene, obtaine their suite: but since that evermore untill that time, their words were but wind; now they would trust to their deedes, and nothing els. *P. Sempronius* the Consull, shall shortly be in Samnium with an armie: who would not be abused, but soone see, whether their minds be enclined to warre or peace: and as he found, and saw every thing, so would he bring word and make relation: and therefore their embassadors were to attend upon the Consull when he departed out of Samnium. The same yeare, after that the Romane armie had passed peaceably too & fro, and visited all Samnium, having victuals by the countrie courteously allowed, the ancient league was granted againe to the Samnites. From thence turned the Romanes their forces against the *Aequians*, their old enemies; but for many years

A yeares making semblance of quietnes, whereas indeede their peace was litle to be trusted: for that the Hernick nation was safe and on foote, they with them, had used oftentimes under hand to send aid unto the Samnites; and also after the subduing of the Hernicks, the whole nation in a manner without dissimbling, and averring all they did by publick counsell and authoritie, had fallen away unto the enemy: and after that the Romanes had made league with the Samnites, and their heralds came to make claime for their goods tooke from them by way of hostilitie, they said, it was but a tempting of them, to see, whether upon feare of warre they would suffer themselves to become Romanes. Which, say they, how greedily it were to be wished, the Hernicks were able to teach them: for they, as many of them as had libertie to do what they would, chose rather to live under their owne lawes, than to be enfranchised citizens of Rome: but others, who had not the same scope to choose to their liking, they were constrained to accept of the Burgeoisie of their citie, by way of a punishment. Upon these speeches and arguments commonly tossed in their assemblies & Counsels, the people of Rome decreed warre against the *Aequians*: to which both the Consuls went, and encamped foure miles from their enemies campe. The *Aequians* (who in their owne behalfe, and for any quarell of theirs, had many yeares sat still and made no warre) like as if their armie had bene leaved of a sodaine and in haste, without certaine Captaines appointed, and without any Generall to command, were affrayed. Some thought good to go forth into the field, others to defend themselves, and keepe within their campe: most of them were moved to thinke aforehand upon the wasting of their countrie afterwards, and consequently the dettruction of their cities left but with slender garrisons. Therefore after that, amongst many opinions, this only had audience, namely to abandon the care of publick weale, and every man to regard his owne private state, and at the first watch to depart divers waies one from the other, and quit the camp, and convey away all their bag and baggage, and to defend their cities within the walls: they all with one accord accepted thereof, and embraced it. Now when the enemies were thus scattered abroad about the countrie, the Romanes by daylight, with banner displayed went forth into the field: and when they saw no man come abroad to meet them, they marched in warlike order apace towards the enemies campe. But when as they could perceive there, neither warders before the gates, nor any man upon the trench and rampiers, nor to much as the usuall noyse of a leaguer; being moved with this unaccustomed silence, for feare of forelaying and treacherie, they stood still: but being gotten over the rampire, and finding the tents voyde and empty, they set forward to pursue the enemy by his trace. But when they found their foote tracks, leading to all parts of the countrie alike, as being slip here and there, sundrie and divers wayes: at the first they wandered out of the way, and missed of them; but afterwards knowing by their espials the purpose and intent of their enemies, they went round about and besieged every citie, and in threecore dayes wan fortie townes all by assault: most part whereof were raised even with the ground, and consumed into ashes, and the nation of the *Aequians* utterly in a manner destroyed. Over the *Aequians* there was triumph. Whose calamitie and desolation was so fearefull an example, to the *Marrucines*, *Marfi*, *Peligni*, and *Ferentines*, that they sent Oratours to Rome to treat for peace and amitie: and to all those nations at their request, a league was granted. The same yeare, *C. Flavius* a Notarie or Register by profession, whose father *Cnius* was no better than of a slave made free, a man, thus descended of base and lowe parentage, howbeit otherwise craftie and eloquent withall, arose to be an *Aedile Curule*. I finde in some records, that when he gave attendance in his calling to the *Aediles*, and saw that his owne Tribe were willing to give him their voyces and elect him *Aedile*, but his name not accepted of among other competitor, for that he got his living by his pen; he cast aside his bookes and papers, and sware an oth, that he would no longer be a Notarie and use pencecraft. But *Macer Licinius* avoucheth, that a good while before that, he gave over his writing, namely after he had bene Tribune, and borne two Triumvirships, the one for the night misfules, the other for the placing and transporting of a Colonie. But they all agree upon this, that he became verie stout, and in great contumacie opposed himselfe and made head against the Nobles that contemned his base birth. The civile law, which before time was laid up in great secter by the Priests, and Prelats in their Arches, he published abroad; and set up a table in the great common place, in manner of a Calendar, wherein all men might knowe worke-dayes from holy-dayes: when it was lawfull to pleade, and when not. Also in despite, and to the great heart-burning of the *Patritij*, he

he dedicated the temple of the goddesse *Concord* upon the court of *Vulcane*: and by the generall consent of the people, *Cornelius Barbatius* the high priest was compelled to endite and pronounce the certain forme of words therto belonging; notwithstanding he contested and denied, that by the customes of their forefathers any could dedicate a Temple, unlesse he were either Consull or Generall of an armie. And therefore by the authoritie of the Senate, a law was preferred to the people, That no man might dedicate a Temple or Alter, without permission and consent of the Consull, or the more part of the Tribunes of Commons. I will report in this place a thing, of it selfe not worthe of remembrance, but onely for a prooffe and example of the libertie of the Commons against the pride and insolencie of the Nobles. This *Flavius*, coming upon a time to visit his Colleague lying sicke, by a complot afore hand of certaine yong gentlemen of the Patritians that sat by his beds side, had no reverence done unto him, nor any one so much as rose up at his entrance into the chamber: whereupon, he commaunded his yvorie chaire of State to be brought unto him, & set himself upon it; and so he outfaced his adversaries, that were so vexed to the heart with envie of his dignitie. This *Flavius* was nominated and chosen *Ædile*, by the base faction of the commoners, banding together in the place of assemblies: who first tooke heart by the Censureship of *Appius Claudius*, the first that ever distained and polluted the Senate, by bringing in the sonnes of Libertines: and when he saw that no man accounted that election of Senatours good and lawfull, and perceived withall, that in the court he had not that backing of citizens which he sought for; he entermingled in every Tribe certaine of the most base persons of the Commons: and so hee corrupted both the common place and *Mars* field also. In so much as the Election of *Flavius* was reputed so unworthie an indignitie, that most of the gentlemen of Rome laid away their gold rings and rich trapping of their horses, which were the ornaments and ensignes of their calling. And from that time forward, the cittie was divided into two partes. One side was maintained and upheld by the true hearted people, such as favoured and loved good things: the other by the faction of the raffe and skum of the cittie: untill the time that *Q. Fabius*, and *P. Decius* were created Censors. *Fabius* to bring the cittie unto an uniforme accord, and to withstand this inconvenience, that the Elections of Magistrates should not be caried away by the strong hand of the vilest and most abject persons, made a separation of all that base rabble, and cast them into foure Tribes, and called them **Urbana*. Which action of his (men say) was accepted with so great contentment and thankfulness, that upon this good temperance of degrees, he purchased the surname of *Maximus*, which in many victories he had not acquired and obtained. By him also (by report) it was ordained and instituted, that on the Ides of Iuly, the horsemen rode, as it were, in a solemne muster, and shewed their great hories to the Censor.



THE



THE TENTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIVS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the
Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the tenth Booke.



Two Colonies were planted in Sora and Alba. The *Mæsians* of *Cascole*, were reduced unto obedience. The fellowship of the *Augurs* was augmented to the number of nine, where-as before they were wont to be but foure. The Law or Edict as touching the appealing to the people, was now the third time proposed by *Valerius* the Consull. Two Tribes more were added to the rest, *Aniensis* and *Tarentina*. *Ware* was denounced against the *Samnites*, and fortunately fought with them. What time as there was a battaile given to the *Tuscanes*, *Vmbrians*, *Samnites*, and *Gaulers*, under the conduct of *P. Decius*, and *Quintus Fabius*, and the Roman armie was in great extremitie of danger, *P. Decius* following the example of his father, devowed and exposed himselfe to die voluntarily for to save the host: and by his death obtained the victorie of that iourney, to his countymen and fellow citizens. *Papirius Censor* put to flight an armie of the *Samnites*, who were bound by a solemne oth, not to depart out of the battaile without victorie, to the end, that with more magnanimitie and resolution, they should enter into the field. The Conference held, and the number taken of the citizens, with the solemne praying and Lustration of the cittie. And assayed there were 362322 pols.



When *L. Genutius* and *Ser. Cornelius* were Consuls, there was rest in manner from all warres abroad; in such sort, as they had leasure to place certaine Colonies at Sora and Alba: And for Alba there were enrolled 6000 inhabitants, to affront the *Æquians*. As for Sora, it had sometimes belonged to the *Volsicians* territorie; but the *Samnites* usurped the possession of it, and thither foure thousand were sent to inhabite. The same yeare, the *Arpinates* and *Trebulanes* were enfranchised free denizens at Rome. The *Frusinates* were fined with the losse of one third part of their lands: for they were evidently detected to have solicited the *Hernicks* to rebellion: and after that the Consull by commission from the

Senate, had made due inquisition, the principall heads of that conspiracie, were scourged and beheaded. Yet because there should not passe a yeare cleane without warre, a journey was made (such a one as it was) into *Vmbria*; upon newes, that there used to yssue forth day by day, certaine men in armes out of a cave, and to make rodes into the countrie about. Into this cave or peake, the Romanes entred with their ensignes displayed: where, by reason that it was a blind corner, they received many a wound, and specially by throwing of stones; untill such time as they found the other mouth of the cave (for it was a thorowfare.) So they piled a deale of wood together at both endes, and set it on fire: with the smoke and vapour whereof, there were about 2000 armed men driven out of their hole, who rushing at last into the flame, desirous to escape, were smouldred and burnt to ashes.

When as *M. Livius Dentor*, and *G. Acmylius*, were Consuls, the *Æquians* began to warre againe: for they hardly could abide and endure, that a Colonie should bee planted upon their borders, as a frontier-fortresse to bridle them; and assaied by all kind of force to winne the same: but they were lustily repulsed by the inhabitants onely within the towne. Howbeit, such a feare they made at Rome, because it was not thought credible, that the *Æquians* alone

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all one of themselves, so distressed as they were, would be so hardie as to take armes, that in regard of that trouble, a Dictatour was named, to wit, *C. Iunius Bubulcus*, with *M. Titinius* Generall of the horse. Who at the first conflict subdued the Æquians, and upon the eight day of his government returned into the cittie in triumph: and now Dictatour, dedicated the temple of *Solut*, which hee had vowed being Confull, and had put out to workmen for to be builded, while hee was Censor.

The same yeare a fleet of Greekes, under the conduct of *Cleonymus* a Lacedemonian, arrived upon the coast of Italie, and wan Thurix, a cittie of the Salentines. Against this enimie was the Confull *Aemilius* sent, who in one battell discomfited him, and drove him aboard. Thus Thurix was rendered againe to the former inhabitants, and the Salentine cuntry obtained peace and quietnesse. I find in some records, that it was *Iun. Bubulcus* the Dictatour, who was sent to the Salentines: and that *Cleonymus* before hee was to encounter with the Romanes, departed out of Italie. From thence hee fetched a compassse, and doubled the point of Brundisium, and sailed with a fore-wind through the midst of the Venice gulf: for that on the left hand the Haven-lesse and harbourlesse coasts of Italie, and on the right, the Illyrians, Liburnians, and Istrians, fierce nations, and for the most part, reputed infamous, for roving and robbing by the sea side, put him in exceeding feare. So he arrived at length upon the river of Venice, lying farre within the shore, & there, he landed a few to discover the coasts: but hearing that the strond that lay out against them, was not broad and spacious, and when they were past over it, there were behind them the plashes (as it were) overflowed with the sea tides, and that not farre off might be seene the champion fields neere hand, and hills beyond; and discovering by this meanes the mouth of a very deepe river, into which he saw, that the ships might be brought about as into a sure harbour (now that rivers name was *Meduacus*) thither hee commaunded, that the Armada should put in, and to make faile up against the streame. The heaviest vessels, the channell of the river would not beare: but the soldiors were transported in lighter barks and small pinnaces, and so fell at length with the levell and the plaine cuntry, frequented with much people, by reason that a three sea-townes of the Patavines, inhabited that territorie. Being once landed, and having left a slender guard for their ships, they take townes by assault, burne houses, harrie and drive away prizes both of men and cattell: and when they had once tasted of the sweetnesse of bootie and pillage, they went farre from their ships. The alarme hereof was given at Patavium (now the Patavines were alwaies in armes, because of the Gauls their borders.) Whereupon they divided their fighting youth into two regiments: the one was led into those quarters whereas the report went, that the Greekes forraied here and there all abroad: the other, because they would not meet with the pillers and rovers, was conducted another way to the harbour, where the ships rid (about fouretecn miles from the towne.) And after they had slaine the warders, they charged upon the small barks. Whereupon the mariners were afraid, and were forced to retire their vessels to the other banke side. Likewise upon the maine, they sped as well in fight against the stragling rovers: for when as the Greekes fled backe to recover the harbour, the Venetians encountered them affront, and made head against them. So the enemies were environned in the midst, and most of them slaine: some that were taken prisoners, bewrayed what their fleet was, and that king *Cleonymus* was three myles off. There, when they had bestowed the prisoners sure ynough in ward within the next village; some, man with souldiours their river vessels, made sily and framed with flat bottomes, for to passe over the meeres and shallow washes; others imbarke armed men in the small gallions taken from the enemies; and made way apace to give an assault upon the maine fleet, and beset those shippes which rid at ancker, and durst not weigh and remoove, fearing not the enimie, so much as the unknowne coasts. These, I say, they environned, and charged upon them: and when they made halt to gaine the deepe and open sea, without any resistance at all, they were pursued and chased unto the mouth of the river. Thus when they had taken the enemies ships, and fired others, namely, such as for feare and hast were driven upon the shelles, and run a ground, then they returned with victorie. *Cleonymus* hardly saved the fifth part of his fleet. And thus having had no good lucke in attempting to land in anie coast of the Adriaticke sea, hee departed. The stemmes of the shippes, with their beak-heads, and brasse pikes, together with the spoiles of the Lacedemonians, were set up in the old Temple of *Iuno*, and there became at this day alive, which have seene them. The memoriall of this sea-fight, is celebrated yearely (upon the verie same day that it was fought) at Patavium,

Atavium, with a solemne skirmish and combate of ships represented upon the river, within the midst of the cittie.

The same yeare was a league made at Rome with the Vestines, who came to sue for peace and amitie. But from that time forward, there arose many and diverse fearefull occurrences. For newes came, that Hetruria rebelled, which troubles tooke their beginning by occasion of the civile dissention and discord of the Aretines: who began to expell by force of armes the house and familie of the *Licinij* (mightie and puissant above the rest) for verie envie and repine of their wealth and riches. Over and besides, the Marsians stood out, and by armes maintained their title to that part of their territorie, into which, there had bene a Colonie of Carseolanes brought, to the number of foure thousand men, enrolled there to inhabite. Against which stirres and tumults, *Marcus Valerius Maximus* was created Dictatour, who made choise of *M. Aemilius Paulus* to bee the Commaunder of the Horse. Which I rather beleeve to bee true, than that *Q. Fabius*, a man of those yeares and that worth, after so manie honourable dignities, should bee under *Valerius*. But I would not denie, that the error might growe by reason of the surname of *Maximus*. The Dictatour having taken the field with his armie, in one battaile discomfited the Marsians: and after hee had driven them into their walled and fenced townes, Miloniana, Plestina, and Fesilia; within few daies, hee woon them also over their heads: and having fined the Marsians with the losse of some part of their territorie, hee received them into their auncient league againe. Then all the forces were employed against the Tuscanes: and whiles the Dictatour was departed to Rome to take his Auspices anew, the Generall of Horse, being gone out a foraging, was by a secret ambush entrapped. And having lost certaine ensignes, hee was forced into the campe, after a foule slaughter and shameful flight of his men. Which fearefull cowardise is, not like to have bene in *Fabius*, not onely, because if ever hee deserved his surname of *Maximus* by any commendable parts, it was especially for his prowesse in warre; but also, for that in remembrance of *Papirius* his crueltie toward him, hee never could have bene brought to fight, without the commaundement or permission of the Dictatour. This discomfiture and losse being reported at Rome, caused a greater terrour than there was cause. For no lesse than if the armie had bene utterly defeated, there was published and proclaimed a stay and cessation of all law-matters, warders bestowed at the gates, order taken for standing watches in every streete, and armour and darts carried up to the wals: And after that all the younger sort were sworn and prest to serve, the Dictatour was sent againe to the armie. Where, hee found all more quiet than hee looked for, through the careful diligence of the Generall of Horse. The campe was removed to a place of more strength and safetie, the bands and companies which had lost their ensignes, leit on the bare earth without the rampires, destitute of tents and couvert; and the armie eager and desirous of fight, to doe away and rase out the former ignominie and shame. Presently therefore, hee raised his campe, and removed forward into the cuntry of Rasella. Thither followed the enemies also hard at heeles. Who albeit, upon their late good speed, they were in right great hope and affiance to bee strong ynough even in open fight and plaine field; yet they assaile the enimie also by the same flights and traines which they had already so fortunately tried. There fortunated to bee in the cuntry thereabout, not farre from the Romanes campe, certaine houses halfe pulled downe and ruinate, belonging to a village which was burned when the cuntry was overrun: where, after they had bestowed closely certaine men in armes, they drave their beasts and cattaille in the very sight of the Romanes *corps de guard*, commanded by *C. Fulvius*, a Lieutenant: at which bait, when as there stirred no man from the Romanes wards, one of the Heard-men advanced even under the very trench and fortifications of the Romanes, and called aloud to the rest (that seemed for feare to drive but slowly from the ruines of the village aforesaid) asking why they staid behind, seeing they might safely march, and passe forward still (and it were) through the middle of the Romanes campe? These wordes, certaine Carites interpreted to the Lieutenant *Fulvius*. Whereat, everie band or companie of soldiors rooke great indignation, but durst not stir a foot without a warrant. Then he commaunded those that were skilfull in the tongue, to mark whether their language sounded neerer to the speech of peasants or to citizens: Who brought word, that both their voice, & also the habit and freshew of their bodies, was more elegant and civile than for cuntry shepheards. Go your waies than (qd. he) unto them and bid them bewray & discover their ambush, which in vain they seem to hide: for that the Romans

were dancing in all things, and advertised of their designs, and could no more now be overtaken with wiles, than overcome by armes. When these words were once heard and caried to those that lay in wait, presently they start up out of their lurking holes, & brought forth their ensignes all abroad into the open field. The lieutenant supposing they were a greater troupe than might be dealt with all and matched, by his *corps de gard*, with all speed sent for aide to the Dictator: and in the mean while himself received & bare off the brunt and forceable charge of his enemies. This message was no sooner brought, but the Dictator commanded the standards to be advanced, and the soldiers to arme and follow: but every thing was done sooner almost than it could be commanded: forthwith they caught up the ensignes, and tooke weapon in hand: and scarcely could they be held in, but that they would run amaine. For not onely the spitefull anger of the late received losse pricked them on, but also the shouts of their fellowes, which they might heare more lowd, & to be redoubled thicker, according as the medley grew hotter and hotter. The greater hast therfore they made, while one putteth forward another, and crieth to the port-ensignes to go faster and mend their pace. But the more hast the Dictator seeth them to make, the more earnest was he to keepe them backe in their march, and to hold them in; willing them to go faire and softly. Contrariwise the Tuscans, who rose up at the beginning of the battaile, were there readie with their whole forces to give the charge. Whereupon there came messenger after messenger to the Dictator, bringing word that all the legions of the Tuscans were entred into the fight, and that his men alreadie were not able to resist any longer. Nay himselfe also, from the higher ground, might see in what danger the *corps de gard* was. But presuming and resting upon this conceit, that the lieutenant was able yet to maintaine fight, considering that he was not farr off himselfe to helpe and save him out of perill; he was desirous that the enemies might be wearied and tired as much as was possible: and that his own forces fresh and in heart, should set upon them overtoiled. And albeit they went softly forward, yet by this time had the horsemen but a verie small ground to take their run with full carriere. Foremost marched the ensignes of his legions, that the enemy should not feare any couvert and privie stratageme, but leave good spaces and distances between the files of their footmen, through which the horses might have rounne and libertie enough to gallop with ease. Then all the battaillon of the Infanterie set up a crie and shout when they charged, and withall, the Cavallerie, with reines at large entred within the ranks of the enemies, who being not marshalled & set in order against such a blustering storme of horsemen, were with a sodain feare astonished. Whereupon, the troupe of Fulvius which erewhile was in manner environed and compassed about, and had helpe and rescue almost too late, nowe all in generall breathed themselves at ease, and were put to nothing. For these that came fresh and lustie undertooke the whole weight of the medley: which was neither long nor doubtfull. The enemies were put to flight, and in disaray made hast to recover their campe. And when as the Romanes advanced against them with banner displayed, they quit their place & reculed, gathering themselves round into heaps in the farthest part of the campe: and as they would have fled out, they stucke fast in the narrow gaps and passages of the gates: a great part of them leapt upon the banke, to climbe the rampier, if haply either from the higher ground they might defend themselves, or get over any where and escape. By chance in one place where the banke was not well rammed, the rampier was surcharged with the weight of so many standing upon it, and so tumbled downe into the trench. Whereupon, they set up a crie all together, That the gods had made them way to escape, and by that meanes in deed they saved themselves, but more of them unarmed than armed. In this battaile, were the forces of the Tuscans once againe utterly abated: in so much as, after they had capitulated and promised a years pay, and come for two moneths, the Dictator permitted them to send Embassadors to Rome for a treatie of peace. Peace was denied, but truce for two yeares graunted: and the Dictator with triumph returned into the citie. I find in some writers; that Hetruria was by the Dictator quiered, without any notable battaile, onely by composing the variance and debate of the Aretines, and reconciling the familie of the *Licinij* with the Commons.

M. Valerius upon his Dictatorship became Consull. Some have beleevd that he was created without his owne suit, yea and while he was absent, and that the said Election was held by the Interregent. But howsoever it was, out of all question, he bare the Consulship with *Apulcius Pansa*. While *M. Valerius* and *Q. Apulcius* were Coss. all was well quiered abroad: for the Tuscans of one side, partly upon their ill successe in warre, and partly by reason of their truce, were forced

- A forced to be still and in repose. The Samnites also on the other side, being well tamed with the overthrowes so many yeares together, repented not yet, and were not weary of their new league. At Rome likewise, the Commons were quiet, and found themselves much eased, and discharged of a great number of base and poore people, which were withdrawne and sent away into colonies. But because their rest should not be every where entire and perfect, there arose a quarell betwene the chiefe and principall men of the citie, as well the Nobles as Commons, and that by the suggestion and instigation of *Q. and Cn. Ogulnij*, Tribunes of the Com. Who having sought occasion and matter every way to accuse and blame the Nobilitie unto the Commons; when they saw all meanes assayed in vaine, at length entred into an action, whereby they kindled and set on fire not only the meanest, but even the chiefe heads of the Commons, such as had bene
- B Consuls, and triumphed: who wanted no promotions & honors, but only Sacerdottall dignities and Prelacies, which as yet were not indifferently common to both States. They proposed therfore a law, That whereas at that time there were but 4. Augures, & as many Prelates or Bishops, and for as much as they thought it good, that the number of Priests should be increased, there might be chosen to the rest, 4. Bishops, and 5. Augurs, all out of the bodie of the Commons. But how this collodge or fellowship of Augurs, was reduced to the number of foure, but by the death of two, I can not find: since this is certaine, that among the Augurs the number must be odd: namely, that the three auncient tribes, *Rhamneses*, *Titieses*, and *Luceres*, should have each one their Augur: or if they needed more, they should with equall number increase those Priests: like as they were augmented and multiplied, when as five being put to foure, made up the number of nine; that is to say, for every tribe three. Howbeit, because they were chosen out of the Commons who should supplie, and make up the number; the Nobles tooke it as grievously to the heart, as when they saw the Consulship parted equally in common: but they made semblance as though this indignitie pertained to the gods more than to them: who would themselves see, that their holy service and sacred mysteries should not be polluted. And as for them, this only they could do, namely, pray and wish, that no calamitie thereby should light vpon the common weale. But lesse earnest were they in opposing themselves and making resistance, for that they were used alreadie in all such broiles and contentions to have the worse: and they saw besides, that their adversaries shot not at that (which in time past they could scarce hope for) namely, the greatest honours and dignities: but that they had alreadie obtained all, for which they had strived so long in so doubtfull termes of hope, to wit, manifold Consulships, Censurships, and Triumphs. Howbeit, the contention and dispute in debating and arguing too and fro the law proposed, was maintained (as men say) betwene *Ap. Claudius* especially, and *P. Decius Mus*: and after they had contested and discoursed in their orations *pro & contra*, the same reasons in manner, touching the rights and liberties pretended by the Nobles and Commons, which sometimes had bene alleaged, both for, and against the law *Licinia*, at what time as it was set on foote for the Commons to be Consuls; *Decius* (as it is sayd) represented in open audience the very resemblance and shew of his father, in such manner, as many of them who were then present at the assembly, had seene him: to wit, girded and apparelled in Gabine robe, standing over his iavelin, in which gesture, habit, & fashion, he offered himself to voluntary death,
- E for to save the people & legions of the Romans: Seemed (quoth he) *P. Decius*, that then was Coss. as pure and religious in the sight of the immortall gods, as if *T. Manlius* his colleague had bene likewise devowed and offered: and might not the same *P. Decius* have rightly bene chosen, to execute the publike divine service and sacrifices of the people of Rome? or is this all the feare and doubt, that the gods would give lesse care to his prayers, than to *Ap. Claudius*? or doth *Ap. Claudius* with more devotion serve God privately, and worship the gods more religiously, than himselfe? Who was there ever that repented or misliked of the vowes, which so many Consuls and Dictators of the Com. either at their first setting forth to their armies, or in time of warre and battaile, pronounced for the common wealth? Recken and count the chiefe Captaines, yeare by yeare, since the first time that the Commons began to have the leading and conduct of the warres: number all the triumphs ever since: it will appeare that the Commons are no whit abashed, and have no cause to complaine of their owne nobilitie. And this I know for certaine, that if any new sodaine warre should arise, the Senate and people of Rome would repose no more hope & confidence in the auncient *Patritij*, than in the Com. for to be the Captaines and commaunders. This being so, quoth he, what God or man can thinke it an indignitie,

P. Decius Mus
against *App.*
Claudius.

tie, to adorne those persons also with the titles and ornaments of Bishops and Augurs, whome ye have honoured with chaire of yvorie, with the long robe bordered with purple, with the core of armes embroded and branched with the palme tree, with the gowne or mantle of purple, wrought with divers colours, with the chapelots & coronets of triumph, and with the victorious branch and garland of lawrell; whose houses ye have beautified above the rest, with setting up the spoiles of enemies? Or who can thinke much, if he be seen with a sacrificing cup, or holy-water pot, and with a crozier staffe, and his head veiled, either to kill a sacrifice, or to take Augurie by sight of birds from the castle hill; who hath bene adorned & decked with the ensignes and ornaments of the great god *Jupiter*, and hath ridden in a gilded chariot through the citie into the Capitol? Or in whole title inscription and stile over his image, men shall with content, reade Consulship, Centurship, and Triumph; will not the same abide to see & reade, that ye have added thereunto either Augurship, or Pontificall dignitie? I verily for my part hope (without the displeasure, and with reverence of the gods be it spoken) that we by the beneficence of the people of Rome are such, as for our qualitie and worthinesse, may and will yeeld no lesse credit and honor to our priethoods, than we shall receive thereby: and who desire, in regard of the honor and service of God, more than for our owne sakes and proper interest, to have the meanes, That whome we serve and reverence in private, those we may also worship and honor publickly. But why have I hitherto so pleaded the cause, as if the *Patritij* were entirely alone intitled and invested in the prerogative of Sacerdotall Dignities; and as though we were not already possessed of one right honorable and principall Priethood? We see that the Decemvirs for celebration of sacrifices, and for interpretation of *Sibylla* her propheties, and other the fatall destinies of this people, the prelates also and ministers of *Apollon* his sacrifice, and other holy ceremonies, are of the Commons. Neither was there any injurie done unto the *Patritij* at that time, when for to gratifie the Commons, the number of the Duumvirs was increased; those I meane, who should oversee (as superintendents) the offering of sacrifices. And now at this present they have no greater cause to complaine, if the Tribune, a stout & brave man, hath added five places more of Augurs, & foure of Bishops, unto which commoners may be nominated: not to dispossesse you of your routes, or to displace you, *o Appius*, but that men of the commons might assist you in the function and ministerie of divine service & church matters, like as they do their part, & performe good service in humane & civil affaires. And be not ashamed, *o Appius*, to have him for your colleague in the priethood, whom you might beseech to have in Consulate or Censorship, your companion & fellow, unto whom being Dictator, you might be Coronel of horse; as well as he to you in your Dictatorship. Those aunient Nobles in old time (our progenitors) admitted into their number & order, a Sabine stranger, the very head & top of your nobilitie, one *Ap. Claudius*, or *Ap. Claudius* (choose you whether.) You must not thinke much then, to accept us into the number of Priests. We bring with us many honorable titles, even all the same that make you so proud, and to beare your head aloft. *L. Sextius* was the first Commoner, created Consul; and *C. Licinius Stolo* the first Coronel of horse. *C. Rutilius* was the first Dictator & Censor, & *Q. Publus Philo* the first Prator. We have heard this song evermore sounding in our eares, That to you alone pertaineth the taking of Auspicia: that you only are of noble descent & gentilitie: that ye & none but ye, by right & dutie ought to manage the affaires, and the soveraigne government, both at home and abroad: and yet alwaies hitherto the commons in their places and charges, have done and sped as well as the *Patritij*, and henceforth ever shall (I doubt not.) What? heard ye never it spoken, that the *Patritij* were at first made and created, and not descended from heaven: but such as were able to name their father and grandfire; that is to say, even freemen just, and no more? What? I my selfe can nominate already mine owne father to have bene a Consul, and shortly shall my sonne be able to alledge his grandfire. There is nothing els, *o Quirites*, in the matter whereupon we stand, but that we may obtaine all which hath bene denied us. For the Nobles desire only to maintaine a lide and to contend, and reake not greatly what issue their contentions come unto. As for me, I am of advice, and this would I have, That (to the good, profite, and happie estate of you all, and the weale publick) this law may passe under your affirmative voyce [*Uti rogastis*.] Then presently the people commaunded the Tribes to be called to a scrutinie: and soone it appeared, that the law would without all doubt be accepted: but that day was lost, by the opposition and negative of some Tribunes. Howbeit, the morrow after, they were afraid to crosse it; and then with exceeding consent of all hands, it passed cleere. So there

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A were created Prelates or Bishops; first, *P. Decius Mus* himselfe (that so pleaded for the law) with *P. Sempronius Sophus*, *C. Martius Rutilius*, and *M. Livius Dentor*. Likewise, five Augurs of the Commons, to wit, *C. Genatius*, *P. Aelius Patus*, *M. Minutius Festus*, *C. Martius*, and *T. Publius*. So there were eight Prelates in number, and nine Augurs.

The same year, *M. Valerius* the Consull, procured the law of appealing to the people, more surely to bee established and confirmed. This was now the third time after the deposition of the kings, that this one Act was revived; and alwaies by the same house or familie of the *Valerij*. The cause of renewing the same so often, was no other I suppose, than this; for that the mightinesse of some few great men of the *Patritij*, was more powerfull than the libertie and freedome of the Commons. Onely the law *Portia*, seemeth to have bene enacted for to save the backe and sides of citizens from whipping, because that it awarded and set a greivous punishment upon him, that either had beaten or killed a citizen of Rome. The law *Valeria*, which forbade, to scourge or behead any man whosoever, that made his appeal, had this annexed only, that if any one had trespassed and proceeded farther, it should bee decreed, LEAUDLY AND NAUGHTILY DONE. Such was the modestie & reverence of men in those daies, that this one addition [in my conceit verily] was supposed to bee a sufficient bond to strengthen the law. But now adaies, would a man scarcely threaten his servant or slave in that manner.

The same Consull made warre, without any worthie or memorable exploit, against the *Aequians* that rebelled; who (setting aside their stout & proud stomachs) had nothing left of their ancient fortune and estate. The other *Cof. Apuleius*, besieged the town *Nequinum in Vmbria. The place was difficult and hard to get up, and on the one side steepe downe right (whereas now standeth Narnia) so that it was impregnable, either by assault, or countermures & skonces whatsoever. Whereupon, the new Consuls, *M. Fulvius Patus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, entred upon this enterprize, lest undone and unfinished by the former. Now when all the Centuries nominated with one voice *Q. Fabius* for the Consullship of that yeare, even without his owne suite and seeking, *Macer Licinius* and *Tubero* doe write, that he himselfe laboured to have that charge put off, and reserved unto a yeare of more warre: alleadging, that for the present hee would serve the Commonweale in better stead, by bearing some civile office in the citie: and so neither dissuading what hee rather desired, nor yet seeking for it, hee was made *Aedile* of the Chaire, with *L. Papirius Cursor*. But, to set this downe for a certaine truth I dare not; because that *Piso*, a more ancient writer of Chronicles, sayth, that the *Aediles Curule* of that year, were *C. Domitius*, *Cn. F. Calvinus*, *Sp. Carvilius*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*. That surname, I suppose verily, gave occasion of the error in the *Aediles*. Whereupon ensued a tale (sorting to that error) mixed & compounded of the Elections of *Aediles* and Consuls together. The same yeare was held a solemne survey and purging of the citie by sacrifice, called *Lustrum*, by *P. Sempronius Sophus*, and *P. Sulpitius Avernus*, and two Tribes more were added to the rest, *Anienensis*, and *Tarentina*. And thus much concerning the affaires at Rome.

But now to returne to *Nequinum*; after much time spent in long and lingering siege before the town, two of the inhabitants, whose houses joined close to the wall, undermined the ground, and by a secret way came as farre as the *corps de guard* of the Romanes. From whence they were brought before the Consull, and promised him to let in and receive what garrison and troupe of armed men he would, within the citie. This offer was thought neither to be neglected and refused, nor yet rashly to be credited. So with the one of these twaine (for the other was kept behind as an hostage) two other spies were sent by the same mine to discover the traine. By whose relation, when it appeared sufficiently, that all was safe and without danger: by the leading and guiding of the traitor aforesaid, 300 armed men, by night entred the citie, and seized that gate which was next unto them: at which, being broken open, the Consull and the Romanie armie without resistance, made entrie, and surprised the citie. In this sort *Nequinum* was reduced to the obedience of the P. of Rome. A Colonie was thither sent to frontier against the *Vmbrians*, called of the *rivers name [which runneth under it] *Narnia. And the armie with a rich prize was brought againe to Rome.

The same yeare the *Tuscanes*, contrarie to the tenure of the truce, made preparation for war. But whiles they were busily occupied otherwise, it fortun'd, that a puissant armie of *Gauls* invaded their marches, and for a while altered their designements. Afterwards, by the meanie monie, whereof they were full and bare themselves mightie, they sought to make the *Gauls*, of enemies

*The same that Nernia.

*Nar, new Narnia.

enemies to become their friends, and solicited them to band together, and so jointly to maintain warre with the Romanes. Their societie and friendship the barbarous people refused not; onely, they stood upon the summe what they should have for their hire. Which being agreed upon and received, and all things els in a readinesse for to goe into the field; when the Tuscans willed them to follow after, they flatly denied, that they had received any consideration for to make warre upon the Romanes: but whatsoever they had taken, it was because they should not waite the Tuscan land, and by way of hostilitie and force of armes, doe any violence upon the inhabitants: howbeit, if the Tuscans were so minded to employ them, they would bee willing to serve; but for no other reward and recompense, than to bee admitted into part of their territorie; that at the length they might have some certaine place of abode, to settle themselves in. Many Diets and consultations hereabout were held by the States of Tuscan, but nothing resolved and concluded: not so much, for that they feared to part with some of their lands, as because they were in great dread every one and abhorred, to have dwelling by them such neighbors, descended from so savage a race & cruell nation. Thus were the Gauls let go and dismissed, having away with them a huge masse of monie; which they got without any travell or perill of theirs.

The bruit of the Gauls tumult and insurrection, together with the Tuscans warre, caused no little feare at Rome. Whereupon, more hast was made to conclude a league with the Picene people. *T. Manlius* the Consull had the charge of the Tuscans warre allotted unto him. Who scarcely was entered into the confines of the enemies, but as hee was training and exercising amongst the horsemen, ran his horse with full carriere, and suddainly as he turned about, was cast off, and presently lay for dead: and so the Consull, three daies after his fall, ended his life. Which the Tuscans taking hold of, as a good ominous token & presage, got hart and were very jolies, saying, that the gods had in favour of them, begun this warre. This was heave news at Rome, both for the losse of so brave a personage, and for the time, wherein so unhappily it fell out: so as, the assemblie held (by the advise of the cheefe Peeres) for to substitute a Consull in his place that was deceased, frightened the Senatours from chusing a Dictator. All their sentences, and all the centuries, gave with *M. Valerius* to bee Consull: who was the man, whome the Senate was about to have pricked for Dictator. Then forthwith, they ordained him to go into Tuscan to the armie. Whose comming suppressed and kept under the Tuscans; so as not a man durst once go out of their trenches and hold. Even their very feare was as good as a siege unto them: for that the new Consull, neither by wasting the fields, nor firing their houses in such sort, as every where, not onely the final villages, but also the good and wel-peopled townes were seene to smoke and burn againe, could draw them forth to fight.

This warre continued longer than men thought: but behold, there arose a bruit of another, (which, considering the mutual losses of both sides, was for good causes greatly to be feared) upon intelligence given from the Picenes their new allies, namely, that the Samnites were about to take armes and rebell, and had solicited them also to doe the same. The Picentes were highly thanked for this, and a great part of the Senatours care was diverted nowe from Tuscan to the Samnites. The dearth besides of corne and victuals troubled the citie: and driven they had ben to extreame famine, if *Fabius Maximus* (as they have written, who are of opinion that hee was Edile that yeare) by provident purveying and diligent conveying of corne, had not been as careful and industrious, in the dispensing of victuall now at home, as many times before in war-affaires. The same yeare there was an Interregne, but upon what occasion, it is not knowne. The Interregents were *App. Claudius*, and after him *P. Sulpicius*, who held an Election of Consuls, and created *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Cn. Fulvius*.

In the beginning of this yeare, there came the Oratours from the Lucanes to these new Consuls, for to make complaint, That the Samnites, who by no conditions and meanes could induce them for to band and take armes with them, were entered into their confines, and made wast of the countrey, and by verie force provoked them to warre, saying, That the Lucanes had long agoe overshot and passed themselves that way: but nowe they were so fully resolute, that they could find in their hearts, sooner to abide and endure all kind of calamitie whatsoever, than ever after to offend and displease the Roman name. They besought the Senate therefore, to receive the Lucanes into their protection, and also to keepe and defend them from the violence and injurie of the Samnites. And for themselves, albeit entre-

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A ring into warre already with the Samnites, they were of necessity obliged to be fast and true unto the Romanes: yet for better securitie they were readie to put in sufficient hostages. The Senate was not long consulting hereabout: but all with one consent were of opinion, to make league with the Lucanes, and to summon the Samnites to make amends and restitution. The Lucanes, besides a courteous & gracious answer, were accepted into the league. Then were there Fecial Heralds dispatched to the Samnites, to give them warning for to depart the territorie of the Roman allies, and to withdraw their forces out of the confines of the Lucanes. But the Samnites sent out certaine messengers to meet them upon the way, & to denounce unto them, that if they presented themselves in any Councel within Samnium, they should not depart againe with safeguard of their persons. When these news were heard at Rome, both the Senat advised, and the people allowed, to make warre upon the Samnites. The Consuls parted their provinces and charges between themselves. To *Scipio* fell *Herruria*, & the Samnites to *Fulvius*: and so they take their journey divers waies, each one to the warre allotted unto him. *Scipio* looked for no other, but a lingering warre at the enemies hands, and like to the defensive service of the former yeare: but behold, they with an armie well appointed and arraigned, encountered him and gave him bataille neere to ** Volaterra*. Where they fought the better part of the day, with much bloodshed on both sides: and whiles they were doubtfull which way the victorie went, the night came between. But the morning after, bewtraied both who were winners, and who were losers. For the Tuscans in the still and dead time of the night dislodged. The Roman Consull comming forth into the field, and seeing by the enemies departure, the victorie confessed; went forward to the campe: which he found emptie of men, but full of rich pillage, (for they had fearfully and in great hast abandoned their tents) and was master thereof. From thence he retired his forces into the territorie of the Faliscanes: and after he had left at *Falerij*, all his bag and baggage with a meetly garrison there; lightly appointed, he marched forward, and with a running campe wasted the marches and territories of his enemies. He put all to fire and sword: drave away booties from all parts: and left not the ground onely, wast and desert, but set fire also upon castles and borough townes. Onely he forbore to assault the great and strong cities, into with feare had driven the Tuscans for refuge. *Cn. Fulvius* the Consull on the other part fought a noble bataille in Samnium, neere ** Bovianum*, and the victorie was no whit doubtfull. After which he assailed *Bovianum*, and not long after *Aufidena*: & both cities he wan by force. The same yeare was there a Colonie brought to ** Carseoli* within the territorie of the *Aequuli*. And *Fulvius* the Consull triumphed of the Samnites.

When as now the time of the Consuls Election drew neere; there was a rumour raised, that the Tuscans and Samnites were levying and enrolling of great and mightie forces: that openly in all their assemblies and Diets, the princes of the Tuscans were coured & reprooved, for that they had not waged the Gauls to warre, whatsoever it had cost them: that the magistrates of the Samnites were blamed, for exposing that armie as it were a price unto the Romanes, which had bene provided against their enemies the Lucanes. For now seeing that the enemies both with their owne power, and also with the helpe of their allies, were come to warre; they should not be able to match them, having their forces thus redoubled. Now albeit there were other famous and renowned persons stood to be Consuls, yet this new feare and affright turned all men to become favourites of *Q. Fabius Maximus*: who at the first made no suite, and afterwards, seeing the inclination of their affections, refused also to be Consull. Demanding what they ment to trouble and molest him, so aged a man as he was, and one, who as as he had gone through all labours and travails of this world; so he had passed also the rewards, and recompenses of his travailes: alleading, that neither strength of bodie, nor vigor of spirit could alwaies continue the same, and last for ever: and besides, he feared fortune her selfe, least haply she might be thought of any of the gods too propice and favourable unto him, and more pennant than the ordinarie train and course of this world would permit. Therefore, like as himselfe had grown up after the glorie of his elders, & succeeded them; he saw & beheld with joy of heart, others also rising up after him, and to succeed him in the like glorie: and as there wanted not at Rome high promotions and advancements for hardie and valiant men, so there failed not brave men of worth for to receive those honours and dignities. But by this refusall of his so modest, so just and reasonable he whetted and kindled more and more their earnest affections and favours towards him, which hethinking to dull and quench, with the reverent regard and awe of the lawes, commaunded a statute to be

be read, wherein it was not lawfull for one and the same man within tenne yeares to be created Consull twice. But scarcely for the noise that the people made, could this law be heard red: and the Tribunes of the Com. said, that this should be no let: for they would preferre a bill unto the people, that he might be discharged and despened withal from the Statutes in that behalf. Howbeit he stood stiffly in his refusal: demanding of them to what purpose & end were the lawes made, if by the verie makers thereof, they might be thus deluded & made of no force? For so (qd. he) lawes ruled not, but were overruled. But nath'lesse, the people went to a scrutinie and began to give their voices: and as everie Centurie was called into the railes, they named and chose *Fabius* Consull, without flicking at the matter. Then at last, overcome with this generall accord and consent of the whole citie: God say Amen (quoth hee) *o Quirites*, to that you doe and are about. But for as much as you will have your will and dispose of me at your pleasure, doe me this favour yet, that I may have the chusing of my Colleague. I beseech you make Consull with me, *P. Decius*, a man approved unto me alreadie, with whom, I have sorted well in the fellowship of another of sice: a man I say, answerable otherwise to the greatnesse of his name, and worthie of his fathers vertue, from whom he is defended. This favour which he requested, seemed unto them just and reasonable. So all the Centuries behind, created *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* for Consuls.

The same yeare the *Ediles* served processe upon verie many citizens for holding and possessing of more lands, than by law was limited: and none in a manner was able to acquite himselfe hereof. Which was a great bridle and restraint to their unmeasurable avarice. As the new Consuls, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *P. Decius Mus* the third time, conferred and laid their heads together about their charges, that the one should take in hand the Samnites, and the other the Tuscans; and consulted what forces might serve and be sufficient for this or that province and exploit; and to whether warre either of them were the more meete and sufficient leader; certaine Embassadors, from Sutrium, Neper, and Falerij, advertised them, That the States of Tuscanie, were now consulting in their Diets, about a Treatie of peace: which was an occasion, that they turned all their preparations and forces into Samnium. The Consuls being gone forth, to the end they might have the readier provision of graine and victuals, and the enimie be more to seeke, which way they would assaile them, led their Legions into Samnium; *Fabius*, through the territorie of Sora, and *Decius* by the way of the Sidicines. When they were come into the confines of their enemies, both of them spred themselves all abroad, and fell to forray and spoile the countrie: yet so, as they sent out their espials farther than they waited. Whereupon, they were well ware of their enemies, as they lay in ambush well appointed, within a close & secret valley neere Tifernum; what way as, they thought to take the vantage of the higher ground, & to set upon the Romans so soone as they were once entred in. *Fabius* having removed his cariages into a sure place, & set there a competent gard for defence, foretold his soldiours that there was a battaile toward: and in a four square battaillon marched directly to the forsaide Embalcado, where the enemies lurked & lay in wait. The Samnites then, despairing and out of all hope to do any great exploit, by suddain tumult, considering their trains were discovered; and seeing they must once at the length come to the triall in open field, were themselves also more willing to put all upon a set battaile. Thereupon they descended into the plaine and even ground, and committed themselves to the fortune of fight, with more courage of heart than hope of victorie. But were it, that they had assembled together the whole floure and manhood out of all the nations of the Samnites, or that the hazard of the maine chance, made them more hardie and take the better heart: surely even in plaine field, they held the Romans play and put them to great feare. *Fabius* seeing the enemies no way to recule and give ground, commaunded *M. Flavius* and *M. Valerius*, two Colonels, with whom he had set forward and advanced into the forefront, to go to the horsemen, and to exhort them. If ever they remembered and called to mind, that the Commonwealth had bene helped by the valour of the gentlemen on horsebacke, they should that day endeavour to make invincible and eternall, the glorie of that degree and order of Cavallerie. For seeing that the enemies stood unmoveable against the Infanterie, there was no other hope but in the force of horsemen: and herewithall hee called upon those two young Gentlemen, and plied both the one and the other with like courtesie, one while praising them, another while loding them with faire and large promises. But when as the assay of that force likewise, prevailed not, thinking where strength would take no place, there craft was to be tried and practised, he caused *Scipio* his Lieutenant, to withdraw out of the medley, the javeliniers

veliniers of the first legion, and as closely as hee could to fetch about with them, toward the next hills: and then, to march up the hill some way from the sight of the enemies; and after hee had gained the top, all of a suddaine to shew himselfe behind, and charge upon the enemies backs, whiles their faces were turned another way. Now the horsemen, by the direction of those two Colonels, being ridden of a suddaine before the standards, troubled their owne fellows almost as much as the enemies. For against these troupes and cornets of horse that thus violently put forward, the Samnites battaile stood unmoveable, and on no part could either be forced to reforward, the Samnites battaile stood unmoveable, and on no part could either be forced to reforward, or to breake their array. The horsemen when they saw this attempt to take no effect, retired themselves behind the ensignes, and departed out of the battaile. Hereupon tooke the enemies more heart unto them; neither had the vanguard of the Romanes bene able to abide so long a conflict, and the violence of the enemies still encreasing, upon their owne confidence, but that the second raunges in the middle ward, by the Consull his commaundement, came forward into the front of the vaward. Where they with their fresh strength, staied the Samnites, being now readie to enter forceable upon them, and to gaine the ground: and withall, at the time appointed, the ensignes threw themselves from the hills, and came downe unware to the enemies; and setting up a shout, not onely daunted the hearts of the Samnites [but also encouraged the Romanes.] For both *Fabius* cried aloud, that his Colleague *Decius* approached, and every souldiour for his part, what he might, with joyfull and cheereful hearts, iterated, that the other Consull was come, and the legions were at hand. Which error and mistaking, as it turned to the good of the Romanes, so it caused the Samnites to flie, and to be surprisid with a fright, fearing and doubting nothing so much, as that being now overtoiled and wearied, they should be overcharged also with fresh and lustie forces. And for that in their running every way, they were scattered asunder, there was lesse slaughter than for the preparation of so great a victorie. For 3400 only were slain, & of prisoners were taken, welnear three hundred and thirtie: and three and twentie banners and ensignes woon and caried away. The Apulians had joined with the Samnites before the battel, but that *P. Decius* the Consull encamped against them at Maleventum, and having drawne them forth to fight, discomfited them. Where also there were more that fled, than died upon the sword: for not above 2000 Apulians were slaine. And *Decius* making no reckoning of that enimie, conducted his legions into Samnium. Where, two Consular hostes, having overrun the countrie in divers parts, within five moneths space laid all wast and desolate. Five and fortie places there were in Samnium, where *Decius* had encamped: and eightie fixe, wherein the other Consull had pitched. In which, they left behind them not only the marks of stakes, rampires, and ditches, but also many other more notable signes and tokens of the countrie wasted all about, and utterly spoiled by them. *Fabius* besides, woon the citie Cimetra. Where there were taken prisoner two thousand and foure hundred armed souldiours, and slaine there were in fight upon 430.

From thence he went to Rome against the Election of new Consuls; and made all the hast he could to dispatch that businesse. And when as all the Centuries first called forth to give their suffrages, named *Q. Fabius* for the Consull; then *Appius Claudius* a Consular man, and one of the Competitours, a grim sir, and ambitious by nature, laboured no more for his owne honour and advancement, than to recover again unto the *Patrij*, both the roomes of the Consulship, and employed as well his own devoir, as also all the means & assistance of the *Patrij* and Nobilitie, to have himselfe chosen Consull with *Q. Fabius*. As for *Fabius*, at the first spake and alreadie in his owne behalfe, the same reasons in manner which he had used the former yeare, and refused to be Consull. The whole bodie of the Nobilitie stood about his seat, praying instantly, and entreating him to plucke the Consulship out of the mire and base degree of these Commons, and to restore the auncient majestie both to the Magistracie it selfe, and also to the *Patrij* and their houses and families. *Fabius* after silence made, framed a middle and moderate kind of speech, whereby he appeased and allaid their hote affection, promising and assuring them, that he would willingly accept the names of two of the Nobilitie, if he might see, that they would create any other Consull but himselfe: for at this present Election, he would in no wise admit himselfe, to be eligible and nominated Consull, and give so bad a precedent to prejudice all course of law, for the time to come. So *L. Volumnius*, out of the bodie of the Commons, was created Consull with *App. Claudius*, who likewise in the former Consulship had been matched Colleagues together. The Nobilitie used to object unto *Fabius*, and reproched him, that he avoided *App. Clau-*

deus to be his companion in government, who for eloquence & other civile parts was no doubt
 a singular and excellent man. When the Election was ended, the old Consuls were comman-
 ded to warre in Samnium, having their government continued, and their commission renewed
 for fixe moneths. And so in the year following likewise, when *L. Volturnius* and *Appius Claudius*
 were Consuls, *P. Decius*, who being Consull, had been left behind his Collegue in Samnium, cea-
 sed not now in qualitie and name of Proconsull, to wast the countrie; untill at length, when the
 Samnites would in no place abide battell, they were by him chased out of their owne borders and
 limites. And thus driven out of the field, and excluded out of their owne countrie, they went into
 Hetruria. Where, supposing that with so huge a multitude of armed men, they should doe that
 more effectually with intreatie and praiers, mingled with threats among, which by so many Em-
 ballages they had so oft attempted in vaine; they called for a Diet and generall Counsell of the
 Sates and Princes of Hetruria. Which being assembled, they declared and shewed, for how ma-
 ny yeares space they had maintained warre with the Romanes in the right of their freedome;
 that they had assailed all meanes, if haply they might have beene able by their owne puissance
 alone, to sustaine and support the weight of so huge and important a warre; that they had besides
 made proofe of the aides of other neighbour nations, but to little effect; that they had sought
 for peace of the people of Rome, when they were not able to wage war any longer: and because
 peace was more greivous unto them with that subjection, than war with their libertie, they had
 rebelled and made warre againe: and now their onely hope they had, remained in the Tuscanes;
 knowing well enough, that for men, munition, and monie, they were the mightiest nation of all
 Italie; as having to their neighbours the Gaules, a people borne and bred up in armor and war;
 by naturall disposition fierce & cruell, but especially in any quarell against the people of Rome;
 of whom they doe (and not untruly report) that they were by them vanquished and constrained
 to raunisme themselves for gold. Now, if the Tuscanes were of that heart and courage, as *Porci-*
us sometimes, and other their noble progenitors were; there were no doubt, but that they might
 suffice the Romanes, and dispossesse them of all the ground on this side Tybris, and make them
 fight for the defence and preservation of their lives, and not for the intollerable feignorie and
 dominion of Italie. They said moreover, that there was now come unto them an armie of Sam-
 nites, well appointed and furnished with armour, and stored with pay and monie, who would
 follow them forthwith, even to the assault of the citie of Rome, if they would lead them.

Whiles they were thus braving, and gloriously boasting themselves, and preparing of warre
 in Tuscanie, the Romanes warre at their owne dores, lay fore upon them, and stung them at the
 heart. For *P. Decius* having learned by the espials, that the Samnites armie was gone forth, and
 had taken their voiage, assembled a counsell and said, What meane wee thus to raunge over the
 fields, warring from village to village? And not rather assaile the walled townes and strong citi-
 ties? There is no armie now, that defendeth Samnium: gone they are out of their confines, and
 wrought their owne exile and banishment. When they all had allowed of this motion, hee led
 forth his power to assault the strong citie Murgantia. And so hotely were the souldiors set, both
 for the love they bare to their capitaine, and also for hope of winning a richer pillage thereby,
 than by driving booties out of the countrie, that in one day by fine force of armes they won the
 towne. Where two thousand and one hundred Samnites, fighting men, either fell upon the edge
 of the sword, or were taken prisoners, with a great & rich bootie besides. But for fear that it should
 surcharge and encomber the armie with heave carriages, *Decius* caused his souldiors to be cal-
 led together unto an audience, and thus to them he said. And will ye stand contented indeed with
 this victorie onely, and this prey? Or will yee build your hope still, answerable to your prowess
 and valour? All the cities of the Samnites, all the substance and riches that lieth and remaineth
 in their cities are yours; for as much as yee have in so many battailes vanquished their legions,
 and at last driven them out of their owne countrie. Sell these prizes, and with hope of gain draw
 after you chapmen and merchants to follow the armie. I will from time to time still helpe you to
 wares and commodities for to sell. Let us goe from hence streight to the citie Romulea, where
 your toile shall not be so great, but the spoile farre greater. So when they had made sale of their
 pillage, and willingly of themselves called upon and exhorted their captain to that expedition,
 to Romulea they goe. Where likewise, without mure and platforme, without warlike engines
 of batterrie, so soone as they advanced their ensignes, and approched the wals, they could by no
 violence bee driven from thence, but set up ladders in all hast, at the next place that every man
 could

A could find, and so scaled up the walls. Thus the towne was woon and ranfacked. To the number
 of 2300 were slaine, & 6000 taken prisoners. The souldiors having gotten an exceeding bootie,
 were forced to sell it, and make all away, as before: and from thence without any rest at all given
 unto them were they led to Ferentinum, yet they marched thither with exceeding courage and
 cheerefulness. Howbeit, there they found more difficult & perillous service: for the walls were with
 all forcible meanes defended, & the place it selfe was both by mans hand, and naturall situation,
 surely fenced; but yet the souldiors now being fleshed, & inured to spoile, overcame all difficulties.
 Three thousand men about the walls were slaine: and the saccage fell to the souldiors share. The
 greatest part of the honor in assaulding & winning of these cities, is ascribed in some Chronicles
 to *Fabius Maximus*. For they write, that Murgantia was by *Decius* woon, but Ferentinum & Ro-
 mulea, by the conduct of *Fabius*. But some attribute the glorie hereof unto the new Consuls.
 B And there are, that give the glorie not to both, but to the one of them, to wit, *P. Volturnius*, unto
 whom befell the Province of Samnium.

Whiles these affaires thus went in Samnium (by whose leading and managing it skills not) in
 the meane time a mightie war was a preparing in Hetruria; and that, of many nations banded to-
 gether: the principall author whereof was *Gellius Egnatius* a Samnit. The Tuscanes, in manner
 all, had taken armes and levied their forces, and the neere societie, caused also the people of Um-
 bria adjoining to take their part: besides, Gaules also were waged for money to ayde: all which
 multitude assembled together, & met in the Samnites camp. The newes of which fodaine and un-
 expected tumult, being brought to Rome; for so much as *P. Volturnius* the Cos. with the second
 C and third legions, & with 15000. confederates, was gone alreadie into Samnium; it was thought
 good & determined, that *Ap. Claudius* with all speede possible, should go into Hetruria: and after
 him, two Roman legions followed, to wit, the first and fourth, with twelve thousand allies; who
 encamped not farre from the enemy. But more good was done there, in respect that they came
 thither betimes, (to the end that the feare of the Romane name might keepe in awe cer-
 taine nations in Hetruria, which alreadie intended warre) than for any exploit performed
 either skilfully or luckily, under the conduct of the Consull. Many skirmishes there passed in pla-
 ces of disadvantage, and at times inconvenient; in so much, as the enemy took more heart, and
 conceived greater hope every day more than other: and now it grew welneere to this point, that
 neither souldier could wel reckon of the sufficiency of Capitaine, nor Captain trust upon the loy-
 D altie of the souldier. In three severall Annales I find, that *Appius* dispatched his letters to his fellow
 Consull, and sent for him out of Samnium: howbeit, I am loth to set this downe, being so uncer-
 taine as it is; seeing that the verie Consuls themselves of Rome, who now the second time were
 coupled together in one government, contested, and openly jarred about this point: whiles *Ap-*
pius denied flatly that he sent any script at all, and *Volturnius* again avouched, that he was sent for
 by *Appius* his letters. *Volturnius* by this time had woon three Castles in Samnium, wherein were
 slaine three thousand enemies, and almost halfe so many taken prisoners: and composed besides,
 the seditions and quarels of the Lucanes, which arose from the commons and needie persons;
 and that, with the exceeding good contentment of the chiefe and principall personages of the
 countrie, by the meanes and mediation of *Q. Fabius* the Proconsull, who was thither sent with
 E the old armie. This done, he left *Decius* to wast and pill the countrie of the enemies, and him-
 selfe with his forces marched toward his Collegue into Hetruria. Who at his first coming,
 was received generally with all the joy that might be. For mine owne part, I suppose verily, that
 as *Appius* had good cause to carie an angrie stomach with him, in case his conscience bair him
 witnesse, that he wrote not unto him: so againe, if he had need of his Collegues aid, he shewed
 an illiberall, unkind, and unthankfull nature of his owne, in that he would so dissemble, and not
 be knowne thereof. For being come forth to meete him, before they had well greeted and saluted
 one another, How now, quoth he, *L. Volturnius*, is all well? How goes the world in Samnium?
 VVhat hath moved you to abandon and leave your owne charge and province, and to depart?
Volturnius made answer, that in Samnium all things went well and chieft prosperously, and
 F that himselfe was now come, as sent for by his letters: which if they were counterfet, and that
 there were no neede of him in Hetruria, he would presently turne his ensignes, and be gone.
 Many quoth he, & good leave have you: you may be gone when you wil, & no man holdeth you:
 and ill befecming it is, that you who peradventure are not able to weeld and manage your owne
 affaires of warre, should glorie thus, and make your boast that you are come hether to helpe
 others.

others. Hereat, *Volumnius* should reply again and say, It is well, and God send us good luck: I had rather lose my labour, than ought should have hapned, whereby one Consuls armie were not sufficient to deale with *Hetruria*. Now as the Consuls were parting asunder one from the other, the Lieutenants and Colonels of *Appius* his armie, came and stood round about them both: some requested their owne Generall, that the aide of his Colleague which ought to have bene accepted by them if it had bene required; now that it was offered so willingly, and of his owne accord, should not be refused and rejected. But the more part encountered *Volumnius*, as he was ready to die to go his way, and earnestly besought him not for any forward contention, & debate with his companion, to betray the common-weale. For if any overthrow or misadventure should happen, the blame would be imputed rather to the forsaker, than the forsaken: and now things were come to this passe, that the honor or dishonor of the war in *Hetruria*, prove it wel or ill, should fall upon *Volumnius*: for that no man would enquire of the words and language that *Appius* gave him, but of the fortune and successe of the armie: and albeit *Appius* had given him his farewell and passport, the weale publick & the armie held him still by the sleeve, and for prooffe hereof, let him but make triall of the souldiers harts & affections. Thus with remonstrances, persuasions, and heartie prayers to the one Consull and the other, they drew them both, in manner against their wils, to parlie in publik audience before the whole army. Where they grew to longer speeches and discourtes, but to the same purpose and effect, as before in the hearing and presence of a few. Now when *Volumnius* (as having the better cause) seemed to reply, and that with good grace and words enough, against that singular eloquence of his Colleague; and that *Appius* in trumping and taunting manner, gave out and said, That they were beholden to him, and might con him thanke, that of a dumbe and tongue-tide Consull, they had one now, that was so readie and eloquent: & who in his former Consulship, & specially in the first moneths, could not open his mouth, and speake a word, was now of a sodaine become an Oratour, and able to make plausible and popular Orations: then replied *Volumnius* and said, Would God, with all my hart, you rather had learned of me to fight valiantly, then I of you to speak finely: & in conclusion, he said, he would tender him an offer, which should determine and put out of all doubt, whether of them twaine, were, not the better Lawyer and Orator (for at this present the commonweale stood not in neede of such) but the better warrior & Captaine generall. Whereas therefore, there are ij. Provinces, *Hetruria* & *Samnium*, it shal be in your choise (quoth he) to take one of them, whether you will, and I my selfe will with my owne armie, make warre in the other. Then began the souldiers to cry aloud unto them, that they would joyntly enter both upon the Tuscan warre. Which consent and accord of theirs, when *Volumnius* had perceived, For as much (quoth he) as I have once mistaken and misinterpreted the will of my Colleague, I will not in any case stand in doubt, and be ignorant of your minds too: let me know therefore by a shout of yours, whether you would have me tarrie or depart? Whereat they set up such a note, that it gave an alarme to the enemies, and raised them out of their camp; and presently they caught their weapons up, and came forth into the field. *Volumnius* likewise caused the trumpets to sound, and the standers and ensignes to be brought abroad. Then *Appius* (as it is reported) seeing plainely, that whether he fought or fate still, the victorie would be ascribed to his Colleague, stood in a mammering and suspence for a while: but afterwards fearing, least that his owne legions also would follow *Volumnius*, gave likewise unto his men the signall of battaile, which they so instantly called for. But neither they, nor the enemies were well arranged and in good order: for both the leader of the *Samnites* (*Cellius Egnatius*) was gone a foraging abroad, with some few cohorts and bands with him; whereupon the souldiers rather of their owne head, than by conduct and direction of Captains, began to charge: and also the *Romane* armies were not both lead forth together, nor yet had time enough to be marshalled accordingly: for *Volumnius* first gave the charge, before that *Appius* could come to encounter the enemies: whereupon, the forefronts were not equally matched together: and as if some fortune had exchanged the enemies, that they were wont to fight withall: the *Tuskans* presented themselves to *Volumnius*, and the *Samnites* who stayed a while (for that their Generall was absent) affronted *Appius*. It is reported that *Appius* in the very heate of the medley, was seene in the front of the foremost ensignes, to lift up his hands to heaven, and pray in this wise, O Lady *Bellona*, if thou give us victorie, and the honor of this day, then, be sure, I vow here unto thee at this houre, a faire Temple. When he had thus prayed, as if the goddesse had put life unto him, and animated his courage, both himselfe marched the valour of his Colleague,

A Colleague, and his armie answered the vertue of their Commander. For he performed the devoir and part (indeed) of a brave Generall. The souldiers likewise, for feare that the other armie should begin the victory, endeavoured and streined all that ever they could. Whereby, they disraied, discomfited, and put to flight the enemies, who could not easily abide any extraordinary force and violence, more than they were wont to meet withall. And so with preasing hard upon them still that reculed, and chasing them hotly that were scattered in flight, they beate them into their campe. There, by the coming in of *Gellius* and the *Sabellian* bands, the battaile for the time was freshly renewed. But when they also, within awhile were discomfited, then was the camp assaulted by the conquerors. Thus whiles *Volumnius* for his part entred with banner displayed unto the verie gate, and *Appius* ever and anon, reiterated the name of *Bellona* the victresse, and all, to set on fire and inflame the courage of his souldiers; there was neither trench nor rampier that could hold them backe. So the campe was won and sacked, and a huge pillage therein found, which was given all to the souldiers. Seven thousand and three hundred enemies were slaine, 2120 taken prisoners.

During the time that both Consuls, and the whole puissance of the *Romans*, were thus bent and imploied in the warre within *Tuscane*; there were new forces raised in *Samnium*, to wast the marches of the *Romane* dominion: who taking their way through the *Vestines*, into *Campania* and the cuntry of *Faleria*, drave huge prizes & booties away. And as *Volumnius* by great journeyes returned into *Samnium* (for by this time *Fabius* & *Decius* were come to an end of their prorogued government) the bruit that was blowne abroad of the *Samnites* armie, & their foraying of the territorie of *Capua*, turned him out of his way, to the defence of his allies and confederates. So soone as he was entred into the cuntry *Calenum*, both he himselfe saw the fresh marks and tokens of great dammage and desolation: and also the *Calenians* advertised him, that the enemies caried with them already so excessive a preie and bootie, that they were scarce able for it to march in good order, and that their captaines began openly to speake and say, that the best course they could take, was presently to retire into *Samnium*, there to leave their prizes and booties, & so to returne afresh to their rodes and make new expeditions; and not to commit an armie, so loden and furcharged, to the fortune and hazard of a battaile. Which words, albeit they founded much to a truth, yet he thought it meet to looke better into the matter, & to build upon a surer ground, and therefore he sent certaine light horsemen, to intercept some forragers as they stragled and were scattered one from another in the fields. By whom he learned, after much questioning with them, that the enemies encamped by the river * *Vulturius*, and from thence at the * third watch, would set forward on their journey directly into *Samnium*. After he had sufficient intelligences and advertisements concerning these things, he dislodged and put himselfe upon his way and encamped so farre from the enemies, as his approach by being too neere could not be knowne, and yet he might be able to surpris them as they should yssue in disorder out of their campe. So, a good while before day, he marched towards the enemy: and sent such as were well seene in the *Osciane* tounge, to listen and learne what they did. Who being intermingled with the enemies (which was an easie matter in that night garboile and confusion) they found that the ensignes were set forward, not sufficiently accompanied with armed men for defence; and that the whole pillage with the guard and convoy thereof, was now going forth, and marched carelesly, like a sort of vile and base lozels, every man thinking of his owne particulars and running on his owne head, without consent of others, and with little or no direction and government. This was thought the meetest time to set upon them: and now it drew neere day. Whereupon he commaunded the trumpets to sound the charge, and set upon the march of the enemies. The *Samnites*, incombred as they were, and pelted with their bootie, and few of them here and there in armour, began, some of them to double their pace and to march faster away, and drive before them the bootie: some stood still, and wist not whether they were better, to go on forward, or retire againe into the campe. But whiles they thus trifled and staid, they were environed and surprisid by the *Romans*: and by this time they had gotten over their rampier: much killing there was, and confusion in the campe. The *Samnites*, as they marched, besides that they were troubled with the assault of their enemies, were also disquieted with the suddain escape & revolt of their prisoners: who being some of them loosed, loosed also those that were bound: whiles others of them, caught vp their weapons which were fastened to the packes, and being confusedly intermeddled in the march, made a greater and more fearefull

garboile and havoocke, than the verie battell of the enemies. And more than that, they per- G
formed one memorabile and notable Act above the rest. For as *Statius Egnatius* the Gene-
rall, went about the ranks and files encouraging the souldiours to fight, they set upon him, scat-
tered the horsemen asunder, that accompanied him, environed him about, and tooke him as he
sat on horsebacke, and haled him to the Romane Confull. Vpon which tumult and sturre, the
foremost ensigns of the Samnits were called back, and the battell which in manner was done, now
began afresh: yet could not they any long time resist and hold out. Slaine there were about fixe
thousand two thousand & five hundred taken prisoners. Amongst whom, were 4 Colonels and 30
ensigns: and that, wherein the victors took contentment of captives, 7000 & 400 hundred were
again recovered; with an exceeding great bootie which they had gotten from their allies: where-
unto, by proclamation were called, all that could lay any claime, or pretend a right, to seaze upon
their owne goods, and to receive the same by a day appointed. And look what parcels could not
be owned or chalenged by the true owner, was given away to the soldiours: who were compelled to
make sale thereof, to the end, that they should not set their heart upon any thing but warre.

This saccage of the territorie of Capua, had raised great trouble and stir in Rome. And at the
verie same time also, it chanced, that there came news out of Etruria, how that upon the with-
drawing of *Volumnius* his forces out of those parts, all that countrie was up afresh in arms; that
Gellius Egnatius the Samnite captaine, and the Umbrians likewise, were moved to revolt; and the
Gaules also solicited with great summes of mony. At this bruit the Senate being affraid, com-
manded an abstinence or vacation of terme, and that all sorts of men should be mustered: and
not onely the free borne naturall citizens, and the flower of the youth were prest and sworne, but
certaine *companies also of the elder fort, yea and bands of Libertines newly enfranchised, were
inrolled by the hundreds. Likewise they sat in Councel about devising meanes for defence of the
cittie: & *P. Sempronius* the Pretor, had the whole government of the State. But the Senat was partly
eased and discharged of this care, by the letters of *L. Volumnius* the Col, which gave intelligence
that the forraiers of Campaine were diffeated, slaine, and put to flight. Therupon were decreed in
favor of the Confull, for this exploit by him achieved, solemne processions, and the abstinence
of terme again was remitted, which had continued for eightene daies space: and the procession
abroad, was right joyfully performed. Then began they to devise about garrisons for defence
of the countrie, thus waited and overrun by the Samnites. And agreed it was, that two Colo-
nies should be sent, about the Vestine & Faleme coasts, one to the mouth of the river Liris, which K
Colony was called *Minturnæ, the other in the Vestine Forrest & streights, adjoining to the Fa-
lerne countrie; where Synope, a Greeke town sometime stood, and afterwards was called by the
Romanes there inhabiting, *Sinuessa. The Tribunes of the Com, had in charge to ordaine by
an Act of the common people, that *P. Sempronius* the Pretor should choose certaine Trium-
virs, about the sending and translating of inhabitants into those Colonies. But much adoe they
had to find those that willingly yeelded to be inrolled Coloners, supposing indeed, that they were
sent thither, not to inhabite land and ground for their best behoofe, but to lie in garrison, and to
stand upon their guard in those frontiers, which were continually molested by warlike ene-
mies. From the care of these affaires, the Senate was withdrawne, by occasion of the Tus-
cane warre, whereof the rumour daily increased: and letters also came thicke from *Appius*, L
who warned them not to neglect the rising of that countrey: which letters imported, that
four nations had united their forces, and banded themselves together; to wit, Tuscanes,
Samnium, Umbria, and the Gaules: that they were already encamped in two places, for
that one was not able to receive so greata multitude. Vpon these occasions, as also for that
the time drew neere of Election of Consuls, *Lucius Volumnius* the Confull was called home
to Rome. Who before that he called the Centuries for to give their voices, having assembled
the people to an audience, discoursed before them at large, concerning the greatnesse of the
Tuscan warre. How that afore time, when he himselfe and his brother Confull warred there to-
gether, it was of so great importance, that neither one leader, nor yet one armie was sufficient:
and by report, the Umbrians, & a mightie power of Gaules were afterward combined unto them. M
So that they should remember, that they were to chuse that day two Coss. against foure nations.
As for himselfe, but that he was certainly perswaded and assured, that the people of Rome would
with a generall content declare him Col. who at that time, without all controuersie was counted
the principall captain and best leader of all others, he would forthwith nominate a Dictator. No
man

A man doubted, but that *Q. Fabius* was the man, who by the assent of all, was ment & destined to this
charge: and him, together with *Volumnius*, both the prerogative tribe, & all those that were called
first, everie one, nominated to be Coss. *Fabius* made a speech by way of excuse, in substance, like as
he had done before, two years together: but afterwards seeing he was overcome with the generall
agreement of the people, he framed it so in the end, that he required *P. Decius* to be his colleague:
Alleging, that he would be in steed of a good prop & stay to him in his old age: how he had found
by experience in one Consulship & two Consulships, born jointly together with him, that there
was no surer & defence of the Commonweale, to the concord and agreement of those that are
companions in government. And to any other new Colleague besides him, hardly could an old
mans mind fort & frame. Also that he would and could more easily impart his mind & purpose
to one, whose humor, condition, and behavior, he had been already acquainted with. The Coss.
B to one, whose humor, condition, and behavior, he had been already acquainted with. The Coss.
himselfe confirmed his Oration, and accorded thereunto; as well, in regard of the commenda-
ble parts and deserts of *P. Decius*, as also of the good that proceeded and ensued upon the mana-
ging of war-affaires, by the concord and unitie of the Consuls; and of the hurt which happen-
ed and followed upon their disagreement and dissention; and therewith he shewed how neere
they were of late to utter perill and destruction, through quarrels betweene him and his brother
Appius; admonishing *Decius* and *Fabius* both, to live so, as with one mind and heart they affec-
ted and intended the same things. He added moreover and said, they were men of Action both,
borne for war and to be soldiours; for martiall feats renowned already: but for to maintaine con-
tentions of words and quarrels of the tongue, altogether rude and unskilfull, and such natures,
C (said he) were fittest to make Consuls. As for nimble heads and fine wits, deeply scene in points
and quirknes of law, full of their eloquent tearmes, such as *Ap. Claudius* was; those were meet to
be made Lord Presidents of the cite and cheefe Iustices in the common place, for to sit in judge-
ment of causes, and see the execution of lawes. Thus in handling of these matters was that day
spent. The morrow after, according to the Consuls appointment, was the Election held, both of
new Consuls, and also of Pretors. *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* were created Consuls, and *App. Clau-*
dius Pretour, all absent. And *L. Volumnius* by Act of the Senate, and graunt of the Commons,
had his government proroged, and continued in his charge one yeare longer.

The same yeare were many strange sights and prodigious monsters seen: for the turning away
of the dangers foresignified and menaced thereby, the Senate decreed supplications and Leta-
nies for two daies together. Wine and incense for the sacrifices, was allowed at the publick chan-
ges of the cittie, and in procession went both men and women in great number, with much reve-
rence, to visit the holy shrines, and there to doe their devotions. These solemne supplications
were more renowned and memorable, by reason of a contention that arose among the dames
of the cittie, in the chappell of Ladie *Pudicitia Patricia*, which standeth in the beatt-market, by
the round church of *Aulus*, who, notwithstanding she was noble descended from the race of the
Patritii, yet had espoused *Volumnius* the Confull, a Commoner, and was married (forsooth) our of
the familie and raunge of the *Patritii*. Whereupon, there began some short and cutted shewed
words to be dealt betweene: and so (as women commonly are soone angrie and set on fire) they
grew to heartburning and hote contention. Whiles *Virginia* alleadged and said, that shee being
E a gentlewoman and *Patritia* borne, and a chaste and honest dame, was entred into the chappell
of *Patritian Chastitie*: over and besides, she had not been noted for Bigamie; but was the wife of
one onely husband, unto whom she was given and brought a pure maiden: and as for her hus-
band, and his dignities which he had borne, his noble acts that he had achieved, shee had no
cause to complaine, or be ashamed, nay rather she gloried therein right greatly. After this, shee
accumulated these magnificent & glorious words, with as generous and brave a deed. For in the
long street where she dwelt, she set by and cut off a part of her dwelling house, as much as would
serve for an Oratorie or petite chappell, and there erected an altar. And when she had assembled
the wives of the Commoners together, and had complained of the injurious dealing of the *Pa-*
tritian dames, This altar (quoth she) doe I dedicate unto *Pudicitia Plebeia*: and all you here I ex-
hort, that with what emulation, the men our husbands, in this cittie contend about feats of valor
and armes, who may doe best; so likewise the Matrones and wives strive avie in continence and
chastitie; and that yee will labour and endeavour, that this altar may have the name to bee fre-
quented, and resorted unto, with more reverence and devotion, yea and if (it bee possible) of
more

more chaste women, than that other of the Nobilitie. And so it fel out indeed, that from that time, this alter also had the same rites (in a manner) and ceremonies as the other, which was more ancient: in such sort, as no wife, but of approved honestie and chastitie, and wedded but to one husband during her life, might be allowed there to sacrifice and offer oblations. But this religious order and institution, in lapse and proesse of time was prophaned afterwards and divulged, and the altar frequented by them that were stained and infamous, and not onely by matrones of name and qualitie, but also by women of all sorts and degrees, until at last through disuse it grew to be utterly forgotten, and came to nothing.

The same yeare the *Ædiles Curiule*, *Cn.* and *Q. Ogulius* accused certaine *Vsurers*, who were convicted, and their goods forfeit and confiscate. And of that which came into the common chest, they caused to be made a brassen portaille in the Capitoll, and silver vessels for to furnish our three tables in *Jupiter* his chappell: also the image of *Jupiter* himselfe in the lantern or frontispice of the Capitoll, sitting in his chariot drawne with foure steeds. Moreover, at the figtree *Ruminalis*, they erected and set up the images of the foundling babes, the first founders of the citie, pendant at the teates of a shee wolfe. They paved also with square stone, the caufey and high way from the gate *Capena*, unto the temple of *Mars*. The *Ædiles* likewise Commoners, *L. Aelius Patus*, & *C. Fulvius Curvius*, of the forfeited monie which they levied of the graiers or farmers of the citie pastures, who were condemned and fined, exhibited certaine pageants and plaies, and set up golden bolles in the temple of *Ceres*.

After this, *Q. Fabius* the fifttime Consull, and *P. Decius* the fourth, entred their government, who now had been companions together in three Consulats, and in one Censorship, men renowned, not more for the honour of their noble exploits in war, which was right great, than for their loving agreement and concord. Which unitie of theirs was not perpetuall to the end; by occasion, I suppose, of the contention of the States that came betweene, rather than of any difference betwixt themselves. For the *Patritij* laboured, that *Fabius* should have the province of *Tuscan* extraordinarily: and the Commons were as earnest with *Decius* to put the matter to a Lotterie. Certaine it is, that a great contention there was in the Senate. But afterwards, seeing that *Fabius* was able there to doe more and make a greater side than his Colleague, the matter

*Delate betwixt
Decius and
Fabius for
the province*

was brought againe before the people. In which assemblie, few words passed betweene the parties themselves, being martiall men both, standing more upon deeds than words. *Fabius* gave out and said, that it was an indignitie, that another should gather fruit under the tree that hee had planted. Also, that himselfe was the man, who had opened the way through the wood *Ciminius*, and had given entrance and passage for the *Romane* warre, through desert and wild forrests. What meant they then to trouble him, a man of those yeares, with this place of charge, in case, they minded to give the conduct of this war to any other Generall but himselfe? No doubt, but by little and little hee upbraided them covertly and cast in their teeth, for chusing unto him an adversarie, and not a companion in government: yea, and charged *Decius*, that he repented and envied the good concord, wherein they had lived together, during the time of three Magistracies already. Finally, he aimed and reached at no farther matter than this, but if so bee, they thought him worthe of the province, thither to send him. For as he had been at the appointment & pleasure of the Senate, so would he be at the ordering and direction of the people. On the other side, *P. Decius* complained of the injurie offered by the Senat: for that the Nobles had endeavoured to their power, and done their best, that no Commons might have acceffe to honourable places and dignities: and after that prowesse and valour had gotten the upperhand, and prevailed so, as even in those kind of men vertue wanted not her due reward and honour; there were meanes sought, that not onely the voices of the people were deluded and made vaine, but also the very awards and arbitrements of fortune, were transferred to the wils and pleasures of some few. All Consuls before him had given their provinces by lot: and now the Senate by their absolute authoritie, without casting lots, gave unto *Fabius* the charge of his province. If it bee (saith hee) to honour the man: verily, he hath so well deserved both of my selfe and of the Commonwealth, that I favour highly and tender the glorie of *Q. Fabius*: provided alwaies, that it get not a shining lustre, by a toile of my disgrace and dishonour. And who will ever doubt, where there is one difficult and dangerous warre, and the same precisely and absolutely charged upon one Consull, without ordinarie and lawfull calling: but that the other Consull standeth for a cipher, and is reputed either needlesse, or good for nothing? As for *Fabius*, like as hee gloried

A gloried in his service and noble Actes atchieved in *Tuscan*, even so would *Publius Decius* also full faine doe the semblable: and peradventure, hee should bee able to put out and quench that fire once for all, which *Fabius* left behind him, so covered and raked up, as that oftentimes it suddainly brake out againe; and yeelded forth newe flames and blasfes. In conclusion, hee could bee content to yeeld the titles of honour and all rewards of vertue unto his Colleague, in the reverent regard of his old age, and majestie of his person: but for any hazard or jeopardie that might be presented unto them, he neither at this time gave place, nor ever would (with his good will) to him or any man else whatsoever: and if he gat no other good by this contention, yet would he obtaine thus much at the least, that the people should hold their owne, and dispose of that absolutely at their discretion, which was in their power; rather than permit the Nobles to gratifie any one therewith at their pleasure. And herewith he prayed *Opt. Max.* and all the immortall gods, that even as they vouchsafed to bestow upon him and his Colleague equall valour and happineffe in the conduct of their warre, so they would afford them one and the same right in authoritie and rule. For certes, it was in nature meete and reason, for example good and profitable, and for the credit and fame of the people of *Rome* much materiall, that such should be Consuls, as by either of their guidance and conduct, without exceptions, the warre with the *Tuskans* might be administred, as it ought to be. *Fabius* then, having besought the people nought else, but that before the Tribes were called in to give their suffrages, they would heare the letters of *Ap. Claudius* Pretor red, which were brought out of *Tuscan*, departed out of the assembly. So the Province of *Tuscan*, without casting lots, was awarded unto *Fabius*, with no lesse consent of the people, than of the Senate. Hereupon, all the younger sort (in manner) ranne unto the Consull, and offered their service of themselves, and gave their names to be enrolled, so desirous were they to serve under that Captaine. Which multitude being thus stocked about him round; Foure thousand foote-men, quoth he, and fixe hundred horse, and no more, am I minded to take up and levee. As many therefore, as to daye and to morrowe, will present themselves and give their names, will I accept of, and take with me: more care have I to bring you all home rich and wealthie, than to have numbers of souldiers to fight my battailes. Thus went he forth with a comperent armie well appointed, and so much more confident, & in hope of good successe, by how much lesse he stood upon the great number; and directed his journey to the towne *Atharna*, where *Appius* the Pretor encamped, & from whence the enemy was not far distant. A few miles on this side, the seuillers or woodpurveiors, accompanied with a good gard of souldiers for their convoy, met him: who seeing the sergeants going before, & understanding that it was *Fabius* the Consull, with joy & cheerefull hearts, thanked God & the people of *Rome*, for sending unto them such a Generall. After this, when they came all about the Consull to salute and welcome him, *Fabius* demanded whether they went? who answered, To purvey wood and seuell. Say ye so? (quoth he) and have ye not your campe empaled and fortified? Yes, cried they all, and that with a double rampier and ditch, but yet are we in exceeding feare. Then quoth he, ye have wood and timber enough. Go ye back again, & down with the trench & pallisade. Who returned into the camp, and as they were plucking up the rampier, they gave the alarme both to the souldiers that taried behind in the camp, and to *Appius* himselfe, and made them afraide. Then every man sayd, to one or other as they came, that it was by the expresse commandement of *Q. Fabius* the Consull that they did so. The morrow after they removed the camp, and *Appius* the Pretor was dismissed and sent away to *Rome*. After which time, the *Romanes* abode no where in standing campe: for he said, it was not good & commodious for an army to make abode in any one place; but that it was better and more holosome both for the agilitie and health of their bodies, to have a running campe, to be ever marching, and changing the aire and the soyle. But their journeyes were no other, than the winter would permit, which was not yet past.

In the beginning of the Spring, *Fabius* having left the second legion at *Clusium*, which in old time was called *Camars*, and appointed *L. Scipio* Propretor to be governor of the campe, he returned himselfe to *Rome* for to consult about the warre: were it of his own accord & mouffe, because it appeared evidently in view of eye much greater than it was reputed before; or that he was sent for by order from the Senat: for there be writers that affirme both the one and the other. Some would have it thought, that he was called back again by *Appius Claudius* Pretor, who both at the Counsell table in the Senatehouse, and also before the bodie of the people

(like

(like as he had continually done by letters) enforced the feare and terror of the Tuscan warre, G saying, that one Generall and one armie, were not sufficient to make head against foure nations: that it would bee dangerous and doubtfull, whether they ioyntly in one masse gave battaile unto one, or maintained warre apart in diuers quarters: that one man was not able to performe and manage all at once. As for himselfe, hee had left behinde him two Romane legions and no more, and with *Fabius* there were come not full five thousand in all, of horse and foote together. His opinion therefore was, that with all speede, *P. Decius* the Consull, should go to his Colleague into Tuscane, and *L. Volumnius* have the charge of Samnium in the meane time. But in case the Consull had rather go into his owne province, then he advised, that *Volumnius* tooke his way directly, with a full and compleat Consular army into Tuscane, to the Consull. When this discourse of the Pretor, had moved a great part of the house, then *P. Decius* spake H (by report) to this effect; That all should be left entier and free to the disposition of *Q. Fabius*, untill such time as either himselfe in person (if it might stand with the weale publick) were come to Rome, or sent one of his Lieutenants, by whom the Senate might be informed, and truly understand, the poyle and importance of the warre in Tuscane; what forces were requisite, and how many leaders and captaines were expedient and needefull. *Fabius*, so soone as he was returned to Rome, both in the Senate house, and also in the audience of the people, held a middle course in all his speech; that he might seeme neither to increase, nor yet to diminish the rumor of the warre; and in assuring to himselfe another Captaine, he pretended, that he condescended thereunto, in regard of other mens feare, more than for his owne safetie, or for any danger that the State was like to incur. Howbeit, if they would allow him a coadjutor and companion in warre, I how might he forget *P. Decius* the Consull? of whom he had so good proofe and experience in so many Magistracies, which they had borne and administered together. Of all men in the world he loved none better, and would make choise of no one sooner: and having *P. Decius* with him, hee would never thinke his forces too fewe about him, nor his enemies too many before him. But if peradventure the mind and heart of his Colleague stood otherwise, his request was, that they would give him *L. Volumnius* to be his assistant. The determination of all was referred over to *Fabius*, both by the people and Senate, and also by the Consull himselfe. And when as *Decius* shewed & testified, that he was ready to take a journey either into Samnium or Tuscane, there followed such a joy and gratulation of all men, as if they had conceived in their spirit a victorie aforehand, and even now, had decreed for the Consuls, not a doubtfull warre, but a glorious triumph. I find in some writers, that *Fabius* & *Decius*, presently upon the entrance into their Magistracies, went into Tuscane, without any mention of casting lots for their charges and provinces, or of the contention betwene the two Colleagues, which I have set downe. There be some againe, who having laid abroad these debates, stayed not there, but over and besides have added a surcrease of matter, touching the invectives of *Appian* before the people, against *Fabius* in his absence; as also the obstinat stubbornnes of him being Pretor, against the Consull, to his very face: moreover, another contention and variance betwene the two Consuls; whiles *Decius* endeavoured to bring about, and was instant that each one should keepe him to his owne Province allotted unto him, and hold it. But all writers agree in the course of the historie, from the time that both Consuls went out to warre, and so forward. L

But before that the Consuls arrived in Tuscane, certaine Gaules called Senones, came with a great power before Clusium, ready to give assault unto the Romane legion and the campe. But *Scipio*, who was left Governor thereof, thinking it necessarie to help out the small number of his men, by advantage, of the ground, led his armie up to the hill betwene the towne and the camp. But (as it falleth out in such sodaine cases) he had not discovered aforehand the waies and avenues all about; but inconsiderately went forward, and engaged himselfe up to the top and pitch of the hill, which the enemy was maister of already by another side. Thus was the legion assailed on the back, & beaten downe, and thus was it enclosed and environed round, by a multitude of enemies, and put to the sword. Some writers there be who report, that the whole legion perished there, so as not one escaped alive to carry tidings. Also, that the Consuls who now were not farre from Clusium, had no newes brought them of this overthrow, before the horsemen of the Gaules were in fight, who carrying the heads of them that were slaine, some hanging before at their horse poyntles, other sticking aloft upon their lances, braved and triumphed, singing and chaunting songs of joy, after their manner. Some write they were the Vmbrians and not

A not the Gaules, and that the defeature and massacre was not so great: also that when the forragers for the campe under the leading of *L. Manlius Tergathus* a lieutenant, were compassed about by the enemy; then *Scipio* the Pro-pretor came forth of the campe to succour and rescue them, and that the Vmbrians, who first had the better, afterwarde when the battaile was renewed, suffered the foile and were overcome, and that as well their prisoners as their bootie was taken from them. But more probable it is, that this overthrow was given by the Gaules, than the Vmbrians; for that as divers times afore, so that yeare especially the cittie was frighted with the tumults and risings of the Gaules. Vpon this defeature, over and besides, that both the Consuls were gone to warre with foure legions, and a great power of Cavalterie of naturall Romanes and a thousand horsemen of Capua, chosen out of purpose for that warre, and sent unto them, with a greater power also of allies, and of Latines than of Romanes; B there were two other armies not farre from the cittie of Rome, opposed to frontier & make head against Tuscane: the one in the Faliscian territorie, the other in the Vatican. *Cn. Fulvius* & *L. Posthumius Megillus*, both Propretors, were commanded to keepe a standing campe in those parts. But the Consuls by this time, having passed over the mountaine Apenninus, were come to the enemies within the country of the Sentinats. And there about foure miles off, they fat them down and encamped. Then the enemies, after much consultation, resolved in the end upon this point; not to be intermingled all in one campe, nor come into the field and hazard all their forces at once in one battaile: but that the Gaules should take the Samnites unto them, and the Vmbrians joine with the Tuscans. The day of the battaile was appointed. The Gaules and Samnites had the charge to maintaine the fight: and in the time of battaile the Tuscans and Vmbrians were commanded to assault the campe of the Romanes. But these their designs and purposes were altered by reason of three Clusine fugitive traitors, who by night stole away privily unto the Consull *Fabius*, & disclosed the intents and enterprise of the enemies: who were sent away with rich rewards, to the end that everie hower, upon new plots and devises that should be determined by the enemies, they would give them an ynking and certaine intelligence. The Consuls wrote unto *Fulvius* & *Posthumius*, that the one should advance & come forward with his armie, out of the Faliscian country; and the other out of the Vatican directly unto Clusium: and that with all their forces, they should overrunne and destroy the enemies countrie. The rumor of these rodes and invasions, caused the Tuscans to remove out of the Sentinate territory, to the defence of their own frontiers. Hereupon the Consuls made speed to strike a battel in their absence. D And for two daies space they skirmished continually with the enemy, and chalenged him to the field: but for those two daies, no worthie deed of importance was atchieved. A few on both sides were slaine, and hereby were their courages rather provoked, & their stomachs whet to a full set battaile than any trial or hazard made of the maine chance. Vpon the third day into plain field they come with all their power. When both armies stood ranged in battaile aray, there fortun'd a Hind to be chased out of the mountains, & to run away before a Wolfe, even through the mids of the plains between both armies: then, parted both these wild beasts atunder, the Hind tooke her way to the Gaules, and the Wolfe his course to the Romans. The Wolfe had way given him through all the ranks & files: but the hind was killed among the Gauls. Then a Romane foldior, E one of the forefront, who was to fight before the ensignes: There will the fight, (qd. he) there will the slaughter bee, where you see the beast sacred and dedicated to *Diana* lie dead: but heere on this part, the martiall Wolfe, consecrated to *Mars*, having with victorie gone cleere away safe and unwounded, hath put us in mind of our martiall nation and of our first founder, the sonne of *Mars*. The Gaules put themselves in the right wing, the Samnites in the left. Against the Samnites, *Fabius* marshalled the first and third Legions, in the right point: and *Decius*, the fifth and sixth in the left, affront the Gauls. For the second & fourth served in Samnium under *L. Volumnius* Pro-consull. At the first shooke and encounter, the battaile was so indifferently fought, and with so equall force, that if the Tuscans and Vmbrians had either shewed themselves in the field, or assailed the campe, the losse and overthrow must needs have light in either place, where as they had bent their forces. F Howbeit, although hitherto the conflict of battaile went equall and indifferent, and that as yet fortune had not determined, which way she would incline and give the victorie; yet they fought not alike, in the right and left wings. For the Romanes under the conduct of *Fabius*, rather warded the enemy warily, and stood upon their gard, than offered to charge lustily: so as they maintained fight, & drew it at length untill it was verie late in the evening, because the captain

captaine was enformed and persuaded of the Samnites and Gauls both, that being as they were in the first skirmish very hot and furious, it was sufficient to keep off at length, & at staves end. As for the Samnites, their courages would abate & fall by any long conflict: and the bodies of the Gauls, (who of all other can least away with travaile, & heat especially) would turne all to sweat, and melt away: who at the beginning, fight more fiercely than men, but in the end more faintly than women. Against that time therefore, when the enemy used to faile & give over, *Fabius* had kept his lodgers in breath, & reserved their strength fresh and lustie. But *Decius*, being verie eager and hot by reason of his youth and courage of heart, laid on lustily at the first, and spent upon the enemies all the force and vigor he had: and for that the Infanterie seemed to fight but coldly, he set the Cavallerie a worke: and himselfe personally in the thickest throng and troupe of most valiant and hardie knights, exhorted & besought the formost gallants of those lusty youths, to joine with him, and to charge upon the enemy: saying, that they should cary away a double honor, if by the means of the men of armes, the victorie began at the left wing. Twise they forced the Gauls horsemen to turne side and backe: but when as they were engaged farther within, and were now fighting hard pell-mell among the squadrons of the horsemen, they beheld a new and strange kind of fight, which troubled & terrified them. For the enemies standing all armed upon chariots and wagons, with a great noise of their steeds, & rumbling of the wheeles ran full upon them, and mightily affrighted the horses of the Romans, which had not been acquainted with such uncouth and strange dinns. So the horsemen who had the upper hand before, and were at point of victorie, were now with a foule feare discomfited & scattered, as if the hideous furies of hell, and the devil himselfe had bene amongst them. Whereupon they fled suddainly, & not looking before them were overthrowne both men and horse. By this occasion, the ensignes of footmen were distressed and disordered; and many of those that were ranged in the front before the ensignes, were by force of horse & wagons, driven crosse through the battailions, troden under foot, and their guts squashed out. Herewithall the battailions of the Gauls footmen, seeing their enemies thus scared, followed on apace, & gave them no time of breathing. *Decius* cried out aloud to his men, Whether slee yee? Or what hope have yee to save your selves by flight? *Decius* opposed himselfe against them that recoiled and fled: *Decius* rallied those that were disbanded and scattered: but seeing that by no force or means he could stay them, thus amazed and astonished as they were; he called upon his father *P. Decius* by name, and said; Why do I stay any longer the fatall death that is destined to my house and name? It is given to our race and familie, to be sacrificed in lieu of propitiatorie sacrifices, for to assuile and save the publike-weale from dangers menaced & threatened unto it. Even now therefore, will I offer the legions of the enemies to be sacrificed with my selfe to Dame *Tellus* and other infernall gods. When he had spoken these words, he commaunded *M. Livius* the high priest (whom as he marched into the field, he streighly had charged not to depart from him) for to pronounce and say that forme of words, whereby he should devow, offer, and berake himselfe to death, together with the legions of the enemies, for to save the armie of the *Quirites* & people of Rome. Which when he had done by the same forme of prayer, and in the same habite wherein his father *P. Decius* at the river *Veseris*, in the warre against the *Latines*, caused himselfe to be offered to death: and besides these solemne prayers, added moreover these words:

That he drave before him, Fright, flight, murther, massacre, bloudshed, yre and wrath of gods in heaven, & fiends in hell; and that he would with deadly maledictions and execrable curses smite the ensignes, weapons, and armours of his enemies; and that one & the same place, should give both himselfe, and also the Gauls & Samnites together with him, plague, perdition, and destruction. After these cursed, horrible, and detestable speeches against his owne person and his enemies; looke where he saw the thickest ranks of the Gauls, thither he spurred his horse, and rode in amongst them: where amidst the pikes, javelins, and swords, he was presently slaine. Then could it hardly be seene, that the battaile was any longer fought by power and helpe of man. The Romans so soone as they had lost their captaine, (which at all other times is wont to smite a terror into them) staid their flight, and were willing and contented to renew the battaile afresh. The Gauls, and especially that troupe which stood about the Cos, his bodie, fared as though they had ben out of their wits, flung their darts from them (I know not how) to no purpose, & in vaine: some of them stood still, as it were benumbed, forgetting both to run away, and to fight still. But on the other side, the high priest *Livius*, with whom *Decius* had left the serjeants, & whom before his death hee nominated and ordained to be Propretor, cried out, as lowd as he could, that the Romans

A had the victorie, and by the death of the Consull, were acquit and excused from all other fatall daunger: but as for the Gauls and the Samnites, they were destined and forfeited (as it were) to mother *Tellus* and the infernall spirits. And now *Decius* (quoth he) haleth after him, and calleth to follow him; the armie that with him was devowed, cursed, and offered: now all the enemies are full of furies and fearefull fright. Then, as these aforesaid began the medley againe, beheld there came unto them, *Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Martius* with a supplie of succours from the rearward: who by commaundement of *Q. Fabius* the Consull, were sent to aid and rescue his Colleague. Where they heard of the worthe end of *P. Decius*, a noble example to encourage them to adventure all hazards in the service of their countrie and Commonweale. Therefore, when as the Gauls stood close and thicke together, opposing their targuets before them, ranged & joined one over another featherwise, so, as to deale with them affront, and to cope together at hand strokes, was thought a difficult and dangerous matter; then, by the commaundement of those two Lieutenants, the darts and launces which lay strewed upon the ground, betwene the two armies, were gathered up, and slung against the pavoise or tortoise-fence of the enemies targets above said. And by reason that these javelins and speares light and stucke fast, some in their targets, and some in their very bodies, it happened, that their knot was broken, and the battailion (as massive and close as it was) disbanded, in such sort, as many of them, notwithstanding their bodies were untouched and unhurt, fell down astonished one upon another. Lo how fortune altered the case, & changed all in the left wing of the Romans. But in the right, *Fabius* (as is before said) at the first, lingered and drew on the day: but afterwards, when as he perceived, that neither the enemies shouds, nor their manner of giving charge, ne yet the darts and javelins which they launched, had the same vigor and force, as before; hee commaunded the captaines of the horsemen to wheele about with their cornets, and to flanke the Samnites, that upon a signall given, they might charge them overthwart with all the violence they could, whiles his owne Legionarie footmen by little and little advanced forward, and brake the ranke, and disordered the enemy. When he saw once, no resistance made, and that without all doubt, they were wearied and out of breath; then he gathered together all his subsidiairie companies of the reregard, which hee had reserved untill that time and businesse, fresh and in heart; and at once, both set forward the Legions, and gave the horsemen also a signall to set upon the enemies. But the Samnites could not endure this violent charge, but ran as fast as ever they could to recover the camp fast by the battailion of the Gauls, leaving their fellows behind them in fight, to pay the reckoning. The Gauls having likewise made a target-fence, stood thicke and close together under it. Then *Fabius* advertised of the death of his brother Consull, commaunded a wing or corner, to the number almost of 500 horsemen of Capua, to withdraw themselves out of the medley, to cast about and to play upon the backs of the Gauls: after whom, hee caused the Principes of the third Legion to follow; and wheresoever they elplied the ranks of the enemies by force of horsemen disordered and broken, there, to second them, and presse on still, and kill them whiles they were in disarray, and afraid. Himselfe vowed a temple to *Jupiter Victor*, together with the spoiles of his enemies. Which done, he advanced streight forward to the campe of the Samnites. Thither all the multitude of them were driven in great fright and disarray. And for that the gates were not able to receive so great a multitude, crowding together, they that were kept out, and could not get in, by reason of the throng of their fellows, began again to fight under the rampier. Where *Gellius Egnatius*, the Generall of the Samnites was stricken down and slaine: after this, the Samnites beaten within their rampier, were killed every one, & their camp after small resistance woon. The Gauls behind their backe were environned and cut in peeces. That day were slaine of enemies five and twentie thousand, and 8000 taken prisoners. Howbeit, this victorie cost the Romans blood: for of *P. Decius* his armie, there died seven thousand, and of *Fabius*, a thousand and two hundred. *Fabius* then having sent out to seeke the bodie of his Colleague, gathered up all the spoiles of the enemies into an heape, and burned them, to the honour of *Jupiter Victor*. But that day could not the Consull his bodie be seene, by reason it was covered and hidden under heapes of the Gauls that lay there dead. The morrow after it was found and brought againe with many a teare of all his fouldiours. Then *Fabius* setting all other matters for the time aside, solemnized the buriall and funeral obsequies of his fellow Consull, with due commendation and condigne praises, and with all honour that could be devised.

In Tuscan also about the same time, *Cn. Fulvius* Propretor, had fortunat successe to his hartes desire:

desire: for besides great damage done to the enemy, by invasions and rodes into the country, he fought also a notable battaile: wherein of Perusines and Clusines were slain above three thousand, and twentie ensignes woun. The Samnites, as they fled through the territoire of the Pelignians, were by them intercepted and enclosed; and of five thousand, they were left but one thousand. Great is the fame of that day, and of the battell that was fought in the Sentinate territoire; if a man hold him only to the truth, and make no more of it than it was. But some have overreached a little, & written, that the enemies were 40,330 foot, and 400 horse strong; also, that they had a thousand chariots, or waggones, reckoning and compassing the Vmbrians and Tuscane withall: who also (as they say) were at the battell. And to increase also the power and forces of the Romans, they report, that *L. Volturnius* Proprietor was a Commandery together with the Consuls, and that his armie was joined with the Legions of the Consuls. But I find in most Chronicles, that this victorie was achieved by the two Consuls only, *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* in the year next after in Samnium; and having forced and driven the armie of the Samnites, to take the hill *Tifernum*; nothing afraid for the disadvantage of the place, discomfited them, and put them to flight. *Q. Fabius*, having left the armie of *Decius* behind him in Tuscane, conducted his owne legions into the citie, and triumphed over the Gaules, Tuscans, and Samnites; and his soldiers followed him in his triumph, who in their rude militarie richmes and songs, celebrated no less the brave and noble death of *P. Decius*, than the worthie victorie of *Quintus Fabius*. And they revived the memoriall of his father late deceased, comparing him in equal degree, for the illustre event, as well publicke as private, with the praises of his sonne. Of the bootie and pillage gained from the enemies, the souldiours had given unto them 182 Assees apeece, with a liverie cloke, and a coat; a good reward for a souldiours service in those daies.

For all these notable victories achieved, yet neither the Samnites nor the Tuscans were at quiet. For, both the Perusines began to rebell, so soone as the Consull had away his armie; and also the Samnites came downe to forrey and spoile into the territoire of Vellute and *Pormianum*, and another way into *Eletunium*, which lie along the river *Vulturnus*. Against them was *Appius Claudius* the Pretor, sent with *Decius* his armie. And *Fabius* in Tuscane, which began new warre, slew foure thousand and five hundred Perusines, tooke prisoners 1740, who were ransomed for 310 Assees apeece. The rest of the spoile was all bestowed upon the souldiours. The Legions of the Samnites being pursued hard at heeles, partly by *Appius Claudius* Pretor, and partly by *L. Volturnius* Proconsull, met all together in the territoire of *Stella*. Where both the Samnite Legions abode, and also *Appius* and *Volturnius* joined and encamped together. There was a sharpe and cruell battaile fought on both sides. The Romanes were incensed with anger and choller against those that had so often rebelled: the other, upon a desperat mind were resolute to hazard the utmost. So there were slaine of the Samnites, 16300; 2700 taken prisoners; and of the Romanes there died 2700.

This yeare so fortunate in warre, was by reason of pestilence much afflicted; and for certaine prodigious tokens, full of care and perplexed. For it was reported, that in divers places it rained earth: and that in the armie of *Appius Claudius*, there were many smitten and blasted with lightening. In regard hereof, the bookes of *Sibylla* were perused and sought into. The same yeare *Q. Fabius Gurgus*, the Consull his sonne, fined and punished by the people, certaine wives who had been convicted and condemned before the people, of Adulterie; of which monie so raised by their fines, he caused to be built the temple of *Venus*, which standeth neere the great Cirque or Race.

There remaine yet behind certaine warres of the Samnites, whereof we have now continued our historie in these foure bookes, for the space of fixe and fortie yeares, ever since that *M. Valerius*, and *Au. Cornelius* were Consuls; who were the first that warred in Samnium. To let passe therefore, and not to trouble the readers, with a prolixie narration of the alternative overthrowes given and received betwene both nations so many yeares one after another, for all which calamities and losses their hearts and courages could not bee daunted or conquered; the very last yeare, the Samnites, in the Sentinate countrie, in the Pelignes territoire, at *Tifernum*, and in the territoire of *Stella*, were defeated both by themselves, with their owne legions, and also mingled with others; and that, by foure armies, and foure Roman Captaines; lost the bravest and most noble Generall of their nation; saw their confederats and allies in war, the Tuscans, *Vibulanians*, and *Gaules*, in the same predicament as themselves, nor able to stand and maintain their

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A estate any longer, either by their owne power, or with help of forreine forces; yet for all this, would they not forbear and abstaine from warre, so little wearie were they of defending their libertie, although it were unfortunately: choosing rather, to be vanquished, than not to attempt the winning of victorie. Who is he, that would not thinke it yrkesome, and tedious, either to write or read this long suite and traine of warres, which they in fighting were never wearied?

After *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, succeeded Consuls *L. Posthumius Megillus* and *M. Atilius Regulus*. To them both was committed the charge of Samnium; for that the brute went, that the enemies had prepared three full armies; the one to go againe into Tuscane, the second to invade and over-runne afresh the territoire of Capua, and the third to defend their owne frontiers. *Posthumius* by reason of sicknesse remained at Rome, but *Atilius* went presently with an armie forth, to the end that he might surpris the enemies on a sodaine in Samnium, before they had taken the field; for so the Senate had given direction: and he found the enemy in the way to meete him, as if it had bene so of purpose before by them determined, readie there to keepe him from entrance: and so far off were they from wasting the lands of the Samnites, that they could not once enter into their confines; nay, the Samnites debarred them from departure thence, into the peaceable parts and territories of their allies. Now when as they were encamped affront one against another; that which the Romanes being so often conquerours, would hardly have adventured, (see how utter despair driveth men to rash projects and extremities) the Samnites attempted: even to give assault upon the Romans campe. And albeit this so venturesome enterprise sped not well in the finall effect, yet was it not altogether in vaine attempted. There chanced to be a foggie mist, which continued a good part of the day, so thick and palpable; as men could not see before them; I say not, so farre as without the trench, but not so much as those that came close to speake one to another. The Samnites hereupon taking the advantage for an ambushment; before it was full day light, and the same much overcast and dimme with the mist, came as farre as the *Corps de guard* of the Romanes, who in the gates and entrance of the campe warded but negligently: being thus taken on a sodaine, they had neither courage nor strength enough to resist. At the back side of the camp, they assailed the great gate. *Decumana*, seized the Questors pavilion, and that quarter about it: where the Questor himselfe (*L. Opimius Pansa*) was slaine, and thereupon the alarme was given. The Consull, being with this tumult raised, commaunded two bands or cohorts of allies, to guard the Pretors pavilion, and that other of Suesians, which haply were next hand; to defend & guard the Pretors pavilion, and that quarter. In the meane while he marched with the legionarie bands along the high broad streete in the campe, called *Principalis*; and before they had buckled and fitted their armour about them, they were raunged in battaile aray; and had knowledge of the enemy, by the care and outcries, rather than by sight of the eye: neither could they give an estimate what number they were. At the first, as doubtfull of the event, and mistrusting their fortune, they recoiled, and received their enemies in, and let them come even into the middes of the campe: but then the Consull cried out, and asked, Whether they ment to be turned out of their owne rampiers and holds first; and after have a new peece of worke to assaile and win them againe? So, they set up a shout, and put all their might together, and first made resistance only and kept their ground; but afterwards they set forward, and pressed upon them; and having once beaten them back, they drave them afore them; with the same feare, that they themselves began, yea and chased them out of the gate and the trench: but to proceede further, for to pursue the chase, they durst not, for feare of some ambushment; by reason of the mistie & troubled weither, contenting themselves with the saving of their campe and no more: and so they retired within their rampiers, having slaine to the number welneere, of three hundred enemies. Of Romanes; as well those that were in the first *Corps de guard* and Sentinels, who kept the watch, as of those that were surprisied about the Questors lodging, were killed 230. This bold adventure of the Samnites (speeing so well, made them take better hart; so as they would not permit the Romanes to encamp farther into the countrie, no nor so much, as to go a foraging into their territoire: whereupon they were compelled to retire againe, and to purvie forage in the quiet and peaceable quarters of their friends about Sora.

The bruit of all these occurrences more troublesome and fearefull than truth was, being come to Rome, caused *L. Posthumius* the Consull, before he was well recovered of his sicknesse, to take the field; but ere he departed the citie, he proclaimed the *Rendez-vous* at Sora, for his soldiers there

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to meete. Himselfe now dedicated, unto the goddesse *Victoria*, the Temple, which in the time of his curule *Edileship* he tooke order to be built, with the money rayled of certaine fines taken of persons condemned. Then tooke he his journey to the armie, and so went forward from *Sora* directly into *Samnium*, to the camp of his brother *Consull*. But the *Samnites* distrusting themselves, as not able to withstand two armies, were dislodged, and departed backe: and the *Consull* also parted one from another, sundrie waies, to waste the country, and assault the townes. *Pellumius* at his first coming, assayed by fine force to assault the towne *Milionia*, and seeing he could do small good that way, at length by rolling trenches and platformes, he approached close to the walls, and wan it: and albeit the towne were thus forced, yet there continued a sharp and long fight in all streets and parts thereof; from the fourth houre of the day untill the eighth, with doubtfull and variable events for a good while; but in the end the *Romans* became masters of the towne. Of *Samnites* were slaine 3200, and 4200 were taken prisoners: besides the gaining of other bootie and pillage. From thence, he led forth the legions to *Ferentinum*, but the inhabitants with their bag and baggage, and all that ever they could drive or carie, had quitted the towne in the still night season; and departed in great silence at a contrarie posteine gate, which opened from the campe of the enemy. The *Consull* so soone as he was come, at the first approached the walls, as well appointed and provided of all things, as if he should have found as much to do, as at *Milionia*: but afterwards, perceiving all silent and desolate throughout the citie, seeing neither men nor munition within the towres, and upon the walls; he held back his souldiers, desirous and greedie to enter upon the bare walls, so abandoned and disurnished of defence: & doubting, to fall headlong ere he were aware, into the traines of some hidden & privie ambush, he commanded two cornets of the *Cavallerie* of *Latine confederates*, to ride about the walls along the countrescarp, and well to view and consider all places. The horsemen finding one or two gates, neere together of one side standing wide open, and in the verie same waies that led from thence, the fresh tracks and footing of the enemies, as they fled by night, rode softly neerer and neerer to the gates; and there they might see streight afore them safe entrance, and the citie lying open even from one end to the other: whereupon they brought word backe to the *Consull*, that the citie was abandoned, and the enemies gone: which was verie evident & apparent, as well by the very solitude thereof, as the new and fresh marks and traces of their dislodging, and departure; as also by the stuffe and goods that lay here and there scattred all abroad, whiles they hastened fearefully in the darke, to take their flight. The *Consull* upon this report, with his host drew to that side of the towne, which the horsemen were at: and pitching downe his ensignes not farre from the gate, commanded five other horsemen to enter into the citie, giving order, that when they had gone forward a pretie way, three of them should stay behind in the same place; if they saw all safe and out of danger; and the other two, bring him word what they had seene and found. Who being returned, made relation that they were gone so farre, as they might see about them every way into all parts, and could perceive nothing but silence and vast desolation all about, both farre and neere: then forthwith, the *Consull* entered into the citie, with certaine cohorts lightly appointed, and charged the rest in the meane while to fortifie the campe. The souldiers being once entered, fell to breake open the dores: where they found a few silly old folke, and some feeble and diseased persons, with such moveables as were hard to be conveyed and transported: those they rifled, and ransacked; and by certaine captives they understood, that divers other townes thereabout, were all with one accord fled and gone: and as for their owne countrymen, they departed at the first watch of the night, and they thought no other verily but that in the rest of the cities, they should find the like emptinesse and solitude. And as the prisoners said, so it proved indeede: and the *Consull* possessed himselfe of those forlorne and abandoned townes.

The other *Consull M. Attilius*, had not so easie warre for his part: who as he was marching with his Legions toward *Luceria*, which he heard was besieged by the *Samnites*; the enemy encountered and met him in the verie entrie of the frontiers, and gave him battaile: and the anger and indignation of both sides was answerable to their might & forces. The fight was variable & doubtfull on both parts, but the end & issue more heavie & dolorous on the *Romans* side: both because they were not used to be vanquished; and also for that in the verie loose and retreat, rather than in the combat and medley, they found that many more were hurt & slain of their part. Which fearefull fight & terror, as it began in the campe, if it had surprised them in the conflict,

*From ten of the clocke in the morning, untill seven in the afternoon.

A it would have beene an heavie day with them, and no doubt they had received a notable overthrow. And even then, being as it was, they had a carefull night, and full of anguish, thinking verily that the *Samnites* would presently assault their camp, or at least waies, that in the morning betimes they must of necessity fight with the conquerors. But the enemies, as their losse was lesse, so their heart and courage was never the more: For so soone as the day brake, desirous were they to be gone without any battaile. Howbeit there was but one way, and that lay close and neere to their enemies; which they were not so soone entered into, but they made shew a farre off, as if they marched streight to the assault of the campe. The *Consull* commaunded his men to arme, and to follow after him without the rampiers. To his lieutenants, colonels, and captaines of the *Allies*, he gave severall charges to doe as he thought needfull & requisite. They all promised to execute any direction whatsoever: but they said withall, that the souldiers hearts were done, that they had watched and sit up all night, amongst the grievous wounds and uncomfortable groanes of them that lay a dying: and no doubt if the enemy had come before day against the campe, so daunted were they, that they would have abandoned their colours: and even now for very shame, and nothing else, they forbore indeed to run away, but otherwise their hearts were gone, and they cleane spent. The *Consull* hearing this, thought good to go about himselfe in person, unto every one of his souldiers, and to speake unto them: and even as he met with any of them, & saw them so backward, and going about so coldly to take armes and weapon in hand; he checked and rebuked them: crying aloud, & asking why they sat still; why they loitered and made such hasting; saying, that the enemies would come to them within the very camp, & cut their throats, unless they made more hast to sally forth: yea & forced they should be to fight before their tent dores, if they would not give battaile without the trench and rampiers. They that are armed, (saith hee) and will fight manfully, shall obtaine undoubted victorie: but the unarmed and naked man that attendeth the enemies coming, must either die for it, or endure captivitie. As he rated and rebuked them in these termes, they answered flatly againe, that they had enough of yesterdaies worke, and were utterly done; and had neither strength nor blood left them in their bodies: and now the enemies (say they) seeme more in number, than they were the day before. Amid these speeches the armie approached: and being now but a little way off, they might take a full view of them more certainly, and see every thing. Whereupon they said confidently, that they saw the *Samnites* to bring with them their stakes and pales to cast a palliasse, no doubt, round about their whole campe. At this, the *Consull* cried out upon them, for verie shame, to suffer so foule a reproch and disgrace of a most dasterly enemy. And shall we be (quoth hee) beset and empaled within our owne campe, there to die for hunger and famine, with shame, rather than by edge of sword (if there be no other remedie) with honour, like men? The gods speed us well (quoth he) and their will be done; and do every man as he thinks best: as for *M. Attilius* the *Consull*, he is resolved even himselfe alone (if no man else will follow) to meet the enemy in the face, and rather be beaten downe and die amongst the *Samnites* ensignes, than see the *Romane* campe besieged, with a trench cast, and rampier raised about it. The Lieutenants, Colonels, and all the bands & cornets of the *Cavallerie*, yea and the principall Centurions of the foremost companies liked well of this, and accepted the *Consul* his words. Then the souldiers for sharke shame, full faintly take weapon in hand, and as slowly, God wot, go forth of campe. And thus in long ranks and files; not close united together, but broken here and there, with heave chere, and as men halfe vanquished already, they marched after a sort toward the enemy, who was neither in hope nor in heart better resolved and settled than they. For so soone as the *Samnites* discovered the *Romane* standers, suddainly from the vaward to the reregard, there went a muttering and bruit from one to another, that the *Romans* were come forth (the onely thing they alwaies feared) to empeach and stop their passage; so as now there was no way for them to flee and escape from them, and save themselves, but must either die in the place, or slay their enemies & make a lane even over their bodies. All their packs & fardels, they cast together upon an heap in the mids: and being armed as they were, every man ranged and marshalled themselves in their owne arais. Now was there a verie little space betwene the two armies, and they stood looking one upon another, waiting when their enemies would begin to give the first charge, and set up the first shout. But neither of both had any stomacke to fight. And surely on both sides, they had gone sundrie waies untouched, and without any blowes given or taken, but that they feared both, lest if they had dismarched of one part first, the other would have come upon them. Thus of themselves they began a faint

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fight, as unwilling and loth thereto, with an uncertaine and unequall shout; neither started any man one foot. Then the Roman Consul, to begin the skirmish, sent out some few corners of horsemen from a side, without the battailions: whereof the most part fel from their horses, & others were disarmed and put out of order: whereupon both Samnites ran out to kill those that were fallen, and Romanes also to rescue their fellowes. Then the skirmish began a little to wax hott: but the Samnites advanced forward in greater number farre, and bestirred themselves (as it seemed) more lustily: and withall, the Romane horsemen being disordered and in confusion, with their horses affrighted trode under their feet the footmen that came to rescue. VWho beginning once to flie, caused the whole Romane armie also to turne their backs: And now the Samnites plaied upon the backes of the Romanes, as they fled: whereat the Consull rode before a gallop to the campe gate, where he bestowed a good *corps degard* of horsemen, opposite in the way; and made proclamation, that who soever came toward the campe, were he Samnite or were he Romane, should be taken and used as an enemy. With these and such like threats, he put himselfe against the soldiours, that hied them so fast in heapes to the campe. VWhithera way stirba, (quoth hee to every soldiour that he met) even here thou shalt find men in armes to fight withall; here shalt thou meet with thine enemy, as well as in the field behind: no entering here into the campe without victorie, so long as thy Consull liveth: chuse therefore whether thou shalt rather fight with thy owne countrymen or thine enemies. Whiles the Consull intreated them with this welcome, the horsemen also with speare in rest, and bent full against them, came all about, charging the footmen upon their perill to turne againe to battaile. Thus not onely the Consull his vertue & proesse served in good stead, but fortune also went on their side: for the Samnites followed not the chase so hard, but that the Romans had both time and ground enough to turne about their ensignes, and to direct their battailions from their campe against the enemy. Then one encouraged another to go to battaile againe. The Centurions snatched the banners out of the bearers hands, and advanced them forward: declaring to their soldiours, how few the enemies were in number, and how disorderly and out of all array they came against them. In this while the Consull lift up his hands to heaven, and with a cleere & audible voice, vowed a temple to *Iupiter Stator*, if so be the Romane armie staied their flight, and by renewing the medley should kill and vanquish the Samnites Legions. Hereupon endeavoured they on all hands, the captaine and soldiour, both horsemen and footmen, to re-enforce the battaile. And even the verie gods from heaven seemed to have a speciall regard of the Romanes at that time, so quickly the dice turned, and the enemies were repulst from the rampiers, and within a small while forced againe to the verie place where the battaile began. VWhere by reason of their fardels and packs which they had heaped together in the mids, and now lay in their verie way, they were stopped in their passage, and for feare, least their goods should be rifled and spoiled, they cast a ring round about their bag and baggage. Then the Romane Infanterie a front, and the Cavallerie behind, compassed them, and charged upon them right fiercely: where, in the mids between, they were either slaine or taken. The prisoners were in number 7300. who were all put naked under the yoke, and sold: the number of them that were slaine was about 4800. The Romanes for all this had no great list to boast and brag of their victorie, for the Consull taking view and account of his losse these two daies, found by computation, that he missed 7300.

Whiles these things thus passed in *Apulia*, the Samnites with another power, assaied to surprise and get againe * *Interamna*, a Colonie of the Romanes, situate upon the Latine high way: but when they could not be masters of the towne, they ouerran and harried the territorie: and having gotten a good bootie of men, women, and cattaille, one with another; whiles they were driving the same before them, together with certaine Coloners whom they had taken prisoners, they light upon the Consull as he returned with victorie from *Luceria*: where they not onely lost their spoile, but were themselves slaine as they marched disorderly in long files. The Consull made proclamation, That every man should repaire to *Interamna*, for to owne and challenge his owne goods, and to receive the same againe: and there, leaving his armie, went to Rome, against the Election of new magistrats. VWhen he laboured instantly for a triumph, he was denied that honour, both for that he had lost so many thousands, and also because he had put his captives under the gallows, and sold them, without farther imposition.

The other Cos. *Posthumius*, wanting subject matter of war to worke upon among the Samnites, passed with his armie into *Tuscane*: and after he had first pilld and spoiled the *Voluntians* territorie,

A rie, he gave them battel not far from their wals, who issued forth to defend their frontiers; where there were 2200 *Tuscans* slaine: the rest, by reason that the citie was so neere, escaped and saved themselves. Then led he his armie into the territorie of *Rosellum*, where he not only laid the fields wast, but wan the towne also: tooke prisoners above two thousand, and slue under two thousand before their wals. Howbeit, in that yeare, the peace obtained in *Ueturia*, was more honorable and renowned than the warre had ben. For three of the strongest and most puissant states, even the very capital cities of *Tuscane*, to wit, *Volsinii*, *Perusia*, and *Aretium*, desired accord. And having conditioned with the Consull, and promised, to find his soldiours clothing and come, so they might have leave to send *Oratius* to Rome to treat for peace, obtained at length a truce of forty yeares. And for that present, each citie was fined to pay 400000 *Afkes*. For these acts done, the Consull having requested triumph of the Senate, for manner and fashion, rather than upon any hope to speed, and perceiving some of them to denie him flatly, as pretending, that it was too late ere he departed the citie; and other some, for that without order and direction of the Senat, he passed out of *Samnium* into *Tuscane*; and that partly his adversaries, and partly the friends of his Colleague, who might take some comfort and contentment, that he also had the repulse with him, were against his triumph. My masters (quoth he) you that are Senators of Rome, I will not be so far mindfull of your honour and majestie, as that I will forget my selfe to be a Consull: and by vertue of the same authoritie of commission, wherewith I have conducted and managed these warres, for so much as, I have happily brought them to end; and subdued *Samnium* and *Tuscane*, atchieved victorie, and obtained peace; triumph I will, and ask you no leave. And with that, he departed out of the Senate. After this, there arose a debate and dissention among the Tribunes of the Commons: Some of them said, they would enterpose their negative, that he should not in this manner triumph, and give so ill a precedent: Others gave out, that they would assit him in his triumph, maugre the heads of all their Colleagues. After much ado, the matter was referred to the people, and the Consull being thither called, alledged, that *L. Horatius*, and *Mar. Valerius* Consuls, also *Caius Martius Rutilius* of late daies, even the father of him, who then was Censor, triumphed without the authoritie and approbation of Senat, only by the ordinance of the people. Over and besides, he added and said, that himselfe also would have mooved the people therein, but that he knew, that the Tribunes of the Commons, who were become vassals and slaves to the Nobles, would have nipped and crossed the bill. As for himselfe, he protested, that he did and would account of the will and favour of the people, agreeing together, as well as of all their acts and decrees whatsoever. So the morrow after, by the assistance of three Tribunes, against the opposition and negative voices of seven, yea, and against the generall resolution of the Senat, he triumphed: and all the people with great joy solemnized & celebrated the honor of that day. But the records do varie much about the acts and affaires of this yeare also. *Claudius* writeth, That *Posthumius* having woen certaine towns in *Samnium*, was after in *Apulia* discomfited and put to flight: and that himselfe in person being hurt, was with some few besides, driven to take *Luceria* for refuge: and that it was *Attilius*, that fought in *Tuscane*, and triumphed. *Fabius* contrarily reporteth, That both Consuls warred in *Samnium*, and at *Luceria*: and that one of the armies was transported into *Tuscane*: but which of the Consuls had the conduct thereof, he hath not set downe withall: also, that before *Luceria*, there were on both parts many slaine: and how in that battell, there was a temple vowed to *Iupiter Stator*, like as *Romulus* had done before in times past: howbeit, before this time, there was no temple erected, but onely a *Fanum*, [i.e. a place pronounced, destined, and consecrated before, to build a temple on.] But in this yeere at last, the citie being now twise bound and obliged to performe one and the same vow, made a consecration of it, and moved the Senate to decree and take order, that the house and temple aforesaid should beedified accordingly.

After this yeere, there succeeded a brave and noble Consull, *L. Papyrius Cursor*, as well in regard of his fathers glorie, as his owne reputation: Also a mightie great warre, and such a victorie as never any Generall wan the like at the Samnites hands before that day, but *L. Papyrius* againe the Consuls father. And as it fell out, they made the like preparation for warre, with the same endeavour and furniture of most costly and brave armors, as before time. Moreover, they used the helpe and favour of the gods besides, by a strange kind of induction and institution of the soldiours, binding them to take their oath, after an old ceremoniall custome, as if they were to take orders in some holy mysteries; yea and levied musters throughout all *Samnium*, after a newe forme

forme of a law and edict: That whosoever of the younger sort and serviceable men, fit to beare arms, shewed not themselves, & gave attendance at the Generals appointmēt and proclamation, and whosoever departed without his leave and licence, his head should be forfeit unto *Capitulum* as accursed and damned. Which done, the *Remus-virus* was appointed at Aquilonia, for all the forces to assemble. Where there gathered together, to the number of forty thousand fighting men, even the whole flower and manhood of Samnium. There about the midst of the campe, was a plot of ground set out, well fenced and enclosed all about with hedges and bords, and the same covered all over with linnen clothes; the place was two hundred foot square, every way. Then there was a solemne sacrifice celebrated, and divine service said, according to an order read out of an old booke made of linnen, and the same, by a certaine Priest, one *Ovius Paccius*, a very aged man: who avouched, that he set these sacred and holy ceremonies from the old ancient religion of the Samnites, according to the manner and custome, which in times past their ancestors had used, at what time as they comploted secretly, and conspired, to surprise *Capitulum* out of the Tuscans hands. When the sacrifice was done, the General of the armie by his Purservant at armes, commaunded to cite and call forth by name, the noblest persons, either for parentage, or acts atchieved: who were brought into the place aforesaid, one by one. Amongst other preparations of this sacred solemnitie (which were able to strike a religious feare and devotion in a mans mind) there were certaine altars erected in the midst of this place closely covered in all parts, and sacrifices lying flaine all about, and the Centurians standing round with their swords readie drawne. Then the souldior was caused to approach neere the altars (like a sacrifice himselfe, rather than one that should have his part of the sacrifice). & urged by vertue of an oth, to promise, that he would never utter abroad and reveale, whatsoever hee there should see or heare. Afterward, he was put to sweare, after an horrible and dreadfull forme of words, framed and tending expressly to the cursing of his owne person, his house and all his race and linage; in case, he went not into any battell, wheresoever the Generals should lead him; and if either himselfe fled out of the field, or saw any one to run away, and slue him not outright in the place. At the first verily, some there were that refused to take such an oth, and presently were massacred by the altars side. And lying there along together with the beasts, which had their throats cut for sacrifices, they served for a warning, to teach all the rest how they made refusal. When the chiefe of the Samnits had taken this abominable and cursed oth, ten of them were elected and nominated by the soveraigne captaine, who every one had in charge to chuse himselfe a fellow, & they likewise successively to take other to them, man by man, untill they had made up the number of 16000. And these were called *Linteata Legio* [i. the linnen Legion] taking the name of the covering of that enclosure, wherein the Nobilitie of the Samnites was sworn. These had given unto them brave and glorious armour, with helmets crested and plumed, because they should seeme taller than theret. Another armie there was, consisting of twentie thousand and better, who neither in goodly and tall personage, nor in martiall proesse and reputation, ne yet in furniture and setting out, were inferiour unto the linnen Legion aforesaid. Lo, what a number there was of fighting men, even the whole strength and manhood of all Samnium, assembled and encamped in Aquilonia.

The Romane Consuls tooke their journey from the cittie of Rome, and *C. Carvilius* first unto whom were appointed the old Legions, which *M. Attilius* the Consull of the former years, had left in the territorie of Interamna. And with them he marched into Samnium. And mean while that the enemies were overmuch busied and amused about their superstitious ceremonies, and held their secret and mysticall counsels, he woon by force from the Samnits, the towne Amiternum. Where almost 2800 men were slaine, and 4270 taken prisoners. But *Papirius*, having by direction from the Senat enrolled a new armie, forced the towne Duronia; tooke fewer prisoners than his Colleague, but in lieu thereof, put many more to the sword. A rich bootie there was gotten, both in the one place and the other. Afterwards, the Consuls overran the whole countrie of Samnium, but they spoiled & wasted especially the lands about Arinum. *Carvilius* marched as far as Cominium, and *Papirius* to Aquilonia, where the whole power of the Samnites lay encamped. There, for a good while they neither sat still, & were altogether idle in the campe, ne yet was there any hot service in the field. They spent the time in provoking them to fight, that gladly would have listen still; or in lying off & giving ground, to those that assailed them: & thus, I say, with threatening, rather than offering battell, they passed the day. For whiles they began eff-

foones

A sabbons, and gave over anon; there was no issue seene of any skirmishes, and the decision even of small matters and occurrences were prolonged and put off from day to day. The other campe of the Romaines lay twentie miles off: and albeit the other Consull was absent, yet his hand and counsell was in every enterprise and exploit. For as there lay a greater weight & charge at Aquilonia, than at Cominium: so *Carvilius* had a more carefull eye that way, than to the place which himselfe besieged. *L. Papirius* being now at all points provided to fight, dispatched a messenger to his Colleague, to signifie unto him; that he minded the next day, if he were not checked by the Auspices, to give the enemy battaille: and withall, that it was expedient and needefull; that he likewise should with all his forces assault Cominium; that the Samnites within, might have neither meanes nor leysure to send any succour to Aquilonia. This post had that one day allowed him to do his message, and attend his dispatch; and by night he made returne, and brought word unto the Consull from his Colleague, that he liked well of his purpose and advice. *Papirius* then immediately dismissed and sent away the courriers aforesaid, and assembled his souldiers to an audience, where he discoursed at large concerning warre in general. Much he spake also as touching the present preparation and magnificent furniture of the enemies, more brave & goodly for show and ostentation, than effectual and of importance in the end: For they are not the plumed crests (quoth he) that give the deadly wounds, but the Romaines speare and lance: it is that is able to pierce their guilded and damasked shields: yea, and that other glittering armie with milke-white diaper coates, must be died red in blood, when they come to strokes, and to try it out by dint of sword. The golden and silverd armies of the Samnites, were sometimes by my father put to the sword, and killed to the last man: and they saved rather their rich spoiles to honour the victorious enemy, than for armour of proesse, to defend and save themselves. This is a fatal gift, and destined to our name and familie, for to bechisten Generals, and to be opposed against the greatest puissance and attempts of the Samnites, and to bring away with them, those spoiles which might be ornaments to beautifie the publicke places of the citie. And the immortall gods no doubt are present to defend and assist us in our quarell, against those that so oft have sought for peace and alliance, and as often broken the same themselves. And if a man may conjecture and guesse of the will and providence of the gods, they never were to any armie more adverse and full of indignitie, than to that, which being stained and polluted with the blood of beasts and men, massacred and mingled together in an horrible and execrable kinde of sacrifice, and devoted to a double anger of the gods, having in dread and horror of one side, the vengeance of the same gods, witnesses of their breach of covenants with the Romaines; and on the other side the detestable and abominable curses, comprised in an oth, taken against all covenant and promise; hath sworn by constraint and perforce; hateth and detesteth the oth whereby they are perjured, and at one time, is in feare of the gods, of their owne selves, and their enemies. Thus having shewed unto his souldiours (who were already of themselves badly and maliciously enough bent against the enemies) that he had certaine intelligence of all these things, by the constant relation ayverted by certaine fugitives that were fled from them unto him; they all being now full of assured hope of Gods help, and mans, with one united forme crie called for battaille: and nothing grieved them more than this, That it was put off untill the morow; hating in their hearts the rest of that day behind, & that one night, for being frowning. About midnight, *Papirius* having received letters back from his Colleague, gat him up closely when all were fast asleepe, and sent the chick-maister to take token, and observe the presage of the pullets. There was not one throughout the whole campe, of what qualitie or degree soever, but had a desire to fight. The highest as well as the lowest were earnest and eager: the Captaines might behold & see the souldiours affection & courage: that way, and the souldiour likewise the Captaines; in so much as the same ardent desire of battaille which was in all the rest, reached also even to those that had the charge of the Auspices. For when as the chickens would not peck, the chick-maister adventured to lye and falsifie the token, and made report to the Consull, that it was *Tripudium solistimum*. Whereat the Consull right glad and joyous, pronounced that the token was huckle, and that they were to fight under the favour and conduct of the gods: and hereupon he put forth the signall or bloudie banner of battaille. As he was now marching forth into the field with his armie, behold a fugitive out of the enemies campe, brought word, that twentie cohorts or companies of Samnites, and those were about 400 in a cohort, were gone to Cominium.

The chickens felt to their nature so eagerly, that with their hasty feeding, some came fell from their bills to the ground, and rebounded againe: and this was Tripudium solistimum, and in their leaping was repared the best Auspicium in that kind, and presaged most happy success.

Cominium. And because his Colleague *Carvilius* should not be ignorant hereof; he presently dispatched a currier in post unto him, and himselfe commanded the Ensignes and Standards to be advanced and set forward with speede, ordering the bands in the reeward for succours; and disposing them in divers places, with Captaines over the same, accordingly. He appointed *L. Volumnii* to leade the right wing, and *L. Scipio* the left, and the horsemen he committed to the conduct of two other Lieutenants, *C. Ceditius*, and *Trebonius*. As for *Sp. Naktius*, he charged him in all hast to take off the packadles from the Mules, and to mount the cohorts of the light armed footmen that serve in the wings, upon their backs, and with them to fetch a compass, and to seize upon an hill there in sight, and in the heate of the medley, to shew himselfe from thence, and to raise as great a cloud of dust as possible he could. Whiles the Generall was occupied hereabout, there arose some warbling amongst the chicken-maisters touching the auspice, or presage of that day; in so much as they were overheard of the Romane horsemen, who supposing it a matter of good consequence and to be regarded, advertised *Sp. Pappius* (the Consuls nephew, or brothers sonne) that there was some doubt and question about the Auspice. The youth, borne in those dayes when there were no Atheists, nor lectures red of despising Gods and religion; enquired farther into the matter, because he would not certifie any thing whereof he was not sure: and when he had found out the truth, gave knowledge thereof to the Consull: who sayd thus unto him, God blese thee my sonne: and be not thou dismayed therat; but fight hardly more valiantly, and do thy best devoir. As for him, that hath the charge and oversight of the birds & Auspice, if he have made a wrong report, and given up a contrary presage, or false signe, all the mischief and perill light upon his owne head for his lewd lie. As for me, I was told of a Tripudium, and that the birds fell hartily to their meat: and I hold it for a luckie auspice and token of good successe unto the people of Rome and the armie, and for no other. This sayd, he commanded the Centurions to set those pulletors, in the forefront of the battaile. The Samnites also for their part set forward their ensignes, and their battaillons follow after, gallantly set out in gorgeous armour and brave apparell, in such sort, as the very sight of the enemies represented a magnificent and stately shew to the beholders. But see what hapned; before the first shout given, before the first vollie of shot and encounter, the principall pulletier chaunced to be stricken with a lavelin, launched at adventure and at randon, and fell downe dead even before the ensignes. Which being reported unto the Consull, Behold the handiwork of God (quoth he) the gods are present in this battaile; the guiltie person hath his due reward. And as the Consull was speaking these words, lo, just before him a Raven set out a wide cleere throate, & cryed with a lowd note: at which Augurie, the Cos. rejoyced, and avowed, that the gods appeared never in mens affaires more evidently. And herewith he commanded the trumpets to sound, and to scrup a lustie shout: then followed a cruell and terrible fight on both sides, but with harts and courages farre unlike. The Romanes were ravished and carried on end to the battaile, with anger, hope, and heate of conflict, greedie of bathing their swords, and embruing their hands in the enemies bloodhead. But the Samnites many of them, by force of necessitie, and constraint of a blind and superstitious religion, even against their wils, were forced to make resistance, and defend themselves rather than to fight and offend the enemy. Neither had they susteined and held out the first shout, charge, and shock of the Romanes (as having now for certain yeares past bene used evermore to go away defeated and vanquished) but that a mightier feare imprinted and sealed in their heart rootes, held them perforce from running away: for they ever had continually represented in their eye, the whole furniture of that secret sacrifice; of those armed sacrificers and priests with naked swords of that hideous butchery of men and of brute beasts, lying slaine one with another in their blood intermingled together; of the altars besprinkled and stained with the lawfull sheading of the one, & the detestable effusion of the other; of the dreadfull and horrible execrations; and to conclude, of that frantick, furious, and detestable forme of words, composed and devised to the detestation and malediction of their line and race. Being fast bound, I say, with these bonds for fleeing away, they stood to it, and stirred not back, fearing their owne countrymen more than the enemies. The Romanes from both points, and from the middle and maine battaillon charged hotely, beat them downe, killed and cut them in pieces; thus amazed and astonied as they were with dread of gods, and awe of man. Small resistance made they, as who only feared to flye and run away: so as by this time, there was execution and havock made of them almost to the very Standards. At which very instant, there appeared over-

thwart

A thwart from the one side a dust, as if a mightie armie had raysed it in their march; namely *Sp. Naktius* (or as some say *Ostavian Metius*) who had the leading of certaine Cohorts called *Alarici*, mounted upon Mules, which for the nonce made a dust greater than somewhat number they were. For those warpers and new horsemen, as they ran on their Mules and Sumpter beasts, drew after them trailing on the ground, boughes of trees full of branches and leaves: and first, there appeared in the fore-front (as it were) through a dusky and dimme light, their armour and guidons; but the dust behind them, rising higher and thicker made shew of a troble of horsemen flanking an armie of footmen: wherewith not onely the Samnites but Romanes also were deceived. And the Consull himselfe, to avoyd the distrust and beare them downe, it was so said lowde amongst the forriest ensignes, so as his voice reached unto his enemies, That Cominium was won, and his brother Consull was comie with victory; and therefore they should endeavor and enforce themselves to get the day: before that the battaile should win the honor out of their hands. Thus cried he out on horsebacke galloping along the ranks too and fro. Then he commanded the Colonels and Centurions, to make a way for the meivof times: Himselfe afore, had killed *Trebonius* and *Ceditius*, that when they opposed him to beare his speare upright & to shake it, then they should with all the might they had; pursue the Cavallerie and charge the enemies. Everie thing was done at a becke, according as they were directed, and entrusted before hand. The waies were made wide betwene the files. The horsemen flung out, and with speare in rest charge upon the middle battaillon of the enemies, and brake their arrayes whosoever they charged. *Volumnii* and *Scipio* seconded them with the Infanterie; and while they were disarrayed overthrew them, and bare them to the ground. C Downe went these linnen Cohorts now; when God and man fought against them, and were discomfited: and as well those that broke the oth, and the other that were unsworne, fled amaine; and without respect of one thing or other, feared none but their enemies. All the footmen that escaped the battaile, were beaten into their campe at Aquilonia. The gentlemen and the men of armes fled toward Bovianum. The Cavallerie of the Romanes pursued the horsemen; and the Infanterie chased the footmen. The wings tooke divers waies, the right toward the campe of the Samnites, the left unto the towne. *Volumnii* was somewhat before, and got the campe. *Scipio* found more resistance in the cittie: not for that vanquished men, as they were, had more courage and resolution, but because that wals are stronger to endure an assault, and better to keepe outarmed men, than a plaine trench and rampier. For, from the courtine, with stones they beat and repulld the enemy. *Scipio* foreseeing well enough that they should be longer about the assault of a strong and fenced town, unlesse he dispatched the matter quickly & went through with it, in their first affright and confusion, before theyooke heart againe: demanded of his soldiers, If they could take it well, and abide to see the campe wonne by the other point of the battaile; and themselves (being likewise conquerors) to be repelled from the citie gates? When they allcried, No; and said they would never endure that disgrace: himselfe with his target over his head, approached the gate, the others following after under a target fence, rush into the citie, thrust downe the Samnites about the gate; and gat to the walles: but to engage themselves farther into the citie, they durst not, being so fewe as they were. The Consull himselfe at the first knew nothing of all this, but was occupied about the retreat; and rallying of his men: for now the sunne was well neere down; and the night coming on apace, caused every thing even to the verie victours to seeme dangerous and suspicious. But when he was advanced farther, he saw on the right hand the campe taken: and on the left, he heard a confused crie and blunder in the citie, compounded of the noise of fighting men; and frighted persons: and even at that instant, it fortune, that they skirmished at the gate. Then he rode on neerer and neerer, and saw his owne men upon the wals, howbeit nothing yet fully personified: but through the rash adventure and foolhardines of some few, an overture onely made; and some advantage gotten of performing a great peece of service and a worthie exploit. Wherupon he commanded the forces that were retired to be called, and with banner displayed to enter the citie. So soone as they were in, they tooke the next quarter to the gate; and for that the night approached, there they rested, and went no farther. But even in this verie night, the enemies abandoned the towne. There were slaine that day, before Aquilonia 3030 Samnites, and 3890 taken prisoners: and of field ensignes they went away with 90. Moreover this is reported and recorded of *Pappius*, that there had not bene lightly scene a Generall in any battaile more li ghesome

lightsome, cheerfull and merie; were it of his owne naturall disposition, or upon assured confidence of victorie. Upon which courage and resolution, he could not be revoked from battaile, albeit there was some question and scruple about the Auspices: and even in the hottest time and dangerous point of the conflict, at what time as the manner is to vow temples to the immortal gods: he vowed unto *Jupiter Victor*, If so be that he defeated the Legions of the enemies, to present him with a cup of sweet and pleasant mead, before he drinke any strong and headie wine of the grape: which vow the gods accepted and liked of, and turned the ill presage of the Auspices, to good.

The other Consul had as good speed at Cominium: For at the break of day, he approached with all his forces to the wals of the towne, and invested it round about: and set strong guards at the gates, for feare they should yssue or fall forth. And even as he was about to give the signal of assault, there came a messenger post from his fellow Consul who in great affright brought word of the coming of twentie cohorts to the succor of them within the citie, which both kept him short from giving the assault, and caused him to call back againe part of his forces, which were arranged and readie under the counter Scarpe to assaile the defendants. Then he gave charge to *Decius Brutus Scaeva*, one of the Lieutenants, to take the first legion, and twentie cohorts of the wings, and other horsemen, to make head against the rescue of the enemies aforesaid; and where soever he met them, to take them, to smother them, yet and if occasion served, to give them battaile, and in no case to suffer that power to come to Cominium. Himselfe commaunded that ladders should be reared on everie side of the towne, and under a sense of targets approached the gates. So that in one instant the gates were burst open, and the wals scaled on every part. The Samnites, as their hearts served them well enough to keepe the enemies from entrance, before they saw any armed men upon the wals: so, after they perceived, that they were assailed not above with stones and darts, but fast by and with hand strokes: and how that they, who hardly and with great difficultie from the plain gat up the wals, having now gained & surmounted the place (which they most feared before) could fight at ease from aloft with their enemies, who was not able to match them in the even ground, quit their towers and wals, and gathered all together in the market place, and there for a while tried the utmost hazard of battaile. But afterwards throwing downe their weapons, 15400. of them yielded themselves to the Consul his mercie. There were slaine 4380. Thus went the game at Cominium, and thus at Aquilonia.

In the mid way between these two citie, where a third battaile was looked for, the enemies were not to be found. And when they were seven miles off from Cominium, they had a counter-maund from their owne countie men, and were called away, and so came not to the rescue, neither in the one battaile nor the other. In the shutting in of the evening, when it began to bee darke, being within the sight of the campe of one hand, and Aquilonia on the other, they might heare a like noise and crie from both parts, which caused them to pause. But afterwards, when they were over against the campe which was fired by the Romanes; the flame spreading farre abroad declared the diffature of the Samnites more evidently, and staied them there for going farther. In which verie place, they laid them downe here and there in their armour (as they were) and passed a restless and unquiet long night, expecting (and yet fearing) the light of the day. At the dauning whereof, and so soone as it began to peepe, while they were uncertaine, and doubtfull what way to take, they hapned to be discovered by the Cavallerie of the enemies, and suddainly in a fearefull amaze and affright, they tooke them to their heeles and fled in great disorder. Those horsemen having pursued the Samnites, who in the night season escaped out of the towne, chaunced to espie this foresaid multitude, and perceived they were neither enticed, nor defended with a good *corps de gard*. This companie was descried also: even from the wals of Aquilonia: whereupon, by this time, the Legionarie footmen likewise made after them; but they, could not overtake them in the chase, so fast they fled: howbeit the horsemen cut off some, and slew two hundred and fourescore in the taile of the retreat. In this affright they left much armour behind them, and eighteen ensignes, and so the rest of the armie saved themselves, and as well as they might in so fearefull confusion, recovered Bovianum. The joy of these two Romanes armies was wonderfully increased, to see one another have so good and fortunat successe in their enterprises. Both the Consuls, by ech others advise and consent, gave their towns thus woon, unto their soldiours, to be sacked and rifled: and after the goods were out, to set fire on the emptie houses; in such wise, that in one and the same day, both Aquilonia and Cominium were burnt.

A burnt as a host, and the Consuls, with mutuall congratulation and joy, as well betwene their Legions as themselves, feasting one another, joined both their camps in one. Afterwards in the sight of both armies *Carthaginius* highly commended and praised his soldiours, severie one as he desired, and rewarded them with gifts accordingly. *Papirius* also for his part, who had performed many & sundrie hardnes as well in the field and battaile, as about the winning of the camp and forcing the citie, bestowed by way of honour upon *Sp. Nautius*, and *Sp. Papirius* his brothes son, as also upon foure Centurions, and the band of the Hastati oraveliniers, brailes and coronets of gold: and namely *Nautius*, for that he bare himselfe so worthily in that journey & expedition, wherein with his counterfeite troupe of horsemen upon Mules, he so terrified the enemies, as if he had conducted a maine armie of men of armes: and young *Papirius*, for his good service with his Cavalles as well in the battaile and medley, as also in that night, wherein he forced the Samnites to the secrecy, and quit the citie Aquilonia: the Centurions and souldiours, in this regard, that they were the first who seized the gates and wals of that towne: as for all the horsemen in consideration of their manifold travaile, and brave devoute shewed in sundrie places, he gave them brailes and little hornes of silver. Thus done, for as much as it was time now to withdraw their armie from out of Samnium, either both twaine, or one of them alone; they fate in counsell and consultation thereupon: and thought it was the better course (to the end that the Samnites might be brought lower, and their state more sensibly decayed) to go forward still, and charge them with greater force and resolution, and to pursue the rest that was behinde; that Samnium might be delivered up to the Consuls their successours, utterly ramed and subdued. Since that the enemies now had no armie abroad in field, like either to give or abide another battaile; and there remained but one manner of making warre, even to besiege and assaile their cities and strong townes; by the winning and subversion whereof, they might with the pillage enrich and make their owne souldiours for ever, and withall empoverish their enemies; and make a hand of them quite, being now at the last cast, forced to fight for church and home. Hereupon the Consuls dispatched their letters to the Senate and people of Rome, containing the effect at large of all their exploits; and then divided themselves, and tooke two severall wayes: *Papirius* marched with his legions to the siege of Sepinum; and *Carvilius* with his, to besiege Volturna.

The Consuls letters were read and heard with exceeding joy, as well in the court of the counsell of the citie, as in the common hall of assemblies; and this publick contentment and rejoycing was solemnized with generall processions, for the space of foure dayes, and with marvelous zeale, affection, and devotion of private persons in particular. And to say a truth, this victorie was to the state of Rome not only great and honorable, but also of great consequence, in regard that it fell out in so good & commodious a time. For even then, newes came, that Tuscanes was revolted and rebelled, and men began to cast in their minds, and discourse how they should do (in case ought should happen but well in Samnium) to withstand the forces and invasions of the Tuscanes: who taking heart, and presuming upon the Samnites, and their cursed and execrable oth, by vertue whereof they were obliged to fight to the utterance and extremitie, imbraced the occasion and opportunitie of taking armes againe, while both the Consuls and the whole forces of Rome were diverted and withdrawne into Samnium, and there employed. The Embassadors of their allies and confederates, were by *M. Atilius* the Pretor brought into the Senate, and had audience given them; where they complained, that their territories were overrun, burnt, and spoiled, by the Tuscanes their next neighbours, and all because they were unwilling to revolt from the people of Rome: humble beseeching the LL. of the Senate, to defend and protect them against the violence, wrong, and outrage of common enemies. Answer was returned unto the embassadors: That the Senate would have regard, that their allies should have no cause to repent of their faithfull allegiance, and constant loyaltie; and that ere many dayes went over their heads, the Tuscanes should tast of the same cup that the Samnites had begun unto them. Howbeit, they would have bene slack and cold enough in dealing with the Tuscanes, had not fresh newes come, that the Falisci also, who had for many yeares continued in amitie and friendship with the people of Rome, were combined with the Tuscanes, and enticed into armes, as well as they. The neere neighbourhood of this nation, gave an edge to the Senators; and wher them on, to take care and ordeine, that their Feciall Heraults should be addressed thither, to demand restitution and amends for harmes done: which being denied, and

no goods restored; by the advice and authority of the Senate, together with the grant of the people, warre was proclaimed against the Tuscans: and the Consuls were commanded to call lots, whither of them should passe out of Samnium with his forces, into Tuscanie.

By this time now *Carvilius* had wooen Volana, Palumbinium, & Herculanum, towne appertaining to the Samnites. Volana was forced within few daies: Palumbinium, the same day that he came before the walls: but at Herculanum, he fought two severall battailes, with doubtfull and uncertaine issue; yea and with more losse of his owne part, than of the enemies. But afterwards, he pitched his campe before the towne, beleaguered the enemies, and kept them within their walls, gave the assault, and wooen it in the end. In these three townes there were either taken prisoners or slaine in all, to the number of ten thousand: but so, as through fear the greater part by farre, suffered themselves to be captives, rather then to dye on the edge of the sword.

The Consuls cast lots for their Provinces, and it fell unto *Carvilius* to go into Tuscanie, as the souldiours withed and desired; who could no longer away with the rigour of cold weather in Samnium. As for *Papirius*, he found a greater power of enemies, and more resistance, before *Seninum*. Many a time he was fought withall in battaile arranged: oft skirmished with, in his march: yea and oftentimes under the very walls, the enemies sallied out against him from the towne, in such sort, as he could not tell what to make of: for neither was it to be called properly a sege alone, nor yet altogether a battaile fight; considering that the enemies were more protected and covered themselves, by the strength of their walls; than the walls were defended by force of armes, and men of warre: howbeit in the end, what with fighting, and what with skirmishing, he lodged them within the citie, so as they durst come abroad no more; but kept themselves close, & were besieged indeede: and after long siege, as wel with forcible assaults, as by trenches, battils, and rampiers, he was maister of the towne: and therefore after he was possessed of it, upon anger and choler that they had so long stood out and put him to so much trouble, there was the more blood shed; and seven thousand dyed by the sword, whereas under three thousand were taken prisoners. The spoyle and pillage, which was exceeding great, considering that the Samnites had layd up all their goods in some few cities, was given to the souldiours. And now lay the snow thick all over upon the ground: neither could men endure abroad in the field without house and harbour: and thereupon the Consull retired his armie out of Samnium. Against his coming to Rome, it was decreed by the generall voyce of all men, that he should triumph: and so he triumphed, whiles he was in his Magistracie, with great magnificence, and sumptuous pomp, as those dayes would afford. For as well his footemen as horsemen marched and passed by in a shew, adorned with their gifts and prizes of honor. Many a civike, vallate, and murale garland was scene worne that day. Much looking and wondering there was at the spoyle also of the Samnites armour and apparell: for with their goodly beautes and glorious hew, were they comparable to those that his father had wooen before him, which were commonly scene, and well known in the publicke places of the citie, adorned and beautified therewith. Moreover there were led before him in this triumph & pompeous entrance of his into the citie, certain captives & prisoners of noble blood descended, men of great worth sometime, and name, as well for their owne deedes, as their fathers acts. Great store of Brasse bullion in lingots, and not coined, was caried in shew, amounting to the weight of 2000533 pound: which masse of brasse or copper, was rayled of the ranfome of prisoners. But the silver which was gotten in the sackage of the townes, came to 1330 pound weight and above. All the brasse and silver was layd up in the common treasure of the citie, and nothing at all of the whole bootie given to the souldiours: and the discontentment and hartburning that grew thereby, was so much the greater in the common people, by reason they were charged besides with an exaction and contribution for souldiours pay; whereas if the Consull had not upon a vainglorious humour brought into the citie-chamber, such summes which he had gained from the enemy, there might a good portion thereof have bene bestowed freely among the souldiours, and of the surpluse their due wages paid and dispatched. Moreover, whiles he was Consull, he dedicated the Temple of *Quirinus*, which his father being Dictator, had vowed: for, that himselfe vowed it in the very time of the battaile, I finde not in any auncient writer; and certainly in so short a space, he could not possibly have built and finished it. He trimmed it besides, and garnished it with the spoiles of the enemies, whereof there was such store and abundance, that not only the foresayd Temple and the market-place were therewith set out and bravely decked, but they were distributed

* For saving of a citizens life in battaile, made of gresse.

* For mourning first, over the rampier of the enemies campe, fastened like shales in a rampier.

* For scaling over the walls first, of an enemies citie: and formed to the manner of the comin of battiments of a wall.

* Two millions five hundred thirty three As for in value, and of english sterl. 25006 li. 13. sh. four d. within a farthing.

* 3990 pound sterling after five shillings, an ounce.

A distributed abroad to their allies also and Coloners, neere inhabitants, for the decoration and beautifying of their churches and publicke places. After the triumph ended, hee brought his armie to winter in the territorie of the Vestines, because those quarters were distressed and annoyed by the Samnites.

In this meane while, *Carvilius* the Consull, having at his first coming given the assault unto Troilium, a citie in Tuscanie, granted license to 470 of the richest citizens, to depart from thence, and by composition, to pay a great sum of monie unto him. The rest of the multitude fell into his hands, after hee had wooen the towne by fine force. This done, he forced five castles, situate in places of great strength: where were slaine of enemies 2400, and not all out 2000 taken prisoners. He granted to the Falisci (who sued for peace) truce for one year, and yet to make present payment of a 1000000 As, and to discharge the souldiours wages for that yeare. After these exploits achieved, he departed to his triumph: which as it was lesse, honourable and glorious than that of his companion in government, in regard of the service performed against the Samnites: so, if wee consider withall, the Tuscanie warre, it was equall and comparable unto it every way. Of brasse money he brought into the common chest 300090 pound: of the surpluse of the pillage and other spoiles, hee caused the chappell of *Fors fortuna* to bee built, neer unto the temple of the same goddesse, dedicated by king *Servius Tullius*: To the souldiours that served on foot, he gave of his bootie * 102 As for a peece, and twice as much to every Centurion and horseman. Which reward they accepted more thankfully at his hands, by reason of the nigardise and miserie of his Colleague before him. And so gracious was this Consull, that he protected and saved *L. Volumnius*, one of his lieutenants, against the people: who being arrested and called to his answer by *M. Cincius*, a Tribune of the Commons; fled for his last helpe, to his Lieutenantship (as they say) and avoided thereby the daunger of their judgement: for that during his absence in that charge; his accusation might well bee set on foot and followed; but brought to a small end and definitive sentence, it could not bee.

After this yeare expired, the newe Tribunes of the Commons entered their office: and for that there was supposed some error in their creation, the fift day after were other chosen in their stead. The same yeare there was a Lustrum or solemne survey of the citie, held by *P. Cornelius Arvina*, and *C. Martius Rutilius* Censors. In which were numbered and assessed 262322 pols of Roman citizens. These were in order the six and twentieth Censors from the beginning: and this was reckoned the nineteenth Lustrum after the first institution. In this yeare, and never before, the spectators of the Romane Games and Plaies, in regard of their happie successe in warres, stood adorned with wreaths and garlands of floures upon their heads: and then came up the fashion at Rome; borrowed from the manner and custome of Greeke, to honour those with branches of the date tree, who wan the prizes, and were victors in those solemne Games.

The same yeare the *Ædiles curule*, who exhibited the said pastimes and exercises of activitie, paved the causeway high way with flint or peble stone, from the temple of *Mars* unto *Bovillae*: and the fines of certaine Publicanes or farmers of the citie, that were graffers and condemned, paid the charges. Then *Papirius* held the great Assemblie for Election of new Consuls, and created *Q. Fabius Cunctator* the sonne of *Maximius*, and *D. Junius Brutus Scaeva*, Consuls. *Papirius* himselfe was chosen Pretor. This yeare, so joyous and fortunate in many respects, could hardly countervayle & recompence with all other comforts, one only calamitie, namely a pestilence and mortallie, which consumed & devoured both town and countrie. In such manner, as for the strangenes & extremite thereof it was held for a prodigious & portentous sign beyond all course of nature, and reach of reason. Whereupon, the bookes of *Sibylla* were perused, to know out of them, what issue and remedie the gods would vouchsafe to shew of this maladic and miserie. Wherein they found, that the Image of *Æsculapius* must be sent for, from as far as *Æpidaurus* to Rome.

But for that yeare, by reason, that the Consuls were busied in the warres, nothing was done, but only one day bestowed wholly in supplications and devout Ceremonies, to the honour of the said god *Æsculapius*.

* Pigade, or Chronist.

Lib

TRE

THE TEN BOOKES NEXT FOLLOWING OF T. LIVIUS, (VSUALLY CALLED THE SECOND DECADE) ARE lost: the arguments whereof remaine yet extant in the Abridgements or Breviaries of L. Florus, which in steed of the Historie it selfe, are set downe in this place.

The Breviary of L. Florus to the eleventh Booke.



Vhen Fabius Cunctator the Consul, had fought an infortunate battaile against the Samnites, and the Senate were about to discharge and remove him from his armie; Fabius Maximus his father, besought them for his sake, not to offer him that disgrace and dishonour. For rather than that should come to passe, he promised to serve in person under his sonne in quality of his Lieutenant. Which moved the Senat and prevailed more than any thing els. And hee was his words maister. For hee went to the field, and by his meanes and good advice, the Consul his sonne was so well assisted, that he defeated the Samnites, triumphed over them, led captive before his triumphant chariot C. Pontius Lord General of the Samnites, and afterwards strucke off his head. Whiles the cittie of Rome was piteously visited and afflicted with the plague, there were certain Embassadors addrest and sent to Epidaurus, for so translate the image of Æsculapius from thence to Rome. And in steed thereof they brought away a great snake or serpent, which of it selfe embarked in their ship, and wherein they were verily persuaded, that the puissance and divine power of the said god was resident. And when they had conducted it with them by sea as farre as to Rome, it went forth of the owne accord, and swam to the Island within Tyberis, where it seiled: and in that very place where it tooke land, they erected a temple to Æsculapius. L. Porcius Cato, a Consular man, who had been Consul having the charge of an armie, was condemned, and had a round fine set upon his head for that he employed his souldiours about some worke in one of his fermes. The league was now the fourth time renewed with the Samnites, at their earnest suit and request. Curius Dentatus the Consul, after he had defeated and slaine the Samnites, vanquished the Sabines, who were revolted and rebelled, and received them under his obeisance, triumphed twice during the time of one Consulship. Three Colonies were erected, and peopled, to wit, Castrum, Sena, and Adria. The three Triumvirs to sit upon capitall crimes, were then first created. A sisting was holden, and a solemne Lustrum, wherein by iust account were numbered 273000 citizens of Romans. The Commons, because they were deeply engaged in debt, in regard of greivous and long seditions and dissensions, retired in the end to Ianiculum, from whence they were reclaimed and brought againe into the cittie, by the meanes of Q. Hortensius the Dictator, who died in the very time of his Magistracie. This booke containeth moreover the exploits against the Volscians, and also the Lucanes, against whom it was thought good and ordained, to send aid and succours to the Tyrrhenians.

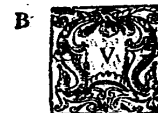
The Breviary of L. Florus to the twelfth Booke.



The Roman Embassadors being murdered by the Senois in Gaule, and warre thereupon denounced and proclaimed against them, Lucius Cæcilius the Pretour, furnished with his whole armie to bee defeated by them, and put to the sword. When the Romans fleet was spoiled and ransacked by the Tarentines, and their Admirall besides slaine, the Senate dispatched their Embassadors unto them to make complaint of these wrongs and outrages: but they were

A were evill intreated and sent away with great abuse. Whereupon, defiance was likewise given unto them, and warre proclaimed. The Samnites revolted. Against whom together with the Lucanes, Brutians, and Tuscans, sundrie battailes were fortunately fought by divers Roman captaines. Pyrrhus the King of the Epirotes, or the Albanos, passed over into Italy, for to aid the Tarentines. When a Legion of the Campanians was sent under the conduct of Decius Iubellius to Rhegium, there to lie in garison, they treacherously slew the naturall inhabitants, and seized the cittie of Rhegium to their owne behoofe.

The Breviary of L. Florus for the thirteenth Booke.



Alerius Levinus the Consul, lost a field against Pyrrhus: by occasion principally that his souldiours were terrified and amazed at the uncomth sight of the Elephants. After that battaile, when Pyrrhus viewed and beheld the dead bodies of the Romanes lying slaine on the ground, he observed & marked, that all their faces were turned toward the enemy affrants. From thence he went forward spoiling and wasting all the way to Rome. C. Fabricius was sent unto him for to treat about the redemption and ranome of the prisoners: and was solicited by the King (but in vaine) to abandon the service of his owne countrie. The foresaid prisoners were enlarged and sent home without paying any ranome at all. Cyneas was sent as Embassador from the King unto the Senat; who required, that the K. his master, for to end and compound all quarrells, might be received into the cittie and amitie of the people of Rome: but when it was thought meet to debate and consult of this important matter, in a more frequent assemblee of the Senators, Appius Claudius who many a day had not intermedled with the affaires of State and Counsell, presented himself in the court among the Senators: where his opinion carried the matter cleare away, and Pyrrhus his demaund was flatly denied. P. Domitius the first Censor of Commoners, held a Lustrum or survey of the cittie, in which were found 278222 Roman citizens by the pol. A second field was fought against Pyrrhus, but with doubtfull event and issue. With the Carthaginians, the alliance was renewed now the fourth time. When a certaine fugitive traitour that ran from Pyrrhus, offered to C. Fabricius the Consul, for to poison the K. he was sent backe againe, and the treason was discovered to the king. Over & besides, this booke containeth the prosperous affaires in warre against the Tuscans, Lucanians, Brutians, and Samnites.

The Breviary of L. Florus, upon the fourteenth Booke.



Pyrhus passed the seas into Sicilie. When among other prodigies and fearefull tokens, the image of Iupiter in the Capitoll, was overt browne and smitten downe with lightning, the head thereof was recovered & found again by the soothsaiers. Curius Dentatus, as he was taking musters, sold in part-sale the goods of one, that would not answere to his name when he was called. He defeated Pyrrhus, after his return againe out of Sicily into Italy, & forced him to void & depart once for all. Fabricius a Censor, casted and displaced out of his Senators rowme, P. Cornelius Rufinus, one that had been Consul, for that he had in silver plate, to the waight of ten pounds. There was a Lustrum holden by the Censors, and therein were found 271224 citizens. A societie and alliance was contracted with Ptolomee K. of Egypt. Sexilia a professed vestall Nun was convicted of uncleannesse and fornication, & buried quick. Two new Colonies were erected, to wit, Posidonia and Cosa. A fleet of Carthaginians, arrived, to aid the Mamertines: by occasion whereof, the league was broken. This booke compriset also, the happie exploits against the Lucanians, Samnites, and Brutians: together with the death of king Pyrrhus.

The Breviary of L. Florus, to the fifteenth Booke.



The Tarentines being vanquished, had both peate granted, & liberty also restored unto them. The souldiours of the Campanie legion aforesaid, which had possessed themselves of Rhegium, were besieged: and after they had absolutely yielded, were every one made shorter by the head. Certain lustie youths of Rome, who had misused & beaten the embassadors of the Apollonians, sent

sent unto the Senat, were delivered unto their hands to be used according to their discretion. The Picentes were overcome in battaile, and obtained peace. Two Colonels were sent, the one to Ariminum within the marches of Picenum, (i.e. Ancona) the other to Beneuentum, in Samnium. Now and never before began the Romans to use silver coin for their monie. The Umbrians and Salernines were vanquished, and their submission of obedience received. The number of the Quæstor was augmented [to be eight].

The Breviary of L. Florus, to the sixteenth Booke.

* The inhabitants of Messana

* Eurypylus saith 392000.

HE first rising of the Carthaginians, with the beginning of their citie, are in this booke related: Against whom together with Hiero King of the Syracusians, the Senat of Rome ordained to send aid unto the * Mamertines: and after much arguing and debate about this point, whiles some perswaded, & others againe dissuaded; the gentlemen of Rome, who served on horsebacke, then first crossed the sea, and bare themselves bravely in many battailes & to good purpose, against Hiero: who at length craved peace, and had it granted. The Censors held a Lustrum and numbered the people: and enrolled * 372224 citizens of Rome into the subsidie booke. D. Iunius Brutus was the first that ever represented combats of swordsmen at the sharpe to the utterance; in the honour of his father late deceased. One Colonie was planted at Æsernia. This booke comprehendeth besides, the good successe of the affaires against the Carthaginians and the Vulsinians.

The Breviary of L. Florus, for the seventeenth Booke.

Neus Cornelius the Consul, being surprised & environed with a fleet of Carthaginians, and under colour of a parle, trained forth and called unto them; was villainously taken prisoner and kept still with them. Cn. Duillius the Consull, fought with happy successe against this their foresaid fleet: and was the first Romane captaine that rode in triumph, for a navall viclorie at sea. In regard whereof, this honour for ever after was done unto him. That when he sopped forth in any place of the citie, as he returned home to his owne house, the waites should sound; the handbells all the way, and a man go before him with a burning torch. L. Cornelius the Consull won a field in Sardinia against the Ilanders, together with the Corsians, & Hanno the General of the Carthaginians. Atilius Calatinus the Consull, having unadvisedly engaged his armie within a place of great disadvantage, whereas the Carthaginians lay round about in ambush, retired and escaped by the valour and industrious meanes of M. Calpurnius, a Colonell: who with a regiment of 300 foot venturously sallied out, and turned all the forces of the enemies upon himselfe. One Anniball a Carthaginian Commander, upon the defeature of the Armada whereof he was Admirall, was by his owne soldiers trussed up, and crucified. Atilius Regulus the Consull, having in battaile at sea vanquished the Carthaginians, sailed over into Affricke

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the eighteenth Booke.

Tullius Regulus the Consul, slew [in Affricke] a serpent of a mightie and wonderfull bignesse, but with the exceeding losse of his soldiers. And after many encounters and battailes with the Carthaginians, when the Senat by reason of his so happy conduct & management of the war, sent no other to succeed him, he dispatched his letters unto them and complained thereof: and among other pregnant reasons that he alledged for to have a successor to come unto him, this was one: That the little inheritance and living which he had suffered wast, by the default or lewdnesse of his bailiffes of his bandrie. Meane whiles, as if fortune had bene disposed and fought meanes to shew a notable example in the person of this one man Regulus, as well of adversitie as prosperitie, he was overthrowen in plaine field, & taken prisoner by Xanthippus, a renowned captaine of the Lacedæmonians, whom the Carthaginians had waged & sent for to aid the. After this, the navall shipwracke of the Romane Navie, eclipsed, obscured, and disfigured all the other noble exploits that the Romane Chieftaines had for happily achieved before, as well by land as sea. T. Coruncanius was the first high Priest

A or Archprebiter created out of the bodie of the Commons. M. Sempronius Sophus & M. Valerius Maximus the Censors, when they made a review of the Senat, castrd thirtene, and tooke their embroidered purple clothes from them. They held a survey also of the whole citie, and entered into their subsidie booke 317247 Romane citizens. Regulus being sent from the Carthaginians to the Senat of Rome, to treat a peaceable accord, and if he could not obtaine so much, to deale about the exchange of prisoners one for another, bound himselfe by an oath to returne againe to Carthage, if hested not for the exchange afore said. And being come to Rome, himselfe dissuaded both the one and the other: howbeit, to accomplish and performe his promise by oath given, he made returne accordingly; and by the Carthaginians was despiteously put to cruell torture, and so died.

The Breviary of L. Florus to the nineteenth Booke.

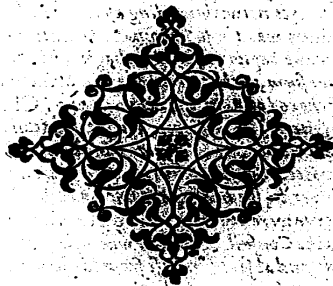
Aius Cecilius Metellus, in consideration of his fortunate conduct of the warres against the Carthaginians, rode in a most stately & magnificent triumph: wherein were shewed and led captives 13 chiefe Captaines of the enemies, and 120 Elephants. Claudius Pulcher the Consull, who maugre the adverse presages of the Auspices, would needs hazard a battaile, commaunded the sacred Pullets to be daused and drenched over the head in the water, to see if they would drinke, since they refused to eat their meate, and received an overthrow at sea in a conflict with the Carthaginians. For which, he was called home by the Senat, and commaunded to nominate a Dictator: whereupon he declared C. Glauca, a base companion, and a person of the meanest degree and qualittie: who being constrained to resigne his Magistracie, yet notwithstanding afterwards beheld the games and plaies in his mantle of estate. Atilius Calatinus was the first Romane Dictatour, that led an armie out of Italie. An exchange was made of Romane captives for Carthaginians. Two Colonies were transported, namely to Fregelle, and to Brundisum, in the territories of the Solentines. Another Lustrum was taken by the Censors: wherein were reckoned of Rom. citizens 251222. Claudia, the sister of that P. Claudius, who in contempt and despite of the Auspices, fought a battaile to great losse, fortunèd upon a time as shee came from the great Flaies, to be crowned in the thrise and prease of people; whereupon shee cryed out with a loud voyce, Would God my brother were alive againe, and had the charge of another Armado: for which words, she had a good fine set on her head, and paid it. Two Pretors were now created, the first that ever were at Rome. Cecilius Metellus the high priest, kept perforce within the citie, A. Posthumius the Consull, because he was besides the Flamin unto Mars; and would not suffer him to be Non-resident, and absent himselfe from his charge. After sundry battailes and conflicts that many Romane Captaines had against the Carthaginians, C. Lucatius the Consull obtiained the honour of the finall victorie, when he had defeated their Fleete; and so made a full end of the first Punick warre. The Carthaginians therefore sued for peace, and had it granted. At what time as the Temple of Vesta was on a light fire, Cecilius the high priest, recovered and saved out of the flame the holie reliques. Two tribes were added to the rest, Velina and Quirina. The Falisci rebelled, and within sixe daies were subdued, and brought under subiection.

The Breviary of L. Florus to the twentieth Booke.

Colonie was planted at Spoleum. An armie was led against the Ligurians [i.e. Genovaites], which was the first time that they were warred upon. The Sardinians and the Corsians, who revolted & tooke armes, were subdued. Tuccia a Vestal virgin & a Votarie was condemned and executed for her incest or whoredome. Warre was proclaimed against the Illyrians, for that they killed one of the ambassadors which were sent unto them, and being defeated, confessed themselves subiects to the Romans. The number of the Pretors was increased from two to foure. The Gauls inhabiting beyond the Alps (toward France) who came downe and entered into Italy, were overthrowen and put to the sword. In which warre, the Romanes had by report of the Latines and other confederates and allies, to the number of 300000 fighting men, that served under them. The Romain forces passed then first, over the river Padus [i.e. Po], where the french Insubrians [i.e. Lombards] after certaine disputes, were glad to be ruled by reason, and rendred themselves. Mar. Claudius Marcellus the Consull, having slaine Viridumarus the Generall of the Lombards with his own hand, went away with the

the honor of the third rich and royall spoyle gotten from the enemye. The Istrians were subdued: so were the Illyrians also, after they had revolted and put themselves in armes, and were so tame, that they came under obedience. The Censors held a Lustrum, and took account of the number of the Romane citizens, and found in all 270000. The Libertines (or slaves enfranchised) were reduced into foure tribes by themselves; to wit, Esquilina, Palatina, Suburana, and Collina: whereas before time, they had bene dispersed indifferently, and mingled among the rest. C. Flaminius the Censor, paved the high way called Flaminia, and built the great Circus, or Theater named Flaminius Circus. And thereunto were established within those territories, that were conquered from the Gauls, to wit, Placentia, and Cremona.

* Placentia.

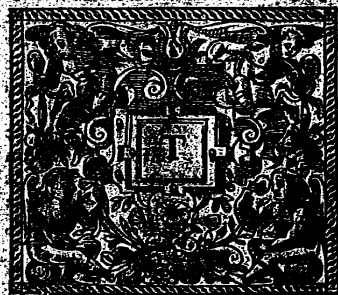


THE XXI. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the one and twentieth Booke.



At this booke are rehearsed the acts which passed in Italie, as touching the second Punicke warre, and how Anniball, the chiefe commander of the Carthaginians, contrary to the accord of alliance passed over the river Iberus: by whom, Saguntum a citie belonging to the allies of the people of Rome, was in the eight month of the siege forced by assault. For to complaine of those wrongs and injuries, Ambassadors were sent to the Carthaginians. And for that they would not make satisfaction and amendes therefore, warre was proclaimed against them. Anniball having passed over the mountaines Pyrenes, and discomfited the Volscians, who made head against him, and would have empeached his passage, mounted the Alpes, and after hee had passed through them with great difficultie and paines, and repulsed also the French mountaineers in sundrie skirmishes and battailes, he descended into Italie: and nere the river Ticius, discomfited and disavaied the Romanes in a battaile of Cavallerie. In which conflict, when P. Cornelius Scipio was wounded, his sonne (the same who afterwards was surnamed Africanus) rescued him, and saved his life. Anniball after he had defeated the Romane armie a second time, nere the river Trebia, passed over the Apennine: where his souldiours were mightily afflicted and distressed, by reason of soule weather and violence of storme and tempest. Cn. Cornelius Scipio sped well in his warres against the Carthaginians within Spaine, and tooke prisoner Mago, the Generall commander of the enemyes.



Ha same may I well say, in the Preface and entrance of this one part of my worke, which most writers of histories have promised and made profession of, in the beginning of the whole, to wit, That I will write the most famous and memorable warre that ever was, even that, which the Carthaginians under the conduct of Anniball fought with the people and State of Rome. For neither any other cities or nations are knowne to have warred together, more wealthie and puissant than they; nor at any time ever, were they themselves so great, so strong in forces, and so mightie in meanes, as now they were. Moreover, they came not newly now, to wage war, without knowledge of the prowesse and marshall skill, one of another: for in all they had made thereof sufficient already, in the first punicke warre. Besides, so variable was the fortune of the field, so doubtfully were their battailes fought, that neither losse and danger were they, who in the end won the better, and atchieved the victorie. And to conclude, the man observe the whole course and proceeding of these their warres, their malice and hatred was greater in a manner than their forces: whiles the Romans tooke foule scorn and disdain, that they, who before was to be vanquished, should unprovoked, begin warre with the Conquerors; and the Carthaginians again were as mal-content, and thoroughly offended.

offended, as taking themselves (notwithstanding they were overcome) to be abused too much at their hands, by their proud, insolent, and covetous rule over them. Over and besides all this, the report goeth, that *Anniball* being but nine yeares old, or therabouts, came fawning and flattering as wanton children doe, to his father *Amilcar*, that hee would take him with him into Spaine; at what time, as after the Affricane war ended, his father was offering sacrifice, readie to passe over thither with an armie: where he was brought to the altar side, and induced to lay his hand thereupon, and to touch the sacrifice, and so to sweare, that so soone as ever he were able, he would be a professed and mortall enemy to the people of Rome. Vexed (no doubt) at the heart, was *Amilcar* himselfe, a man of high spirit and great courage, for the losse of the islands Sicilie and Sardinia: for not onely Sicilie was overthrowen (as he thought) as despairing too soone of the state therof, and doubting how it should be defended: but also Sardinia was by the cunning and fraudulent practise of the Romanes surprised out of the Carthaginians hands, whiles they were troubled with the commotion & rebellion of Affricke; and a Tribute besides imposed upon them. He being disquieted, I say, and troubled with these greeds and discontentments, so bare himselfe for five yeares space in the Affricke warre, which ensued immediately upon the peace concluded with the Romanes; and likewise after, in Spaine, for nine yeares together, enlarging ever still the dominion of Carthage; that all the world might see, he intended and designed a greater warre than that he had in hand; and if God had spared him longer life, it should have bene well scene that the Carthaginians under the leading of *Amilcar*, would have made that warre upon Italie, which afterward they waged by the conduct of *Anniball*. But the death of *Amilcar* happening in so good season [for the Romanes] and the childhood and tender nonage of *Anniball* together, were the cause that this war was put off and deferred. In the meane time, between the father and the sonne, *Asdruball* bare all the rule for the space almost of eight yeares. This *Asdruball* had ben *Amilcar* his minion, growne highly into his grace and favour, at the first (as men say) for the very prime and flower of his youth; but afterwards, in regard of the singular towardnesse of a brave and haughtie mind, which soone appeared in him, and for his forwardnesse to action, hee was preferred to be his sonne in law, and married his daughter. Now, for as much as he was *Amilcar* his sonne in law, he was advanced to the soveraigne conduct of the warre, with no good liking at all and consent of the Nobilitie and Peeres, but by the meanes and favour onely of the Barchine faction, which bare a great stroke, and might do all in all, among the souldiours and the common people. Who managed all his affaires, more by pollicie and sage counsell, than by force and violence: and using the authoritie and name of the Princes and great Lords of those countries, and by intertaining friendship with the cheefe rulers, woun daily the hearts of new nations still, and by that meanes enlarged the power and siegnorie of the Carthaginians in Spain, rather than by any warre & force of armes. But for all this peace with forraigne States, he was never the more sure of his owne life at home. For a certaine barbarous fellow, for anger that his maister and Lord was by him put to death, slew him in open place: and being laid hold on by them that were attendant about *Asdruball* his person, he kept the same countenance still, as if he had escaped and gone cleare away: yea, and when hee was by cruell torments all mangled and torne, hee looked so cheerefully and pleasantly on the matter, as if he had seemed to smile; so far his joy of heart surpassed the paines and anguish of his bodie. With this *Asdruball*, for that hee had so singular a gift and wonderfull dexteritie, in solliciting and annexing unto his dominion the Nations aforesaid, the people of Rome had renewed the league, upon these two capitulations and conditions; first, that the river * Iberus should limite and determine the siegnories of them both: Item, that the Saguntines, seated in the midst between the territories of both Nations should remaine free, and enjoy their auncient liberties.

No doubt at all there was now, but when a new Commander should succeed in the rowle of *Asdruball*, the favour of the people would goe cleare with the prerogative voice and choise of the souldiours: who presently brought young *Anniball* into the Generall his pavilion, and with exceeding great acclamation and accord of all, saluted him by the name of Capitaine Generall. For this you must understand, that *Asdruball* by his letters missive had sent for him: being verie young, and hardly 14 yeares of age; yea, and the matter was debated first in the counsell house at Carthage, where they of the Barchine side, laboured & followed the matter earnestly, that *Anniball* should be trained in warfare, & grow up to succeed his father in equal proesse and greatnesse. But *Hanno* the cheefe man of the contrarie faction; It is but meet and reason (quoth hee) that

Asdruball

Asdruball doth demand: and yet for mine own part I thinke it not good, that his request should be granted. When they mused and marvelled much at this so doubtful speech of his, and wist not what construction to make of it. Why then, (quoth *Hanno*) to be plaine, That floure and beauty of youth, which *Asdruball* himselfe yeilded and parted withall sometimes unto *Anniball* his father, for to use or abuse at his pleasure; the same he thinketh by good right he may charge long and have againe, from the sonne, to make quittance. But it becometh not us, for to acquaint our young youths with the campe, that under the colour, and in steed of their militarie institution and teaching, they abandon and give their bodies to serve the lust and appetite of the Generals. What? Is this the thing we feare? That the sonne of *Amilcar* should tarie too long ere he see the excessive grandeur and soveraintie of his father, and the stateley shew as it were of his roialtie? Or doubtles, that we shall not soone enough serve in all dutifull allegiance his naturall sonne, unto whose sonne in law, all our armies have been left (as it were) in lawfull right of inheritance? Nay, I am of opinion, and this is my judgement, That this youth be kept in awe at home, under obedience of lawes, under civile magistrates, and learne a while to live in equall condition with the rest of the citizens, and subjects; for feare least at one time or other, this little sparke doe burne, outright and raise a mightie flame. A few, and those were, in manner all of the best sort and soundest judgement, accorded with *Hanno*. But as commonly it is scene, the greater number overweighed the better.

Thus *Anniball* was sent into Spaine, and immediately at his first comming, drew all the whole armie after him: so highly he was regarded and beloved. The old soldiours beleaved verily, that *Amilcar* was alive againe, & come amongst them: they thought they beheld and saw the same vigor and spirit in his countenance and visage, the same quicknesse and livenesse in his eyes, the same proportion, feature and lineaments of his face. And afterwards, within short time, he had so wrought and wound himselfe into their favour, that the late remembrance of his father, was the least matter of all others, that woun him grace and love among them. Never was there one and the selfe same nature, framed and fitted better, for two things that are in qualitie most contrarie; namely, to rule, and to obey. Whereby, a man could hardly discern and judge, whether he was more deere unto the Generall for the one, or to the armie for the other. For neither *Asdruball* would make choise of any one before him, when there was some valiant service or brave exploit to be executed; nor the soldiours put more confidence in any other leader, nor go more boldly and resolutely to any enterprize, than under him. Most forward he was and hardie to all hazards and dangerous adventures: right provident and warie againe, at the verie point of perill and jeopardy. No travaile was able to wearie and tire his bodie: no paines taking, could daunt and brake his heart. He could away with heat and cold alike. For his diet & feeding, he measured both his meat and drinke by his naturall appetite, and not by pleasure and delight-some tast. For sleeping, for waking, day and night was all one with him. When he had once performed his service, and finished his exploits; if there were any spare time after, therein would he take his rest and repose: and that, should not be upon a soft bed neither, nor procured with great curiositie by still silence, and making no noise about him. Full often many a man hath seen him lying on the hard and bare ground, under a good soldiours jacket and homely cassocke cast over him, even among the Sentinels and corps de gard. For his apparrell, it was not more costly nor braver than his fellowes and companions; many in his armour and hories he loved ever to be goodly be-seene above all other. Amongst footmen and horsemen both, he would alwaies be a great way formost. And to conclude, in giving a charge upon the enemy, and to begin the battaile, he was by his good will ever the first, and when the fight was done, the last man seen to retire out of the field. Of these so noble qualities, and manly vertues, he had not so many, but there were as great vices and imperfections in him againe, to counterpoise the same. Cruellie most savage and inhumane, falsehood and trecherie more than * Punicke: no truth, no honestie, no feare of God, no regard of oth, no conscience, nor religion.

Disposed thus as he was, and inclined by nature, to vertues and vices, he served full three yeares under Generall *Asdruball*. During which time, he omitted & forgot no one thing, that was meet either to be executed or enterprised by a man that was himselfe another day to be a captain and chiefe Commander in the warres. From the verie first day that he was chosen and declared Lord General; as if at the same instant, Italie had ben the province assigned unto him, as if, I say, he had received commission to warre with the Romanes, he thought good to make no delais, for feare

least

The speech of Hanno in the Senate of Carthage.

The naturall disposition of Annibal.

His virtues.

His vices.

* Ordinarie in Carthaginians.

Asdruball killed the cowardly Carthage and returned a slave.

* Ebro.

* In the first year of Annibal was the sonne of Barca, from whence arose the Barchine faction so often named in this story.

least haply whiles he lingred and slackt the time, some mischance might prevent his designs and cut him short, like as it had overtaken his father first, and *Asdruball* afterwards: but presently determined to make war upon the Saguntines, by assailing whom, the Romanes no doubt were touched, and would take armes and enter into the quarrell. But first he led his armie into the marches of the *Olcades* (a nation beyond Iberus, rather siding & taking part with the Carthaginians, than under their jurisdiction) that he might not seeme to have shott at the Saguntines and intended ought against them directly: but that by order and course of his affaires, after he had subdued the countries bordering upon them, he had been drawne (as it were) for vicinitie and neighbourhead sake to that warre, and to joine them also with the rest unto the Empire. And first he wan by force, and sacked *Carthia*, a rich citie, the seat towne and chiefe place of all that nation. Whereupon, other meaner and smaller cities also, for feare came under his obedience, and yielded to pay tribute. His armie then after these victories, and enriched with spoile and pillage, was brought backe to new *Carthage*, there for to winter. Where he made sure unto him the hearts and affectionate love, as well of his owne countymen as of the allies, partly by bestowing the pillage liberally among them, and partly by making true payment of soldiours wages for the time past. And then in the verie prime of the spring, he went forward to warre upon the *Vaccei*. He forced by assault *Hermandica* and *Arbacula*, two townes of the *Carthij*. *Arbacula* by the manhood and multitude of the towesmen held out a long time. But certaine fugitives that were fled from *Hermandica*, having rallied themselves, & joined with other exiled persons of the *Olcades*, a nation the summer before subdued, raised also the *Carpetanes* to take armes: and set upon *Anniball*, in his returne from the *Vaccei*, and not farre from the river *Tagus*, troubled and disordred his march, heavily charged with spoile and bootie. *Anniball* forbore to fight, and encamped himselfe upon the banke of the river: and so soone as the enemies were in their first sleepe, and all still & hush, passed over with his armie at the fowrd: and after he had pitched his camp so farre off from the river side, as that his enemies might have rowne enough to march away besides him, he determined to set upon them as they should passe over the river. To his horsemen he gave commandement to charge upon the regiment of footmen, so soone as they perceived them to have taken the water: and upon the banke he arranged forie Elephants afront them. There were of the *Carpetanes*, counting the aides and succours of the *Olcades* and *Vaccei*, 100000 strong: an armie invincible, if they had fought on even & indifferent ground. Who being both by nature fierce and courageous, and for multitude confident; presumptuous besides, upon their imagination that the enemy was retired for feare; supposed that the only stay of their victorie, was, because the river ran between: and setting up a shout and outcrie, without direction of any leader, in all disorder they ran into the river here and there, everie man what way was next him. Now from the other side of the banke, a great troupe of horsemen were entered into the river, encountered them in the mids of the chanell, and fought with great advantage. For whereas the footmen unsteadie and not able to keepe fast footing, and hardly trusting the fowrd, might easily be cast aside & overturned, even by naked horsemen, if they did but put forth and pricke forward their horses it skilled not how: the horsemen on the other side having their bodies at libertie, and able to weld their weapon, with their horses under them standing sure even in the mids of the streame and whirlepooles, might with ease either fight close hand to hand, or assaile the enemies aloofe. Many of them besides perished in the water: some by the whirling waves of the river were driven upon the enemies, and by the Elephants troded under foot, and crushed to death. The hinmost, who might with more safety recover their owne banke, after they were rallied together into one from divers places, as feare had scattered them: before they could upon so great a fright, take heart and come againe to themselves, *Anniball* who with a foure square battailon had entred the river, forced to flie from the banke: and when he had wasted the countrie, within few daies brought the *Carpetanes* also under his obedience.

And now all beyond Iberus was subject to the Carthaginians, the Saguntines onely excepted. With whom as yet he would not seeme to warre: howbeit to minister some cause and occasion thereof, quarrels were picked, and seeds of dissensions sowne between them and their neighbours, namely the *Turderanes*. Vnto whose aid, when he was come, that was himselfe the fower of all the variance, and had set them together by the eares; and when it appeared plainly that it was not a matter of right to be tried by law, but an occasion rather sought of fight and open war; then the Saguntines sent their embassadors to Rome, for to crave aid against that warre, which

doubtlesse

A doubtlesse was at hand. The Consuls at that time of Rome, were *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Titus Sempronius Longus*; who having brought the embassadors into the Countsell house, and proposed matters unto the LL. there, concerning the weale publick, and decreed to send their embassadors into Spaine to take survey, and looke into the state of their allies: who also if they thought it meere, should give *Anniball* warning, not to meddle with their confederates; and molest the Saguntines; and withall, to sayle over to Carthage into Affricke; and there make relation of the complaints and greivances of the allies of the people of Rome: when I say, this embassage was decreed, but yet not sent, newes came sooner than all men looked for, that *Saguntum* was already besieged. Then was the matter propounded new againe before the Senat. Some were of mind to dispatch the Consuls unto the provinces of Spaine and Affricke, with commission to make warre both by sea and land. Others thought better, to bend all their forces wholie into Spaine against *Anniball*. There were againe of opinion, that so great and weightie an enterprife was not hand over head; and rashly to be attempted; but rather that they should attend the returne of the embassadors out of Spaine: and this advise that seemed most safe, was held for the better, and tooke place. And therefore, so much the sooner were these embassadors *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *Q. Bebbius Pamphilus*, addressed unto *Anniball* before Saguntum, with direction, from thence to go forward to Carthage (in case he would not desist and give over war) and for to demand the captaine himselfe, for amends and satisfaction of breaking the league. But whiles the Romanes were amused about these consultations and decrees, Saguntum was by this time with all forcible meanes assailed. This citie of all other most wealthie and rich, stood beyond Iberus, situate almost a mile from the sea. The inhabitants are sayd to have had their beginning out of the yland *Zacynthus*: and some among them, were descended from Ardea, a citie of the Rutilians: but they grew within short time to this puissance & wealth of theirs, partly by the fruits & renews of their lands, and partly by the traffick and gaine of their merchandise, and commodities transported by sea, as also by the great affluence and increase of people, and lastly, by their streight rule of discipline, whereby they observed their troth and loyalty with their allies, even to their owne ruine and final destruction.

Anniball after he had invaded their confines as an enemy, and by way of hostilitie, with his armie overrun and wasted their countrie, besieged and assailed the citie three waies. There was one canton or angle of the wall shooting out into a more plaine and open valley, than any other place all about: against which he meant to raise certaine mantlets or fabricks, under which he might approach with the Ram to batter the wall. But as the place farre from the wall, was even enough and handfome for such engines of batterie to be driven upon: so after that they came to the prooff and execution indeed, the successe answered nothing to the enterprife begun. For besides that there was a mightie towre overlooked and commaunded them, the wall it selfe (as in a place doubted and suspected) was more fortified and rayfed higher there, than elsewhere: and also the chosen youth and ablest men were bestowed there, to make more forcible resistance, where there was like to be most trouble and danger. And first with shot of darts and quarels, and such like, they put the enemy back, and would not suffer the pioners and labourers in any place to entrench or rayse rampiers in safetie. In proceffe also, they shot not from the wall only and that towre, and shewed themselves there in armes for defense, but also their harts served them to sallie forth, and to breake into the gards of the enemies, yea and to enter upon their trenches and fabricks. In which skirmishes there dyed not many more Saguntines than Carthaginians. But so soone as *Anniball* himselfe, approaching unadvisedly under the wall fortunated to be wounded greivously in the forepart of his thigh, with a dart or light javelin, and therewith fell to the ground; they all about him fled so fast, and were so skared, that they had like to have geven over quite & abandoned their mantlets, & other fabricks afore sayd. After this, for some few dayes, whiles their Generall was under cure of his hurt, they lay at siege rather, than followed the assault. In which meane time, as they rested from skirmish, so they ceased not to invent new devises, and to prepare new fabricks. Whereupon the assault began againe more hote than before: and in many parts at once they fell to raise rolling mantlets, so many & so thick, that some places would not receive them; and withall, to drive the Ram against the walls. *Anniball* had men good store, for it is thought he was 150000 in campe, strong. The towesmen with devising meanes to defend, and see to every place, began to have their hands full: but all would not serve. For now were the walls beaten with the rams, and many parts thereof shaken and battered: and

M m

at

a People wish-
in the kingdom
of Tolosain
Spain, were the
cittie Olcades.

b Clusius suppo-
sith it to be
Carthage: a
some take it
for Carthage
for Tariffa, or
rather Algeri-
ra. The French
travellours, call
it Alchis.
c Carthage.

d Olcades, or
Carthage.
e Sala manca in
Carthage.
f People in An-
daluia.
g Inhabitants of
the Kingdom of
Tolosain.
h Tago.

* Alchis, a
people in Por-
tugal.

* Alchis.

Saguntum be-
sieged by Anniball.

Zanto.

at one place above the rest, by continuall batterie there was such a breach, as the towne lay open and naked to the enemy. After that, three turrets, and all the courtine betweene, fell downe with a mightie and horrible crash, in so much as the Carthaginians thought verily that with that rush the towne had bene woon: By which breach, as if the wall had protected both parties before, they ran forth together on each side to fight. The battaile was not like to a tumultuarie skirmish, such as are wont to be about assaults of cities, by the occasion and advantage. Of the one part, on the other; but a very set and ranged field (as it were) in an open ground betweene the breaches of the wall, and the houses of the towne, that stood a pretie way distant within-forth. Of one side they were pricked forward with hope, on the other with despaire; whiles *Anniball* thought verily that he was maister of the towne already, if he held on but a little longer; and the Saguntines seeing their towne bare, and voyd of walls, opposed their bodies in the breach, not one stepping back a foote, least in the space betweene he should let in the enemy. The more fiercely therefore, and the thicker and closer that they fought together on both parts, the more were wounded; and there was not a dart could light in vaine, betweene their bodies and their armour, but it did mischief. The Saguntines used a weapon called *Falarica*, in manner of a dart, which they let lie & launced from them, having a long shaft or steale, round and even every where, but toward the one end, where it was headed with iron, & bound about with tow, & smeared with pitch. The yron head was three foote long, that it might pierce both haireffe and bodie through. But the greatest skare that it did was this, although it stuck fast in the targuet, and entered not into the bodie, that being driven and flung, when the middle part was set on fire, by the motion thereof as it flew, it gathered much more fire, forced the souldier to forsake his armour, and exposed him disarmed and naked to the shot following. Well, the fight continued double full a long time, by reason that the Saguntines tooke better heart unto them, because they had relied beyond their hope and expectation: and the Carthaginians toke themselves vanquished, for that they had not gotten the victorie, and better hand: whereupon, the townesmen all at once set up a crie, and beat the enemies back to the very breaches, and ruines of the wall, and from thence thrust them out cleane, whiles they were thus encombred and affrighted, yea and at last discomfited them, put them to flight, and chased them as farre as their campe.

In this meane while newes came, that there were embassadours arrived from Rome: unto whom *Anniball* dispatched certaine messengers to meete with them at sea side, and to give them to understand, That neither they might safely with securitie of their persons come among the broiles of so many barbarous & fierce nations, nor their maister *Anniball* amid those dangerous and trouble some affaires, had any leysure to attend or give audience unto embassages. He knew full well, that the embassadours being not received and entertained, would straight to Carthage. Whereupon, he addrest aforehand his letters and courtiours to the chiefe of the Barchine faction, to frame and prepare the minds of that side, so, as they of the other part might not gratifie, or do any thing in favour of the Romanes. By which meanes, besides that they were neither admitted by *Anniball*, nor audience given them, that embassage also was in vaine, & tooken effect at Carthage. Onely *Hanno*, notwithstanding the whole bodie of the Senate was against him, spake with great silence and assent of the hearers, by reason of his authoritie and reputation, and pleaded to the point of the breach of league, in this wise. I have, quoth he, foretold and warned you in the name and for the love of the gods, who are the witnesses and judges of covenants and confederacies, I have I say, admonished you, that ye should not send *Amilcar* his sonne, or any of his breed unto the campe: for that neither the ghost and spirit, nor the progenie and race of that man can rest and be quiet; nor the Romans league will ever be assured and established, so long as there remained one alive of the Barchine name and familie. But sent ye have for all my words, unto your armies, a youth boyling in ambition, inflamed with a covetous desire of being a King, and one that seeth no other way thereto, but by bruining one warre after another, to live garded with armies and legions about him. In which action of yours, ye have as it were ministered dry fwell, and put oyle to the fire: ye have, I say, fed that fire, wherewith ye now are set a burning. Your armies now besiege Saguntum, from which by covenant and verue of the league they are debarred. Within a while and shortly, will the Roman legions lye in siege before Carthage, under the conduct and guidance, no doubt, of those gods, by whose support and aid in the former warre, they were revenged for the breach of the accord and alliance. What? know ye not yet, either your enemy, or your selyes, or the fortune of both nations? This good

Captaine

A Captaine and gentle General, forsooth, of your making, would not admit and receive into his campe, Embassadours comming from our allies, and in the behalfe also of our allies: wherein he abolished the law of Nations: Howbeit, they having taken a repulse, from whence even the very Embassadours of enemies, are not wont to be repelled, are come unto you, and by verue of their league demand amends of trespassse, and restitution or satisfaction for their damages. And presuppose the State bee not touched nor culpable in this Action, they require no more, but to have the author himselfe in person, who is the offender. The more gently they deale, and the longer it is ere they begin, the more obstinate they will be, and continue with greater rigor (fear me) if they once begin. Set before your eyes the Islands *Agates*, & *Eryx*: and what for these foure and twentie yeares past, ye have endured both by land and sea. Neither was this beardlesse boy our captaine then, but his father *Amilcar* himselfe, even a second *Mars*, as these his supposts would have him. But what of that? We could not then, according to our league, hold our hands, and let Tarentum in Italie alone, like as now we are doing with Saguntum. Therefore, both God and man tooke the matter in hand, and vanquished us in the end: and when wee were at arguing and debating the case with discourse of words about this point, Whether Nation of the twaine had broken the league? the event of warre, as an indifferent and equall judge, awarded victorie where the right was. And Carthage it is, against which, *Anniball* even now hath reared mantelets, towers, and other engines of assault: even now, battereth & shakeeth he Carthage walls with the Ram. The ruins of Saguntum (God graunt I be a false Prophet) will fall upon our heads, and the warre begun with the Saguntines, we must maintaine against the Romanes. How then? (will some man say) shall wee yeeld *Anniball* unto them? I know well, how small my authoritie is in this point, by reason of the old grudge and enmitie betweene me & his father deceased. Howbeit, as I reioiced, that *Amilcar* was dead, for that if hee had lived still, wee should ere now have warred with the Romanes: so this very youth, an impe of his, I hate & detest as the very furie and firebrand of this war: whom I would have, by my good wil, not only to be rendred unto them, for to purge & expiate the breach of league; but if no man would challenge him for to be punished, I would award, that he should be caried and transported as far as there is sea or land, & to be sent away thither, from whence we might not once hear of him againe, & where he might never trouble the quiet & peaceable state of this citie any more. Over and besides, my opinion & resolution is, that some Embassadours besent presently to Rome, to satisfie the Senat: and others also, with a message to *Anniball*, that he withdraw his forces from Saguntum: & with commission, to render up *Anniball* himselfe into the Romans hands, according to the tenor of the league: & a third Embassage likewise to the Saguntines, for to make restitution and amends for their harms & losses already sustained. When *Hanno* had made an end of his speech, it was altogether needlesse, that any one man there should make replie, and debate the matter with him by way of Oration, the whole Senat was so possessed already & wrought for *Anniball*: and with one voice they blamed *Hanno*, and sounded it out, That he had made a bitterer speech, and more favoring of an enemy, than *Flaccus Valerius* himselfe the Roman Embassadour. After this, the Roman Embassadours had this answer returned, That the warre began by the Saguntines, and not by *Anniball*. Also, that the people of Rome offered them injurie, in preferring the Saguntines before the most ancient alliance of the Carthaginians. While the Romanes thus spent time in sending Embassages, *Anniball* having wearied his men, what with skirmishes, and what with trenching and raising mounds and fabrickes, he gave them rest some few daies, and bestowed certaine good guards to ward and keepe the mantelets and other engines of batterie. In the meane season he encouraged his souldiours, and set their hearts on fire, partly by pricking and provoking them to anger against their enemies, and partly by tilling them on, and alluring them with hope of great rewards. But after he had once in a generall assemblie, made proclamation, That the spoile and pillage should be the souldiours share; they were all so enkindled and enflamed, that if presently he had founded the signall of battaile, it seemed, that no force in the world had been able to resist them. The Saguntines, as they had some rest from skirmish, and continued certaine daies, neither assailing nor assailed: so they gave not over labouring night and day, for to make up a newe wall and countermure, on that side of the towne which lay open by reason of breaches. But after this, grew the assault more hote and furious than before: neither wist they well (the shouts and alarmes were so divers & dissonant on every side) whether to come first, or where was most need of helpe and succour. *Anniball* himselfe was present in person to encourage and exhort his souldiours

M m ij

diours

The description
of a weapon or
dart, called *Fa-
larica*.

The Oration of
Hanno in the
Senate of Car-
thage.

*Carthage, or Ta-
ragana. The
same which Fir-
gil calleth *Ae-*
and the Troians
in old time *Saxa*.
A citie in Sic-
ily, situate upon
an high hill, of
that name. *Tra-
pani*, or *Monte
S. Julian* at
this day.*

diours where as the rouling tower was driven, which was so high, that it overlooked all the mures and countrefabrickes of the citie, and being once approached neere the walls, furnished as it was in every loft and storie, with ordinance of quarell shot, brakes, and other artilerie, beat the defendants from off the walls, so as none durst abide upon them. Then *Anniball* taking the time, supposing that he had now a good oportunitie presented unto him, sent about 5000 Affricans that were pionsers with picke axes, mattocks and such like tooles, to undermine the wal, yea, and to dig into it from the very foundation. And that was no hard matter to do, for that the cement or mortar was not hardened and bound with lime, but tempered with earth and clay, after the old manner of building: and therefore the wall came tumbling downe, before it was broken and brought in to: and through the wide breaches, whole troopes of armed fouldiours entered the towne; and withall, they seized one high place above the rest, whereon they planted their artilerie and ordinance of slings and brakes, and cast a wall about it, that they might have within the very citie a fort and bastillon of their owne, like a castle to overlooke all. The *Saguntines* likewise raised another mure with in forth along that side where the towne as yet was not taken. So that on both sides they made fortifications, and also fought with all their might and main. But the *Saguntines* defending the inner parts, by little and little brought the towne daily into a smaller compass. And by that meanes, as also by reason of the long siege, as for want of all things grew more and more, so the expectation of forraigne aide and succour was everie day lesse than other: the Romans their onely hope, being so farre off, and their enemies so neere on every hand. Howbeit, the suddaine rode and journey of *Anniball* against the *Oretanes* and *Carpetanes*, refreshed for a while their troubled and afflicted spirits. These two nations being risen upon a discontentment of a straight muster and rigorous levie of fouldiours, had staied and detained those Muster-maisters, that had in commission to take up all sufficient and able men for the warres, and so, made some shew & feare of rebellion: but being prevented in the beginning by the speedie coming of *Anniball*, were soone quiet, and laid downe their armes. But the assault of *Saguntum* continued nevertheless. For *Maharball*, *Himilco* his sonne, whom *Anniball* had left behind as Lieutenant, so bestirred himselfe, that neither the towne men nor the enemies found the miserie absence of the Generall. This *Maharball* had made some fortunate skirmishes, and with three rammes shaken a good part of the wall, so as hee shewed to *Anniball* at his returne; all lying along and every place full of fresh ruines. Whereupon the armie was presently brought against the verie castle of the citie, where began a cruell and bloudie conflict, with the slaughter of many on both sides, and one part of the said fortress was forced and woen.

Afterwards there was some treatie of peace and agreement, by meanes of two persons, *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, and *Alorcus* a Spaniard, and some small hope there was of it. *Alcon* supposing hee could somewhat prevail by way of request and entreating, without knowledge of the *Saguntines*, departed away by night to *Anniball*. But after that hee saw, that with all his weeping he could doe no good, but that heave and intollerable articles and capitulations of peace were exhibited, as from a wrathfull conquerour; of an Orator, proved to be a very traitour, and remained still in the campe with the enemies, saying, that he was sure to die, who ever should move the *Saguntines* to peace, under those conditions. For demanded it was of the *Saguntines*, *Imprimis*, to make restitution to the *Turdetanes* of all harmes and losses. *Item*, to deliver up all their gold and silver. *Item*, to quit the towne, and depart but with one sure of apparell a peece; and there to dwell, where the *Carthaginians* would appoint. When *Alcon* avouched plainly, that the *Saguntines* would never accept of peace with these conditions, *Alorcus* replied againe and said, That seeing all things els now failed them, their hearts also must needs come downe and faile likewise; and therewith promised to deliver unto them the tenour of the said peace, and to bee a mediatour and dealer in the compassing thereof. At that time he served *Anniball* as a private fouldiour: howbeit, a publicke friend he was, and an host and guest of old to the *Saguntines*. Who having in sight of all men yielded up his offensive armes, to the warders of the enemies, and passed the rampiers, was brought (for so himselfe desired) before the Governour and Provost of *Saguntum*. Thether came running presently, a number of all sorts of people: but after the rest of the multitude were commanded to vould, *Alorcus* was called into their Counsell house, and having audience given, made this or the like speech unto them. If *Alcon* your countymen and fellow cittizen, as he came from you to *Anniball* for to treat about peace, had likewise brought backe againe unto you from *Anniball* the conditions and articles of peace, I needed not to have

* The inhabitants of Ole-
rentum.
* P. the realm of
Tulchum.

The Oration of
Alorcus a Span-
iard, in the Se-
nate of Sagun-
tum.

A taken this journey; who am come unto you neither as an Orator from *Anniball*, ne yet as a fugitive. But seeing he hath remained with the enemy, either through your default or his own, I know not whither: if he pretended & fained causelesse feare, himselfe is to blame; but if they stand in daunger that report a truth vnto you, then are ye in great fault. I therefore, to the end ye should not be ignorant, but that there are conditions offered to you of life, of safetie, & of peace, in regard of old amitie and acquaintance, in regard (I say) of mutuall intertainement long time between us, am now come unto you. And that ye may beleeve, that whatsoever you shal hear delivered from me, I speak it for your good, and for the favour of no man else; this one thing, if no more, may assure you, that neither so long as ye were able to make resistance by your own strength, nor all the while that ye hoped for aide from the Romanes, I never made word or mention of peace unto you. But seeing now, that ye have not any hope at all from the Romanes, and that your owne forces and citie wals, are able no longer to defend you: I present unto you a peace, more necessarie; I confesse, than equall and reasonable. Whereof you may have some hope, in these terms; namely, if as *Anniball* offereth and presenteth it like a conquerour, so you will heare of it; & accept thereof as conquered: if I say, ye will not make reckning of that which you forgoe as a losse and damage (seeing by extremitie all is the victors) but that which is left, as gaine and advantage, yea and freely given unto you. Your towne, whereof a great part is ruinated by him, and which he hath taken in manner all, that he mindeth to put you by: your lands and possessions he leaveth unto you, purposing to set you out a plot of ground, whereupon you may build yourselves a new citie. Your gold and silver all, as well common treasure as private monies and plate, he commaundeth to be brought unto him: the bodies of your wives and children he is content to spare and save undefiled: upon this condition that you will depart without armour, and with a double suit of apparell a peece, and no more. These are the impositions that your enemy (a conquerour) commaundeth: Which albeit they be hard and grievous, yet your fortune and state is such, as you must allow thereof and be content. For mine owne part, I am not out of hope, but when you have put all into his hands, he will deale better by you, & remit somewhat of these conditions. But I thinke ye were better to abide all this, rather than your bodies to be murdered, your wives and children to be ravished, haled and forced before your faces, as the law and manner of warre requireth.

To the hearing of this Oration the people had flocked about, and by little and little entered mingled their own assemblie with the Senators: and all of a suddain the chiefe of them withdrew themselves and departed, before answer was given: and brought all their silver and gold, as well publicke as private, into the market place: and when they had cast it into a great fire made hastily for that purpose, most of them threw themselves into it headlong after. Whereupon there being a feare and trouble alreadie throughout the whole citie: behold, another outcrie besides and noise was heard from the castle. For a certaine tower that had beene a long time battered and shaken, fell downe; and at the breach thereof, a band of *Carthaginians* made entrie, and gave signe to their General that the citie was abandoned of the ordinarie watchmen and *corps de gard* of the enemies, and altogether lay open and naked. *Anniball* supposing it was no wisdom to neglect and slacke so good an oportunitie, with all his forces at once assailed the citie, and wan it in the turning of an hand: and presently gave order that all above fourteen years of age should be put to the sword. A cruell commaundement, no doubt, but yet needfull, as afterwards is well seene in the end and upshot of all. For who would have spared and taken pittie of those, that either shut themselves with their wives and children into their houses, and burnt them over their owne heads, or in their armour, gave not over fight before they died? Thus was the towne woen with exceeding store of pillage within it. And albeit much was spoiled for the nonce by the owners, & that in the massacre and execution they had no respect of age in the furie of their anger; and for all that, the prisoners fell to the soldiours share; yet certaine it is, that of the goods sold in port-sale, there arose a good round peece of mony: and much rich household stuffe and costlie apparell was sent to Carthage.

F Some there be that write, how *Saguntum* was woen the eight Month after the siege began: and that from thence *Anniball* departed to winter in new *Carthage*: as also, that the fifth month after he departed from *Carthage*, he arrived in *Italie*. Which being so; it cannot be, that *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* should be the Consuls, unto whom both in beginning of the siege, the *Saguntine* Embassadors were sent; and who also in their year of government fought with *Anniball*.

The winning of
Saguntum.

Carthage.

* Trebia.
* Sicilia.

the one neere the river * Ticinus, and both together a good while after, at * Trebia. And we must say, that either all these things were achieved in shorter time a good deale, or else that Saguntum in the beginning of that yeare, wherein *P. Cornelius* and *Sempronius* were Consuls, began not to be besieged; but finally was forced and woon. For the battaile at Trebia could not be so long after, as to fall in the yeare wherein *Cn. Scruvilius* and *C. Flaminius* were Consuls. For that *Flaminius* entred his Consulship at Ariminum, and was created by *T. Sempronius*, Consull, who after the battaile of Trebia came to Rome to elect Consuls and after the Election was ended, returned againe to his armie, into the wintering harbours.

About the same time, as well the Embassadours which returned from Carthage, brought word to Rome that there was nothing but warre: as also tidings came, of the destruction of Saguntum. And so greatly grieved and sorrowed the Senators, and pitied withall their allies, this unworthily massacred, so ashamed in themselves they were, that they had not sent aid in time, so deeply offended and incensed with indignation against the Carthaginians; yea and so mightily feared the losse of the verie maine chance at home, as if the enemy had beene already at the gates of the citie: that in verie deed, having their minds possessed at one time, with so many troubles, they rather trembled and quaked for feare, than felted themselves to consultation and counsell. For they considered and saw very well, that neither a more fierce and warlike enemy ever encountred with them: nor the state of Rome was at any time so restie, so feeble, and so undisposed to warre. Moreover, it was commonly said, that the * Sardi * Corfi, * Histi, and * Illyrici had rather challenged the Romanes, and made bravadoes of warre, than exercised and toiled them in any hard conflicts: as for the Gauls they were but tumults, rumors, & al' arms which they made, and no warres indeed: but the Carthaginians their enemies, they were old beaten soldiors, injured and hardened for this 23 yeares in most difficult service of warre, amongst the Spanish nations, and went away ever with victory: first trained and practised under *Amilcar*, then under *Asdruball*, and now lastly under the conduct of *Anniball*, a right hardie and valiant captain. Considering moreover, that now he commeth fresh from the ruine of Saguntum, a most rich citie, and passeth straight waies over Iberus: drawing after him a traine of so many nations of the Spaniards, exercised already by him in the warres: and will no doubt raise the Gauls, a people at all times readie to take armes: so as now they were to wage warre in Italie, with no more but all the world besides, yea and under the walles of Rome, for the defense of the citie.

Now had the Provinces beene nominated & appointed before to the Consuls: but then were they commaunded by casting lots, to part them between them. To *Cornelius* fell Spaine: To *Sempronius* Affricke and Sicilie. Likewise decreed it was, that for that yeare, there should be levied six Legions of Romans: and of allies, as many as they thought good: also that as great a navie as might be, should be rigged and set out. So there were enrolled 24000 Roman footmen, and of horsemen 1800: of allies 44000 foot, and 4000 horse: 220 gallies, with five counte of oares on a side, and twentie foists, were set a floate. After this, a bill was preferred unto the people, that it might please them to determine and graunt, that warre should be proclaimed against, the people of Carthage. And in regard of that warre, there was also a solemne supplication holden through the citie: wherein the people adored and praied the gods to prosper and bring to an happie end, this warre which the people of Rome had determined. And betwixt the Consuls thus were the forces divided: *Sempronius* had the conduct of two Legions, consisting of foure thousand foot, and three hundred horse a peece; also of allies sixteen thousand foot, one thousand and eight hundred horse, besides 160 gallies, & twelve barks or foists. With this power for land and sea service, was *Sempronius* sent into Sicilie, from thence to passe over into Affricke, in case the other Consull were able to impeach the Carthaginians for comming into Italie. *Cornelius* had the charge of a smaller power: for that *L. Manlius* the Pretor, was sent in person into France with a sufficient armie: but in the number of ships: especially, was *Cornelius* skanted, 60 gallies of five banks of ores he had, and no more, (for it was supposed that the enemy would neither come by sea, nor fight in that kind of service) and two Romane Legions with the full proportion of horsemen, and 14000 footmen of allies, with 1200 men of armes. That Province of France (in those parts where the Carthaginian warre was expected) had that yeare two Legions of Romane footmen, 14000 allies, besides 1000 horse from them, and 600 of the Romanes. When all things were thus prepared, to the end that before warre began, it might appeare

* 1. 100 is a Legion.

A peare they dealt by order of law, and with justice; and that all due complements might be performed, they sent certaine grave & ancient personages in Embassie into Affricke, to wit, *Q. Fabius*, *M. Livius*, *E. Amylius*, *C. Licinius*, and *Q. Bebius*. First, to demand and know of the Carthaginians, Whither *Anniball* by their public warrant and authoritie, besieged & assailed Saguntum: then, if they avowed the act, and stood to it (as they were like to do) confessing that it was done by the counsell of the State; to give defiance, and proclaime open warre against them. The Romanes being arrived at Carthage, had audience given in their Senate house, where, after *Q. Fabius* had briefly demanded nothing else, but that one thing which he had in charge and commission, then a principall Senator among the Carthaginians stood up and sayd thus:

Your former Embassage, my maistets of Rome, was even as vaine as this, when ye required *Anniball* to be yeelded unto you; as if he had besieged Saguntum of his owne head: And as for this, that you come with now, howsoever in words it seeme more mild and smooth, in very deepe and in truth it is more rude and rigorous: for then, was *Anniball* only charged and demanded to justice; but now are we both urged to acknowledge a fault, and also forced to make restitution and satisfaction out of hand; as if we had avowed and confessed the action. For mine owne part, of this mind am I, that the case ought thus to be laid, and the question brought to this issue, not whether Saguntum was besieged by a private person; or public counsell; but whether by right, or wrongfully. For to enquire and examine whether our citizen and subject have done this by our advise, or of himselfe, pertaineth to us alone, as also to censure and punish him accordingly: with you we are to debate this point onely, Whether it might stand with the league to do it, or no. And therefore since it pleaseth you, that we should dispute and distinguish, betwene the action of a Generall, warranted by the public state, and an enterprize proceeding from his owne motive; ye shall understand, that there was indeede a league betwene you and us, contracted by *Lucilius* the Consull, wherein there is a clause, comprising the allies of both parties: as concerning the Saguntines (who as then were none of your confederates) there was not one word at all therein: but in that league (ye will say) that was contracted with *Asdruball*, the Saguntines are expressly named and excepted: to which I have nothing to pleade, but even that which I have learned of you. For yece your selves denied, that ye were bound to stand to that accord which *C. Lucilius* your Consull first made with us, because it passed neither by consent of the nobles, nor graunt of the people. Whereupon, there was another league anew drawne out, and by public agreement enacted. If you then, be not tied to observe your leagues, unless they be auctorised by the nobles; or ratified by the people; no more can the league of *Asdruball* oblige us, which he concluded without our privitie and knowledge. Forbeare therefore to speake either of Saguntum, or Iberus; and what your mind hath so long conceived, let it hatch now at length, and bring it forth. Then *Q. Fabius* the Romane Embassador, having made a hollow lap within the plait and fold of his side gowne, Here quoth he, within this lapper, we present and offer warre and peace unto you, take whether ye will. At which word, they all cried out at once with as great stomack and boldnesse: Mary even which you will your selfe. Whereat he let his robe loose againe, Why then, there is warre quoth he, take it amongst you; Let come say they all againe, and welcome be it; and as willingly as we accept thereof, so shall we follow and manage it as thoroughly.

This direct demand, and round denouncing, of warre, seemed more for the honor of the Romans, than to make much dispute and argument about the right of the cause, and of the covenants; a vaine matter before, but now especially, after the winning and destruction of Saguntum. For if the question were to be decided by words and reasoning, that league of *Asdruball* which was exchanged for the former of *Lucilius*, was not the same, nor the tenor thereof to be compared: seeing that in the accord of *Lucilius*, this branch and proviso was expressly added, [That it should stand good, and be ratified, if the people approved thereof:] but in this of *Asdruball*, there was no such condition at all: and besides, the covenant for so many yeares space during his life, was so established and confirmed, and no word to the contrarie; that when the very maker and author thereof was dead, there was no change and alteration. And yet, put case they should have stood upon the former alliance; the Saguntines were therein well enough comprised and provided for, in that the allies of either part were excepted and comprehended. For neither was this clause added [They who at that time were allies] nor yet were they excepted against,

The Oration of a Senator in Carthage.

against, who afterwards should become, or be admitted allies. And seeing that it was lawfull to entertaine new confederates, who is it that would judge it reasonable, either that no man should be received unto amitie for any good desert whatsoever; or being once received into protection, should not be defended accordingly: Provided alwayes, that no allies of the Carthaginians should either be solicited to rebellion, or received againe, if of themselves they once revolted.

The Romane Embassadors, as they were commanded at Rome; passed the seas from Carthage into Spaine, for to visit all the cities, and to see whether they could either draw them to their societie, or withdraw them from the Carthaginians. And first they came to the Baigullans, where being courteously entertained (for weary they were of the Carthaginians government) they stirred up many other nations beyond Iberus, to have a desire to change for a new world. From thence they came to the Volscians; whose notable answer reported throughout all Spaine, turned away all other States from banding with the Romanes: for thus in a solemn assembly a sage & auncient father among them framed his answer. With what face can ye (Romanes) require us to preferre your friendship and amitie before the Carthaginians? seeing that the Saguntines who did the same, have bene more cruelly by you their allies betrayed, than by their enemies the Carthaginians destroyed? By my advise go and seeke you confederates there, where the wofull calamitie and miserie of Saguntum is not knowne. The lamentable ruines of which citie, as it is a dolefull example, so it shall be a notable warning to all nations of Spaine, that no man ever after repose trust in the protection and societie of the Romanes. Whereupon, they were commanded to depart the borders of the Volscians immediatly, and in no time the Councell of Spaine, had they afterwards any better entertainment, and more courteous language. Thus having in vaine gone through all Spaine, they tooke their way into Gaule: where they saw a strange sight, and a fearefull fashion: for all in armour (such was the guise and manner of the countrey) they came to their publick assemblies: & there, these embassadors after they had set out in goodly words the greameffe and glorie of the people of Rome, and highly magnified their large empire and dominion, and thereupon made request, that they would not give the Carthaginians leave (who minded to make warre upon Italie) for to passe through their cities and townes: hereat they set up such a laughter, with a certaine grumbling and murmuring, that scarcely could the youth be filled and quieted by the magistrats and elders; so foolishly, so foolishly, and shamelesse, seemed this demaund, in their conceit: that they should once imagine that the Gaules were such asses, as they would be content (rather than to let the warre passe into Italie) to avert and turne it upon themselves, and to suffer, yea and offer their owne territories to be spoiled and harried, for the safetie (forsooth) of other mens lands, who were but meere aliens and strangers unto them. The noyse and garboile being at length hushed and appeased, this answer was returned to the Embassadors: That neither the Romanes had deserved so well, nor the Carthaginians so ill, at their hands, that they should take armes either for Romanes, or against Carthaginians. But contrariwise, they were advertised, that some of their nation, were by the people of Rome driven out of the marches and confines of Italie, put to pay tribute, yea, and endured other outrages and indignities. The like demaunds and answeres passed too and fro in other Councells and assemblies of Gaule: neither could they meete with any friendly entertainment, or have peaceable words given them, before they came to *Massilia: where, after diligent inquirie, and faithfull search made by their allies, they had true advertisements, that Anniball aforehand had wrought the harts of the Gaules to his owne purpose, and was possessed of them: but they understood withall, that they were not like to continue long in good termes of kindeesse and favor even to him, (so fierce and savage, so untractable are they, and untamed by nature) unlesse their Princes and rulers be ever and anon well feed and plied with gold, whereof that nation of all other is most greedie & covetous. The Romane Embassadors, having thus gone their circuite over all the States of Spaine and Gaule; returned to Rome; not long after that the Coss. had taken their journey into their provinces: where they found the whole citie possessed with the expectation of warre: so rife and currant was the rumor and bruit abroad, that the Carthaginians were already passed over the river Iberus.

Anniball after the winning of Saguntum, had retired himselfe to winter in new Carthage: and there having intelligence what had bene done and decreed as well at Rome, as at Carthage [in Affricke] and that he was reputed not onely the Capitaine generall and conductor, but also the very author and cause of all this warre; so soone as he had devided and sold the rest of the booke

The answer of
one of the prin-
cipal Volscians
in Spaine, to the
Romane Em-
bassadors.

* Massilia.

A and pillage that remained thought good now to make no longer delays, but assembled the soldiers of the Spanish Nation, and to them he spake in this manner: My trustie friends and loiall confederats, I am perswaded, that ye, your selves do see as well as I, now that all the States of Spaine are in peace and quietnesse, that either ye are to make an end of souldierie, & call our forces to be called and discharged from service: or else that ye must remove the warre into other lands: For so shall these Nations prosper and flourish, and not onely enjoy the blessings of peace, but also reape the fruits of warre; if we will seek to gain riches, and to acquite glorie and honor from others: Since therefore we are to warre shortly far from home, and doubtless, when you shall see againe your houses, and whatsoever there is deere unto you: if any of you bee desirous to visite home; his wife and children, kinsfolke, and friends; I give him licence and free passport. But I commaund you withall, to shew your selves here againe before mee, in the beginning of the next spring; that with the helpe of God, we may in hand with that warre, whereby wee shall purchase both wealth and wealth. There was not one in that manner but well accepted of this libertie so frankly offered by himselfe, and were desirous to have a sight of house & land, both for that every one a readie longed for their friends and kindred, and for a while in farther time to come, a greater misse, and cause of more longing after them. This rest all winter time; betwene their travails past, and those they were soon after to endure, refreshed as well their bodies as their minds, and prepared them to abide and endure all new paines whatsoever. So in the very prime of the spring, according to the Edict aforesaid, they all assembled together againe. Anniball having taken a muster and survey of the aides that were sent unto him from all those Nations, went to Gades; and there to Hercules he paid his old vowes, and bound himselfe to new, if the rest of his enterprises should speed well and have good successe. After this deviding and casting care indifferently, as well for offensive as defensive warre, doubting least while hee went by land through Spaine and Frant into Italie; Affricke should lie open and naked to the Romanes from Sicilie side; purposed to fortifie and make that part sure with strong garisons. In lieu whereof, hee sent forth fresh supplie out of Affricke, specially of Archers and javelottiers; and those lightly armed: to the end, that the Affricans might serve in Spaine, and the Spaniards in Affricke, like (both the one and the other) to proove the better souldiours, farre from their owne countreies, and being bound as it were, with mutuall and reciprocall pledges. So hee sent into Affricke 13850 footmen, armed with light targets; and 870 slingers of the islands *Balears: 1200 horsemen also out of sundrie Nations. Which forces he disposed, partly for the defense of Carthage, & partly to be devided through Affricke; for the guard thereof hee sent withall, certaine Commissioners into all their cities to take up souldiours, and enrolled 2000 of their chosen youths, who should be brought to Carthage, there to lie in garison, and to serve for hostages. And supposing that Spaine was not to be neglected; and the rather, because hee was not ignorant how the Romane Embassadors had visited the same round, to see how they could sollicite and worke the Princes and rulers to their mind, he committed the charge of that Province to his brother Asdrubal, a valiant and hardie man; and furnished him with good forces, especially out of Affricke, so wit, 1850 Affricans footmen, 300 Ligurians, 500 Balears Islanders. To this power of footmen, three hundred horse of the *Libyphenicians, a Nation mixt of Carthaginians & Affricanes. Of *Numidians and Moors; that coast upon the Ocean, 1900: with a small cornet of 200 horsemen of Ilergetes out of Spaine. And became hee should want no manner of land helpe, fourteene Elephants besides. Moreover, there was a fleet allowed him for the defence of the sea coasts. For by what forces and service the Romanes had before gotten victorie, thereby it was likely, that they would still maintaine and continue their warre: 50 gallies therefore of five banks of oares; hee had at sea, two, six, and five of three. But of the five oared gallies aforesaid, he had no more but two and thirtie, fitted and well appointed with rowers and mariners, and so were the five of three bankes.

From Gades, the armie of Anniball returned to winter in Carthage: and from thence he passed by the citie *Eto villa, and marched forward with his forces to Iberis & the sea coasts. Where it is reported, that in his sleepe hee dreamed, and saw a vision; namely, a young man of divine shape and semblance, saying, That he was sent from Jupiter to guide him in his voiage into Italie, and willed him therefore to follow him; and in no wise to turne his eyes from him one way or other. Also, that at the first hee being scared and affrighted, durst not look either about or behind; but followed him still: afterwards (as men by nature are curious) when hee cast and discoursed in his

The speech of
Anniball to his
Spanish souldiours.

* Gades, or Cades
Mader, or Cades

* Two islands
Majorica and
Minorica. Of
some, Colum-
ba and Tura.

* Within the
kingdome of
Tunier.
Inhabitants be-
lieved it a grid.

* Hitione or Me-
quinenja.
The vision of
Anniball.

his mind, what it might be, that hee was forbidden so to see behind him, hee could not hold and rule his eyes, but must needs looke backe: and then hee beheld behind him, a serpent of huge greatnesse comming amaine, and all the way as it went, to beare downe trees, groves, and thickets: and after all that, he perceived a great storme and tempest ensuing, with mightie thunder-claps. Now when hee was desirous to know what this so great confusion and straunge sight might signifie, he heard a voice, saying: That it betokened the ruines and wasting of Italie: willing him therefore, to goe still forward with his voyage, and search no further into the secrets of the gods, but leave them to the hidden destinies. *Anniball* right joyous at this vision, passed over *Iberus* with his whole power, divided into three parts, having sent certaine before him with gifts and rewards, into all parts whereas he should march with his armie, to gaine the hearts of the *Gauls*; and withall, to seeke out & discover the passages of the *Alpes*. So he crossed the river *Iberus* with 90000 foot, & 12000 horse, strong. After this, he subdued the *Illegeres*, the *Bargusians*, *Aulelans*, and *Aquiran*, which lyeth under the hills *Pyrenei*. The government of all these Nations, hee set over to *Hanno*, that hee might have at his commaund the streights which joined *Fraunce* and *Spaine* together. Vnto whome hee allowed 10000 footemen, and 1000 horse, for to defend and keepe in obedience those countries. After that his armie was on foote, and began to march through the Forrest *Pyreneus*, and that there ran amongst the barbarous people a more certain bruit, That they were to make warre with the *Romans*; three thousand footmen of the *Carpetanes* returned backe: and for certaine it was knowne, that they departed not, for feare so much of the warre, as the tedious journey and unpassable waies of the *Alpes*. *Anniball*, considering that either to recall them, or to keepe them by violence, was a dangerous matter; for fear least thereby hee should provoke the fierce stomackes of the rest; sent home againe above 7000 of such, as he perceived to be wearie, and to have no mind to the service; and made semblance with all, that the *Carpetanes* were by his leave discharged. And doubting least long stay & ease there, might tempt his souldiours, and give occasion of mutinies, with the rest of his forces hee passed *Pyreneus*, and pitched his campe before the towne *Illiberis*. The *Gauls*, albeit they were advertised, that it was *Italie*, at which *Anniball* shott yet because the bruit was blased, That the *Spaniards* beyond *Iberus*, were by force subdued, and strong garisons placed in their cities: certaine Nations of them, for feare of servitude and bondage, rose up in armes, and assembled together at *Ruscino*. Which being related to *Anniball*, hee fearing more that they would stay him in his journey, than endanger him in fight; sent certaine Oratours or Embassadors to their Princes and great Lords, to signifie unto them, That himselfe in person would gladly parle with them, and that it should bee in their choise whether they would come neerer to *Illiberis*, or himselfe goe forward to *Ruscino*: where, beeing neere together, they might more easily meete and conferre. For as hee was willing to receive them into his campe, and would bee glad to see them there: so hee would not thinke much of his paines, to repaire unto them himselfe; as one that was thither come, as a friend and guest, unto *Fraunce*, and not as an enemy; and would not by his good will draw a sword (if the *Gauls* would let him alone) before hee were entered within *Italie*. And thus much verily passed by messengers and courtiers betweene. But so soone as the Lords of *Fraunce*, who presently remooved their campe to *Illiberis*, were come willingly enough to *Anniball*, as being bribed and corrupted with money and presents, they gave his armie good leave to passe through their confines along the towne *Ruscino*.

In *Italie* this while, the embassadors of *Marceilles* had brought no other word to *Rome*, but that *Anniball* was only gone over *Iberus*; but, by that time, the Boij had stirred up the *Insubrians* to mutinie, and were revolted themselves, even as if hee had passed the *Alpes* already: which they did not so much upon old rancour and mallice to the People of *Rome*, as for that, they tooke it ill and were discontented, that there were Colonies brought lately into the *Gauls* countie, to be planted about *Padus*, *Placentia* and *Cremona*. Whereupon they arose suddenly, tooke armes, and entred by force into those parts, and made so foule worke and fearful havoc, that not onely the countrey people and villagers, but also the three *Romane* Commissioners called *Triumvirs*, to wit, *Caius Lucatius*, *Ant. Servilius*, and *Titus Annius*, who were come to set out the lands and territorie to the said Colonies, not trusting the wals of *Placentia*, fled to *Mutina*. That *Lucatius* was one of them, it is not doubted: but some records have *Q. Atilius* and *C. Herennius*, in stead of *A. Servilius* and *T. Annius*: and others againe, nominate *P. Cornelius Asina*, and

*The people of
T. m.
*Macedonia in
Gauls.
*Gruene.

*Granade, or
Almaria.

*Ruscino.

*The river Po
*The citie Plai-
sance.

*Modena.

A and *C. Papirius Mafso*. It is uncertaine also, whether they were the Embassadors sent to the Boij, to reason or expostulate the matter, that had abuse offered them, and were evil intreated; or that the *Triumvirs* above said, were set upon and assailed, as they were measuring out the lands. But whiles they were thus besieged at *Mutina*, and those Boijans lying at siege (a nation unskilfull altogether in the fear of assaulting townes, and likewise of all other most cowardly, to attempt any martial exploits) whiles they lay idly about the wals, & never once advanced against them, they began to make shew of a treatie for peace. Whereupon the *Romane* embassadors or Commissioners, being by the chiefs of the *Gauls* called out to parle, were not onely against law of nations, but with breach also of their faithfull promise, & word which they had given that time, apprehended: and the *Gauls* said plainly, they would not let them go, unless their hostages were delivered them again. These news touching the embassadors being reported, *Mutina* with the garison in danger, *L. Manlius* the Pretor, in great anger and indignation, brought his armie in more hast than good order before *Mutina*. There were in those daies great woods about the high way, and most part of the countie wilds and waits, not inhabited: where he having engaged himselfe without his espials, was intapped within an ambush, lost many of his men, and hardly recovered the open champaigne countie. There he encamped himselfe strongly: and for that the *Gauls* had no heart to assault, nor hope to win the camp, his soldiours courages were refreshed; albeit it was well known, that they had received a throwd foile, & knew their forces to be much empaired. Then began he to march on in his journey a fresh. And so long as he led his power through the open countie, the enemies were not in sight: but when they were entred the Forrests againe, they set upon the rearward of them: where, besides the great fright and damage of all the rest, 800 *Romane* soldiours were left dead in the place; and the enemies went away with six ensignes. But afterwards, the *Gauls* ceased to molest and trouble, and the *Romans* gave over to feare, so soone as they were passed, and escaped the rough, comberous, and unpassable Forrests. And the *Romans* being now able in the open and champion countie to march with safetie, made hast to get to *Tanctus* a village neere unto the *Po*. There within a fort which they made for the time, with the helpe and provision of victuals by the river, and the aid also of certaine *Gauls* called *Braxians*, they defended themselves against the enemies, whose number daily encreased. After this sudden tumult was reported at *Rome*, and that the *L.L.* of the Senate were advertised, that besides the war with the *Carthaginians*, the *Gauls* were up in armes: they gave order, that *C. Atilius* the Pretor should goe (with one *Romane* Legion, and foure thousand allies, who were enrolled by the Consuls in a new levie) to aid *Manlius*: who without any skirmish (by reason that the enemies were fled for feare) came to *Tanctus*. Also *P. Cornelius* having newly levied one Legion in lieu of that which was sent with the Pretor, departed from the citie of *Rome*, and passing with 60 *Gauls* along the costes of *Tuscane*, *Liguria*, and so forward of the *Salyes*, shortly arrived at *Massilia*, and encamped neere the next mouth of *Rhodanus*, (for the river is devided into many branches, and so dischargeth it selfe into the sea) being not fully of beleefe that *Anniball* as yet had passed over the mountaines *Pyrenei*. But when he understood, that he was redie even then to passe *Rhodanus* also; & doubting in what place to encounter and meet him, his people as yet not well recovered, after their being sea-sick: he sent before, 300 elect men of armes, guided by the *Massilians*, and certaine *Gauls* that came to aid; for to discover all, and to take a full view of the enemies safely without danger.

Anniball having appeased the rest of the countie, either for feare or by means of mony, was now come into the countie of the *Volcanes*, a puissant people and a valiant. These inhabitants a long while the banks of *Rhodanus*: and mistrusting that they were not able to defend their lands against the *Carthaginians*, on that side of the river which lay to them: because they might have the whole river to serve them for a good defence & rampier, transported over the *Rhone* all in manner that ever they had, and kept the banke on the other side. The rest of the inhabitants neere to the river, and even those also in whose territories *Anniball* had set foot already, both he himselfe with gifts allured to get together from all parts shipping, and to frame new vessels: and they of themselves likewise, were as willing to have his armie transported, and their own countie eased and delivered (they cared not how loone) of so great a multitude of troublesome guests. Whereupon there was gotten together an huge number of lighters, barges, and boats especially which were made in hast without great workmanship, in which the people inhabiting theby use to transport wares & commodities from one to another. Other new wharries also, the

*Bourb. nois

*Tancto.
*Of Braxia.

*Rhodane

*Avignen

Gauls began first to make of the hollowed trunks of trees: and after them, the soldiers for that they had both store of timber and saw the workmanship but slight & easie, made in half certain bottomes, such as they were, like troughs without forme or fashion, regarding no handiwork at all, so they would but float on the water, and receive burden, in which they might convey over them selves and that which they had.

Now when they had prepared and made all readie for their passage, the enemies on the other side right against them, kept and covered all the bank along with men and horse putting them to much trouble and feare. *Anniball* therefore to withdraw them from that place, commanded *Hanno* the sonne of *Bomilcar*, at the first watch of the night, to go up the streame along the river side, one daies journey, with part of the forces, and those most of them Spaniards, and wherefoever he first could espie a convenient place, to crosse the river, & to land as secretly as he could: and then to fetch about with his men, that when need were, he might charge upon the backe of the enemy. Hereunto were appointed certaine Gauls for guides: who from thence conducted them some 25 miles above, to a little yland compassed about with the river, which here spread out in breadth, by reason that it divided it selfe, and thereby the channell was not so deepe: where they shewed him a place of passage. There, in all hast they cut downe and hewed timber, and made botes, to set over horse and man and other burthen. The Spaniards made no more adoe, but fastning their apparrell to bouges of lether like bladders, full of wind, and laying their bucklers thereupon, sat aloft and passed over nimbly. The rest of the armie also, with joining planks and troughes together, was set over. Where having encamped neere the river, as being wearie with their night journey, and toilsome worke, they rested one day to refresh themselves, whiles there captaine studied and was occupied, to execute his commission and his intended service in good and convenient time. The morrow after, they removed from thence, and gave knowledge by smoke that they were passed over and not farre off. Which when *Anniball* perceived, for that he would not loose the vantage of that time, he gave signall to his men also to get over the water. Now had the footmen alreadie their botes prepared and fitted. And the course & ranks of barges (which to receive and breake the force of the currant from above, transported the horsemen, besides the horses that swam after) made for the small botes that passed beneath, a gentle and calme water. For a number of horses swam after the ships, haled by the bridles, which were tied to the pouples, besides those, which being saddled and bridled, and fitted to serve the men of armes so soone as ever they were landed, were bestowed in barges & ferry botes. The Gauls stood upon the banke with distant hooping, hollaing, yelling and singing after their manner, who shaking their targuets over their heads, brandishing and flourishing their swords in their right hands, shewed themselves redie to receive them, albeit so great a number and world of barges and botes full in their eie over against them, together with an hideous roaring of the water, might have skared them: besides sundrie noises of mariners and soldiers, who laboured & strived to break the power and force of the water, and who being on the other side of the banke encouraged their fellows that were passing over. And thus frightened enough as they were, with the tumult and noise presented before their faces: behold there arose a more fearfull and terrible outcrie behind their backs, upon the forcing and winning of their campe by *Hanno*. And himselfe in person came soone after: so that they were put in feare on both sides. For not onely out of the ships there was a great multitude gotten to land, but also a power at their backs unlooked for, came forward and charged them. The Gauls after they had made some resistance, and saw they were easely put backe; brake through, where they espied the way to lie most open, and so in great feare they fled divers waies into their townes and villages. *Anniball* then, having conveyed over the rest of his forces by leaseure, cared no more now for any French stirres and tumults, and so encamped himselfe. But for the transporting of the Elephants, I suppose there were sundrie devises: and certainly, how ever it was, the thing is diversly recorded. Some say, that when the Elephants were gathered together upon the banke, the most courageous and fiercest of them all, was chauffed, angered, and raised of purpose, by his master or keeper: and when he was pursued of the beast, and to save himselfe fled from him, and tooke the river, thereupon the Elephant followed after him as hee swamme, and so drew after him the whole drove of the rest: and as any one of them (feearing the depth) failed to wade, the very force of the river carried him to the other side. But it is more credibly and certainly reported, that they were conveyed over in certaine barges: which as it was a safer way,

and

A safer way and surer course before it was practised, so when it was done, and past, it was more easily credited. They caused therefore one vessell or barge, 200 foote long, and 50 foote broad, to reach from the strong side and the shore into the river: which because it should not be caried downe with the course and streame of the water, they fastned to the banke above with many strong ropes, and like as it had ben a bridge, they covered it over with earth, that the beasts might boldly go thieron as upon the firme ground. Now there was another barge full as broad, but of length only 100 foote fitted & appointed to passe the river, and was tied & coupled thereto: and when as the Elephants (driven after the females going before) upon the steadie barge, as it had bene upon a causey, were gone over into the lesser which was fastned unto it; then presently it was loosed from the bonds wherewith it was slightly tyed, and so haled and drawne by certaine galley boats, directed with oares through to the other banke. Thus when the first were landed, they went forward still, until they were all set over: and verily, so long as they were driven on still, as it were upon a long bridge, they nothing feared: the formost only were afrayed when the barge was loosened, and they parted from their fellows, and so were caried away into the wide and deepe river, where thronging and struggling together, and iostling one another, they made some trouble, whiles they that were outmost gave back from the water as much as they could, untill such time as very feare (when they saw all about them nothing but water) caused them to be quiet. Some of them also like raging beasts as they were, and unruly, fell out into the river, but by reason of their heaviness, they stood sure, and casting their governors, they fought the founds foot by foot, by little and little, and got safe to land.

C While the Elephants were thus transporting over, *Anniball* in the meane time had sent 500 Numidian light horsemen to the Romanes camp, as espials to discover the ground, where they were to learne what forces they had, and listen after their signes and purposes. This wing and troupe was encountered by three hundred Roman horsemen, sent as is aforesayd, from the mouth of *Rhodanus*: where there was a more cruell skirmish than for so small a number, for besides many hurt, there were slaine on both sides in a manner alike: but in the end, the feare and flight of the Numidians gave the victorie to the Romanes, being now alreadie much travailed and wearied: on whose part (being the winners) were slaine 160, not all Romans, but some Gauls: and on the losers side who were overcome, there dyed above 200. This beginning and prognostication as it were of the warre, as it portended, and presaged an happie end and successe of the whole, unto the Romans: so it shewed plainly, that the victorie would hang long in equall balance, not without much effusion of blood, and danger of their part. The conflict being thus determined, they returned each one to his owne Captaine. As for *Scipio*, he could not resolve to take any course himselfe, but according as he saw the plots and enterprises of the enemy, so to frame his own. And *Anniball* again being uncertain whether to go forward with his journey begun, into *Italie*, or to give battel unto the first armie of the Romans that came in his way and met him: was drawn away from all present conflict, by occasion of the coming of the Embassadors of the Boij, and of a great Lord and Potentate, called *Matalus*, who promising to be his guides unto him in his voyage, and companions in his perils, thought it good, and gave advise to invade and set upon *Italie* first of all before any other warre, whiles his forces were entier in hart, no where put to the hazard, and to give them as it were the first hanfell. The common multitude of the Carthaginians (for that the former warre was not cleane forgotten, and out of remembrance) feared verily their enemies, but more their infinite journey, & the Alps especially, the name wherof so men not experienced, was very fearefull and terrible. Whereupon, *Anniball* being now resolved, to march onward in his journey, and to passe into *Italie*, assembled his people to an audience, and by sundrie meanes, as well by way of rebuke, as also by encouragement, windeth and assaileth the minds of his souldiers. I mervell (quoth he) what sodaine fright or new feare hath possessed your hearts; that ever before now have bene undaunted; who have served so many years, and alwaies won the victorie; who departed not out of *Spaine*, before that all those nations and lands, which lye enclosed betwene two divers seas, were brought in subjection to the Carthaginians; who taking indignation and great disdain; that the people of Rome should require all those to be yeelded unto justice (as offenders and malefactors) that had besieged Saguntum, have thereupon passed the river *Iberus*, with this intent even to destroy and extirp the Roman name, & to set free the whole world out of their servitude & bondage: no man thought it long then of his travaile from East to West, from the setting of the sunne, to the rising of the

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same:

same: now when as ye see the greater part (by farre) of our journey done and past the Forrest and
 21 mountaine of Pyreneus, amid most fierce and cruell nations, surmounted; that great river Rho-
 22 danus, passed over, maugre the hearts of so many thousand Gaules that would have impeached
 23 your passage, yea & the force of his maine streame overcome, now I say, when you are within the
 24 sight of the Alps, to the other side whereof lieth Italie close; ye faint as it were, and stand still, ti-
 25 red at the very gates of the enemies. Why? what other thing take ye the Alps to be, but high
 26 hills? And imagine they be higher than the cliffes of Pyrenei, what? there is no land (I am sure)
 27 that reach up to heaven, and no place for men unsuperable. But for the Alps, they are inhabited,
 28 and they are tilled, they breede and feede living creatures and cattail: and are they accessible
 29 in deede, & passable for some few, & unpassable for whole armies? These verie embassadors whom
 30 you see here, flew not over the Alps with wings; neither were their aunccestors time out of mind
 31 borne and bred there, but came from other parts as strangers, and inhabited Italie before; yea,
 32 and oftentimes haue gone over the same Alps in huge multitudes, together with their wives and
 33 children, in manner of travellers & pilgrimes that seeke new countries to inhabite: what should
 34 there be unpassable then or impossible for the armed souldiour, carying about him nothing but
 35 instruments of warre? For the winning of Saguntum, what perils were adventured, what travails
 36 were endured and swallowed, for eight moneths space? I should any thing then seeme to hard and
 37 difficult as to stay them in their enterprise once begun, who aime at no lesse than to conquer
 38 Rome, the head cite of the world? And have the Gaules indeede forced and wonn that in times
 39 past, which the Carthaginians despaire now to come unto? Therefore, either ye must confesse
 40 your selves inferior in stomach and valor to that nation, which so oft (these dayes passed) by you
 41 have ben vanquished; or else make reckoning with assured hope, that the goodly faire fields that
 42 lye betwene Tyberis and the walls of Rome, are the end of your journey.

When in these termes he had exhorted and encouraged his souldiours, he commanded
 them to take their repast and repose, to cherish and refresh their bodies, and to prepare them-
 selves for the march. The morrow after he departed crosse from the banks of Rhodanus, and
 entred the inland parts of France: not for that it was the more direct way to the Alps, but because
 he thought the further he went from the sea side, in so much lesse danger he should be of meet-
 ing the Romans, with whom he was not minded to fight, before he was arrived into Italie. After
 that he had travailed foure dayes journey, he came to an lland, where the two rivers * Arar and
 Rhodanus, issuing out of sundrie parts of the Alps, and taking a direct course; after they have
 run through a good part of the countrey, fall at length together and meete in one, and the
 ground lying betwene is called by the name of the lland. Neere there, inhabite the * Allobro-
 ges, a nation even in those dayes nothing inferior, neither in wealth and puissance, or in fame and
 reputation to any people or state of the Gaules whatsoever. But at that very time there was some
 discord & variance among them; by occasion of two brethren, who were at strife for the crowne
 and kingdome: the elder (whose name was *Brancus*, and had before enjoyed the Seignorie) was
 deposed and thrust out by his yonger brother; and a lustie crew of the youth, who as they had
 lesse right on their side, so they were the mightier. The deciding of this variance, was referred
 and put over unto *Anniball*, in as good and fit a time for his purpose, as he could have wished:
 and he forsooth was made the umpire and judge, to determine whether of them should be king,
 who restored the elder to the kingdome; like as it would have bene adjudged by the award of the
 Senators and Nobles of the countie. For which benefitt and good turne, he was served with
 victuall, and store of all things abundantly, yea and with rayment and apparell, which he was
 driven to provide aforehand; for the name that went of the Alps, which for their coldnesse were
 in great discredit.

Having thus appeased the debate of the Allobroges, and minding now to go forward to the
 Alps; he would not go the direct straight way, but turned on the left hand to the * *Tiberis*, and
 from thence passing by the frontiers of the * *Vogondians*, he marched into the * *Tricorians*,
 and never was he stayed or impeached in his journey, before that he came to the river * *Druentia*,
 which defending also out of the Alps, is of all other rivers in France most hard to be passed
 over; for although it carie with it a mightie force of water, yet with it bearend vessels, because it
 kept and restrained with no banks; but running at once by many divers channels, maketh
 new foulds, and casteth up new helvies and whirlepits; for which cause also a footman hath
 much ado to wade therethrough, and knoweth not the foulds; besides, it rolleth downe round
 stones

* The river
Sazone.

* The people of
Saxony, ac-
cording to Scholius.
But D. Ambrosius
not, after Mar-
tiansus, Rhena-
nus, and others.

* *Entrecasseaux*
in Provence,
saith *Vigeni-
er*.

* *Val de rivo*, or
the countie of
Belfort.

* Those of
Cranx.

* *Druentia*.

A stones and pibbles, whereby there is no sure nor safe footing for him that would wade through.
 And it chanced at that time, that it swelled and was risen high by fall of raine, and by land-
 floods; and caused them to have very much to doe, that passed over it: and over and besides
 all other difficulties, they were of themselves troubled and disquieted through their owne feare-
 fulnesse and fundrie cries which they made. *Publius Cornelius* the Consul, about three daies af-
 ter that *Anniball* dislodged from the banke of Rhodanus, was arrived with his armie (arraun-
 ged in a fouresquare battaile) as farre as the place where the enemy was lately encamped, pur-
 posing without any stay to give him battaile. But seeing the hold abandoned, and that hee was
 not like to overtake him, being so farre gone forwards; hee returned to his ships at sea, sup-
 posing by that meanes, with lesse daunger and difficultie, to encounter *Anniball* as hee de-
 scended from the Alps. But least that Spaine (which was the province allotted unto him) should
 be left disurnished of Romane succours, he sent his brother *Cn. Scipio* with the greatest part of
 his forces against *Asdruball*: not so much to defend their old allies, and procure new, as to drive
Asdruball out of Spaine. Himselfe with a verie small companie returned to * *Genua*, with in-
 tent to guard Italie, with that armie which was about the Po.

Anniball being departed from *Druentia*, marched for the most part through the champion
 countries, and came in peace and quietly, to the foot of the Alps, for any trouble from the pea-
 sants that there inhabited. And albeit he had some knowledge of the Alps before by report,
 (which useth to make things that are uncertain, much more than indeed and truth they are) yet
 seeing now neere at hand the height of those thils, and the snowes, entermingled along with the
 C skie; the rude and mishapen houses set upon rockes; the cattell, sheepe, oxen, and horses, singed
 with cold; the people with long shagd haire, and without any trimming, both living and livelisse
 creatures, even parched stiff and starke with frost; and all things else more strange and ilfavoured,
 than can be spoken: then began his souldiours to feare a frost. So soone as they advanced
 forward, and began to march up the first cliffes, there appeared over their heads the mountaine
 people, who had seized the hills: who if they had kept the secret and hidden vallies, and suddain-
 ly all at once charged upon them, they would have made a foule slaughter of them, & put them
 to flight. Then *Anniball* commaundeth the ensignes to stand still, and sent certaine Gaules afore,
 as espials, by whom he understood, that there was no passage that way: whereupon, he pitched his
 campe amongst those craggie and steepe rough places, upon as large a plaine and valley as hee
 D could find. Then by the same Gaules (who much differed not in tongue and manners from the
 other, and had entermingled themselves in talke with the mountainers) he understood, that they
 kept the passage, but in the day time, and slept away in the night, every one to his owne harbour.
 So at the break of day he mounted those steepe hills, as if he would openly in the day time march
 through the streights. Thus having spent the day in making semblance and shew of one thing,
 and intending another, hee encamped himselfe strongly in the place where hee had rested and
 staid: and so soone as hee perceived, that the mountaine people were departed from the steepe
 hills, and kept not so straight watch and ward; after that hee had made shewe of fires, more than
 for the number of those that remained behind; and left with the Cavallerie all the bag and bag-
 E gage, with the greatest part of the footmen: himselfe in person took unto him the nimblest, most
 active, and valiant souldiours lightly appointed, and with all speed passed through the streights
 afore said, and encamped on the very hills which the enemies before held and beset. Then in the
 morning betime his campe dislodged: and the armie behind, began to march and set forward.
 By which time the mountainers, at the ordinarie signall given, came forth out of their castles
 and fortes, and met at the usuall place of their accustomed guards: but then all at once they
 might see some of the enemies over their heads, to have gained their own forresse, & others also
 marching in the way. Both which objects at one time presented to their eye, made them blanke
 and to stand still in a muse a good while. But afterwards, when they saw *Anniball* his armie, distres-
 sed in the streights, and in great trouble and disorder among themselves in the march, by reason
 especially the horses were so affrighted, supposing, that the least fear and terror (besides) that they
 F could procure, would be enough for their enemies overthrow and confusion, they crossed the
 rockes overthwart, and (as they were accustomed and used to them) ran to and fro, up and down
 through the blind and unhaunted byways. But then verily, the Carthaginians were much en-
 combred, as well by their enemies, as also by the disadvantage of the place, & more ado there
 was among them (whiles every one staved avie who should first escape the daunger) than with

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the enimie. There was nothing that disordered and troubled the armie in the march, so much as their owne horses, which (by reason of the dissonant and divers cries, that the echoes betweene the woods and vallies redoubled) were affrighted: and also if any of them chanced to bee stricken, gauled, or wounded; they kept such winfing, and flinging about them, that they overthrew and made great havocke of men, and of all sorts of carriage. Besides, the preasse was so great, and the streights of both sides so steepe and craggie, that many a man was throwne down headlong a mightie heighth: yea, and some of them armed: and the sumpter horses and beastes for carriage, especially, tumbled downe amaine with their load, as if a house or castle had come downe with a mischeefe. Which, although it were terrible to behold, yet *Anniball* for a while stood still, and kept his owne men together, for feare of encreasing this disorder and affright. But after that hee saw his armie disbanded and marching in disarray, and that it was to no purpose to lead his armie safe through the streights, if hee lost the carriages: for feare hereof, hee ran downe from the higher ground, and albeit, with the violence of his charge, hee discomfited the enimie, yet he encreased the trouble and feare of his owne people. But that was soone appeard in a verie moment, after the waies and passages were once cleared, by reason of the mountaineers that were fled: so that within a while the whole hoast passed through, not onely at ease and leisure, but also in a manner without anie noise at all. This done, hee seized upon a castle, which was the cheefe strength of that countrey, with other villages lying about it: and for three daies space hee victualled and maintained his whole armie, with the cattell of his prisoners. And for that hee was now neither molested with the mountaineers, who were at the first discomfited, nor greatly encombred with the difficulties of the waies, in those three daies hee rid a good deale of ground, and journeyed a great way into the countrey; untill at the length hee came to another coast well peopled (for such mountaine and hillie quarters;) where hee had like to have been overtaken, not by open force, but even in his owne professed cunning: first, by a subtile practise, and after by a secret ambush. Certaine auncient men, thenlers and governours of the castles, repaired unto *Anniball* as Oratours, saying, That they having bene taught and made wise, by the profitable example of other mens harmes, made choise, rather to trie the amitie, than proove the force of the Carthaginians; and therefore were willing to doe his commaundement, and bee at his devotion: requesting him to take at their hands victuals and guides for their journey, yea, and hostages also for better assurance of promises to bee performed. *Anniball* neither overhastily and rashly beleeving them, nor yet churlishly distrustful and refusing their offer, least being rejected and cast off, they might become open and professed enemies; gave them good language, and a courteous answer, received the hostages whom they gave, accepted victuals, which they had brought with them to maintaine his armie by the way, and followed their guides, but so as his armie was not disarraied in their march, as if hee had bene amongst his friends, and in a peaceable countrey. First went in the vauit-guard the Elephants, and the horsemen; himselfe marched after with the flower and strength of his footemen, looking all about him with an heedfull eye. So soone as hee was entered a narrow passage, which of the one side lay under a steepe hill that commanded them aloft, the barbarous people rose out of their ambush from all parts at once, both before and behind, and charged upon him both a far off and neere at hand; yea and rolled downe mightie huge stones upon them as they marched. But the greatest number came behind upon their backs: against whom he turned and made head with the power of his footemen, and without all peradventure (if the taile both of his armie, had not bene strong and well fortified) they must needs have received in that lane and streights, an exceeding great overthrow. And even then, as it was, they came to an extremite of danger, and in manner fel into a present mischeefe. For whiles *Anniball* made long stay, & doubted whether he should engage the regiment of footmen within the streights, for that he had not left any succors in the reregard to back the footmen, like as himselfe was a defence to the horsemen; the mountaineers came overthwart, and flanked them; and breaking through the files of the battaile, beset the way, and crossed upon him. So that *Anniball* took up his lodging for one night, without his carriages & horsemen. The morrow after, when as the barbarous people ran betwene them more coldly than before, hee joined his forces together, and passed the streight, not without great dammage and losse; but with more hurt of the sumpter horses than of men. After this, the mountaineers (fewer in number, and in robbing wise rather than in warlike sort) ran in heapes, one while upon the vaward, other while upon

A upon the rereward, as any one of them could: either get the vantage of ground, or by going one while afore, and by staying another while behind, winne and catch any occasion & opportunity. The elephants, as they were driven with great leasure, because through these narrow streights, they were readie ever & anon to run on their noses: so what way soever they went, they kept the army safe & sure from the enemies; who being not used unto them, durst not once come neer. The ninth day hee waded many times out of the way, either through the deceitfulness of their guides; or for that when they durst not trust them, they adventured rashly themselves upon the vallies, and guessed the way at adventure, and went by aime. Two daies abode hee encamped upon the tops thereof, and the soldiours wearied with travaile and fight rested that time: certaine also of the
B sumpter horses (which had slipped aside from the rocks) by following the tracks of the armie as it marched, came to the campe: VVhen they were thus overtoiled and wearied with these tedious travailes, the snow that fell (for now the starre Vergilie, was set and gone downe out of that horizon) increased their feare exceedingly. Now when as at the breake of day the ensignes were set forward, and the armie marched slowly, through the thicke and deepe snow; and that there appeared in the countenance of them all, slouthfulness and desperation: *Anniball* advanced before the standards, and commaunded his soldiours to stay upon a certaine high hill, (from whence they had a goodly prospect and might see a great way all about them) and there shewed unto them Italie, and the goodly champion fields about the Po, which lie hard under the foot of the Alpin mountains: saying, That even then they mounted the wals, not only of Italy, but also
C of the citie of Rome; as for all besides (saith hee) will be plaine and easie to be travelled: and after one or two battailes at the most, ye shall have at your command, the verie castle and head citie of all Italy. Then began the armie to march forward: and as yet the enemies verely themselves adventured nothing at all, but some petty robberies by stealth, as opportunity & occasion served. Howbeit they had much more difficult travaile down the hill, than in the climbing & getting up; for that, most of the adventures to the Alpes from Italy side, as they be shorter, so they are more upright: for all the way in a manner was steepe, narrow, and slipperie, so as neither they could hold themselves from sliding, nor if any tripped and stumbled never so little, could they possibly (they staggered so) recover themselves and keep sure footing, but one fell upon another, as well horse as man. After this they came to a much narrower rocke, with crags & rags so steepe
D downeright, that hardly a nimble soldiour without his armour and baggage (do what he could to take hold with hands upon the twigs and plants that there about grew forth) was able to creep down. This place being before naturally of it selfe steepe & pendant with a downe-fall, now was choked & dammed up with a new fall of earth, which left a bank behind it of a wonderful & monstrous heighth. There the horsemen stood still as if they had been come to their waies end. & when *Anniball* marvelled much what the matter might be that staied them so, as they marched not one word was brought him, that the Rock was unaccessible & unpassable. Whereupon, he went himself in person to view the place, & then he saw indeed without all doubt, that although he had fetched a compasse about, yet he had gained nought thereby, but conducted his armie, to passe through wilds, & such places as before had never been beaten & troden. And verely that (of all other) was
E such, as it was impossible to passe through. For, where as there lay old snow untoucht & not troden on; and over it other snow newly fallen, of a smal depth in this soft & tender snow, & the same not verie deep, their feet as they went, easily rooke hold: but that snow, being once with the gate of so many people & beastes upon it, fretted and thawed, they were faine to go upon the bare yce underneath, and in the slabberie snow-broth, as it relented and melted about their heeles. There they had soule adoe and much struggling, for that they could not tread sure upon the slipperie yce: and againe, going as they did (downe hill) their feet sooner failed them: and when they had helped themselves once in getting up, either with hands or knees; if they chanced to fall again, when those their props and staies deceived them; there were no twigs nor rootes about, whereon a man might take hold; and rest or stay himselfe, either by hand or foot. And therefore all that the
F poore garrons and beastes could doe, was to tumble and wallow only upon the slipperie and glasse yce, and the molten slabbie snow. Otherwhiles also, they perished, as they went in the deepe snow, whiles it was yet soft and tender: for when they were once slidden and fallen, with flinging out their heeles, and bearing with their hooves more forcibly for to take hold, they brake the yce through; so as most of them, as if they had been caught fast and fettered, stucke still in the deepe, hard

hard frozen, & congealed yce. At last, when as both man & beast were wearied and overtoiled, and all to no purpose, they encamped upon the top of an hill, having with very much ado clenched the place aforehand for that purpose: such a deale of snow there was to be digged, faied, and thrown out. This done, the souldiours were brought to breake that rocke, through which was their onely waie: and against the time that it was to be hewed through, they felled & overthrew many huge trees that grew there about, and made a mightie heape and pile of wood: the wind served fuly for the time to kindle a fire, & then they set all a burning. Now when the rock was on fire and red hot, they powred thereon strong vineger for to calcine & dissolve it. When as the rock was thus baked (as it were) with fire, they digged into it, and opened it with pickaxes, and made the descent gentle and easie, by means of moderate windings and turnings: so as not onely the hories and other beasts, but even the Elephants also might be able to go downe. Four daies he spent about the levelling of this rock: & the beasts were almost pined and lost for hunger. For the hill tops for the most part are bare of grasse, and looke what fog and forage there was, the snow overhilled it. The dales and lower grounds have some little banks lying to the sunne, and rivers withall, neere unto the woods, yea and places more meet and becoming for men to inhabite. There were the labouring beasts put out to grasse & pasture, and the souldiours that were wearied with making the waies, had three daies allowed to rest in. From thence they went downe into the plaine countrie, where they found both the place more easie and pleasant, and the natures of the inhabitants more tractable.

In this manner, and by this means principally, entred the Carthaginians into Italy, five moneths after they departed from new Carthage (as some write): & within fifteene daies overcame and passed the Alpes. What power *Anniball* had, when he was arrived in Italy, the historians doe not agree. They that speake with the most, write that hee was 100000 foot, and 20000 horse strong: they that make the least of it, say they were 20000 foot and 6000 horse. *L. Cincius Alimentus*, who hath delivered under his hand, that himselfe was taken prisoner by *Anniball* (a writer of great authoritie) would induce me sufficiently to beleieve him, but that he setteth downe the number so confusedly, by adding to the rest, the Gaules and Ligurians. Here cordeth, that counting them, the Infanterie was 80000, & the Cavallery 10000, which was conducted into Italy (but likely it is that from all parts there came more thither than so, and so some authors doe report) and that he heard from *Anniball* his owne mouth, that after he had passed *Rhodanus*, he had lost 36000 men, and a great number of horses and other beasts of burden, when he was come downe into the Taurines countrie, which was the next nation in Italy, adjoining to the Gaules. Which being a thing agreed upon amongst all, I marvel so much the more, that there is any doubt, on which side hee went over the Alpes: and that commonly it is beleived, that he passed by a place called *Penninum*, and that thereupon the top of the Alpes tooke the name, and was so called. *Celiv* saith, hee tooke his way over by the top of *Cremon*: both which passages surely would have brought him not into the Taurines countrie, but through the mountaine forests, unto the Gaules called *Libuj*. But neither is it probable, that in those daies the same passages were open into Fraunce: considering, that the waies which lead to *Penninum* were environned with nations halfe Germanes. And certainly, the *Veragrians*, who inhabite this verie top (in case a man may build ought upon this configuration) never knew that these mountaines tooke the name of any passage of the Carthaginians: that way: but of some one place consecrated in the top of the hill, which the peasants and mountaineers called *Penninum*.

Very happily and fuly it fell out for the enterprise of his first designements, that the Taurines the next nation he came unto, made warre upon the *Insubrians*. But *Anniball* being busied in refreshing his armie (that now had most feeling of their hatmes which they had caught before) could not arme the same to the aide and gratifying of either partie: for ease after travails, plenty upon scarcity, good keeping and delicate, after lothsome nastinesse, did by a sodaine change greatly alter and distemper their leane and pined bodies, welneere savage and wild growne. Which was the cause that *P. Cornelius* the Consul, being arrived and landed at *Pise*, after he had received of *Manlius Attilius* an armie of new and raw souldiours, fearefull for some shamefull disgrace and defeature lately received, made hast and highed him to the *Po*, for to give battaile unto the enemy, before he were well refreshed and in heart again. But by that time that the Consul was come to *Placentia*, *Anniball* had dislodged and removed his camp, and woon by assault the

A chiefe citie or towne of the Taurines, because it willingly yeelded not to accept of his amitie and protection: and surely not by feare only, but also of voluntarie good will, he had gained unto him the Gaules that inhabited about the *Po*, but that the sodaine comming of the Consul interrupted and surprised them, as they were casting about to spie some opportunitie of rebellion. So *Anniball* dislodged, and removed out of the Taurines countrie, with this opinion, that the Gaules especially, being doubtfull as yet what part to take, would follow him being present in place. Now were the armies in manner one in sight of the other, and the Generals approached nigher together: and as they were not yet well knowne one unto the other, so they had already both of them a great opinion, and reciprocal admiration one of the other. For as *Anniball* was much renowned, and his name right well knowne among the Romanes, even since before *Samuntum* was lost: so *Scipio* was taken of him, and replured for some singular and excellent man, in that he especially above all other, was chosen General against him. Which mutual conceit and impression they had, they augmented themselves one to the other: for that *Scipio*, albeit he was left behinde in France, yet he met *Anniball*, and was readie to make head against him, so soone as he was passed the Alpes: and *Anniball* againe, because having enterprised so great an adventure, as to passe the Alpes, had now brought the same to good effect. But *Scipio* to prevent *Anniball* in crossing the *Po* before him, removed his camp to the river *Ticinus*: and for to encourage his souldiours, before he brought them forth to battaile, he made an Oration unto them, and began in this manner.

My valiant souldiours and trustie friends, if I were now to leade that armie into the field, which I had with me in France, I would have forborne to make any speech at all unto you: for to what purpose needed I to exhort, either that Cavallerie, which so valiantly had vanquished the horsemen of the enemies at the river *Rhodanus*: or those legions, with whom I followed in chase as it were, even these very enemies, and whose falling off and refusing battaile, I take to be a confession of victorie? But now for as much as that armie, being indeed levied for the province *Spaine*, serveth with my brother *Cn. Scipio*, under my name and commission, where it pleaseth the Senate and people of Rome, they should be employed; to the end that ye might have a Consul to be your Captaine against *Anniball* and the Carthaginians, I have willingly offered my selfe to this warre. If being then, your new Captaine, and you my new souldiours, meete it is and convenient I should use a few words unto you. And to the end you should not be ignorant, either of the manner of this service, or qualitie of your enemy; with those men ye are to fight, whom in the former *Punick* warre ye overcame both by land and sea; of whome for these twentie yeares ye have received tribute; from whome ye have woon (as the due wages and reward of the warre) *Sicile*, and *Sadinia* both, and them do hold and occupie. In this battaile therefore, both you and they are to cary that mind, and so to be affected, as winners and loosers are to be: for never thinke that it is valor & hardinesse that provoketh them now to fight, but meere necessitie and compulsion enforceth them to the field. Unless ye will beleieve, that they who when they had an entire armie, and unfoiled, refused battaile, should now have greater hope, and take more courage, after they have lost two parts of their horse and foote, in the very passage of the Alpes; and of whome, there have more perished in a manner, than remaine alive. But will some man say, True it is, few they are in number, but stout in heart, and tall of hand, whose strength and puissance, no force is hardly able to abide. Images they are, nay to say more truly, the very shadowes of men, and no better, with hunger bitten, with cold starved, lost for want of keeping, spoiled with nastinesse and filthie ordure, brused, and weakened amongst hard rocks and craggie cliffs: over and besides, joints and marrow dried up and burnt, their sinews shrunk, storked, and striffe againe with cold and chilling snow, their limmes singed with bitter frost, their armor crushed, bruised & their weapons broken: their horses, no other than lame, jades and poore hidebound hildings. See what horsemen, so what footmen ye are to fight withall. Beleieve me, ye shall have the verie reliques and last remnants of enemies, and not enemies indeed. And I assure you, nothing feare I more than this, that before ye shall skirmish with this kind of enemy, it will be thought that the Alpes already readie have vanquished and defeated *Anniball*. But peradventure it was so meete, and reason would, that the gods themselves without mans helpe, should against that captaine and nation, which had broken league and covenants, begin the warre first, set it in good forwardnesse, and bring it to the point of an end; and then we, who next to the gods have been offended & wronged, should finish the same thus begun to our hands, and brought to so good a passe, I feare not that

that any man here doth thinke, that I utter these brave and glorious words: onely for to haue
 you, and that my selfe thinke otherwise in hart, than I speake with tongue. I might have gone my
 selfe well enough into Spaine, my proper and peculiar province, (where I had bene aforetime)
 and with an armie of mine owne: I should have had my brother there, both a counsellor unto
 me in my distresses, and a companion with me in my dangers. I found *Asdruball* rather than
Anniball mine enemy, and no doubt, the affaires and charge of the warre farre lesse than here.
 But when I layd by the coast of France, and upon the bruit and newes of this enemy was set
 a land, I sent my Cavallerie before, and removed camp as farre as to Rhodanus, and in a bat-
 taile of horsemen (for with that part of my forces it was my hap to encounter & fight) I discom-
 fired the enemy: and for that by land I could not overtake his infanterie, (so haltilie they mar-
 ched away, like men that fled) I was faine to returne to the sea, & embarke againe into my ships.
 and with as great expedition & speed as I could make (considering so great compasse about of sea
 and land) at the very foote of the Alpes, I was readie to encounter and affront him. Can it be
 thought then, that whiles I shunned and avoided fight, I fell by chance and at unwarres upon this
 drad and redoubted enemy: or rather, that I followed him hard at heeles, and challenged him to
 draw him forth unto a battaile; thereby to have it decided who should have the victorie in
 the end? I would gladly make tryall, whether all of a sodaine the earth hath brought forth
 for these twentie yeares, Carthaginians, of another mould or new stamp: or whether they
 be the same that fought neere the Ilands *Egates*, & whom ye sent away; and let go from *Eryx*,
 valued after the rate of 18* deniers apeece, and no more: and faine would I see, whether this
Anniball be the concurrent of *Hercules*, to undertake his journeyes and voyages, as he saith himselfe,
 or one left by his father, a tributarie, a vassal, and slave of the people of Rome: who, but that he is
 tormented in conscience for the outrage and crueltie committed upon *Saguntum*, would have
 some respect and regard, if not of his native countrie (conquered and subdued) yet of his owne
 house, of the peace & covenants written by his father *Amilcar*, & his owne hand: *Amilcar* (say)
 who at the commandement of our Confull, removed his garrison from *Eryx*; who summing and
 storming, received with sorrowfull heart the grievous and heave conditions of peace imposed
 upon the conquered Carthaginians; who capitulated & covenanted to abandon Sicilie, & to pay
 a tribute to the people of Rome: I would have you therefore (my hardie souldiours) to fight a-
 gainst him, not onely with the same courage as ye do with other enemies, but in a certaine heate
 of choler and indignation, as if ye should see your owne servants and slaves on a sodaine to rise
 up in armes against you. We might well if we had bene so minded, when they were enclosed and
 shut fast up within *Eryx*, have put them to the utmost extremitie of all worldly paine, and fami-
 shed them: We might have passed over with our victorious *Annado* into *Affrike*; and within
 few dayes forced and rased *Carthage*, without any battaile fought. We pardoned them at their
 humble request, and tooke them to mercie; we let them out where they were besieged and be-
 leagured; and notwithstanding that they were by us subdued, we made peace, & contracted amity
 tie with them: and afterward, when they were molested & distressed with the *Africanos*, warre
 counted them within our protection. In recompence of these good favours and demerits, they
 come against us, under the leading of an humorous brainless and furious yong man, to invade
 and assaile our countrie. And I would it had pleased God that we had in this warre for our bo-
 nor only and reputation, and not for our safetie and our lives. But we are to fight now, not for
 the holding & possession of *Sicilie* & *Sardinia*; as in times past, but for our owne behoold, & the em-
 ritance of *Italie*: and that which more is, there is no armie behind our backs, to withstand and
 make head against the enemy; if we chaunce to faile of victorie: neither are there any more
 Alpes, which while he is getting over, we might have leisure in the meane time to assemble and
 prepare new forces. Here in this very place (souldiers) must withstand to it, and make resistance
 if we were fighting under Rome walls. Let every man thinke that he is not onely to defend
 ward his owne bodie; but to protect his wife and little children: and let every one regard and
 take care, not for his private affaires and domestical charges, but for the good of the whole. That
 even now the Senate and people of Rome beholdeth and seeth our hardie deeds, and how
 our force and valour now proceedeth and sheweth itselfe, such from henceforth will the fortune
 fortune be of that citie and Empire of Rome.

These words had the Confull to the Romans. But *Anniball*, supposing that his men were faine
 to be encouraged by representation of some deedes, and then uttered these words, having man

A shalld his armie in around compasse (as it were) to behold some spectacle in a Theatre: he set in
 the midst of them all, the prisoners mountaineers, bound (as they were) hand and foot: and cast-
 ting downe at their feet, the armour and weapons of the Gauls, hee demanded of them by a
 a truchman, or an interpreter, Which of them (upon condition to be eased of his bands, and to
 have armor, & an horse of service, given him for a price of victorie) would enter into combat, and
 fight at the utterance, for his life. And when they all answered with one voice, That they wold with
 no better; & not one of them but called for a sword, and required to fight; and therupon, the lots
 were shuffled to be cast, and not one there was but wished himselfe to be the man, whom fortune
 would chuse for the combat. Then every man as his lot fell, in token of cheerefulness and con-
 tentment of spirit, leapt for joy among his fellowes that rejoiced in his behalfe, fell a dauncing af-
 ter their manner, and so (hastily) took armes and weapons: all the while that they were in fight,
 there appeared such affection and disposition of mind, as well in them that were in the same
 state and condition; as also in those who stood there as spectators only in the multitude to looke
 on; that no lesse happie and fortunate were they accounted, whose chaunce it was to die in the
 place, than those who had the upper hand. Vpon the fight of some couples that were thus mat-
 ched in combat, hee dismissed them: and whiles hee saw them in this good mind, so well af-
 fected and resolute, then hee assembled them all together to an audience, and thus by report hee
 spake unto them.

My valorous souldiours, if in the consideration of your owne fortune, yee will anon but beare
 that mind, which even now ye shewed in beholding the example of the state of others; the jour-
 ney is ours, and we have the victorie. For that was not a dumbe shew and bare pageant, but a ve-
 ry mirror and patterne of your owne condition: and I wote not, whether fortune hath compassed
 about with harder bonds and greater necessities, your owne selves, or your prisoners. On both
 hands, as well the right as the left, enclosed yee are, and shut up within two seas; and have not so
 much as one ship to embarke in, for to escape away, and save your selves. Before you neer at hand
 is the *Po*, a greater river, and more violent than *Rhodanus*: behind you are the Alpes to hemme
 you in; the Alpes, I say, which yee hardly passed when you were in heart and lustie. Here must yee
 either get victorie (first) or lose your lives, even where ye have first encountred your enemy: and
 the same fortune, which hath laid upon you necessity of fight, presenteth & profereth unto you
 (if you go away with victorie) such rewards, as men use not to wish for greater and more honou-
 rable at the hands of the immortal gods. If by our manhood and valour wee should but reco-
 ver and win againe *Sicilie* and *Sardinia*, which were gotten from our fathers; those were rewards
 and prizes sufficient: but now, over and besides, what riches or treasure the Romanes in so manie
 triumphs, have gathered, laid up, and held in possession, all that will be ours, yea, and the owners
 thereof themselves withall. Go to it then a gods name, and take arms, in assured hope of gaining
 so rich a bootie and reward. Yee have all this while bene long ynough a courting and chasing
 the wild beasts in the wide and desert mountaines of *Lusitania* and *Celtiberia*, and have scene
 no recompence and fruit of your travailes and daungers: it is now high time for you to serve
 in the warres for good pay and rich rewards, and to receive great wages and prizes for your
 labour and painful service; you that have measured so long a voiage, passed over so many moun-
 tains and rivers, & marched through so many armed & warlike nations. Here is the place where
 fortune hath set down the utmost bound, & pitched the farthest point and limit of your labours;
 here will she give you a condign recompence and salarie, after you have served and followed the
 warres the full time, by order and law required. Never thinke that the victorie will be so hardly
 achieved, as the warre in name is counted difficult. For oftentimes an enemy of small or no rec-
 koning and regard, hath given a bloodie battaile; yea most noble States, most renowned and
 glorious kings, have in the verie turning of an hand bene overthrowne. For, setting aside this
 goodly, gay, and glittering name onely of the Romanes, what is there wherein they are with you
 to be compared? To say nothing of that continual warfare of yours, for 20 yeares space, with such
 valiancie & happy successe: even from *Hercules* pillars, from the Ocean, from the utmost bounds
 of the earth through so many nations of Spain, and most fell and cruell Gauls, ye are come thus
 farre with victorie. And now shall ye fight with an armie of new and untrained souldiours, who no
 longer ago than this verie Summer, were beaten, put to the sword, vanquished, and besieged by
 the Gauls; an armie (to say a truth) not knowne at all to their own capitaine, and as little acquain-
 ted with him. And to speake of mine owne person, if not borne, yet at leastwise brought up in the
 very

very tent and roiall pavilion of my father (a most noble warriour and renowned captain of his time) who have subdued Spaine, conquered Gaule, overcome not only the people of the Alpes, but that which is much more, the very Alpes themselves. Should I make comparison between my selfe, and this halfe-yere-Captaine, who hath abandoned and left his owne campe and armie? Vnto whome, if a man should this day, present the Carthaginians and Romanes together, without their ensignes and colours, hee could not tell, I dare well say, of whether armie hee were the leader and Consull. For I make no small account, I tell you of this (my tall fellowes) that there is not one of you all, who hath not many a time and often scene and beheld my selfe in person, performing some warlike and militarie exploit; and unto whome I (as beholder and eye-witnesse of his valour) cannot recount the time and place of his worthie deed and service. Then yee praised and commended me, then yee rewarded and honoured me with divers gifts and presents. And even I (who have been a souldior trained up and taught by you, before I was your generall) will march in battaile against them, that know not one another, and are unknowne like wife unto their captaine. Which way soever I turne and cast mine eyes, mee thinkes, I see all full of couragious stomacke, and forcible puissance. The footmen, old beaten and practised souldiours; launces, and men of armes, with bard horses, and the light horiemen likewise, chosen forth of most hardie and valiant Nations: of one side, most faithfull and resolute allies; on the other, doubtie Carthaginians, readie to fight, as well in countries defence, as also for most just and due revenge. VVee come of our selves to make warre, and wee descend into Italie with banners displayed, resolved to fight with so much more courage, as they commonly who are assailants, have greater stomacke and more hope than the defendants. Over and besides, our hearts are kindled, and our minds pricked on and provoked with sence of injuries and indignities. First and foremost they required, that I your Generall should be delivered unto them, as a condemned prisoner at the barre: then they would have had all you that were at the assault of Saguntum, yeeled up into their hands, to be put to most extreame tortures and execution. A people they are, full of all excessive crueltie, insolent and proud beyond all measure; they would have but all in their power, and at their disposition: they must prescribe limit, and set downe, with whom wee should warre; with whom we may make peace; restraining and enclosing us within the terms and bounds of hills and rivers; which, forsooth, we must not passe: and they themselves keepe not the limits, which they appoint. Passe not (say they) Iberus in any wise; meddle not at all with the Saguntines; come not neere them. Saguntum standeth upon the river Iberus, step not one foot forward, we advise you. It sufficeth not their turne, that they have taken from us our ancient provinces, Sicilie and Sardinia, unlesse they may have away Spaine too. And if I should depart from thence, and quit that realme also, they would not stay there, but will passe over straight into Affricke: nay, they have sent over this yeare alreadie two Consuls, the one into Affricke, the other into Spaine: nothing have they left for us, but that which wee can win and hold with the swords point. VVell may they be cowards, and play the idle luskies, having a place of refuge to retire unto, who in their owne countrie and ground may be received, when they take their heels and run through waies without daunger, to save themselves. As for us, it stands us upon to play the men, and to make account of no meane designs betweene victorie and death, but upon certaine despaire of all shifts besides, either to obtaine victorie; or if fortune shall faile and give us the foile, chuse rather to die fighting, than to be killed flying. If this be seded and deeply imprinted in your hearts, if this be your resolution, I will say once againe, The day is yours. A more poignant and sharper goad, than this, to provoke men to victorie, never gave the immortal gods to any whatsoever.

When by these Orations, the souldiours hearts of both sides were inflamed to fight, the Romanes made a bridge over Ticinus: and for defence of the bridge, erected a sconce and fort thereupon. But *Anniball* while the enemies were busie at worke, sent *Maharball* with a Comt of Numidians, to the number of 500 light horsemen, to overrun and wast the territories belonging to the allies of the people of Rome: commanding him withall, to make as great spare of the Gaules as he could, and to sollicite and persuade their Nobles and Lords unto rebellion. After the bridge was finished, the Romane armie passed over into the Insubrians countrey, encamped themselves upon certaine hills, five miles off from a village where *Anniball* also lay in campe: who seeing there was a battaile toward, sent speedily for *Maharball* backe againe, and the horsemen; and thinking belike, that he could never say ynough to his souldiours, & admonish them

A them sufficiently to do well & animate them to fight, he called them all againe together to an audience; where he proposed, & promised unto them openly, certain assured rewards, the hope whereof might incite them to fight: namely, *Imprimis*, that he would indue them with faire lands, in Italy, Affricke, or Spaine, where they would themselves, to have, & to enioie to him and to his heires for ever, as free hold in frank tenure, without service: if anyone would chuse to have money rather than land, him he would content with silver. *Item*, of the Allies, as many as hereafter were desirous to be enfranchised citizens of Carthage, they should have their free burgesie: and those that had a mind rather to returne home againe, he would endeavour and bring about that he should live so well, as not one of them would wish for to exchange his state with any of his neightbours and countymen whatsoever. Last of all, looke what bond-servants attended and followed their maisters, to them he promised freedome; and that in lieu of them, he would deliver againe unto their maisters, two for one, of the slaves taken captives in warre. And that they might be assured, that he would performe all these behests and promises, he held with his left hand a Lambe, and in the right a flint stone, and prayed solemnly, That if hee failed herein, *Jupiter* and the rest of the gods, would so kill him, as hee slew that Lambe: and presently after his prayer done, he smote the Lambe on the head, and dashed out the braines. Whereat they all every one, conceived & embraced assured hope unto themselves, that the gods said Amen and were on their side: & supposing that the only stay of enjoying their hopes, & obtaining their rewards, was, because they had not fought alreadie, with one heart and voice they called for battell.

The Romanes for their part, were nothing so cheerefull and lustie: for besides other things, they were affrighted with new prodigies and feareful sights. For it happened that a Wolfe entred their campe, and after he had worried and tome those that came in his way, escaped unhurt and untouched. Also a swarme of Bees ferled upon a tree that grew over the Generall his pavilion. Which straunge tokens being purged and cleered by an expiatorie sacrifice, *Scipio* with his Cavallerie & darters lightly appointed, went toward the campe of the enemy, to view neere hand their forces, & to observe how many & of what condition & qualitie they were: and there he encountred *Anniball*, who also was gone forth with his horsemen to descrie & discover the countie about. At the first they saw not one another, but afterwards, by reason of the thicke dust that rose upon the march of so many men and horses, they knew that enemies approached neere. On both sides the battailions made a stand, and every man buckled himselfe to the skirmish.

Scipio placed his archers and horsemen of the Gaules in the forefront: the Romanes and strength of allies, he bestowed behind for succours in the reeregard. *Anniball* set in this battaile, his great barbed horses with his launces & men of armes, & strengthened the wings with Numidian horsemen. The very first charge & showt was scarce done, when the archers afore said retired among the reereward in the second battaillon: by occasion whereof, the horsemen alone fought a good while in equall battaile: yea and afterwards, because the footmen that were intemengled among troubled and disordered the horses, many either fel; or else alighted from their horses, to go thither where they saw their fellows to be environed & overcharged. The medley became very doubtfull in many places until such time as the Numidians (who were in the wings) wheeling about by little and little, shewed themselves behind the backs of the Romanes: this feareful sight troubled them greatly, and the feare was encreased by reason of the Consul his hurt, the extreme danger whereof was put by and avoided by the rescue of his sonne (then a verie stripling as yet, and scarce had asy haire upon his face) this youth is he, who had the honour of happy ending this warre, slain afterwards (upon the noble victorie and memorable conquest over *Anniball* & the Carthaginians) *Asdruballus*. But the archers were they that fled fastest away, even those whom the Numidians set upon first. The rest that were horsemen keeping thicke and close together, recovered the Consul within their files into the mids of them: and protecting him not onely with their weapons, but also with their bodies, brought him backe safe, unto the campe, reading all the way, neither disorderly, nor like fearefull men overhastily. The honour of saving the Consul, *Calpurnius* attributed unto a bondslave of Liguria. But I verily would rather believe it of the sonne, which also the greater number of authors doe ascribe, but the common fame both of the said bondslave. This was the first battaile with *Anniball*: where he easily appeared, that the Carthaginians were better in Cavallerie, and therefore the open plaine field (such as were betwene the Po and the Alpes, were not so good for the Romanes to fight in). The night following therefore *Scipio* commanded his souldiours secretly without any noise to trusse up bag and baggage, and

and to dislodge: and removed from Ticinus, & made hast to Po: that whiles his boats were not yet unloosed one from the other, in which (as upon a bridge) he had brought over his armie, he might without any trouble & pursuit of the enemy, conduct the same backe againe. And they came to Placentia before that *Anniball* knew they were departed from Ticinus: howbeit, hee tooke some of them that made stay on the hether side of the banke, as they were too slow about disjoining and loosening the foresaid bridge of boates: upon which he could not passe over, by reason that when both ends were let loose, the planks and all, went downe the water with the streame. *Calius* writeth, that *Mago* with his horses, and Spanisb footmen, presently swam over the river; and that *Anniball* himselfe led over his armie at the upper foulds of Po: for which purpose, hee set the Elephants along on arow to breake and beare off the violence and streame of the current. A thing surely that they were hardly able to doe, who were skilfull and by long experience knew the nature of the river verie well. For it foundeth not like a truth, that horsemen with their armor and horses safe, could overcome so great a rage of the river, although we should graunt that all the Spaniards gat over upon blown bladders or leather bouges; and besides, they had needed many daies to fetch a compasse for to find the foulds of Po, over which the armie (laden with cariage) might be conveyed. But those authors cary more credit and authoritie with me, who write that scarcely in two daies they found a place to make a bridge (of planks joyned together) over the river, and that *Mago* and the Spanisb light-horsemen were sent that way over before.

While *Anniball* on this side the river, staied in giving audience to the embassages of the Gauls, he conducted over the regiments of footmen more heavily armed: in the meane while, *Mago* and the horsemen, after they had passed the river, marched one * daies journey apace toward the enemies at Placentia. And *Anniball* (few daies after) encamped himselfe strongly six miles from Placentia: and the morrow after in the sight of the enemies he put his men in array, and made them offer of battaile. The night following, there was a petie massacre committed in the Romans camp by the Gauls that came to aid: but greater was the garboile and tumult, than the harme indeed. For about 2000 footmen and 200 horsemen, having slaine the warders at the gates, fled away to *Anniball*: whom he spake courteously unto, and when he had drawne them on, in hope of great gifts and rewards, he dismissed every one into his owne citie and countrie, to sollicite and persuaide their countriemen to side with him. *Scipio* taking that massacre as a foretoken and overtur to the Gauls revolt in generall; and supposing, that now being once guiltie and tainted with this offence, they would in a madnesse runne all to take arms and rise. Although still hee were fore of his late wound, yet the night following at the reliefe of the 4 watch, he marched stilly, and removed his campe neere the river Trebia, into the higher countries, and hils, that were more troublesome for men of armes. But he wrought not so closely and without the knowledge of the enemy, as hee did at Ticinus: For *Anniball* having sent out, first, the Numidian light horse, and then all his Cavallerie; without question had disordered and endamaged the rereward, but that the Numidians for greedinesse of prey and boote, diverted aside, and turned into the tents, abandoned and forsaken of the Romanes. Where, whiles they spent time in ranfaking and rifling everie corner of the campe (and when all was done, could find no pillage worth the stay) the enemy escaped their hands. And when as they had espied that the Romanes were newly gotten over Trebia, and pitching out a plot for a campe, they intercepted a few of them that lingered about the river, and slew them. *Scipio* notable now to abide any longer the griefe and paine of his wound, by reason of the shaking and shogging of his bodie as he travailed, and thinking it good to expect the coming of the other Consull his Colleague, (whom he heard alreadie to be sent for out of Sicily) chose out a place neere the river which seemed most safe for to encampe in, and it he fortified. *Anniball* also lay, not farr off in campe, who as he was proud upon the late battaile of horsemen, so was he perplexed for want of victuals, which scarcitie encreased upon him everie day more and more, as he travailed through the enemies countrie, finding in no place provision aforesaid. Whereupon, he went to *Clasidium*, a towne wherein the Romanes had bestowed and laid up great store of graine; where, as he prepared with violence to force the towne, there appeared some hope of reason, by corrupting of *P. Brundisius*, the captaine of the garison there; and that with no great summe of money, for consideration onely of 400 peeces of gold given unto him, *Clasidium* was betrayed unto *Anniball*: the verie storehouse and garner of corne that the Carthaginians had, all the while they were

* About 25 English miles, as appears before in this booke.

A were in leaguer neere Trebia: Vpon those prisoners that were taken when the garison and fort was betrayed, he exercised no crueltie, because that in the beginning of his affaires, he would win himselfe a name and opinion of clemencie.

While the warre by land continued thus at Trebia, there had bene some warlike exploits atchieved both by sea and land about Sicilie; and the Ilands that lye against Italie neere unto it, both by *Sempronius* the Consull, and also before his coming. Twentie gallies with five ranks of ores, and a thousand armed men, were sent from the Carthaginians to invade and wast the coasts of Italie. Nine of them arrived at * *Liparae*: eight fell with the Iland of * *Vulcane*, and three were driven by tempest into the streights of Sicilie. Against them, being deservied within kenning, there were twelve ships set out from * *Messana*, by *Hiero* King of the Saracossians, who

B hapned at that time to be in *Messana*, attending the Romane Consull his coming; and without any resistance made, he boured those three ships, & brought them away into the haven of *Messana*. By those that were taken prisoners, it was knowne, that besides the 20. ships aforesaid, sent against Italy, (of which Fleet they were) 35 gallies of 5 course of ores, made saile for Sicilie, to sollicit and persuaide the old allies there to revolt. Item, that the especiall point and designe that they shot at, was to seize upon * *Lilybæum*: but they thought verily that by the same ghuilt of tempest wherein they were scattered, that other fleet also was cast upon the Iland *Ægates*. And according to this intelligence, the king from *Messana* writeth to *Atmyllus* the Romane Pretor or governor of Sicilie, advising him to keepe a strong garison in *Lilybæum*: whereupon the Lieutenants & Colonels about the Pretor, were sent from him with all speede to all the cities about, to

C give order, that their people might be in readinesse, to keepe good ward, & above all, to hold *Lilybæum* sure. And for preparation of war, there went forth a proclamation, that the sailers & mariners should bring into the ships ten dayes provision of victuals & meate readie dressed, to the end that upon the signall given at an houres warning, without all delay, they should a shipboard: Also that all those that dwelt along the coast, should from their Sentinels, watch-towers, and beacons, espie when the enemies fleet approached. Now (albeit the Carthaginians of purpose stayed the course of their ships, that they might come iust before day to *Lilybæum*) they were discovered, both for that the Moone shone all night, and also because they came under sayle which they had hauled up. So soone therefore as the signall was given out of the Sentinels and watch-towers, & alarme cryed in the towne, the mariners were soone embarked, the souldiers also

D were bestowed, some to man & guard the walls, and guard the gates, others to serve in the ships. But the Carthaginians perceiving, they were to deale with them that were provided for them, (as being advertised of their coming) forbore to enter the haven untill day, and imployed the time in striking sayles, in untackling their ships, and in preparing them for a battaile. When it was broad day light, they retired into the deepe, to have sea roome enough to fight, and that the enemies ships might have free egress out of the haven. The Romanes for their part refused not battaile, comforting themselves with the remembrance of the valiant exploits performed in that very place, and trusting also upon the number and valor of their souldiours. They were not so soone launched into the open sea, but the Romanes were desirous to grapple, and to come close to hand-fight: but contrarywise, the Carthaginians held off aloofe, willing to proceede by cunning and pollicie, more than by strength and fine force; and to make triall rather of the nimblenesse & agilitie of their ships, than either of the prowesse of men, or goodnesse of armour: for as their fleet was sufficiently furnished and to the full, with a multitude of mariners, so was it ill provided of souldiours: and wheresoever they grappled together, and came to hand-fight, they had not an egall number of men armed to hold play with the enemies: which being once perceived, the Romanes gathered heart, and redoubled their courage, by reason of their number; the other side againe were discouraged and out of heart, for their default of souldiours. In so much as seven Carthaginian gallies were soone invested round and boured, the rest fled. Of souldiours and mariners together, 1700 were in them taken; amongst whom, there were three great Gentlemen of Carthage. The Romane fleet still entier and whole, save one vessel onely that was boused and pierced (yet able to be brought back) returned into the haven.

E F Presently after this battaile, and before that they of *Messana* had knowledge thereof, *T. Sempronius* the Consull arrived at *Messana*: and as he entred within the sound, king *Hiero* met him, with a fleet well furnished, and richly decked, and comming forth of his royall ship into the Admirall of the Consuls, he welcomed him, and reioyced for the safe returne of his men and ships,

* *Liparae*, one of the Ilands *Ægeæ*.

* *Vulcane*, another of the same Ilands.

* *Messana*.

* *Messana*, a citie in Sicilie, and a cape there, called the Eye of Sicily.

ships, and prayed God, that his voiage into Sicilie might proove happie and fortunate. Then shewed he unto him the present estate, and the affaires of the land; opened the designements of the Carthaginians; and promised withall, that with as good a mind and found hart, as in the former warre against the Carthaginians, when he was a yong man, he had aided the people of Rome; so now in his old age he would assist them: and for proove hereof, he would of his owne free cost furnish both the Consuls legions, and also the mariners with come, and rayment. Among other matters, he enformed him how Lilybæum, & other cities on the sea coast were in great danger, by reason of some among them that desired a change & alteration. Whereupon, the Consull thought good to make no delay, but to set saile with all speede to Lilybæum, whome the king and his royall fleet accompanied: and as they were sayling, tidings came of the foresaid battaile before Lilybæum, and how the enemies ships were either scattered & put to flight, or boarded and taken.

The Consull having bid king *Hiero* adieu, with his fleet set sayle from Lilybæum, leaving behinde him the Pretor to defend the coast of Sicilie, and crossed the sea himselfe to the land * *Melita*, which was held by the Carthaginians. At whose comming, *Amilcar* the sonne of *Gisgo*, Captaine of the garrison there, rendered himselfe, and 2000 souldiours with in a very few, together with the towne & the land. From whence, within few dayes he returned to Lilybæum: where, the prisoners (excepting certain noble persons of high parentage) were by the Consull and the Pretor both, sold openly in port sale. When the Consull thought Sicilie on that coast sure enough, he set sayle from thence toward the Ilands of *Pulcane*, for that the bruit went that a fleet of Carthaginians there lay at roade: but there were no enemies to be found about those Ilands: for it chanced they were alreadye passed over to waite along the river and coast of Italie; and having forayed the territorie of * *Vibo*, they put the citie also in great feare. As the Consull returned back againe to Sicilie, tidings came that the enimie had made rodes into the countrie of *Vibona*: and he received letters also from the Senate, concerning the comming of *Anniball* into Italie, and therefore that he should with all speede possible aid and succour his Colleague. The Consull being at once troubled with many cares, presently embarked his armie, and by the Adriatique sea, sent them away to * *Ariminum*. To *Sext. Pompeius* his Lieutenant, he gave the charge of 25 Gallies for the defence of the territorie of *Vibo*, and the sea coast of Italie. With *M. Aemilius* the Pretor, he left a fleet augmented to the number of fiftie sayle: which done, and all things set in order in Sicilie, himselfe with ten ships coasted along Italie, and arrived at * *Ariminum*, from whence he put himselfe in his journey, and marched with one armie to the river * *Trebia*, where he joynd with his fellow Consull. Now were both Consuls, and the whole puissance and force of the Romanes opposed against *Anniball*, so as it appeared plainly, that either with that powre the empire of Rome might be defended, or else all their hope was gone. Howbeit, one of the Consuls being weakened and discouraged with the defeature of his horsemen in one battaile, and dismayed besides with the hurt that he had received in his bodie, desired to have the fight deferred: but the other comming fresh and lustie, and thereby more hardie, would abide no delay.

It fell out so at that time, that the Gaules inhabited all the countrey betweene the two rivers *Trebia*, and *Po*: who whiles these two most puissant nations were at strife and warred; held off as newters, and favoured neither side, making full account of the good will and grace of that part which should have the better. The Romanes because they would now make no stirre, and have no more yrons in the fire, tooke the matter well enough: but *Anniball* was very much thereat offended, geving out estoones, that he was sent for by the Gaules for their deliverance and libertie. Vpon this indignation and displeasure, and for that also he would feede his men with booties, he commaunded 2000 footmen, and a thousand horsemen, most of them Numidians, and some Gaules among, to overrun & spoile all the countrey forward, even to the banks of *Po*. The Gaules standing in need of helpe, and having untill that time kept themselves in doubtful tearmes, were forced to turne from those that offered them wrong, and to incline and cleave unto the Romanes that should revenge their injuries and protect them. Whereupon they sent Embassadours to the Consuls, requesting the Romanes helpe for their land, which by reason of the exceeding fidelitie, and too much loialtie of the inhabitants toward them, was now endangered. *Cornelius* liked neither the cause, nor yet the time to deale in such affaires: he had the nation besides in suspicion and jealousie, as well for many trecherous parts, as also (in case he would

A or could forget all other leaud pranches of theirs) for the late disloialtie and falshood of the Boians. *Sempronius* contrariwise thought it the surest bond to keepe their allies in faith and allegiance; to defend those that came first to band and side with him. But notwithstanding his Colleague cast doubts and held off, yet he sent his own Cavallerie, and a thousand well nere of footmen darters amongst them, to guard the countrie of *Gaulle* beyond *Trebia*: who comming suddainly upon the enemies, and charging them at unawares, as they came scattered asunder, and out of order, yea, and most of them laden with spoile, mightily affrighted them, and made a foule slaughter, and pursued them in flight, as farre as to their standing campe, and *corps de guard*. From whence (nevertheless) they were beaten backe by the multitude that issued forth: but by new succours from their owne companies, they renewed the medley againe. The fight afterward was doubtfull and variable: and although they made a saving bargain on both parts, yet the common voice gave the honour of victorie (such as it was) to the Romanes rather than the enemies. But no man made a greater matter of it, and reckoned it more to the full, than the Consull himselfe. He joyed, he made his boast; that he had gotten the better, with the helpe of the same forces, which under the conduct of the other Consull, came by the worse. And now (saith he) the souldiours are comforted and refreshed well ynough; and none there is but my brother Consull that would have the battaile deferred: who no doubt is more hen-hearted than bodily hurt; & for the remembrance and smart of a little green wound, quaketh to hear of the field, and of all things cannot away with edge-tooles. But we must not thus sit still here, and waxe aged for the pleasure of one crasse and fleskly person. For what reason is it, that we should drive off longer, and spend more time in vaine? What other Consull expect we to make up the third, or what armie besides should we looke for? The Carthaginians lie encamped in Italie, and welner within the view and sight of the citie of Rome: and it is neither Sicilie nor Sardinia taken from them by conquest, nor Spaine on this side *Iberus*, which they shoot at, to win againe: but that the Romanes should be thrust out of their native soile and countrey wherein they were borne, that is their drift and designement. Oh how deeply (quoth hee) would our fathers sigh, how hartly would they grone, they who were wont to manage warre about the walls of Carthage, if they should see us their off-spring and children, two Consuls with Consular and roiall armies in the midst of Italie, frighted thus and panting for feare within our campe? And that *Anniball* hath subdued and brought under his subjection all the countrey betweene the Alpes and Apenninum? These and such like speeches uttered he to his Colleague, as he sat by his beds side, where he lay sicke: thus spake he, as in an open audience, in the Consuls pavilion and all that quarter, to the souldiours. The time also of the Election of Magistrates at Rome, being so nere at hand, set him forward; for feare, least the war should be deferred unto the new Cons. and the opportunitie withall, of winning all the honor to himselfe whiles his Colleague continued sicke, pricked him on. Whereupon, for all the contradiction of *Cornelius*, which he nothing weighed and regarded, commaundement hee gave to his souldiours to be ready, to give battaile anone unto the enimie, *Anniball* as one that knew and saw well ynough what was best and safest for his enimie, could hardly imagine or conceive any hope to himselfe, that the Consuls would enterprise any thing rashly, or without advisement: but when he understood by hear-say, that which afterwards by good proove and experience he found true, namely, that the one of them by nature was hote, halfe, proud, and furious; and supposing, that he was the prowder and more furious for the late good hand hee had of his forragers; made no doubt and distrust of the happie successe and issue of a battaile, whensoever it should come. Marry, carefull hee was, that no good time and opportunitie presented unto him, should be overslipped: but to trie the hazard and fortune of the field, whiles the enemies souldiours were raw and untrained; and the better and wiser man of the two Generals, was unmeet for service, by reason of his wound as yet uncured; and the courages of the Gaules lustie and forward: for well he wist, that a mightie number of them would the more unwillingly follow, the further they were drawne from their owne home. *Anniball*, I say, hoping that by these and such like occasions, a battaile would be soone offered; desirous also himselfe to bid battaile, if the enimie staid long; and being advertised besides by the Gaules, his espials (whom he employed to hearken out and learne what he desired to know, and thought them more sure, because they served in both camps) that the Romanes were ready for the field; then began he (crasse Carthaginian as he was) to seek out a convenient place for an ambush. Now there was in the mid way betweene a river running within the borders, having very high banks of either side, and therefore lying close

horfmen raunged about, and made excursions into every quarter; and those who troubled and impeached them, more than they the Celtiberians and Portugals. Whereby all convoy of victuals from everie part was stopped, but onely that which came by the Po, in keeles and such like vessels. Neere to Placentia there was a merchants towne, both fortified strongly, and all well furnished with a good garnison: upon hope of force that castle or towne, *Anniball* went with his horse and foot, lightly armed; and supposing that to carry the matter covertly, would avayle much to the effecting of his purposed enterprise. He came upon them in the night; howbeit he was not so close and secret, but he was descried by the watch: who sodainly set up such an al arme, that it was heard as farre as Placentia. Whereby the Consull somewhat before day was there with his Cavallerie, having commaunded the Infanterie to march on after, raunged in square battaillon. In the meane while, the horfmen skirmished, wherein *Anniball* was hurt, and departed out of the medley, by which meanes the enemies were frightened, and the castle and hold manfully defended. After few daies that he had taken his ease, before he was well cured of his wound, he went forward to assault *Vicunvio*. That was a towne also of merchants (or mar townes) and had bene fortified by the Romanes in the Gaules warre. Whereupon, the people bording thereabout on everie side, used thither to make repaire, & much frequented the same; and even then for feare of rodes & excursions many of the peasants & rural people retired themselves thither for refuge. This multitude (such as they were) upon the report of the valiant holding and defence of the fort by Placentia, were encouraged, and took armes, and went forth to encounter *Anniball*. And in the mid-way they chaunced to affront him and skirmish, in no battaile ray, but as they marched disorderly: whereas therfore they were on the one side, none but a rude and confused fort; and on the other side, both a captain that might trust his soldiors, and soldiors also that might reckon upon their captain, there were to the number of 35000, discomfited & put to flight, even by a few of their enemies. The morrow after, they yielded themselves, and received a garnison within the wals; and so soone as upon commandement to give up their armour, they had obeyed & so done, presently a signal was given to the conquerors to sack and spoile the towne, as if it had been forced by assault: where there was not forgotten and omitted any calamitie whatsoever, that might afford in such a case, memorable matter and sufficient argument for writers to record. So pitifull examples were practised upon the poore seely wretches, of all loosenesse and lust, cruetie, and inhumaine pride and outrage. And these were the expeditions and emprises of *Anniball* atchieved for this winter time.

After this, the soldiors tooke repose, but no longer than the intollerable cold lasted: For immediately upon the verie first and doubtfull tokens of spring, he departed from his winning hold, and led his armie into Tuscanie, purposing to adioine unto him (either by force or love) that nation also, as well as the Gauls and Ligurians. But as he passed over *Apenninus*, there arose so terrible a storme & tempest, & surprised him, that it surmounted well neere the foule trouble and encombrance endured in the Alpes. For the wind and raine together did beat & drive upon their verie faces. At the first, for that either they were to lay away their armour, or else in striving and labouring to march on against the weather, & by the while puffes of wind turned round about, and readie to bee borne downe, they stood still: but when as now the violence and furie of the storme, stopped their breaths, and suffered them not to take their wind at will; they were faine to turne their backs, and sit them downe on the ground for a time. Then see, the skie thundred amaine, and made an horrible noise, & amid those terrible crackes redoubled, it lightened thicke. Whereupon, they lost their hearing and seeing; and for feare, all of them became astounded. At length it poured downe, and thereby the wind & storme increased more forceable upon them. Whereupon they were driven to this necessitie, even to pitch their camp in that verie place where they were so suddainly caught and overtaken by tempest. But that was to them the beginning of a new toile and travaile: for neither could they spread and display ought, nor pitch any thing surely: neither would that which was pight downe, continue and abide the wind, which rent, tare, and broke everie thing, and hurried it cleane away. And within a while, the water that fell, and by reason of the wind was raised aloft, being congealed once upon the cold tops of the hills, turned into a kind of haile and snow together, & came upon them with such a force, that leaving all things els, the men were forced to lie along, groveling upon their faces, rather stifled and smothered; than covered with their billings. Hereupon ensued a frost so violent and outrageous, that of that miserable and pitifull heape of men and beasts, that lay there along, there was not one

for

A for a good while could raise and lift up himselfe when hee would, by reason, that for stake cold their sinewes were benumbed, that they could hardly bend and bow their joints. Afterwards, at length, when with bestiring and chaunging their limmes, they gat some heat, and came againe to themselves, and that here and there in some places they began to make fires, every one that had no meanes so to doe, ran and fled to the succour and helpe of others. Thus for two daies they remained there pined up as if they had bene besieged. Many a man and beast, and seven Elephants also of them that remained after the battaile at Trebia, were starved and perished.

By occasion hereof, *Anniball* departed from *Apenninus*, back againe toward Placentia: and when he had marched ten miles on his way, he fate him downe and encamped. The morrow after, he led against the enemy 12000 foot, and 5000 horse. *Sempronius* the Consull also, being now returned from Rome, refused not battaile: and the same day, the enemies were distant but three miles asunder. The morrow after they fought on each side most fiercely and courageously, and with variable event and fortune. At the first onler, the Romanes had the better hand, so farre forth, as that not onely in fight they overcame their enemies, but also after they had discomfited them, and put them backe, they chased them into their campe, and anone assailed the same. *Anniball* having ordained some few to defend the rampier and the gates, retired the rest thicke and close together into the mids of the campe, and commaunded them to give earre, and bee attentive to the signal, when he would have them issue forth. Now was it the ninth hower of the day, when the Roman Consull having toiled and wearied his souldiours to no purpose, and seeing no hope to win the campe, sounded the retreat. Which so soone as *Anniball* heard, and saw the fight withall to stake and waxe cold, and the enemy retired backe from the canipe, presently sallied forth himselfe with the whole strength of his Infanterie, for hee had sent out his horfmen both on the right hand and the left after the enemies. There had not bene lightly a more fierce and cruell battaile stricken, and more memorable, for the small mischefe of both parts, if the day would have given them time to have fought longer. But the night parted the medley, which was hotely begun with exceeding stomacke and courage. Whereupon, the confronting and charging one of another, was more eager, than the slaughter bloudie betweene them; and as the fight in manner was egall, so they parted with losse alike. For of each side there died above sixe hundred footmen, and halfe as many horfemen. But the losse on the Romans side was greater than in proportion of the number, because certaine of the degree and calling of knights, and five Colonels, and three Captaines of the Allies, were slaine.

After this journey, *Anniball* went into the country of the Ligurians, and *Sempronius* to Luca: To welcome *Anniball* at his first coming into Liguria, there were delivered unto him two Roman Questors or Treasurers, *Cn. Fabius*, and *L. Lucretius*, who were intercepted by the Ligurians, and taken in a traine of ambush, with two Colonels, and five others besides, whose fathers by calling were as good as Senators fellowes: and this was done, because he should assure himselfe the better, that the peace and amitie contracted with them, would be faithfully kept and observed.

Whiles these things thus passed in Italie, *Cn. Scipio* who was sent into Spaine with a flecte & armie for sea & land; having set saile from the mouth of Rhodanus, & compassed the mountaines E Pyrenei, arrived at a place called Emporia: where he disbarked and landed his forces, and reduced unto the Roman empire all the country, beginning at the Lacetanes, and so from thence all the sea coast as farre as to the river Iberus, partly by renewing the ancient leagues, and partly by devising meanes to contract new. Whereupon, there rose a great name of him for his clemeencie; whereby he prevailed not only with the States by the sea side, but also amongst the inlanders and mounteiners, even to the nations that were more fierce and savage: with whom he not onely made peace, but also wrought them so, that they tooke armes in his quarell, and there were levied from among them, certaine strong cohorts and bands for to aid and succour him. *Hanno*, whom *Anniball* had left for defense of that province, was not ignorant hereof: and therefore before all was gone, and the country alienated, he thought good to meete with this mischefe: and having pitched his campe in sight of the enemies, set his men in ordinance of battaile. The Roman captain likewise resolved not to deferre the fight; knowing that so, he might be forced to encounter both with *Hanno* and *Asdruball*, and rather yet he desired to deale with them one after the other single, than at once with both. But this battaile was not so much dangerous. Sixe thousand enemies were left behinde slaine, and two thousand taken prisoners, together with those

those that were left for the gard of the camp. For both the camp was forced & woon; and also the General himself with certain guards was taken prisoner. Moreover Stissum, a towne neere unto the camp, was woon by assault: howbeit, the spoile & pillage of the towne were matters of small worth and value, namely, the household stuffe, and such pelfe and trumpery of barbarous people, and certaine poore base slaves. It was the camp that enriched the souldiers: by reason that not onely the armie which was now vanquished, but that also which with *Anniball* served in Italie, had left behind them about Pyreneus, all good things to speake of, that they set store by, because they would go lightly, and not be encombred with carriages. Before any certaine report of this overthrow came to *Asdruball*, he had passed over Iberus, with 8000 footemen, and 1000 horsemen, as purposing, to make head against the Romanes at their first comming: but when he heard how the field was lost, and the camp withall, he turned his journey to the sea. And not farre from * Tarragona, he found the souldiers of the Armado, and the mariners besides, wandering and straggling over the fields (for usuall it is, that happie successe should breede carelesse negligence) whereupon he sent out his horsemen every way, and with great slaughter and flight he chased them to their ships: and not adventuring to make any longer stay thereabout, for feare to be surprisid by *Scipio*, he retyred back to the other side of Iberus. *Scipio* also upon the first report of these new enemies, having rallied his forces together in great hast, after he had slightly chastised a few captaines, and left behinde him a small garrison at Tarracon, returned with his flecte to Emporiae. He had no sooner departed from thence, but *Asdruball* was there in his place; and having induced and incited the State of the Illegetes (who had given hostages to *Scipio*) for to revolt and rebell, even with their owne youth wasted the territories of all thole that continued faithfull confederates to the Romanes. Afterwards, when *Scipio* was roused once out of the place where he wintered, the enemy retyred againe, and quit all the country on that side Iberus. Then *Scipio* having in hostile manner invaded the countries, abandoned & left by him that was the author & cause of their rebellion, and by that meanes the nation likewise of the Illegetes, after he had driven them all within Athanagia, which is their capitall towne, he layd siege unto it round about, and within few dayes brought the whole seignorie of the Illegetes under his obedience: and besides a greater number of hostages than before (which they were constrained to deliver) he condemned them in a good round summe of money. From thence he went forward against the Ausetanes, neere to Iberus, being associates also to the Carthaginians: & having beleaguered their citie, he forsaide & intercepted the Lacetanes as they came by night to succour their neighbours, not farre from the towne, even as they were at the point to enter in. There were slaine of them 12000, and the rest being welneere all disarmed, fled every way scattering here and there over the fields home to their houses. All the help and defense that they had who were within, was only the foule and cold winter weather, evermore naught and humfull to assailants that lye forth. The siege lasted thirtie dayes, during which time, seldome fell the snow lesse than foure foote deepe, and so covered the pentises and mantlets of the Romanes, that when the enemies slung fire sundrie times thereupon, that alone saved the same, and nothing else. In the end, upon the departure of their Prince *Amurstinus*, who was fled to *Asdruball*, they yelded, upon condition to pay * twenty talents of silver, & so *Scipio* returned to Tarracon, there to winter.

But that yeare, at Rome and about the citie, were many strange and prodigious signes seene, or at leastwise (a thing usuall when mens minds are once touched with religion, and given to make scruple) many were reported, and soone beleevd. Among which, this was one; that a babe of condition free borne, and but halfe yeere old, cryed with a loud voice in the hearbe market *Io Triumphe*. Also in the beasts market, an Oxe of himselfe undriven, climbed up to the third loft or storie of an house, and from thence being frighted with the stire and noyse of the dwellers by, cast himselfe downe. Moreover, there was seene in the welkin or element, the resemblance of a navie of ships; and the temple of Lady * *Spes*, standing in the hearbe market, was smitten with lightning. Likewise at Lanuvium the speare of *Iuno* shooke and brandished of it selfe: and a Raven flew into *Iunoes* church, and lighted upon the very Shrine or Alter of *Iuno*. In the territorie of * *Amitemum*, in many places were seene men as it were in white garments, but only a farte off; for as folke went neerer and neerer, they appeared not, and could not be met withall. In Picenum it rained stones: and at Cere the lots were found diminished; and in Gaule, a Wolfe drew forth a watchman his sword out of his scaberd, and caryed it away. For other prodigious tokens, order

* Tarragona.

* 3750. pound sterling, according to the lisse Antick Talents.

* The goddess Hope.

* Pescara.

A order was given to the Decenvirs to peruse the books of *Sibylla*. But for the raiming of stones in Picenum, there was ordained a Novendial feast for nine dayes: and for the expiation of the other prodigies, the whole citie in manner was occupied in their devotions. And now above all other things the citie was solemnly purged, and greater beasts killed in sacrifice in the honor of those gods, for whom they were ordeined, and a present of gold weighing * 40 pound, was caried unto *Iuno* at Lanuvium. And the dames and matrons of Rome erected a moken image of brasie for *Iuno* in Aventinum & at Cere where the lots were diminished, was appointed a Lectisternie, and a proceffion or supplication to *Fortune* in Algidum. At Rome also, there was a Lectisternie solemnised to *Juventa* [the goddesse of youth] and a solemn proceffion at the church of *Hercules*. Moreover, expresse commaundement was given to all the people, to make proceffion and supplication at every altar and Shrine of their gods. And to god *Genius*, they sacrificed five greater beasts. And *C. Atilius Serranus* the Pretor, was commaunded to pronounce a solemn vow, in case the Commonweale continued in the same good estate, ten yeares, and decayed not. These portentuous prodigies thus expiated, and vowes made according to *Sibylls* booke, eased mens hearts mightly of their religious feare. Then one of the elect Consuls, to wit, *Flaminius*, to whome were allotted those Legions which wintered at Placentia, sent an Edict with letters to the Consull, that the armie should bee in campe at Ariminum, upon the * Ides of March. His purpose was, to enter into his Consulship in the province, remembering the old contentions and debates which hee had with the Nobles, first when hee was a Tribune of the Com, and afterwards when hee was Cof, as wel about the Consulship (of which, they would have deprived him) as also about the triumph, which they denied him. Hated hee was besides of the Senate, for the new Act or Law, which *Q. Claudius* (a Tribune of the Commons) had made, so prejudiciall to the Senate; and onely *C. Flaminius*, of all the Nobles, supported it and set it forward; namely, That no Senator, or father of a Senator, should have a ship at sea, bearing above * 300 Amphores: for that was thought sufficient to transport their commodities and fruits to Rome, rising out of their lands and livings. And as for all other gaine by trafficke, it was not becomming a Nobleman and Senator. This matter having been debated with great contention, caused the proposer of this law (*Flaminius*) to incur much evil will and displeasure with the Nobilitie, but it procured him the affection and love of the Commons; and in proceffe of time a second Consulship. Supposing therefore, that with iterating the Auspices, and putting him to take the presages anew by the flight of birds, and by finding other delaies, upon occasion of the Latine holy daies, and one businesse or other belonging to the Consuls charge, they would detainee and keepe him backe still in the citie; he set a countenance, as though hee would take a journey like a private person, and so departed secretly into the Province. Which thing, when it was once blazed abroad, made the Nobles who were afore maliciously bent against him, to be angrie anew; and they gave out, that it was not the Senate onely, that *C. Flaminius* warred against, but the immortall gods also. For hee, who before time had been made Cof, without regard of taking Auspices, and having the approbation of the birds, when he was reclaimed and called both by God and man out of the field, obeyed not: and now, having a heave conscience, surcharged with offences past, hath fled from the Capitoll and the solemn nuncupation & making of vowes, for that he would not upon the ordinarie day of entering his Magistracie, visite the Temple of *Iup. Opt. Max.* nor (because he was odious to the Senate, and they likewise hated of him alone) see them, and aske their advise and counsaile; nor proclaim the Latine holydayes, and celebrate to *Iup. Latialis*, the solemn yearly sacrifice upon the Alban hill: ne yet, after he had entred into the Capitoll by the luckie flight and token of birds, pronounce his vowes there, and depart from thence in his rich coate-armor toward the province. They sayd moreover, that he was slipst and stolne secretly away like a drudge that followeth the camp, without the ensignes and ornaments of authoritie, without Sergeants and officers, as if hee had bene banished, and so left his countrie, minding belike to enter his government more for the honor and dignitie of Ariminum than of Rome; and to put upon him his purple robe of estate, embrodred with skarlet rather in an hostellie, and common Inne, than in his owne house. They all every one opined and judged, that he should be recalled and brought back againe peremptorily, yea and be forced personally at home to performe all duties belonging to God and man, before that he went forth to the province and to the armie. About this embassage (for they thought meete to send embassadors) went *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Antistius*: but they prevailed no more than in his former

* 440 lib. sterl.

* 15 day of March.

* Of eight Tun and better.

former Consulship the letters inuifive had done, which were sent from the Senate. A few dayes after he entred his office, and as he was sacrificing, the calfe or yong bullock being already stuck, got away from the hands of the sacrificers, & spotted many of the standers by with bloud. But they that stood farre off, not knowing what the matter was of that sturre, fled away, and ran too and fro: which of most men was judged a foretocken and, presage of some great affright and trouble. After this, when he had received the two legions of *Sempronius* the Consul of the yeare before, and other two of *C. Attilius* the Pretor, hee began to conduct his arme into *Turkane* by the way of *Apenninump*.



THE XXII. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the two and twentieth Booke.



Aniball came into *Hetruria*, after he had lost one of his eyes by occasion of continuall watching in the marshes, through which he marched some daies and three nights, without taking his repose and sleepe. *C. Flaminius* the Consul, a rash and inconsiderate man, went forth, contrary to the warrant and approbation of the *Auspices*, and caused the field-engines to be digged out of the ground, when otherwise they could not bee plucked up: and being mounted on horsebacke, fell with his head forward from his horse. His fortune was to bee surprised in an ambush by *Aniball*, which he had laid for him neere the Lake called *T. Trasymenus*: where he and his arme were defeated, and fell upon the edge of the sword. Sixe thousand *Romans*, who brake through and made an escape, notwithstanding the faithfull promise that *M. abarball* had made unto them, were by the falshood of *Aniball* put in prison. When upon the newes of this overthrow, there was great mourning and sorrow at Rome, there furnished two mothers to die for very joy, that beyond their hope and expectation, they recovered their sons, and saw them alive, whom they supposed to have been slaine in that field. In regard of the foreaid defeature, there was rained a sacred Spring, according to the booke of *Sibylla*. After this, when *Q. Fabius Maximus* the Dictator sent against *Aniball*, would not come to a set battaile with him, for feare he should hazard in fight the souldiours lately terrified and daunted with aduise overthrowes, against an enemy lustie and proud of so many victories, and by making bread, and opposing himselfe onely against *Aniball*, impeached his attempts and enterprises: *M. Minutius* the Generall of his host, a man of a proud spirit and br-inefickie humour, with charging the Dictator, and accusing him unto the people for a feefull and cowardly person, prevailed so much, that by vertue of their power and authority, he was iointed in equal command and command with the Dictator. By means whereof, the arme and the forces were parted indifferently between them, and *Minutius* gave the enemy battaile in a place of great disadvantage, whereupon his Legions were distressed and in great hazard: but *Fabius Maximus* came in time to his rescue with his part of the arme, and saved him out of the present danger. By occasion of which good turne, he was overcome, and his stomacke came downe in so much, as he was content to ioin in the ampe with him, and saluted him by the name of Father: commanding all his own souldiours, to do the same to their fellow souldiours under *Fabius Maximus*. *Aniball* after hee had wasted and overrun *Campaine*, chaunced betwene the towne *Casilinum*, and the mountaine *Calicula* to be enclosed and compassed about by *Fabius*: but by a device of tying little bariins of drie stickes unto oxes bones, and setting them on fire, put to flight and chased away the guards of the *Romans*, which kept the heights of *Calicula*, and by that means gat through the passage of that forrest. There came *Aniball*, at what time as he made barocke and burned all the territorie about, forbare to touch the land of *Q. Fabius Maximus* the Dictator, to the end, that he might bring him into suspicion of treason to the State. After this, when *Emilius Paulus*, and *T. C. Varro* were Consuls and Generals of the arme, there was a battell fought with *Aniball*, to their exceeding losse and utter overthrow, where unto a village called *Cannae*. At which field there were slaine of *Romans*, 45000, together with *Paulus* the Consul, and some fewe Senators, besides thirte other brave personages that had been Consuls.

A Consuls or Pretors, or at leastwise *Ediles* of State. After this defeature, when the Noble yong gentlemen of the citie (for very dispaire of the State) were in counsell to abandon *Italie*, *P. Cornelius Scipio* (a Colonel, who afterwards was surnamed *Africanus*) held his naked sword over their heads, as they sat in consultation, and swore a great oath, that he would repute him for a mortal enemy, that would not swear after him: and hereby effected thus much at their hands, that by vertue of an oath, they obliged themselves not to depart out of *Italy* and forsake their native countrie. This booke containeth besides, the feight and lamentation made within the citie, and the affaires and exploits atchieved in *Spain*, with more happie successe. *Opimia* and *Terentia*, two professed vestall virgins, were convicted of Incest, and condemned. By reason of the small number of souldiours and serviceable men for the warres, there were 8000 slaves put in armes. The Captives taken prisoners in the warres, when they might have bene redeemed, were not ransomed for all that. A solemne meeting there was for *Varro* his welcome home, with great thanksgiving, because he had not despaiied of the Commonweale.



NOW aproched the spring, when *Hanniball* removed out of his wintering holds, after he had assaied before to passe over the *Apennine*, but in vaine, by reason of the intollerable cold; where also he staid in great feare and danger of his owne person. By which time, the *Gauls*, who having risen up in armes on his side, for hope of spoile & pillage, seeing now in stead of harrying and carying away of booties out of other mens lands, that their owne countrie was become the place of the warre, troubled and molested as well with the one arme as the other which abode there all winter, turned their hatred and malice from the *Romans* backe againe upon *Aniball*: In such sort, as after he had bene sundrie times forelaid by the secret traines of their princes, and in danger to be mured, he escaped onely by the deceitfulness and falshood practised among their owne selves. For with what incononstancie & levitie they had conspired together, with the same they bewraied one another, and detected the conspiracie unto him. By means whereof, as also by changing one while his apparrell, another while the bonet and attire of his head, by errour also and mistaking, he avoided the perill, and saved himselfe. But so it was, that even this feare in which he stood, caused him to remove the sooner out of his wintering harbour.

About the same time *Cn. Servilius* entred into his Consulship at Rome, on the * 15 day of March. where, after he had propounded to the Senate concerning the affaires of the Commonweale, the hatred and malice which the *LL.* had conceived against *C. Flaminius*, was renewed afresh. For they said, that they created two Consuls, and had but one. For that lawfull government and authority which *Flaminius* should have had, that auspice of Magistracie which was meet and due, he ought to have caried with him from the citie, from the publike and private habitations, after he had celebrated the Latine holidays, and offered sacrifice upon the mountaine *Albane*, and made his solemne vowes accordingly, within the *Capitoll*. But since for default herein, he departed from the citie a private person, the *Auspices* of government could not follow and accompanie him: and being gone without them, he might not lawfully take the same anew in forren soile. Now there were sundrie straunge prodigious tokens besides, reported from many places at once, which much encreased their feare: namely, that in *Sicily* certaine souldiours javelins were on fire; and in *Sardinia*, a horsemans walking staffe, as he went the round, and visited the watch upon the wall, burned in his hand: That upon the strand and sea shore, there were seene many light fires, so as all the costes shone againe withall: That two shields sweet blood: That there were some souldiours smitten dead with lightnings: That the circle and bodie of the sunne appeared in sight lesse in compasse and eclipsed: Also, that there fell from the skie burning Prentles: And at *Arpi* there were seene in the Element, Palme or Date trees: and the sun fighting with the moone: Moreover, at *Capena* two moones arose & shewed in the day time: and that at *Cere*, the waters ran mingled with blood: That the verie fountaine of *Hercules* yeilded and cast up water bespotted with blood: That as folke reaped in *Antium* fields, certain bloodie ears of come light into their baskets: At *Falerij* the heaven seemed to cleave in sunder, and open, and to shew as it were a great chink; and out of the place where it gaped, there shone a great light: That the lots of their own selves diminished, and one fell out of the pitcher, with this inscription: *Mars brandisheth and shaketh his speare*. And about the same time at Rome the Statue of *Mars* sweet in the high way *Appia*, neere to the images of the wolves: and at *Capua* the welkin seemed to be on fire, and the forme of a moone to fall downe in a raie or shower. After this, men gave beleeve also to prodigies of farre lesse importance: namely, that some mens goates, in stead of haire bare, wooll: that a hen turned into a cocke, and a cocke proved to be a hen. These things, as folke reported, were

were declared abroad, and the authors brought into the Senate: where the Consul propounded before the L. L. and required their advice, as touching matters of religion. Whereupon, there passed a decree that these strange tokens, some should be purged and expiated with greater sacrifices, other with young sucklings: and that for three daies there should be supplications at all the Shrines and Alters of the gods. As for other matters, after that the Decemvirs had looked into their bookes, such provision was to be made, as the gods in their verses should foretell to stand with their pleasure and contentment. So, by the advertisements and directions of the Decemvirs it was decreed as followeth: First and foremost, that to *Jupiter* there should be made of gold a thunderbolt or forme of lightning weighing * 50 pounds, and another of silver, presented unto *Iuno* and *Minerva*. Item to *Iuno Regina* there should be sacrifice offered in the mount Aventine, and to *Iuno Hospita* in Lanuvium, of greater beasts: Item that the dames of Rome, making a contribution (everie one to their abilitie) of a summe of money, should offer an Oblation unto *Iuno Regina* & bring it into Aventine, & there solemnise a Lectisternie: Item, that the verie Libertine or enfranchised women also, should according to their power, lay their money together and make a present for the goddesse *Feronia*. These things accomplished, the Decemvirs sacrificed in the market place of Ardea, & for that purpose killed greater beasts. Last of all, by direction out of the bookes of *Sybill*, now in the month December, they celebrated a sacrifice at Rome in the temple of *Saturne*: and commandment was given that a Lectisternie should be solemnized (which bed and table the Senators themselves spread and set out with all the furniture) & a publicke feast besides, in any hand: and throughout the citie both by day & night were proclaimed the solemn Saturnalia: and order directed, that the people should hold and observe that day, as holy and festival, for ever.

Whiles the Consull was busied at Rome in pacifying the gods, and levying soldiours, *Anniball* (who was departed from his wintering fort, because the rumor ran that *Flaminius* the Consull was come as farre as Arretium) albeit he saw another way more readie & commodious (though it were somewhat farther about) yet chose that which was the neerer, through the marshes, whereas the river Arnus at the same time had overflowed his banks more than usually. As for the Spaniards, Africans, and all his old beaten souldiours (the verie flower and strength of his armie) he commaunded to march foremost together with all their baggage and carriages among them, to this end, that if they were forced any where to stay, they should not faile and want necessities about them: the Gauls he appointed to follow next: and because he was desirous that those kind of people, should be in the middle ward, and the horsemen likewise to go after them hindmost in the rereguard, he charged *Mago* with the lighthorsemen of the Numidians, to guard the armie & keepe them close together in their march, but especially to have an eye to the Gauls, and keepe them in, for feare least they for tediousnesse of travaile, and wearinesse of long way (as they are a nation tender enough and not able to abide any hardnesse) should either flinke away, or else stand still. They of the vanguard, what way soever the guides led them and went afore, passed through thicke and thinne, waded through great rivers and deepe quicksands; and albeit they were mired and in manner overwhelmed and swayed up of bogs and muddie quavemires, yet they followed still their colours. But the Gauls, if their feet chanced to slip, could not hold themselves, and when they were downe, they were not able to arise out of the durtie sloughes & holes: neither could any of them comfort his corps with courage, nor his heart with hope of better. Some of them hardly haled their heave hammes, and drew with much ado their lazie legs and lagging limmes after them: others, whose hearts were wearied with tedious toile and travaile, when they were once downe, lay dying amongst the jades and other beasts, which also were couched along every where. But that which hurt and undid them most, was their want of sleepe, for they had watched foure daies and three nights continually without a winke. Now when as the water had so covered and overspread every place, that they could find no drie ground, to lay their wearied bodies on, they were faine to pile their packs one upon another in the waters, and to cast themselves aloft upon them. All the way as they went, they might see the garons and horses lie everie where on heapes overthrowne and dead: which served them a while, in steed of couches for want of other meanes, who sought but onely for some thing of other, that appeared above water to repose themselves upon, for to take a nap. As for *Anniball* himselfe, (who had already an infirmie in his eies, which came first by the distemperature of the spring season, now hot and then cold) he was mounted upon an Elephant, the onely Elephant

* 300. li. p. ltr.

A that left alive: this beast bare him a good way above the water: but by reason that he had overwatched himselfe, and the moist nights besides together with the dampe and mist of the foggie fens stuffed his head and filled him full of thewmes, and because neither time nor place served for any cure and to take physicke, he lost one of his eyes quite.

Thus after many a man lost, many a horse piteously perished: when he was gotten out at length of these foule fennes & miry marshes, in the first dry ground that he came unto, he pitched his camp: and was certified by his espials & vauntcouriers, whom he had sent out before, that the Roman armie lay about the walls of Arretium. Then with great diligence and careful enquire he endeavoured, to find the intent and designs of the Consull, to know the costes and size of the countrey, to hearken what waies he travailed; to learne what forces he had; to be advertised how he was stored and provided of victuals; and to understand all other things expedient for his purpose in such a case, and necessary to be knowne. The countrey was most fertile and fruitful, as any one in all Italy, to wit, the goodly champion fields of Tuscanie, lying betwene Fesulae, & Arretium, plentiful in corne, abundant in cattails, & richly stored with all good things. The Consull was stout and proud; by reason of the former Consulship that he had borne: little account he made of the majestie of lawes, and authoritie of Senators, and as small regard and reverence he had of the gods themselves: which rashnesse, as it cost him nought, but was ingrafted in him by nature, so fortune had nourished and maintained the same with prosperous successe in his affaires at home, and warres abroad; so as it appeared evidently, that since he respected neither God nor man, and deigned not to take their counsell and advise, he would go rashly to worke, and do all in his hand over head, without discretion. And to the end he might be more forward to plunge himselfe headlong into these his infirmities and imperfections, *Anniball* devised to anger him, and to move his patience. Leaving the chemie therefore on his left hand, he put himselfe into the way to Fesulae: for to wast and spoyle the countrey of Tuscanie; and shewed to the Consull a farre off, what foule worke and havock he possible could make, with fire and sword. Then *Flaminius* who of himselfe would not have rested and sat still, in case *Anniball* had bene quiet; seeing once the goods of his allies and friends, harried and driven away even before his eyes, and thinking it tended greatly to his shame and dishonor, that a Carthaginian should march thus at his pleasure, through the mids of Italie, & without any empeaching & controulement, to passe on forward, even to besiege and assault the walls of Rome; when all others about him sitting in counsaile, gave advice for profit and safetie, rather than for shew and bravery; namely to pause awhile, and expect the coming of his Colleague, that they might with ioynt armies, with one heart, and with common accord of counsell, conduct and mannage the warre: and in the meane time, with the Cavallerie, with Auxiliarie or aid souldiers lightly armed, repress the enemy, and stay him from spoiling so licentiously at his pleasure, in a great chase and choler he rose up, and departed out of the counsell, and presently sounded the march, and gave the signall of battaile: and withall, Nay we were best (quoth he) to remaine and sit here still before the walls of Arretium: for this, belike, is our native countrey, and here is our place of habitation: as for *Anniball*, let him escape forth of our hands, and wast all Italy; let him spoyle afore him; and overrun all with fire and sword, untill he be as farre as Rome walls: and let not us, in any case once stirre from hence, before that the Senators send for *C. Flaminius* from Arretium, as sometimes they called *Camillus* from Veij. With these and such like reprochfull and taunting words, he commaunded in all hast the standards and ensignes to be plucked up, and called for his horse. He was not so soone mounted on his back, but the horse fell presently, cast the rider over and over with his head forward; and there lay *Flaminius* the Consull under foote. As they all that attended about him, were affrighted and troubled in mind, at this unluckie prelage and foretoken, in the very beginning of his enterprise; word moreover was brought unto him, that one of the port-ensignes was not able to pull up his ensigne, do what he could; and putting his whole strength unto it. The Consull turning to the messenger, What hast thou any letters besides (quoth he) from the Senat, to prohibit me from geving battaile? go thy wayes, & bid them dig up the ensigne, with help of spade & mattock, if their hands be so benumbed for feare, that they can not pluck it up: and with that began the armie to march. The principall leaders and captaines, besides that they agreed not, but gainesaid this course, were much dismayed and terrified with this twofold prodigious signe: but the common souldiers rejoiced and tooke great pleasure, to see this forwardnesse and animositie of their Generall: having an eye rather to the end of their hope;

P p

than

than to the cause which they had to hope so. Now *Annibal* waited in all manner of hostility that he could devise, the territories betwene the towne *Cortona*, and the lake *Thrasymenus*, and all to what the edge of the Consuls stomacke, to chafe his hote blood, and to provoke him for to be revenged, for the harmes and wrongs done to his good friends and allies. And some alreadie they were to certaine places, naturally made as it were for an ambush, whereas the lake *Thrasymenus* lyeth hard at the foote of the hills of *Cortona*: for there is betwene, but a very straight and narrow passage, as if there had bene left so much space of ground, only for that purpose, and nothing else. For if a man go but a little further, the plaine lieth more open, and groweth larger, and from thence the hills begin to arise aloft. *Annibal* in the open ground pitched his campe, for himselfe with his *Africanes* onely and the *Spaniards* to lodge in, and make abode. The *Balearians*, and the other light armed souldiers, he led about behinde the mountaines: the horsemen he placed at the very gullet of the straight passage, where the little hills hand somely covered and hid them close; to the end that so soone as the *Romanes* were entered in, when he had put forth his horsemen against the gullet of the straight, all might be enclosed within the lake and the mountaines. *Flaminius* being come to the lake the day before at the sunne setting, the morrow after, before it was full day light, without discovering and cleering the coasts by any skourts and espials sent out before, passed through the streights. After that his armie began to be spread and displayed more at large, as the plaine opened wider, he espied and perceived those enemies only which he had before his face: for the ambushes lay close hidden, both behind his back, and over his head. *Annibal* having once gotten the enemies (as he would) enclosed thus within the lake and the mountaines, and environed with his forces, gave the signall to them all for to charge: who came downe every man the neere way he could: and so much the more were the *Romanes* affrighted and troubled with this sodaine occurrent, by reason that the mist which arose out of the lake, was setled thicker in the plaine, than upon the hills: whereby the companies and squadrons of their enemies comming out of many vallies, were seene well enough one of another, and therefore more jointly gave the charge all at once together. The *Romanes* hearing the cry and shout which arose from all parts, before they could well discern and see, perceived themselves compassed all about and surprised, and were assailed both afront, and on their flanks, ere they could put themselves in battaile ray, as they ought, make their armour and weapons readie, and draw their swords. When all the rest were thus amazed, and at their wits end, the Consul alone, for all this imminent danger, shewed himselfe nothing daunted or afraid, but fer in order the ranks and files which were shuffled and blended together, according as time and place would give him leave; and marshalled his soldiers, who turned every way as they heard the sundry and divers noyses, and in the best manner he could devise, he comforted and encouraged them, willing them to stand to it, and fight like men, for that there was now no meanes else to escape. All the vowes and invocations upon the gods for their help, would not serve, but only it was fine force and meere manhood must do the deede: and they were to make way by dint of sword, through the midst of their enemies battailons: and the less men feared, the less danger commonly beideth them. Howbeit, by reason of the noyse and hubbub, neither counsell nor commaund could be heard: and so farre off were the souldiers from knowing their owne ensignes, their ranks and places, that scarcely their heart would serve them to take armes, and to buckle them, as they should, fitly for fight in such sort, as some of them were surprized and borne downe, laden rather with their harness, then covered and defended therewith. And in so great a mist and darkenesse, more use they had of eares than eyes; for at the grones of their wounded fellows, at the blowes and strokes upon the bodies and armour resounding againe, at the confused shoutes and shrieks of hardie and fearefull men one with another, they turned their faces, & cast their eyes every way. Some as they would have fled, light into the prease of those that were fighting, & there were set fast: some againe as they returned for to fight, were borne backward by companies that ran away. Afterwards, when they had assayed in vaine every way to get forth, and saw well, that on both sides and flanks the mountaines and the lake, that afront and behind, the enemies battailons hemmed them in; then they knew evidently, there was no hope of life but in their right hand and force of armes. Then every man became a capitaine, and encouraged himselfe to fight manfully: so as the battaile began afresh, not in order by the Principes, Hastati, and Triarii, nor according to the accustomed manner, whereby the avantgard should fight before the maine battaile and the standers, and behind them the reregard,

The Battaille
at Thrasymenus.

A reregard, and that the souldiour should keepe his owne legion, his owne cohort, band, and company; but at a venture, even as it happened, so they went to it and buckled, pell mell: and as everie mans heart served him, so hee marshalled himselfe to fight, either before or behind. Their courage and animositie was so ardent, their spirits and minds so intentive to the medley, that being as there was, a terrible earthquake at that verie instant, which overthrew and turned upside down, a great part of many cities in *Italie*, turned aside the courses of great rivers out of their channels, & drave their streams against the current, forced the sea into fresh rivers, yea, and overturned mountains with mightie falls, and laid them flat: yet there was not a man who fought in that battaile, that once heard or perceived it. The conflict lasted almost three houres. Sharpe it was in every place, but about the Consul most cruell: and looke in what part forever hee saw B his men distressed and in hazard, there courageously hee aided them. By reason that the flower and bravest gallants followed him, and was himselfe for his owne person goodly beset in his rich armour, he both assailed the enemy most furiously, and also defended his owne citizens as valiantly, so long, untill a certaine *Insurbrian*, a man of armes (*Ducarius* was his name) one that knew his visage well ynough, This is (quoth he to his countrymen) the Consul that defeated our armie, put to the sword our Legions, wasted our territories, and hee that destroyed and sacked our cite. Now will I offer him as a sacrifice out of hand to the ghosts and spirits of those our fellow citizens, who by his meanes have been piteously slaine: and therewith setting spurs to his horse, hee rode through the thickest troupe and prease of his enemies: and when hee had first slaine his Esquier outright (who opposed his bodie betwene, and set himselfe against him, seeing him comming so furiously) hee ran the Consul quite through the bodie with his lance. C And when he would rather than his life have disarmed and risted him, the *Triarii* stept with their targuets over his corpes, and so kept him off. Hereupon from hence first many began to flie; but anone, neither deepe lake nor high mountaine, could impeach and stop their fearefull flight: like blind men they ran and sought meanes to make escapes, were the lane never so narrow, were the hills never so steepe and craggie, horse and man, man and armour, fell headlong one upon another. A number of them seeing no way els to escape, entred into the Lake by the first edges and shallow brimmes thereof, waded so farre, and went up so high, that they left their heades and shoulders onely above the water. Some there were, who unadvisedly (such was their feare) sought to save themselves by swimming. Which being an endlesse peece of worke, D and beyond all hope, their wind and breath failing them, they were either stifled and swallowed up of the goulfes, or after that with too much hast, they had over-laboured and toiled out themselves, they did what they could to swimme backe againe, and with much ado to recover the land: and there, by the enemies horsemen who had taken the water, were they killed every where, and cut in peeces. Sixe thousand or thereabout, of the vaward, who lustily brake through the mids, maugre the heads of their enemies, unwitting of all that was done behind, escaped safe out of the gullet: and having seized the top of a little hill, there they stood, and might heare onely the outcries of men, the rattling & rustling sound of their armor, but how the batell went or sped, neither could they know, nor yet discern for the thicknesse of the darke mist. But now, when they were come to some ods, and one side went down and had the worse, by which time the heat of the sunne had broken and dispatched the mist, and the bright day appeared; then through the clear light, the hills and dales shewed evidently the havock and overthrow that was made, and how the *Romane* armie was foully discomfited and defeated. For feare therefore, that the enemy (having descried and seene them a farre off) should send out against them the Cavallerie, up they went with their ensignes in all hast, and got them away with all speed possible they could. The morrow after, when over and besides all other calamities, they were in daunger of extreame famine, and that *Maharball* (who with all his power of horse pursued them by night, and overtook them) had given his faithfull word and promise, that if they delivered up their armour, he would suffer them to depart in their single garments, they yielded themselves. Which promise *Annibal* sawe performed as truly, as all *Carthaginians* use to doe, and false *Carthaginian* as F he was, he clapt them all into prison, and hung yrons upon them. This is that noble and famous battell fought at the Lake *Thrasymenus*, and of those few overthrowes that the *Romanes* had, the most memorable of all others. 15000 *Romanes* were there slaine in fight: 10000 were scattered: and flying through sundrie parts of *Tuscane*, gat to *Rome*. 1500 of the enemies lost their lives in the field. But many more of both sides afterwards died of their wounds. Others there be that

that report much murder and carnage on both sides. For mine owne part (besides that, I love not to write vaine untruths, nor any thing without good warrant, and yet the humour of writers for the most part is too much given that way) I have followed for mine authour *Fabius* especially, who lived about the time of this warre. *Anniball* having enlarged without raunsome as many of his prisoners as were Latines, and put the Romanes in streight ward, culled out from among the heapes of his enemies that lay one upon another, the dead bodies of his own men, & commanded they should be buried: & having with great care and diligence made search also, for the dead corps of *Flaminius* to interre it, he could never find it.

At the first newes in Rome of this overthrow, the people ran together in exceeding fear and trouble, into the common place of Assemblies. The wives and Dames of the citie, went up and downe to and fro in the streets, and enquired of whomsoever they met, what suddaine calamitie this was, whereof the bruit went; and what was become of the armie: And when as the multitude assembled thicke (as it were) to a publicke audience, turning to the Comitium & the Senat house, and called upon the Magistrats: at length somewhat before the sun-set, *Marcus Pomponius* the Pretor came forth and said, A great battell hath ben fought, & we have lost the field. And albeit they heard of him no more than this of certaintie, yet they filled one anothers ears with rumors, and caried home with them these newes, to wit, that the Consull was killed, and a great part of his armie with him slaine: that there were but a few left alive, and those either fled and scattered up and downe in Tuscane, or else taken prisoners by the enemy. And looke how many casualties and misfortunes follow the overthrow of an armie, into so many cares and perplexities were the spirits & minds of all those plunged, who had any kinsfolke that served under *Flaminius* the Consull, all the whiles they were ignorant, what was the fortune of their friends. And no man knew for certaine, what he was to hope for, or to feare. The morrow and certaine daies following, there stood at the gates a sort of people, and those were women more than men, waiting to see their friends themselves, or those that could tell tidings of them: and ever as they met with any, they would flocke about them, and bee very inquisitive: neither could they bee plucked away from them of their acquaintance and knowledge, before they had questioned every particular circumstance, from point to point in order. There might a man have seene an alphabet of faces, in those that departed from the messengers, according as the tidings was joyfull or wofull: there might a man have seene a number coming about them to accompany them as they returned to their houses, either rejoicing for their good hap, or comforting them for their misfortune and calamitie. The women especially, as well in joy, as also in sorrow, were in their extremities. One above the rest (as it is reported) standing at the gate, upon the suddain sight of her sonne alive and safe, fell downe dead at his very feete. Another, who had received an untrue report of her sonnes death, as shee sat mourning at home within her house in great sorrow of hart, so soon as ever shee saw him coming into the house, for exceeding joy yeilded her last breath, & died. And for certaine daies the Pretors kept the Senators together in counsel from the sun rising to the setting, consulting under whose conduct, & with what forces they might be able to withstand the puissance of these victorious Carthaginians. But before they wer thoroughly resolved of any determinat purpose & course to be taken, suddainly there arrived other newes of a second losse, namely, that 4000 horsemen under the leading of *C. Centronius* the Propretor, sent from *C. Servilius* the Consull, unto his Colleague, were inclosed by *Anniball* in Vmbria. For thither they had taken their way, upon the newes they heard of the battaile at Thrasymenus. The brute and rumor hereof hammered diversly in mens heads. Some, whose minds were possessed already with greefe of a greater calamitie, thought the losse of that Cavallerie but small, in comparison of the former defeature. Others esteemed that which happened, not according to the importance of the thing it selfe: but like as it falleth out in the naturall bodie of man, that if it be crasse and weake, every occasion, be it never so small and light, is more offensive unto it and sooner felt, than a greater cause and object in a sound, and strong constitution: even so, when any crosse or adversitie happeneth unto the politicke bodie of a citie or C.V. diseased (as it were) and sickly, wee are not to measure and weigh the same by the greatnesse of the accidents, but according to the feeble and decayed estate thereof; able to endure and abide no new matter, that may surcharge and greive it, whatsoever. And therefore, the citie of Rome toke her selfe to the soveraigne salve and approved remedie, which shee had long desired, and yet not applied and used of late, namely, to the nomination of a Dictator. And because the Consull himselfe was absent, by whom alone it was thought hee might be named; and

A by reason that hee was so overspread and forsaid with the Panicke forces, there might no count be well dispatched, nor letters safely sent unto him: and for that the people had not authority of themselves to create a Dictator, they therefore elected a Pro-dictator (a thing that was never seene and practised before that day) namely, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and for his Generall of the Cavallerie, *M. Cincinatus*. These had commission from the Senate, to fortifie the wals and towers of the citie, to plant and bestow guards thereon, where they thought meet, and to cut up and breake downe the bridges upon the great rivers, shewing hereby, that first of they were not able to keepe and defend Italie, they were now to fight for house and home, and to guard the very citie.

B *Anniball* in this meanetime was come directly by the way of Vmbria, as farre as to Spole- tum. And after he had grievously wasted and spoiled the territories, he assaied to give assault to that citie, but then hee had the repulse with the losse of many of his men. And getting by the strength of that one Colonus (where hee stood but badly in the attempt of it) how great and difficult the enterprise might be of assailing the citie of Rome, he turned another way into the *Picene* countie, not only abounding in plenty of all kind of corne and graine, but also affording rich spoile and pillage: which the hungrie and needie soldiours desired and caried away as greedily, beyond all measure. And therefore certaine daies he kept a standing campe, and refreshed his soldiours, toiled as well with winter journeyes and beggie waies, as also in the late battell, which was more joious and fortunarie in the looke and parting, than fight and easie in the conflict and fighting. After he had rested and refreshed his soldiours sufficiently, who tooke C more pleasure in booties and reises, than in wars and perils, hee dislodged, and journeyed forward, wasting and spoiling first the *Pretorian* and *Adrian* territories, and then the *Martian*, *Marmicines* and *Delignians*: and all about *Arpi* and *Luceria*, being a region next adjoining unto *Apulia*. *C. Servilius* the other Consull, having had some light skirmishes with the Gauls, and won from them one meane towne of small importancie, after he was advertised once of the death of his Colleague, and the defeature of the armie, fearing even then what danger might befall him, hee departed from the messengers, according as the tidings was joyfull or wofull: there might a man have seene a number coming about them to accompany them as they returned to their houses, either rejoicing for their good hap, or comforting them for their misfortune and calamitie. The women especially, as well in joy, as also in sorrow, were in their extremities. One above the rest (as it is reported) standing at the gate, upon the suddain sight of her sonne alive and safe, fell downe dead at his very feete. Another, who had received an untrue report of her sonnes death, as shee sat mourning at home within her house in great sorrow of hart, so soon as ever shee saw him coming into the house, for exceeding joy yeilded her last breath, & died. And for certaine daies the Pretors kept the Senators together in counsel from the sun rising to the setting, consulting under whose conduct, & with what forces they might be able to withstand the puissance of these victorious Carthaginians. But before they wer thoroughly resolved of any determinat purpose & course to be taken, suddainly there arrived other newes of a second losse, namely, that 4000 horsemen under the leading of *C. Centronius* the Propretor, sent from *C. Servilius* the Consull, unto his Colleague, were inclosed by *Anniball* in Vmbria. For thither they had taken their way, upon the newes they heard of the battaile at Thrasymenus. The brute and rumor hereof hammered diversly in mens heads. Some, whose minds were possessed already with greefe of a greater calamitie, thought the losse of that Cavallerie but small, in comparison of the former defeature. Others esteemed that which happened, not according to the importance of the thing it selfe: but like as it falleth out in the naturall bodie of man, that if it be crasse and weake, every occasion, be it never so small and light, is more offensive unto it and sooner felt, than a greater cause and object in a sound, and strong constitution: even so, when any crosse or adversitie happeneth unto the politicke bodie of a citie or C.V. diseased (as it were) and sickly, wee are not to measure and weigh the same by the greatnesse of the accidents, but according to the feeble and decayed estate thereof; able to endure and abide no new matter, that may surcharge and greive it, whatsoever. And therefore, the citie of Rome toke her selfe to the soveraigne salve and approved remedie, which shee had long desired, and yet not applied and used of late, namely, to the nomination of a Dictator. And because the Consull himselfe was absent, by whom alone it was thought hee might be named; and

F it could not be vowed, And in this forme of wordes was the bill propounded unto the people. PLEASETH IT YOU, THAT THIS ORACEL MAY PASSE AND THE THING DONE WITH YOUR ASSENT IN THIS VISE? IF THE STATE OF THE PEOPLE OF ROME AND IN YOUR QUIRITES, FOR FIVE YEARES NEXT ENSUING, CONTINUE SAFELY PRESERVED IN THESE WARS, AS I DESIRE IT SHOULD, THEN THAT THE PEOPLE OF ROME, AND

QVIRITES, PERFORME AN OVATION, AND GETHYOVVED AND REQUESTED IN A
LY, IN THE VVARE BETWEENE THE PEOPLE OF ROMA AND THE CARTHAGINI-
NIANS: AND IN THE VVARE WITHIN THE CITTIE, THIS WAS THE FIRST
TO VVIT, THAT THE ENCREASE VVHICH THE SPRING SHALL BRING AND
FOOD, IN THE SHEEPES AND IN THE CATTIE, SHALL BE INCREASED: AND THAT
THAT SHALL PROPHANE, BE SACRIFICED: AND THAT THE PEOPLE SHALL KNOW
THAT DAY THAT THE SENATE AND PEOPLE HAVE DECREED, THAT THE
VVHICH SHALL SACRIFICE, SHALL DO IT WHEN HE VVILL, AND IN VVHAT MANNER
HE VVILL: AND IN VVHAT SORT SO EVER HE SHALL SACRIFICE, THAT IT MAY
STAND FOR GOOD AND RIGHTEOUS: AND THAT THE PEOPLE SHALL BE SACRIF-
FICED, LET IT BE COVNTED PROPHANE, AND THAT ANY VVHICH SHALL NAME
OR NAME, OR SAYE THE SAME, SHALL BE SACRIFICED: AND THAT THE PEOPLE
AS CRIMINALLS: ANY PERSON CONCEALED BY ANY MANNER, SHALL BE SACRIFICED: BUT
OF THE VVARE, HE THAT NOT BE KNOWN, SHALL BE SACRIFICED: UNLESS THE PEOPLE
NOR TO HIM, FROM WHOM IT SHALL BE SACRIFICED: AND THAT THE PEOPLE
BY IGNORANCE, TO SACRIFICE, SHALL BE SACRIFICED: AND THAT THE PEOPLE
BE ACCOUNTED GOOD AND RIGHTEOUS: AND THAT THE PEOPLE SHALL KNOW
BOND OR FREE SHALL SACRIFICE, LET IT BE SACRIFICED: AND THAT THE PEOPLE
LY THE SENATE AND PEOPLE SHALL ORDAINE: THOSE SACRIFICES TO BE DONE, FOR
SHALL SACRIFICE, LET THE PEOPLE BE ASSURED AND DISCHARGED: AND THAT
FOR. And for the same purpose, were the great games (before vowed) performed with the expen-
se of 33333 asses, & one third part of an Ass: besides the sacrifice of 300 oxen to Jupiter, and of
white oxen and other sacrifices, unto many other faines. After these vows pronounced and made
accordingly, the supplication was proclaimed and in procession there went with their wives and
children, not onely the multitude of the cittie, but also of the countie, so many as had their pri-
vate estate, any way depending upon the publicke. The Lectisternie likewise was prepared and
trimmed, and continued for three daies: and the Decemvirs daunted for holy ceremonies had
the ordering thereof. The sacred beds were openly to be seene, one for Jupiter and Iuno, another
for Neptune and Minerva: a third for Mars and Venus: a fourth for Apollo and Diana: a fifth
for Vulcan and Vesta: and a sixth for Mercury and Ceres. Then were the temples vowed: unto
Jenus Erycina, Q. Fabius Max. the Dictator, vowed one temple. For so it was delivered from out
of the bookes of destinies, that he should vow it, who had the sovereign rule in the cittie, and
unto *Mens, Atilius the Pretor vowed another. Thus when Church matters touching religion were
finished, the Dictator propounded concerning war and the State: namely, with what Legions
& how many, the Senat thought good to withstand the victorious enemy. And a decree passed,
that he should receive the armie at the hands of C. Servilius the Col. & enroll besides of the ci-
zens and allies, as many horsemen and footmen, as he thought convenient: and that hee should
do and order all other things at his owne discretion, for the good of the Commonweale: Fabius
said, That he would adjoine unto the armie of Servilius, two Legions more: which being levied
by the Generall of the horsemen, he proclaimed, that they should meet together upon a certain
day at Tybur: and when he had published a proclamation, That whosoever inhabited within any
townes or castles unsifted, should depart into places of safety: and that all should remove
out of the villages of that countie, through which Annibal was to go (but first to set on fire their
houses, and spoile their corn, that hee might find nothing there when he came) he went himselfe
forward by the high way or causey Flaminius, to meete with the Consull and the armie. And
when hee discovered them, marching about Oriculum, by the river Tyberis: and saw the
Consull with his horsemen coming forward to him, he sent a Sergeant, to give warning to the
Consull, for to come without his Lictors to the Dictator: who obeyed his commandement.
And as their meeting together represented an exceeding great shew of the Dictatorship unto
citizens and allies both, who by reason of discominunce so long time, had welcomere foretold
that government: behold, there came letters from the cittie importing newes, that certaine ships
of burden, transporting victuals from Hostia into Spaine for the armie there, were by the navie
of the Carthaginians boarded and taken about the sound or haven of Cosat: VVhereupon
immediatly the Consull was commanded to go to Hostia, to take up all shipping at Rome or at
Hostia, to furnish them with saylers, and man them with souldiers, and so to pursue the Armado

* 1041. 1414. 1415.
4 d. 1414.

* The goddess of
Venus standing.

- A of the enemies, and to keepe the coasts of Italie. A migraie number of men was levied at Rome.
The Libertines also, who had children, and were of lawfull age to serve, swore allegiance unto
him, to be his true souldiers. Out of this armie of citizens, as many as were under 35. yeares of
age, were shipped: the rest were left behind to guard the cittie. The Dictator, having received
the Consuls armie at the hands of Fuluius Flaccus his Lieutenant, went through the Sabines
countie, and arrived at Tybur, whether he had commanded the new souldiers to repaire at a
day. From thence by crosse wayes he returned into the high way, on causey Flaminius, even to Pre-
nestes: from whence (having searched diligently by his spies, all the wayes) he led forward to-
ward the enemy, purposing in no place to hazard the fortune of battaile, but upon necessity.
The very first day that he encamped not far from Arpi, within the sight of his enemies, there was
no ho with Anniball: but without further delay, he came forth into the field in battaile array,
bad him battaile, and offered fight. But seeing his enemies quiet, and no stirring in the camp, he
fell to taunting and reviling them, saying, That now at length yet, the martiall honours of the Ro-
manes were daunted and rained; and seeing they refused fight, they confessed plainly, and
granted themselves inferior unto him in valor, prowesse, and glorie: which said, he retired into
his campe. Howbeit, chafing and fretting secretly in his mind, for anger that he had to deale
hereafter with a Captaine, far unlike to Flaminius and Sempromius: and that the Romanes now
at last, being schooled and taught by their owne harnes, and to their great cost, had fought out
and gotten a Captaine to match Anniball, straightwayes he began to feare the wisdom of the
Dictator, and not his force: but having had as yet no triall of his constant resolution, he fell
C to disquiet his mind, and to tempt him with often removing his own tents, and wasting the fields
of his allies even under his nose: one while he seemed to march away apace out of all sight, ano-
ther while he would of a sodaine stay, and lye close in some by-place and cranke, out of the way,
to spy when he could take him in some plaine and even ground. But Fabius led his armie, and
marched above on the higher grounds, a pretie distance off from the enemy, so as neither he
would let him go cleane and abandon him, nor yet encounter with him. He kept his souldiers
for the most part within the campe, save onely when necessity otherwise constrained. For pur-
veyance of forage and fewell, they went: neither few in number, nor straggling asunder. The
wards of horsemen and those that were lightly armed, standing alwayes in order of battaile, and
readie prepared and furnished for sodaine impressions and tumults, yielded both securitie to his
owne souldiers, and also danger to his enemies, as they raigned all abroad and foraid the
D countie. In this manner never was the maine chance put to the venture all at once of fortune:
and the small trials of light skuffing and skirmishes (begun in safetie and securitie, by reason of
the recourse of reskue so neere) inured and hardened the souldiers, frighted with former foiles,
and made them at length to distrust lesse either their owne valour, or fortune. But Anniball was
not more discontented and displeased, nor more readie to crosse and thwart these so hol-
some policies and counsels of his, as his owne Generall of horsemen: who wanted nothing else but so-
veraigne command, to overturne headlong the Commonweale: a man in all his designe-
ments violent & hasty, and of tongue intemperate. And first secretly among few, but after-
wards openly in the hearing of all men, he termed Fabius, in stead of a stayed & sober man, slow
and dull: in stead of wary and heedfull, timorous and fearefull: attributing unto vertues, the
names of vices of neere semblance: and having a singular dexteritie to debase his betters and
superiours, exalted himselfe thereby: a cunning cast, of all others the worst, and yet hath migh-
tily prevailed and sped too well in many that have used it. Anniball from Arpi passeth into
Sannium, wasteth the countie of Beneventum, winneth the cittie Telesia, and still provoketh (of
set purpose) the Romane captaine, if happily he could incense him by so many indignities and
losses of his allies, and so draw him to fight on even hand, and so to pursue the Armado
Amongst a great number of Italian confederates and allies, whom Anniball had taken priso-
ners at Thrasymenus and dismissed, there were three Campanian horsemen, whom Anniball even
then had tolled on, and allured with gifts and faire promises to win unto him the hearts of their
countrimen: These brought word unto him, that in case he would leade and bring his armie
into Campania, he should soone be Lord of Capua. And albeit the thing in itselfe seemed
greater than the qualitie of the persons that counselled him thereto: and therefore stood in
mammering, one while in good hope and assurance, another while in feare and distrust: yet
they perswaded him at last to remove out of Sannium into Campania. After he had admoni-
shed

* S. German.

* Fabius.

The mutinous
action of Mi-
ninius.

shed them effoones, to see that they made their word and promises good by deede; and com-
maunded them withall to returne unto him with some of their principall citizens and countrey-
men, he sent them away. Himselfe gave commaundement to his guide, to conduct him into the
territorie of * *Casinum*: being advised by those that were skillfull and acquainted with the coasts
of those parts, that if he could gaine a fotehand that pale and forest, he might exclude the Ro-
manes from coming to rescue and succour their confederates. But the ambiguitie of the
name, and the Carthaginian language far differing from the Latine, caused the guide to mistake
Casilinum for *Casinum*: and so missing of his intended journey, he came downe, through the
Alifane, Calatine, and Calene countries, into the plaine champaign region of *Stella*. Where
seeing all the coasts environed round about with mountaines and rivers, he called the guide unto
him, and demanded where he was: and when he answered, that he should that day lodge in
Casilinum, then and not before, the error was found, and he knew that he was far out of his way,
for that *Casinum* was distant in another countrey far off. And after he had beaten the guide with
rods, and hanged him up by the head, for an example to terrifie all others, he fortified himselfe
within campe, and sent out *Maharball* with the horsemen into the *Falerne* countrie, to fetch in
booties. So they wasted and spoyled as farre as the waters of *Sinuessæ*. Much harme did these
Numidians, but the flight & fright of the people was far greater. And yet notwithstanding that
great feare, when all was on a light fire as it were, and nothing but warre, the Romane allies con-
tinued still firme in their faithful allegiance: & the reason was, because they were ruled under a just
and moderate government, and neither refused, nor thought much to be subject unto their bet-
ters, the only bond of loyall fidelitie. But so soone as he had pitched his camp by the river * *Vul-*
turnus, and that the most goodly and pleasant countrie of all *Italie* was on fire, and the villages a-
very where burned and smoked againe; whiles *Fabius* led his powre over the ridge of the
mountaine *Massicus*, the sedition was like to have broken out againe, and certain captaines of the
mutinie began to be enkindled afresh. For there had ben great quietnesse, & all was still for some
few dayes; because seeing the armie march faster than their usuall manner was; they supposed
verily, that they made more speede and hastened, to save *Campania* from being spoyled and
wasted. But when they were come to the formost edge and point of the mountaine *Massicus*, and
that the enemies were within sight, burning the dwelling houses of the Coloners and inhabi-
tants of *Sinuessæ*, and likewise of the *Falerne* countrie, and all this while not one word of battaile;
And are we come hither in deede, quoth *Mininius*, to behold only and to see, and feede our eyes
can we for shame abide to see the caltivity of these citizens here, whome our forefathers planted
in *Sinuessæ* as coloners there to inhabite, to the end that all this tract & coast should be safe from
the invasion of the Samnites? But behold, it is not a neighbour enemy (the Samnite) that fireth us,
but a foreine and alien, even the Carthaginian, who from the farthest & most remote parts of the
world, (whiles we stand at a bay, trifle off still, and for lazinesse doe nothing) is come forward even
hither unto us. And are we so farre degenerate (with sorrow of heart I speake it) from our pro-
genitours and fathers, that along which coast they thought it dishonorable unto their empire,
for the Carthaginian Armadoes and ships to fote, saile, and ride; wee should see the same
now pestered full of enemies, the Numidians and Moores? Wee, who ere while taking foule
some and great disdeine to see *Saguntum* besieged, called not only upon men, but also upon
the faith of alliances and the gods to witnesse; stand still gazing upon *Anniball* marching a-
gainst the walls of a Romane Colonie, and readie to assault it. The smoke of the villages and the
fields now on fire, is readie to put out our eyes, and to choke us up: our eares resound and ring a-
gaine with the piteous cries of our allies that weepe & lament, and call oftner unto us than unto
the gods for help. And we here leade our armie as if they were a flock of sheepe, over the sta-
dow forests, and hills out of the way, hidden among the clouds and thick woods to keepe them
from the heate of sunne. If *Furius Camillus* had bene of mind, by raunging and wandering over
hills and forests in this manner, to win againe the citie out of the hands of the Gaules; as this our
new *Camillus* forsooth (sought out of purpose to be our only Dictator in this our distresse & hard
estate) goeth about to recover *Italie* from *Anniball*, Rome had bene French at this day; which I
feare me, if we go thus coldly to worke, our auncestors have saved & reserved so often, for *Anniball*
and the Carthaginians. But he, a brave man, and a Romane in deede, that very day when word
was brought to Veij, that he was chosen Dictator by the suffrages of the people, and approba-
tion

A tion of the Senators, although *Ianiculum* was high ynough, where he might have set him downe
and beheld the enemy at ease, descended into the plaine & even ground, and the same day in the
very mids and heart of the citie, where now *Gaulebury* or *Busta Gallica* standeth; and the morrow
after, betwene Rome and Gabes, slew the Legions of the Gaules. And what should I say of that,
which happened many yeares after, when at the streights of *Caudium* wee were put under the
yoke by the Samnites our enemies? Whither I pray you, did *L. Papyrius Cursor* seeke out the
mountaines of Samnium, or rather lie hard upon *Luceria* and besiege it, provoking and chal-
lenging the victorious enemy; and thereby shooke off the yoke from the Romanes necke, and
laid it upon the prowd Samnites? And what other thing else of late daies but expedition, gave
the victorie to Consul *Laelius*? Who the morrow after that he discovered the enemy, set upon
his fleet heavie fraught with victuals: and overcharged as it was with her owne munition, furni-
ture and provision, suncke, and destroyed the same. It is meeke follie to beleve and thinke, by
sitting still, by bare praiers and vowes, to vanquish and subdue the enemy. Our forces must bee
put into armes, and brought downe into the plaine, that man to man may cope and buckle toge-
ther. By adventuring boldly, by action and execution, hath the Romane Empire growne to this
height; and not by these conceits and devises, which fearefull cowards tearme the warie policies
of warre. As *Minutius* spake these words in preaching wise, a number of Romane Colonies and
horsemen came flocking about him. Yea, and these lustie and rash speeches of his, came even
unto the eares of the footmen: So as, if it had lien in the voices and election of the soldiours, out
of all question they seemed willing to prefer *Minutius* before their Generall *Fabius*. But *Fabius*
again, regarding alwaies with good eye his owne men, no lesse than his enemies, carrying a re-
solute mind, invincible ever before of any other; albeit he was well ware, that not onely within his
own campe, but also now at Rome, he heard ill for his temporizing & slow proceedings: yet drew
he out the rest of the summer, and held on stiffely the same course and purpose, and never altered
his former manner: untill that *Anniball* being cleane disappointed of long desired battaile, be-
thought himselfe anone, and looked about for some places of winter abode, considering, That
the countrie where now he was, rather yeilded plentie for the present, than store for long con-
tinuance: as standing upon Hortyards and Vineyards, and all things planted, rather for fruits of
pleasure & delight, than for necessitie & profit. Intelligence hereof being given to *Fabius*, by his
espials, for that he knew well ynough, that *Anniball* was to returne through the same streights,
by which hee had entered the *Falerne* countrey; hee holdeth and keepeth the hill *Calicula*, with
sufficient garrisons, and likewise *Casilinum*, a citie divided by the river *Vulturnus*, & parteth the
Falerne and *Campane* countries asunder. Himselfe bringeth backe his power through the same
hills, having sent out to escout and espie 400 horsemen of confederats, under the conduct of *L. M.*
Hostilius Mancinus, who being one of the crue of those lustie youths, that oftentimes heard the
Generall of the horsemen, giving out abroad brave words and stout speeches, at first went forward
in manner of an espial, to discover and espie the enemy from a place of safetie & securitie: and
when as he saw the Numidians raunging all about the villages, and slew some of them also whom
he took at a vantage, streightwaies his mind was wholly possessed and set upon fight; and so for-
gat the charge and direction of the Dictatour, who had commaunded him to goe forward as
warily and as closely as hee possible could, and to retire himselfe againe before hee came within
fight of the enemies. The Numidians charging and recharging him afront one while, and flying
from him another while, drew him almost unto their very campe, when as both horse and man
were outwearied. From whence *Carido*, who then had the conduct and command of the Ca-
vallerie, set out against him lustily upon the spur, and before they came within dart-shot, put the
enemies to flight, and followed them continually in chase almost five miles. *Mancinus* see-
ing neither the enemy to give over pursute, nor any hope to escape away, exhorted his men, and
turned head upon them, overmatched as he was every way: where hee himselfe and his choi-
sest horsemen were beset round and slaine: the other taking themselves againe to flie for life,
first came to Cales, and after through by-lanes and difficult waies, to the Dictatour. That day,
as hap was, *Minutius* had joined himselfe to *Fabius*, having bene afore sent to keepe with a
strong guard, the Forrest or pale, which above *Tarracina*, groweth into a narrow gullet, and rea-
cheth to the sea for feare least if the avenue of the way *Appia*, were without defence, *Anniball*
might enter and invade the countrie of Rome. When the Dictatour and the Generall of horse-
men had joined their forces together, they encamped upon the very high way, that *Anniball*

was to passe with his armie. Now were the enemies two miles off. The morrow after, the Carthaginians tooke up with their armie all the way betwene the one campe and the other. When as the Romanes were quartered even under their very trench and rampier, in a place no doubt of great advantage, yet for all that approached *Anniball* with his light horsemen: and to provoke his enemies, fought by starts and fits, charging upon them, and retreating back againe with great nimbleness. The Romanes kept still their standing, embattailed as they were. The fight was cold and lingering, to the mind and liking of the Dictatour, rather than of *Anniball*: and where there were of the Romanes part 200 flaine, there dyed 800 of the enemies. Then seemed *Anniball* after, to be enclosed and shut up as it were & besieged within * *Castrum*, seeing that *Capua*, *Samnium*, and many rich and mightie nations confederate with the Romanes, were on their backs to furnish them with store of victuals. And *Anniball* contrariwise was like to take up his wintering place, within the crags & rocks of *Formij*, amid the sands of *Linternum*, & the mossy standing pooles. Well wist *Anniball* now that he was layd unto hardly, by the same cunning sleights, that he had used himself. And therefore when as he could not escape away by *Castrum*, and seeing that he must needs to the mountains, & passe over the top of *Callicula*: for feare lest that the Romanes should set upon his armie enclosed in the vallies betwene the mountaines, he devised a stratageme, by way of a ridiculous illusion, to beguile the eyesight of his enemies, & to frustrate and deceive them of their expectation: by meanes wherof, he purposed in the beginning of the night, closely and by stealth to gaine the mountaines. The manner of this craftie devise was this. He caused to be gathered out of all the villages thereby many firebrands; then tooke he certaine bayns or small fagots of brush-wood, dry sticks, and such like trash, and tyed them fast to the homes of the oxen, wherof he had tame and wild, a great number that he drave before him amongst other prizes gotten out of the cuntry: so as he might make welcomere two thousand head. To *Asdruball* he gave in charge, that so soone as it grew to be darkenight, he should drive those oxen with their homes set a fire toward the mountaines, and especially if he possible could, to the very streights and gullet which the enemy kept. It began no sooner to be darke, but *Anniball* with great silence dislodged and removed his campe, and the oxen aforesaid were driven a good way before the ensignes and the armie. When they were come to the foote of the mountaines, and to the streight passages, immediately the signall or watchword was given to fire the oxes homes, and to chase them up against the hill. The beasts, what with feare to see a light fire blazing over their heads, and what with paine to feele the heate now come to the quick flesh and the rootes of their homes, fell running up and downe, as if they had bene mad. By this their gadding thus all at once every way, all the coppises and springs thereabout were set on a light fire, and seemed as if the whole woods and hills had burnt withall: the shaking of their heads also too and fro without stay, made the blaze greater, and gave shew and semblance of men running from one place to another. They who were appointed and set to keepe the passages of the streights, so soone as they saw certaine fires upon the tops of the hills, and over their heads, supposing themselves to be entrapped and enclosed with fire on every side, abandoned their hold, and kept their standing no longer: and whereas the flambe shone most out, thinking that to be the safest way, they sped them thither, even to the top and ridge of the mountaines. Then and there, they light upon certaine of the oxen wandring astray from their companie, and at first seeing them a farr off, but not well discerning them, they imagined that they spit fire, and breathed these blazing flames out of their mouths; and wondering at the strange sight, stood still amazed and astounded. But when as afterwards they discovered the devise, and found it out to be a subtil and deceitfull invention, proceeding from mans brain, they mistrusted withall some secret traines & ambush, and with an exceeding noyse fled away as fast as ever they could, and stumbled upon the vantage of their enemies, that were lightly armed. But they were affraid as well of the one side as the other, to begin any skirmish in the night season, and stayed untill day light. In the meane while, *Anniball* having conducted his whole armie through the streights, and killed some of his enemies in the very pafe, encamped himself in the territorie of *Alifas*. *Fabius* descryed this tumult well enough, but doubting some privie ambush, and abhorring utterly all night battailes, kept his men within the strength of their rampiers. At the breake of day there began a skirmish on the side of the hill, in which the Romanes as being far more in number, had environed on every side the light-armed souldiers of the enemies, and soone defeated them, but that a band of Spaniards, sent

* *Castrum*.

back

A back of purpose from *Anniball* came to rescue them: who being better acquainted with the mountaines, and more light and nimble in running among the crags and cliffs, by reason as well of the agility of bodie, as the fashion of their light harness; easily in that kind of skirmish, avoided and shifted from their enemy, heavily armed at all peeces, and used to fight upon the plaine, and to stand firmly and keepe their ground. Whereupon in the end they parted asunder one from the other, but nothing neere on even hand: for the Spaniards in a manner all went cleere away unhurt, the Romanes lost some of their men: and so on both parts they returned to their camps. *Fabius* likewise removed, and having passed over the streights of the forest, encamped in an high ground, and strongly situate even over *Alifas*. Then *Anniball* making as though he would march through *Samnium* toward *Rome*, returned back, wasting and spoiling the cuntry as farr as to the *Peligni*. And *Fabius* hovered still upon the hill tops betwene the armie of his enemies and the citie of *Rome*; leading his host so, as neither he departed farr, nor yet encountered and affronted his enemy. Then *Anniball* turned his way, and departed from the *Peligni*, and retred himselfe into *Apulia*, untill he was come as farr as *Gerion*, a citie abandoned and forsorne of the inhabitants, by reason that a part of their wall was fallen downe, decayed and ruined. The Dictatour fortified his camp in the territorie of *Larinum*. Now was he sent for home from thence to *Rome*, by occasion of certaine solemne sacrifices: whereupon he conferred and dealt with the Generall of the Cavallerie, not onely by way of absolute commandement, but also with advise and persuasions, yea and as one would say, by prayer and intreatie, That he would trust more upon confederate counsell, than doubtfull fortune; and be directed and guided rather by him, than follow the steps of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; and not thinke there was nothing done and effected, and make no reckning of this, That the enemy had ben dallied withall, and trifled out, mocked and deluded, almost all the sommer long. Why, even Physicians (quoth he) many times do more good to the sick bodie of the patient, by giving rest and repose, than by stirring and disquieting the humors therein. And no small matter is it, that we are vanquished and overcome no more, at an enemies hands so often used to victorie. And after continuall foyles and overthrowes, to have had rest, and a time of breathing. Having in this wise admonished the Generall of horse aforehand (but all in vaine) he tooke his way to *Rome*. In the beginning of this summer, wherein these exploits were performed, warre began also in *Spain* both by sea and land. *Asdruball* to that number of ships which he had received ready rigged and well appointed of his brother, joynd other ten. To *Himilco* he gave the charge of a flete of forrie saile: and so, losing from *Carthage*, whiles his ships kept neere to land, he conducted his armie along the river upon the strond, ready to give battaile to the enemy, howsoever he should happen to encounter him either by land or sea. *Cn. Scipio* after he had intelligence that the enemy was removed out of his wintering harbour, at the first had likewise the same intention and purpose, but afterwards doubting to encounter by land, upon the exceeding great report that went of new aides, he embarked his best and most choyle souldiours, and with a flete of 35 saile, set forward to meete the enemy. And the second day after that he had loosed from *Taracone*, he came to the rode distant ten miles from the mouth of the river *Iberus*. From whence, two Pinnaces of the *Massiliens* were sent out afore, and brought word, that the Carthaginian Armado rode in the mouth of the river, and that the tents were pitched upon the banke. And therefore to the end that he might surprize them at unawares, and unlooking for them, with all the fearefull terrour at once, that he could possibly, he weyed anchor, and set saile toward the enemy. In *Spain* there are many towres standing upon high grounds, which serve the inhabitants of the cuntry in good steed, both as watch-towres to discover, and also as skones to withstand thieves and rovers. From whence the enemies ships were descryed first, and a signall given to *Asdruball*: in such sort, as the tumult and trouble arose upon the land, and in the camp, before any was seene on the sea and amongst the ships: for as yet neither noyse of oares, nor any ordinarie stirre else of mariners, was heard; ne yet the capes and promontories betwene suffered the flete to be seene. But then, all on a suddaine, certaine horsemen sent from *Asdruball* one after another, commanded the souldiours (who either wandered along the strond, or sat quiet within their pavilions, looking for nothing lesse than fight that day) presently in all haste to goe aboard, and to arme, for that the *Roman* flete was not farr from the haven. This commandement the horsemen that were sent, gave every where. And within a while *Asdruball* came in person with the whole armie. All was on a hurie; and full

fall of sundrie al'armes; whiles both marriners and fouldiours, made haft to be shipped, rather like men that fled from land, than went to fight. Scarce were they all embarked, when some of them loosed from the shoare, and plucked up anchors; others cut the anchor cables; for that nothing should stay them: and all that they did, was with such haste; that whiles the fouldiours were occupied in making themselves readie to fight, the marriners were hindered in their businesse: and whiles the marriners made speed, the fouldiours were kept from taking their armour, and fitting themselves therewith. By which time *Scipio* was not onely approached neere, but also had marshalled and ordered his shippes readie to fight. So as the Carthaginians were troubled as well with the hurlyburlie and tumult of their owne people, as with the assault & battell of their enemies. And having (to say a truth) made an assay and proffer of fight, rather than begun any indeed, they turned away their fleet, and fled. And seeing, when they were once put to flight (by reason they were parted asunder all abroad; and lay open to so many of their enemies, following them upon the poupe all at once) that they were readie and easie to bee bouged and pierced, they rowed on all hands to the shore. Some were faine to wade to land, others leapt on dry ground; one sort armed, another sort unarmed; and so escaped to their companie, embattailed along the strand. Howbeit, in the very first encounter and onset, two Carthaginian shippes were taken, and foure suncke. The Romanes, albeit they saw the enemies, maisters of the land, & might behold them stand in battaile array all along the river side upon the bankes, yet made they no stay, but chased the fearefull fleet of their enemies: and so as many shippes, as either had not cracked, splitted, and broken their stems, with dashing upon the shore, or were not run a ground, and stucke fast by their keeles in the shelves, those they drew up, and warped into the deepe, with ropes fastened to their poupes; and so of thirtie they took five & twentie. And yet the taking off these vessels was not the best and goodliest cheate of their victorie; but this passed all; that with one light skirmish they became L.L. of all the sea along those coasts. And therefore arriving with their whole navie before *Honosca, they landed their men, woon the citie by forcible assault; sacked it, and from thence went forward toward Carthage. And after they had harried and wasted all the territorie about, at the last, they fired the very houses that joined to the wals and gates of the citie. From thence the Armada laden now & charged with rich pillage, sailed as far as *Longunrica. Where they found great store of Spart [to make cables] provided and laid up there by *Asdruball* to serve the navie: and when they had taken thereof as much as they needed, they made a light fire of all the rest. Neither coasted the Roman fleet along the continent and maine onely, and scoured those parts which lay out into the sea, but passed also unto the Isle *Ebusus: where they assaulted hotely for two daies space, the head cite of the Island, with much ado, and small effect. And when they perceived, that they spent time in vain, and were past all hope to win it, they fell to rob and spoile the countie: and after they had rifled and burned certaine villages, and gotten a greater bootie and pillage than they had out of the maine, they retired themselves to their shippes: and thither came Embassadours from the Islands Balears unto *Scipio*, craving peace. From thence hee came backe with the fleet, and returned into the hether part of the province; whether resorted unto him the Embassadours of all the Nations that inhabit about Iberus, yea, and of many also, from the fardest parts of all Spaine. But of States, that absolutly came under the obedience of the people of Rome, doing fealtie and homage unto them, and giving hostages for assurance of their alleageance, there were above 120. *Scipio* therefore, taking himselfe strong ynough in land forces, went on as farre as to the chafe of *Castulo. And *Asdruball* retired himselfe into *Lusitania, neere the Ocean sea. Here upon the rest of the summer was like to be quiet: and quiet had it been, for any thing that the Carthaginians did to the contrarie. But (over and besides the naturall disposition of all Spaniards, unconstant, busie, and evermore desirous of novelties and alterations) *Mardonius* a Nobleman, who before time had bene the Lord and Prince of the Illegetes, seeing the Romanes retired backe from the forrest, toward the sea coast, stirred up the people of his countie, and invaded the peaceable territories of the Roman associates, for to spoile and waste the same. Against whom there were sent from *Scipio* three thousand Romanes, besides certaine auxillarie fouldiours also, lightly armed, who in a light skirmish discomfited his forces, (as being a power gathered in hatt, and disordered) slew many, tooke some prisoners, and disarmed the greater part of them. Nevertheless, the rumour of this al'arme caused *Asdruball*, as hee departed to the Ocean, to crosse the river Iberus backe againe, for the rescue and defence of his friends and allies. The Carthaginians were encamped in the territorie

*Honosca.

*Longunrica, or the chafe of Honosca.

*Ebusus, or Ebus.

*Castulo laevis.

*Puringall.

A territorie of the Illegetes, and the Romanes neere the new Armada, when suddaine newes diverted the warre another way. The Princes of the Celtiberians, who had sent the Embassadours of their countie, and hostages unto the Romans, upon a messenger dispatched unto them from *Scipio*, arose up in armes; and entered the province of the Carthaginians with a strong and puissant armie, wan three townes by assault; and afterwards, in two batailles which they fought with *Asdruball* right valiantly, slew 15000 enemies, and tooke 4000 prisoners; and many militarie ensignes they bare away.

While Spaine stood in these tearms, *P. Scipio* came as L. Deputie into that Province, continuing still his government after his Consulship expired, and was sent from the Senat with thirtie shippes of warre, eight thousand fouldiours, and great store of victuals. This great fleet, in regard of many hulkes and shippes of burden which accompanied it, was kenned and discovered a farre off, to the great joy both of Romanes, and also of their friends and associates, and arrived within the port and haven of Tarracon. Where the fouldiours were disembarked, and *Scipio* joined with his brother: and from that time forward they agreed together, and with one accord managed the warre. And whiles the Carthaginians were amused with the Celtiberian warre, they made no stay, but passed over Iberus, & seeing no enemy, they marched on toward Saguntum; for that the bruit went, that the hostages of all Spaine, delivered unto the custodie of *Anniball*, were kept there in hold within the castle, but with a small guard about them. That was the onely pledge which staied all the cities of Spaine, whose minds were well affected and inclined to entertaine league and societie with the Romanes, but they feared least if they should revolt, it would cost the lives of their children. This bond which held Spaine in awe, one man eased them of, by means of a devise & practise more wittie and subtiler than honest and loiall. There was at Saguntum, one *Acidux* a Nobleman of Spaine, trustie & faithful aforesaid unto the Carthaginians; but then (as the nature is for the most part of these Barbarians) as fortune altered her countenance, so changed hee his alleageance. And supposing, that if hee should flie unto the enemies, without performing some notable treason, & delivering into their hands one thing or other of great importance, hee should bee counted no better than a vile, base, and infamous creature, hee cast about how hee might win himselfe into these new Allies, and win them by some singular good service, unto their best and greatest behoofe. And considering all the meanes that Fortune might bring within his compasse to effect, he employed himselfe especially at the length, to set free and deliver those hostages, thinking that the onely way, to win and procure unto the Romanes the amitie of all the Princes and great men of Spaine. But knowing assuredly, that without warrant from *Bostar* the Constable of the castle, the keepers of those hostages would doe nothing, hee set himselfe in hand and cunningly goeth to worke with *Bostar* himselfe. Now lay *Bostar* in camp without the citie by the water side, to impeach the Romanes for entering the haven. Thither came *Acidux* to him, withdrew him apart into a secret place, and declared unto him as a man ignorant in what state things stood. Namely, that it was feare and nothing els, that kept the Spaniards untill that day in obedience, because the Romanes were so farre off; but now the Romanes were encamped on this side Iberus, as a sure fortress and place of refuge unto them, if they minded any innovation and change of State; and therefore seeing they could not long bee kept by feare, they were to bee obliged and bound unto *Anniball* by some favour and good turne. When *Bostar* marvelled and demanded, what suddaine demerite this might bee, and of so great consequence, *Marrie* (quoth hee) send backe the hostages into their owne cities. An acceptable, or present that will bee, both particularly to their parents, who are of greatest calling and reputation in their owne bounties, and also generally to all the cities and Nations. Everie man (you know) is desirous to bee trusted; and for the most part, credite given frankly unto one, bindeth him surely to bee most faithfull. The ministerie and charge of conducting the hostages home to their owne houses, I will require to have mine owne selfe, that I may farther a plot and devise of my owne; with mine owne proper service and employment; and the thing which of itselfe in nature is acceptable, I will in what I can grace and commend the same, and make it more meritorious. Having thus perswaded the man, being not altogether so wille, as other Carthaginians naturally are, hee went by night secretly as farre as the Corps de guard of the enemies; and after hee had met and talked with some Spaniards that were auxillarie fouldiours in the campe, and by them was brought before *Scipio*, hee declared unto him his whole intent and designement, and the cause of his coming. And after they had given and received

received faithfull promise mutually between them, and agreed of time and place for the deliue-
 ric of the hostages unto *Scipio*, he returned againe to Saguntum. The daie following hee spent
 with *Bellar*, in receiving commission from him, for the execution of this matter. And thus be-
 ing dismissed & having his dispatch, he purposed to go in the night, to the end that he might (for
 sooth) avoid the watch and wards of the enemies, the Romanes: and at the houre appointed he
 raised those who had the guard and custodie of the children, and put himselfe on his way; and
 (simple man he) as if he had been altogether ignorant of that which hapned, brought them with-
 in the compass of an Ambushment, forelaied before hand by his owne wille and craftie devise:
 and so were they brought into the Roman camp. All other points besides, concerning the
 rendring of the hostages, according to the agreement and appointment with *Bellar*, were per-
 formed in the same order, as they should have passed, in case all had been done in the name of
 the Carthaginians and to their behoofe. But the Romanes wan much more thanke and gained
 greater favour thereby, than the Carthaginians could have attained in the semblable curesie.
 For the Carthaginians (whom in their prosperous successe the Spaniards had found by experi-
 ence to be rigorous unto them and proud) might have been supposed if they had done it now,
 to have been mollified and made more bonair and gracious through adverse fortune and feare:
 but *Scipio* the Romaine generall, at his first coming, and unknowne before time, beganne
 with a notable example and testimonie of clemencie and liberalitie. And *Acedux* besides, repu-
 ted a wife & prudent man, seemed not without great reason to have made exchange of his Allies
 and Friends. Whereupon they all desired with one accord to revolt, and presently they had
 taken armes in deede and rebelled, but for the approach of winter which forced as well Romanes
 as Carthaginians to betake themselves to their winter harbours.

These were the occurrents that fell out also in Spaine, in the second summer of the Punick war:
 whiles in Italie the wife and warie delaies, the industrious temporizing of *Fabius* in the manner of
 his warfar, gave the Romanes some respite & intermission of their foiles & overthrowes. Which
 as it wrought in *Anniball* no small trouble of mind & perplexitie, to see that the Romanes at the
 last had chosen for their Generall, a man who mannaged war, by discourse & guidance of sound
 reason, & not by adventure of fickle fortune; so it was despised of his own citizens, as well those that
 were armed abroad, as gowned at home: and namely, when during the absence of the Dictator,
 there hapned to be a field fought through the rashnes of the Generall of the Caualtery, with
 more joyfull successe (to speake truly) than happy and fortunat. Two other things there were be-
 sides, that caused the Dictator to be worse thought of, and in great disgrace and obloquie. The
 one through the deceitfull and wylie pollicie of *Anniball*: who being enformed by certain fugi-
 tive traitours (that fled from Rome unto him) which were the lands and possessions of the Dicta-
 tor; gave expresse commandement when he had destroyed the countrey about, & made all even
 with the ground, to forbear all kind of hostilitie there onely, and to touch nothing of his, either
 by fire or sword: to the end it might be thought, there had been some packing between him &
Anniball; and that this was the hire and consideration agreed upon between them two. The o-
 ther arose from an action of his own: namely, about the exchange and comfing of certain priso-
 ners or captives: which peradventure at the first appearance, might have seemed doubtfull and
 suspitious, (because therein he staid not for to have the commission & approbation of the Se-
 nat) but in the end & up-shot it turned, no doubt, to his singular praise and commendation. In
 that interchange above sayd, it was capitulate between both Generals, of Romanes & Cartha-
 ginians, (like as it had been afore in the first Punick war) That whether side received more Cap-
 tives than they gave again, should yeild for every one soldour * two pound and a halfe of silver.
 When it fel out therefore that the Romaine Dictator *Fabius* had received more prisoners by 247
 than *Anniball*, & the payment of the silver for them due; after much debate in the Senate house,
 (because he had not direction therein from the L. L.) was delayed, and no order taken therefore; he
 sent his sonne to Rome of purpose, to make sale of his lands, which had not been endamaged
 by *Anniball*: and so to his owne cost, and out of his private purse, discharged a publick debt.
Anniball now laie in leaguer, before the walls of Gerion, a citie which he had won and set on
 fire, and reserved a fewe houles standing, to serve him in stead of barnes & gamers for his graine.
 From thence he sent out two third parts of his forces to purvey come: & remained himselfe in
 gard with one third part, redy in armes, (but lightly appointed & without any bag & baggage)
 in a meet and convenient place; both for defence of the camp, and also for discoverie of all the
 cost

* 7. lib. 16. ff.
 3. d. ff. de com-
 miss. 100 drach-
 mes in Romaine
 denary is a lib.

A cost about, that no assault were made upon the purveyors. The Romaine armie lay then in the
 territories of Larinum; & the Captain generall was *Anniball*, Commander of the horsemen;
 because the Dictator (as is above sayd) was gone to the siege of Rome. But whereas there had usu-
 ally encamped before, upon some high hill and strong place of advantage; now they began to
 drawe down into the vale and the plaine ground; and to devise craftie means and stratagems
 beyond the naturall reach of the Commander himselfe; namely, how they might assault either
 the purveyors as they straggled about in the countrey, or set upon the camp of their enemies, left
 with a small power and guard to defend it. *Anniball* was not ignorant that *Bellar* with the Ge-
 nerrall, the whole manner and conduct of their warfar was changed: and that the enemy would
 fight rather more rashly and haltsie, than wylie and wariy. And himselfe, who would have
 thought it considering the enemy was approached neerer, sent out a third part onely of his fol-
 diers to provide come as forage, and kept the other two with him in the camp. He removed
 also his tents neerer to the Romanes, almost two miles off from Gerion to a little hill within the
 sight of the enemies; to the end they might know he was minded and ready to reskue and de-
 fend the purveyors, if haply they should be charged upon. Then espied *Anniball* another hill neer-
 er, and standing even over the yeile camp of the Romanes. For the gaming whereof, (seeing that
 if he should have gone by any time openly, he had been no doubt prevented by the enemies,
 who would have seized it first, by reason it was neerer unto them) he sent certain Numidians by
 night, who surprised it and kept it. But the Romanes making little or no account of their small
 number, drew them the morrow after from thence, and further removed their owne tents: so as
 then, there was but a little distance between one camp and the other; and the same, in a manner,
 wholly taken up and replenished with Romanes: and withall, at the same time, the horsemen
 of the Romans with certaine footmen lightly armed, went forth at a postern gate of the camp,
 (which opened not upon the Carthaginians) against the foragers, whom they discovered put
 to flight and slew a great number of them. Neither durst *Anniball* yssue forth to skirmish for
 having so few about him; hee was hardly able to defend his camp, in case it had been assaulted.
 So he was driven now to use the pollicie and shifts of *Fabius*, (for part of his forces were away) &
 managed his war, sitting still as it were and keeping the enemy at a bay & at staves end: as if he re-
 tyred with his soldiers to the former camp, under the walls of Gerion. Some write, that there was
 a field pitched, and a set battaile fought with banners displayed, wherein *Anniball* at the first en-
 counter was discovered and chased to his camp; but from thence, they yssued forth who were
 within, & so the seare turned upon the Romanes, who on a sodain were put to the worse: but by
 the coming of *Numerius Decimus* (a Samnite) with succour, the fight was reinforced and re-
 newed. This man, not onely nobly descended; but also of great power and wealth; as well in
 Bovianum his native country, where he was born, as throughout all Samnium (by order & com-
 mandement from the Dictator) came with a power of 8000 foot & 200 horse, toward the camp;
 and being espied by *Anniball* on the backside, gave both parties good hope of fresh and new aid.
 But when the voice went, that *Fabius* at the same time was coming also from Rome, *Anniball*
 for feare of being entrapped within some Ambush, retired backe with his owne men, & the Ro-
 manes made pursuite after him; and with the help of *Numerius* the Samnite, wan in one day by
 force, two fortresses. So there were 6000 enemies slaine; and 3000 Romanes. And yet as equal
 in a manner as the losse was of both parts, the rumour ran to Rome of a brave victorie, with let-
 ters also in post from the Generall of horsemen, full of follie and vanitie. Much arguing ther was
 and debate about these matters, both in Senate, and before the people sundry times. And when
 all the citie besides was joious, and the Dictator (alone) gave no credit either to the blisse that
 was blased, or to the letters, saying withall, That if all were true, yet hee feared more the frowning
 than the smiling of fortune: then *M. Metellus* a Tribune of the Commons, stepped forth & sayd,
 That this above all was not to be suffred: that the Dictator not onely withles hee lay in camp, op-
 posed himselfe against all goodnes, and staid all valerous service; but also being absent from
 thence, crossed and disgraced that which was well done and worthily achieved: and that he, of
 purpose, drew the year in length and prolonged the time, to the end he might continue the lon-
 ger in government, and be the man alone to command all, both in the citie and abroad in the
 armie: for one of the Consuls was slaine in battaile, the other under a pretence & colour of pur-
 suing the Carthaginian fleet, was sent out of the way, far enough off from Italie: as for the two
 Praetours, they were employed both in Sicilie and Sardinia: and yet neither of those two provin-

The speech of
 Metellus against
 Fabius.

ces had any need of a L. Deputie there. And M. *Minutius* General of the horsemen was kept prisoner as it were, & might neither see, nor do any martial exploit. And his company (quod he) that not only *Sannium* (where the possession was surrendered) turned the *Garthagians* as if it were a territory lying beyond *Liburni* but the *Campane*, *Calene*, and *Salernitan* were utterly overrun & wasted, while the Dictator abode still at *Capitulum*, & with the legions of the people of Rome defended his own lands & possessions only. And when the *Armenie* & General of the Cavalry were desirous of battle, they were not back enclosed in a manner with the compass of the camp, & their weapons taken from them, as if they had been captive enemies. And at length when the Dictator was once departed from them, they issued forth of the camp, like men, delivered from siege, & to discomfit & put to flight their enemies in consideration of all these things, (he said) in the Commons of Rome were of that courage, as *Lycomedes* the husband, he would have boldly put up a bill for to deprive *C. Fabius* of his government. But now for this time, he would propound a more difficult & reasonable law, by virtue whereof the Commander of horsemen may be made equal with the Dictator in authority & power, as if as *Q. Fabius* might not be sent unto the *Armenie*, before that he had subdued & overcome the *Col.* in the rowne of *C. Flaminius*. The Dictator forbore altogether to come into any of the assemblies of the people, as a man in action and pleading nothing popular, and who framed not himself to the humor of the common people. Neither was he in the Senate heard with patience, at what time as he either magnified and extolled the valor of the senate, for their good and reckoned up the losses and foiles received for two years space, through their rashness and unskillfulness of the Commanders: and said with all, that the General of the horsemen was to answer and give account for fighting against his dict and express commandments. Moreover (quod he) if I were in place of sovereign rule and government, and to do all according as I thought good, I would effect and bring to passe, within few daies, that men should know, that a good warrior was to make small reckning of fortune: but wisdom, wit, & counsell were to guide and direct all. And for mine own part, I deem it a greater honor & glorie, to have preserved an armie in a time of trouble and danger, from shame & ignominie, than to have slain many thousands of enemies. And he had made these and such like speeches and reasons in vaine, and directed for *C. M. Atilius Regulus*: for that he would not be present, to debate the question concerning the right & authority of his owne government, he departed by night before toward the armie; even the very day before that the foresaid law should be propounded. The morning came, and the commons were assembled to an audience; wherein men seemed rather secretly in their hearts to malice the Dictator, and to affect and favour the General of the horsemen, than durst come forth and beseech to persuade and set forward that which pleased them all in common. And notwithstanding the bill was exceedingly well liked of, yet there wanted one to give some credite and authority thereto. At length, one stepped forth to set it on foot, namely, *C. Terentius Varro*, who the yere before had beene Proetour, a man not onely of obscure degree by calling, but also of vile and base parentage descended. His father was (they say) a Butcher, who kept shop and sold meat himselfe, and trained up his sonne in the same mechanicall and servile occupation. This *Varro* being a young man, and well left by his father (who was growne rich, and gained greatly by his trade) gave his mind and conceived some hope to live more gentlemanlike: and took a great liking to the common place, and pleading at the bar: exercising himselfe in entertaining causes of base persons, against the state & name of honest citizens and of good reputation: by meanes whereof he grew to be knowne among the people, and afterwards was advanced to place of worship and honour. And having beene Treasurer of the citie, and borne both *Edilitships*; as well that of the chaire, as the other of the Commons: and at length gone through one *Pretorship*, he aspired now higher, in hope to be a *Consull*: & full craftily waited his time; and sought to wind himselfe within the favour of the people, by meanes of the yll opinion and hard conceits they had of the Dictator; and thus he alone went away with all the affectionate love of the Commons. All men that were either at Rome or in the armie, both good and bad, in general (excepting the Dictator himselfe) received and admitted that bill, as made to his disgrace and shame, full reproch. But he, with the very same gravitie and constancie of heart, endured this injurious course and dealing of the people raging against him, wherewith he had both his adversities flandering & charging him before the multitude; and having received in the way as he journeyed letters importing the decree of the Senate, for deviding his authoritie equally with the General of the

Fabius his words
in the Senate.

A the horsemen; and being assured that notwithstanding his commission were parted & communicated with another, yet his skill and sufficientie of conduct and command remained still with himselfe; with a mind invincible as well against citizens as enemies, he returned to the armie. But *Minutius* who before that time was hardly to be endured, both for his fortunate success, & also for the favour of the common sort now verily beyond all measure & bounds of modestie, vaunted & gloried; in that he had conquered & got the mastery over *Babius* as was by *Annibal*. That *Fabius* (I say) who in time of distresse and calamitie, was the only warrior & captain that could be found out to match *Annibal*, than the superior magistrate, was by his constancie & approbation of the people (aching never to be found in any record of *Chronicles*) made but even & equal with the inferior to wit, the Dictator with the General of horsemen: and in that citie, wherein the Commanders of the Cavalry were wont to quake and tremble at the rods & Axes of the Dictator. So conspicuous & evident in the eyes of the world, was his felicitie and prowess above all others. And therefore minded was he to follow his own fortune, and to take his time: in case the Dictator still continued lingering in sloth and idleness, condemned in the judgment both of God & man. Whereupon, the very first day that he & *Fabius* were met together, he said that they were above all things to determine & set down in what sort they might order this their equal authority of government. He for his part thought it best, that each other day (or if longer time between were supposed better) they should one after the other alternately have the full and whole command of all for the time in their severall turns: that if any occasion of fighting a battail were presented, they might be able to countervail the enemy, not only in counsell but also in power and strength. *Fabius* liked not of this supposing that whatsoever lay in the hands and disposition of his fellowe, must needs be subject unto the arbitrement of Fortune. Saying moreover unto him, that he was indeed to impart unto him government and rule, but not wholly to depart therefrom, and shut himselfe out. And therefore he would never willingly faile, but to his power manage by counsell and discretion one part or other: neither would hee devide with him either times or daies, but the fore and the armies that *Minutius* might have on moiticie, & himselfe another: & since he might not preserve all by his own counsell & policie, yet he would endeavour (so far as he could) to save somewhat. And so much he prevailed, that they parted the legions between them; as the manner of the *Consuls* was. The first and fourth fell to *Minutius*, the second and third to *Fabius*. In like manner they divided the horsemen number for number, and the auxiliarie soldiers of *Alia* and *Latines*. The General of the horsemen would needs likewise, that they should be encamped a furlong asunder, as was the custom of the *Consuls*. *Annibal* conceived hereupon a twofold joy; (for he was not ignorant of all that was done among the enemies, partly by intelligence given him from thence by fugitives, and partly by means of his owne scouts and spies) (on the one made this reckning, both that he should deale well enough with the lawfull authority of *Minutius*, and handle him in his kind; and also that the proud policie of *Fabius* was abridged and diminished by the one halfe. Now there was a little hill between the camp of *Minutius* and of the *Garthagians* (and no doubt there was; but that he, who could gain it aforhand, should have the vantage of the enemy in regard of the ground. The hill *Annibal* was not so desirous to get without skirmish, (and yet it had bene a matter of good importance) as willing thereby to give some occasion of fighting and skuffling with *Minutius* whom he himselfe very well to be alwayes forward, enough encountered him and made resistance. The plaines all betwene, seemed at first sight nothing commodious nor good for men that would lay an ambushment, because it was neither over growne with any wood, nor yet in any part roughly overgrown and covered, so much as with bricke & brambles. But in very deede the ground was naturally made for to cover and hide an ambush, and there the cause was naked and bare a valley; none would have imagined and suspected any deceitfull traies, and forelaying of waies. And yet there were in divers moones and corners thereof, some hollow rocks and caves; and some other sort of sufficient capacitee to receive to be armed men in the lurking holes there were belovied, so that of horsemen and footmen one with another, in one place, some in another, according as they might command, could vantage themselves. And he said that the sitting of any one that might charge to go forth unawaresly, or the glistering of armour, should betray the traies in the open valley. *Annibal* by standing out in the break of day, some furlong from the foresaid hill, withdrew the eyes of his enemies another way. There at the full day, were disposed the Romans for their small number, and

every man was desirous to be doing with them; and their fingers itched for to set the enemies back, and drive them from thence. The Generall himselfe *Minutius*, as foole-hardie and forward as he that was most, sounded the alarme, and commaunded to go to the winning of the place, braving and threatening the enemies full vainely. First, he sent forth his light armed men to skirmish, but afterwards, the Cornets of horsemen, set close and jointlie together in aray: and at the last, seeing the enemies seconded with new succours and supplies, he advanced forward himselfe with his legions in order of battaile. And *Anniball*, wheresoever he perceived his men to be distressed, made out continually fresh aides one after another, both of horse and foote, ever as the fight increased and grew hotter: so as now he had his full armie in field, and they maintained battaile on both sides with all their powre & maine forces. First, the light armed Romans, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, desirous to get up against the hill, (possessed aforehand by the enemye) were put back, and beaten down againe: in so much, as in their retire, they put the horsemen in feare that followed hard upon them, and fled for refuge to the ensignes of the Infantry. The maine battaile of the legionarie footemen, among all the rest that were affrighted, only remained without feare, undaunted; and seemed in a plaine; set, and downeright field without ambush, likely enough to have held their owne; and in no respect to have bene overmarched; so couragious they were, and had taken such hart, upon their late victorie, some few dayes before. But the enemies starting sodainly out of their Emboscadoes, so troubled, disordered; and terrified them, flanking them on both sides, and charging withal behind, that neither their heart served any of them to fight, nor their hope remained to flye and escape away. Then *Fabius* hearing their first cry, and knowing thereby, that they were in great feare, and seeing besides a farr off their battaile disordered and in disaray, I thought even as much (quoth he) and no sooner than I feared, it is fallen out: Fortune I see wel, hath overraught foole-hardinesse, & taken it tardie. The man, forsooth, that must needs be made equall with *Fabius* in government, seeth by this time, that *Anniball* is his good maister, & his better by ods, in prowesse & fortune: but we shal find out some other time to chide and to be angry. Come on now, forth with your standards & ensignes; let us wrest from our enemies hands the victorie; and wring from our citizens mouths, confession of their error and trespassse. Now when some of them were flaine, and other looked about which way to make escape and flye: *Fabius* with his forces shewed himselfe, as sent downe from heaven to rescue them. And before he came to launce one javelin, or began to joyne battaile and fight one stroke, he not onely stayed his fellows from running away, but also his enemies from further heate of fight. As many of the Romanes as were disbanded & scattered asunder all abroad, repaired againe speedily from all parts, and rallied themselves to the entier battaile: the rest who by whole troupes had turned their backs, made head againe upon the enemye: and one while giving ground and retrying by little and little, another while standing in a ring and round together stedfast, kept this order by turnes: so as now, both they that were discomfited, and those that were unfoiled, became reduced into one bodie of a battaile, and advanced their ensignes against the enemye. By which time *Anniball* sounded the retreat, and openly confessed and sayd, that as he had vanquished *Minutius*, so was he foyled and overcome of *Fabius*. Thus when the more part of the day was spent with variable fortune, and all retryed againe to their camps, *Minutius* called together his souldiours, and spake unto them after this manner. I have oftentimes heard it spoken (my good souldiours) that he is the best man & most sufficient, who knoweth himself what is best to do: next to him is he esteemed, that will be ruled & directed by sage reede and counsell: but he that neither hath the skil to advise another, nor the grace to be advised by another, is simply of the worst nature, & good for nothing. Since that we therefore are not so happy as to attaine unto the highest degree of wit, & perfection of nature, let us content our selves with the second place, & keepe a meane betwene: and whiles we learne to rule, let us fettle our selves and resolve to obey him that is wiser than our selves. Let us joyne in camp with *Fabius*; and while we have presented our selves and our ensignes before his pavilion and tribunall, see that when we salute him by the name of Father, (as is becoming his excellent majestie, and the benefit by us of him received) that yee also call those souldiours your Patrones, whose valiant hands and trustie armies crewhile protected you: that this day may give us yet, if nothing else, the honor & name of thankfull persons. Having thus said, he gave commandment to pack up bag and baggage, and to dilodge: and as they marched in good aray toward the camp of the Dictator, they stucke both him and also all about him into a wonder and admiration. And having pitched their ensignes

The words of
Minutius to
his souldiours.

A ensignes before the Tribunall: then *Minutius* the Generall of the horse, went forth before the rest and after he had greeted *Fabius* himselfe as his Father, and the whole armie likewise saluted those about *Fabius*, by the name of Patrones: To my parents (quoth he) & Dictator, unto whom I have made you equall in name only (as much as my tongue will give me leave) I am bound and beholden for my owne life only and no more: but to you, I am indebted for saving both my life and all these here. The Act therefore and ordinance of the commons which hath been a clogge and burden to me rather than an honour, here of my selfe I renounce, revoke and abolish: and (that which I pray God may prove to the good, both of you and me, of my armie and yours, as well that which is preserved, as that which is the preserver) lo I submit & surrender again my selfe under your commaund and government, together with these ensignes and legions thereto belonging: beseeching you to pardon me, and to entertaine me in the rouse of the Generall of the Cavallerie, & those here with me, every man in his former place. Then interchangeably they gave their hands one to another: and the souldiours (after the assembly dismissed) were courteously invited, and friendly entertained as well by them that were unknown unto them, as of their acquaintance, and so the day, dolorous, heave, and almost dismall and accursed, turned to be joyfull and festivall.

His speech to the
Dictator.

C So soone as tidings came to Rome of these occurrents, and the same confirmed as well by the letters of the Generals themselves, as also by the common voice of souldiours from both armies, every man the best hee could; praised and extolled *Maximus* up to the skie; whose honour and reputation was as great in the opinion of *Anniball* and the Carthaginians, for then and never before, they found, that they had to deale and war in Italie, & with Romanes. As for the two years space before, they set to light both by Romane captaines and souldiours, that they could be hardly persuaded, that they warred with that Nation, whereof there went so great a fame, & of whom their forefathers had reported such wonders and terrible things. They say also, that *Anniball* as he returned out of the field, gave out these words, That the cloud which seded on the hill tops, covered so long in the wind, that it proved a tempestuous storme in the end.

Whiles these things were doing in Italie, *Cn. Servilius Geminus* the Consull, having sailed about the coasts of Sardinia and Corsica with his fleet, and received hostages both of the one Ile and the other, passed over into Affricke: and before that he landed in the continent & firme land, he wasted the Island *Meninx*, and having received ten talents of silver of the inhabitants thereof, for feare lest their territorie also should be consumed with fire, and spoiled as well as the rest, he came to Affricke and there set his forces ashore. From thence he led his souldiours and mariners likewise, one with another, disbanded and out of order, as if they were to rob and spoile some desert Islands, unpeopled and void of inhabitants; Whereupon they fell unadvisedly into an ambush; and being unskillfull of the countrey, and therewith but few and scattered, they were soon enclosed among many, and with much slaughter and shamefull flight, were driven and beaten backe to their ships. The fleet thus having lost a thousand men, and one treasurer of the armie among them, called *Sempronius Blasus*, losed in great hast from the shore (which now was overspread by enemies) and held their course for Sicilie, and at *Lilybarum* was set over and delivered, to *T. Ostacilius* the Pretour, for to be brought backe againe to Rome, by *P. Sura* his Lieutenant. *Cn. Servilius* himselfe journeyed through Sicilie by land, and crossed the narrow seas into Italie: for both hee and his Colleague *M. Atilius* were sent for by the letters of *Fabius*, to receive the armie at his hands, now that his six moneths soveraine government was wellnigh expired. All the Annales in a manner doe record, that *Fabius* was the man, who during his Dictatorship, fought and waged warre with *Anniball*. *Cassius* writeth also, that he was created Dictator by the people. But both *Cassius* and the rest, either knew not or els forgot, that the Consull *Servilius*, who then was sent from Rome, and in the province of France, had the lawfull right and authoritie onely to nominate a Dictator: and because the citie so affrighted, by reason of that notable overthrow could not stay so long, they were driven to this shift, that they should be created by the people a Pro-dictator or Dictator his Deputy. But the noble acts and glorious rewarde of that Generall together with the title of his image, which might recomend his house more honourable to posteritie, gained easily this point, and caused the Pro-dictator to be reputed Dictator, and so called.

Gold, or Zebib:
1875 lib. flesh
according to the
letter Attike
talents.

Masalla.

The Consuls, *M. Atilius Regulus* and *Cn. Servilius Geminus*, having received the armie (as before said) fortified in good time the places for wintering harbours (for it was then the Au-

turning

turne season) conducted and managed the warres together in great concord, and followed the same politicke course that *Fabius* had done before them. For as *Annibal* made rodes at any time to purvey come, they would meet him just at every turne, in sundrie places, and either cut off the taile of his men, or intercept and catch them as they went scattering, but never hazard all in one set field; the onely thing that the enemye shot at, by all the meanes hee could devise. And so neere driven was *Annibal*, and to those tearmes of want & scarcitie, that but for very shame (least by his dislodging and departure hee might be thought to flie) hee would have retired backe into Gallia, as being out of all hope to maintaine his armie with victuals in those parts, in case the new Consuls who next succeeded, should hold on still the same policie and manner of warfare. Winter now approached, and all the war that was, continued and rested about * Gerion: at what time there arrived at Rome, Embassadors from Naples, who brought with them, and presented into the counsell house, fortie massie bols of beaten gold: and withall delivered this speech and said, That they knew full well, how the treasure of the people of Rome was wasted and consumed by long warres. And for as much as the said warres were maintained, as well for the defence of the cities and lands of allies, as for Rome, the very head, mother citie, and principall citadell (as it were) of all Italie, and for the soveraigne dominion & Empire thereof; the Neapolitanes thought it meet and reason, that what store of gold their auncestors had left unto them, were it for to adorne and deck themselves, or to relieve them in time of need and necessitie, with it they were to aid and helpe the people of Rome in their adversitie. And if they could have beene thought themselves of any other meanes besides, wherin they might steed and befriend them, they would as willingly and frankly have made presentment thereof: saying, moreover, that the Senatours of Rome should doe them an high pleasure, if they would make account of all that the men of Naples had, as their owne; and judge them worthy, at whose hands they would vouchsafe to accept a present, much greater, and more precious in regard of the minde and affection of the givers, than the substance and value of the thing. The Embassadors were highly thanked, as well for their liberalitie and munificence, as for the care they had of them: and that boll was onely received, which weighed least.

About the same time, a Carthaginian spy, who for two yeares space had walked unknowne and unsuspected, was detected now and apprehended at Rome: and after his hands were cut off, was suffred to depart. Five and twentie slaves were crucified for a conspiracie contrived in *Campus Martius*. The informer was made free, and had * 20000 pound of brasse bullion given him for a reward. There were also sent Embassadors to *Philip* King of the Macedonians, to demand againe *Demetrius Pharius*, who having bene vanquished in plaine field, was fled unto him. Others likewise were dispatched to the Ligurians, as well to exortulate with them and complaine, that they had succoured *Annibal* with men, money, and other munition: as also to hearken and learne (seeing they were so neere) what the Boians and Insulrians did or went about. Besides, a third embassage was addressed as farre as to * Illyricum, unto King *Pinens*, to require and call for the Tribute, whereof the terme was expired and past: and if he were minded to take a longer day, then to receive hostages & pledges of him for securitie. See how careful the Romanes were, and what a provident eye they had, notwithstanding the great warre which lay heavily upon their necks and shoulders, to their other affaires: in so much as no one thing in the world, how distant and remote soever, was by them neglected. But as concerning religion, and church matters, they made some scruple of conscience, that the temple of Concord (which *L. Manlius*, *L. Deputis* in Gallia, had vowed two yeares before in time of a sedition and mutenie of souldiers) was not as yet set out to workmen for to be built or edified accordingly. And therefore two *Duumvirs* were for that purpose created, by *Aemilius* the Pretor or *L. Governour* of the citie, namely, *Cn. Papirius*, and *Cass. Quintus Flaminius*: who gave order, that the Temple should be built upon the Capitoll hill. The same Pretor, by vertue of a decree of the Senate, sent his letters also unto the Consuls, importing thus much, that if they thought good, one of them should repaire to Rome for the creation of new Consuls; and that himselfe would summon the Parliament against that day, which it should please them so appoint. The Consuls wrote back againe according to the premises: That they might not depart farre from the enemye without damage of the State: advising them to hold an assembly for the Election afore said, by authoritie of an interregent rather, than that one of the Consuls should be called away from the warres. But the LL. of the Senate thought it better, to have a Dictatour chosen by one of

* *Cicero*,
The Embassadors
of Naples
in the Senate
of Rome.

* 60. pound
7. lb. 6. d. ster.

* *Sclavonia*.

A new Consuls, for the holding of such high court of parliament. So *L. Valerius Philo*, was nominated Dictatour; and he chose for Generall of the horsemen *M. Pomponius Matro*. But these men being not only, and lawfully created, were commaunded to the forthright end to give over their places, and then the matter grew to an Interregne. The Consuls had their commission, for government and conduct of the armie, continued and confirmed for one yeare longer. The Senatours named for Interregents; first *Cn. Claudius Cento*, the sonne of *Appius*; and after him, *P. Cicerellus Asina*. During whose interregne, the Parliament was holden, with much contention & debate betweene the Nobles and the Commons: The vulgar people endeavouring to advance unto the Consullship *C. Terentius Varro*, a man of their owne coat and condition; one chose him to good liking, and favour with the common sort, by opposing himselfe and contesting against greater personages, and by other popular practices and courses that he used to winne grace among the people; as namely, by abating the greatness of *Fabius*, and the majesty of the Dictatourship: for nothing was there els in him, to commend him to the world; but a malicious malice to bring others into disgrace. The Nobles withstood the Commons all they could, to prevent this mischief. That most should not take a custome to be their equals, by meanes of flattery and flattery head against them. *Bibius Herennius* a Tribune of the Common and kinsman to *C. Terentius*, blamed & accused much not only the Senatour, but also the Augurs, in that they forbade the Dictatour to finish & go through with the election: and so by drawing them into hatred, sought to purchase favour and credit unto *Terentius* his Candidate, who stood to be Consull. First, quoth he, where as the Noblemen for many yeares together, sought occasions of warre; and trained *Annibal* into Italie, the same persons craftily have made a long warre of it, when it might have been brought to a finall end before now. Also, when it was well seene that they might have fought a battaile with the compleat power of foure legions all together; seeing that *M. Annianus* in the absence of *Fabius* had a luckie day: two legions only and no more, were offered and exposed as it were to the enemye to be hewen in peeces: and then afterwards, they were rescued and saved from massacre, and the very edge of the sword: to the end that *Fabius* might be called Father and Patrone: even he, who to say a truth, first impeached the Romanes for vanquishing the enemies, before that he saved them from being vanquished. Moreover, the Consuls that succeeded, following the same course and artificiall fetches that *Fabius* practised before them, drew out the warre till on length, when they had good meanes of victorie; and might have fully finished it.

D A complot (no doubt) contrived and concluded among all the Nobles. And never will they see to make an end of warre, before there be a Consull chosen, a meere commoner in deede, to wit, a man never seene afore, and of the first head. For those who of commoners are now noblified, are all alike and of the same profession; they draw all in one line; and have leaunte one lesson; and ever since that they have left to be contemned of the Nobilitie, are fallen to despise and disdain the Commonaltie. For who seeth not? that in seeking to have an Interregne, their onely purpose and teach was, that the Election might be full and whole in the power and ordering of the Nobles. That was the thing which the Consuls aimed at, in staying behind in campe with the armie: and afterwards when there was a Dictatour created against their wils for to hold the great assemblee for the Election, their drift was, and they wrought so, and brought it about in the end, that the Augurs should give it out and pronounce, that there was an error committed in creation of the Dictatour. And therefore, saith he, the commons cannot of all things away, with these Interregnes: and verily, one of the Consullships (at least) apperteineth of right to the Commons of Rome: and no doubt, the people in their free election would more willingly make choyse of one to be Consull, and conferre the dignitie upon him, that loved rather to win the victorie at once; than to continue commaunder in the armie a long time. When the Commons were once inkindled and set on fire with these speeches and remonstrances, albeit three of the *Patritij* were competitours, namely, *Pub. Cornelius Merenda*, *L. Manlius Vulso*, and *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, and two new noblemen, who were already familiar and acquainted with the Commons, to wit, *C. Attilius Serranus*, and *Q. Atilius Patrus*, of whome the one had bene High Priest, and the other Augur: yet at length was *C. Terentius* onely created Consull; to the end that the election should be in his power, that hee might choyse unto him a Colleague at his pleasure. Then the Patritians having a sufficient tryall, that their Candidates and competitours were of small force and not able to prevaille, urged and put forward *L. Aemilius Paulus*, who sometimes had bene Consull with *M. Lulius*,

The Oration of
Bibius Herennius
a Tribune.

* Such as by
defence & birth,
were pure Com-
moners, but by
place, become of
the Nobility.

in the condemnation as well of himselfe as of his companion, escaped the perill of being burnt, G and was well senced and scorched as it were in the fire: a man of all others most mischievously bent against the commons: him they urged to stand for a Consulship, notwithstanding he refused a long while, and alledged many reasons against it. And so the next Comitall or Parliament day, by occasion that all the concurrents & competitors aforesaid that stood with *Varro*, gave place & left off their suite, he was chosen to march with the Consul elect, for to thwart and crosse him, rather than to be assistant unto him in the government. This done, they proceeded to the election of Pretours, wherein *M. Pomponius Mitho*, and *P. Furius Philus*, were created. Vnto *Pomponius*, fell by lot the iurisdiction within the cite of Rome: and vnto *P. Furius Philus*, betweene the citizens of Rome and foreiners. Two other Pretors besides were chosen, *M. Glaucius Marcellus*, to be sent L. Deputie into Sicilie, and *L. Posthumius Albinus* into Gallia. All were created in their absence, and excepting *Terentius* the Consul onely, there was no Magistracie conferred upon any, who had not aforetime borne and exercised the same: for divers valorous and hardie men were passed over, & left out, because in such a time of trouble, it was not thought good to preferre any man to a government, wherein he was raw, and unexperienced. The armies also were augmented; but to what proportion they arose, either in Cavallerie, or Infanterie, I dare not set downe any thing for certaintie: so greatly do authors varrie both in the number and qualitie of the forces. Some say, there was a new supplie of 10000 souldiers enrolled. Others asseme, that to the five legions, there were adjoynd foure new besides, to the end they might employ nine legions in the warres. Also, that the legions were increased in number both of foote and horse: to wit, with the addition of one thousand footemen, and three hundred horsemen in every Legion: [For sometime before, a Legion contained 4000 foote, and 300 horse, called *quadrata legio*: whereas at first, *Romulus* ordeined it to be 3000 of the one, and 300 of the other.] so as a legion consisted now of five thousand foote, and three hundred horse: and that the associates should double the number of horsemen, and find even proportion of foote men with the Romanes.

All within this
marks [] read
as a marginal
note.

Some Historians have written, that at what time as the battell of Cannae was fought, the Romanes were in campe 87200 strong. But in this they all agree, that the Romanes warred with greater preparation, and more force and suite than in yeeres past, because the Dictatour had put them in good hope, that the enemy might be vanquished and subdued at once. But before that these new Legions advanced under their ensignes and banners out of the citie, the Decemvirs were commaunded to goe and peruse the bookes of *Sibylla*; by reason that men were commonly put in feare, and terrified with newes of strange sights and prodigious tokens. For the rumour went, that both at Rome in the Aventine, and also at Aricia, it rained stones much about one time; and that in the Sabines countie (which no doubt portended a great massacre and slaughter) there issued out of a certaine fountaine, waters hore, with much bloud: and men were more terrified therewith, because it did so many times together. Besides, in the street called Fornicata, toward Campus Martius, divers persons were blasted & smitten to death with lightning from heaven. These prodigious signes were expiate and purged with due remedies out of the aforesaid bookes. Embassadors also from the citie of Pestum, brought unto Rome a present of massie bols of beaten gold. Thanked they were, like as the Neapolitanes before them, but the gold was not received.

The Embassadors
of K. Hiero,
in the Senate of
Rome.

At the same time, there arived at Ostia from K. Hiero a fleet of ships, redy rigged, & furnished with store of victuals; The Syracusan Embassadors were brought into the Senate house, where they declared, That K. Hiero, so soone as he heard of the death of *C. Flaminius* the Consul, & the defeiture of the armie, tooke it so heavily, that no proper calamitie of his owne, or losse incident unto his kingdom, could have troubled him more and touched him neerer: and therefore albeit he knew full well, that the grandeur & courage of the people of Rome, was ordinarily more admirable in their adversitie, than in prosperitie and welfare, yet he had sent all those things, where with good friends and faithfull Allies are wont to furnish the associates in time of war: praying the L.L. of the Senate, in any case not to refuse the same, but to take all in good worth. And first M and formost, for good luck sake & fortunate presage, they have brought with them the image of Victorie in gold, weighing 320 * pound: requesting, that it wold please them to accept the same, to have and to hold it, as their owne for ever. Moreover they had transported with them * 300000 Modios of wheate, and 200000 of barley, to the end they should be at no fault for victuals, and

* 11520 pound
sterling.
* 9375 quarters,
reckoning sixe
modi to Modim-
us, which is sup-
posed to be much
about a bushell
and a halfe of
Lend-measure.

A and were redy moreover to bring in more, according as they should need, & to what place they would appoint. As for footmen heavily armed, & horsemen, he knew well the people of Rome would use none but naturall Romanes, or at least wise Latines. But forasmuch as he had seen & observed in the Roman camp, forrain aids consisting of light armed souldiers, therefore he had sent 1000 Archers and Slingers, a meet and competent power to match with the Balcares & Mores, and other nations that use shot, and to reach their enemy a far off. Over and besides these gifts and reall presents, they counselled and advised them, that the Lord Deputie of Sicilie, should passe with his fleet into Affricke, both to find the enemy worke, and give him his hands full of warre at home: and also to affoord him lesse respite and worse opportunitie, to send aid and succour to *Anniball*. The Senate returned this answer againe unto the King. That King *Hiero* had done the part of a right good man, & a singuler friend and allie: who ever since that he was entered into amitie with the people of Rome, hath held on the same course still, in keeping his faithfull alleageance, and never failed, but at all times, and in all places succoured and advanced the state & empire of Rome, with all bountie and princely munificence: which the people of Rome tooke most thankfully, as in right they ought. As for gold, some other cities likewise had brought and offered unto them, but accepting onely in good worth their kindnes, received it not. But the image of Victorie, & the happie presage and foretoken thereof they gladly accepted: and for that blessed Saint, they appointed & dedicated even the Capitoll, & temple of *Iup. Opt. Max.* to be the seat & shrine thereof: that being consecrated in that castle & highest forresse of the citie of Rome, it might be propice and gracious, and remain firme and fast to the people of Rome. As for the slingers and archers, together with the corn, they were delivered to the Coss. Five & twenty gallics, with five ranks of oares to a side, were joined to the Navie which was under the conduct of *T. Octavius* the Propretor in Sicilie: who had commission, if he thought it good & expedient for the commonweale, to passe over into Affricke. The Consuls having finished the musters & levied souldiers, staid a few daies, untill their allies were come with aide from the Latines. Then were the Souldiers particularly (a thing never done before) by their Colonels, put to their corporall oath, and sworne to make their repaire at the Consuls commandement, and without their leave not to depart: for untill that daie, there passed nothing but a sacrament parole & simple promise in generall. For whensoever the horsemen resorted to their Decuries, and footmen to their Centuries, both they of the Cavallerie in their Decuries, & also of the Infanterie in their Centuries, swore (after a sort) voluntarily among themselves, That they would not abandon their ensignes by way of flight, or upon any feare, nor go out of their ranks, unless it were to fetch either some offensive armour, or to smite an enemy, or to save the life of a citizen. Which having been aforetime a voluntarie covenant & accord between themselves, was now by the martial Tribunes or Colonels, reduced to a formall and solemne oth, and bound the souldiers to observe the same, of necessitie. Yet before the ensignes set forward and marched out of Rome, the Consul *Varro* dealt many hortwords and brave orations in the assemblie of the people, intimating & purporting thus much in effect: That the Nobles had called for war in Italie, where it was like to remaine long enough, and to sticke close by the ribs of the common-weale, if the were served with many such Generals as *Fabius* was, As for my selfe (qd. he) I shal (I trow) vanquish the enemy, the first day that I set eie upon him, yea and finish the war at once for ever. But his collegue *Paulus* made but on only speech, even the day before they were to take their leave of the citie: which was not so wel taken of the people for the present, as it proved true in the end. Wherin he gave *Varro* no hard words, nor girded at him otherwise than thus; That hee marvelled much, how any captain, before he had experience either of his owne armie or of his enemies, and knew the situation of the place and ground, and the nature of the countrey, sitting as yet within the citie in his gowne, could perfectly tell what he was to do in the field, and in armes: and be able also to foretell and set downe the very day; wherein hee was to encounter and joine in raunged battaille with the enemy. For his owne part, he would not cast thus afore-hand, nor plot his designes & counsailes before due time & season, which present occurrences are wont much more to minister unto men, than men to fit them to the occurrences that shal happen. This wold he with all his hart, That the enterprises taken in hand warily & with discretion, might prove as luckie & fortunate. As for inconsiderat, rashnesse, besides that it implieth folly, hath ever to that day sped but ill. Thus it was wel seen, that this man of himselfe enclined to prefer safe proceeding & advised counsel, before doubtful waies & foole hasty courses: & to the end that he might persevere in that resolution

tion more constantly, *Q. Fabius Maximus* at his departure (by report) bad him farewell; in this G or such like manner.

The Oration of
Q. Fabius Max.
to L. Aemilius
the Consul.

If either you, *L. Aemilius*, had a Colleague like unto your selfe, (which I could rather wish) or that your selfe were furable to your Colleague, these my words to you were altogether needlesse and superfluous. For you twaine, being two good Consuls, would even without my speech do all things faithfully to the good of the Commonweale; and contrariwise, if both of you were bad, yee neither would vouchsafe to give care to my sayings, nor ponder in mind my counsels. But now, when I consider your companion what he is, and your selfe, to be a man of that qualitie and worth, you are hee to whome alone I am addressed to direct my whole speech; to you, I say, whom me thinks I foresee already, like to be in-vaine and without effect; an honest man and a good citizen. For if the Commonweale be halt and lame but of one side, as great sway and authority will bad projects & lewd courses carrie, as the good, sage, and wholesome counsels. For you are far out of the way and much deceived, *L. Aemilius*, if you thinke to bee lesse troubled with *Anniball* than with *C. Terentius*. And I wote not well, but I greatly feare, that you shall have a more comberous aduersarie of the one, than a dangerous enemy of the other. For, with *Anniball* you are to fight in the field; and in time of battell onely: but with *Terentius* you shall have to doe in every place, and at all houres. Against *Anniball* and his Legions you shall make head; and have the help of your own Cavallerie & Infanterie: but Generall *Varro* will assaile you even with your owne souldiours. Farre be from you in any ill sence the late remembrance of *C. Flaminius*, for I love no such unluckie boding. Howbeit, he began his mad fits when hee was once Consul, and never before: when hee was in his province with commaund, and in the campe with his armie, and never els. But this *Varro*, even before he stood for the Consulship, and all the whiles he was a suiter therefore, and now likewise, that he is Consul, before that he seeth campe or enemy in field, is hornemad, and talketh like a man besides himselfe. What foule worke then (thinke you) will he make, when hee shall see himselfe with armed youths about him in the campe; who now amongst peaceable citizens in their gownes and long robes within the citie, stirreth so great stormes and tempests, cracking & vaunting at every second word, of nothing but fight, skirmish, and battaile? What a coyle I say, will he keepe there, where no sooner a word spoken, but a blowe given; and when upon direction, presently ensueth execution? But in case this man (as hee saith flatly he will) fall immediately to strike a battaile; either I know not what belongeth to *Atrillia*, rie, and have neither skill how to conduct this kind of warfare, nor any experience of the qualitie and nature of this enemy, or els there will be another place more noble and memorable by our deafeate and overthrow, than was the Lake *Thrasymenus*. But it is no time now to stand upon these tearmes, and to glorifie my selfe in comparison of this one person: who have loved (as is wel known) to exceed & go beyond all measure in despising glorie and honor, rather than in desiring and coveting the same. But the truth is this; and so it will be found in the end, that the only way to war against *Anniball*, is that, which I tooke and alwaies used. Neither is it the issue & event alone (for that is maister and teacher of fooles) which sheweth and proveeth this unto us; but even reason it selfe which hath, and will be still the same & immutable, as long as things in the world hold on as they doe. We warre (you see) in *Italie*, at home; in our owne ground and place of residence: all quarters round about us; full of our owne citizens or friendly Allies: who daily helpe us, and will bee readie still to furnish us with armour, men, horse, and victuals. Sufficient prooffe and testimonie of their faithfulness have they given us already in our hard distresse and adversitie. Space and procelle of time maketh us better, stronger, wiser every day than other; and more constant and resolute. Contrariwise, *Anniball* is in a strange and forraigne land, in his enemies countrie, in the mids of all things that are cross and adverse unto him; farre from his house and home, farre from his native soile, having peace no where, neither by land nor sea. No cities receive him and give him entertainment, no wals he hath within which he can retire himselfe in safetie. Nothing seeth he, whereforever he goeth, that he can say is his owne. From day to day, from hand to mouth, he liveth of rapine and spoile. Scarce a third part hath he of victuals, which hee transported over the river *Iberus*. Hunger and famine hath wasted more of them, than the edge of the sword; and for this small remainder that is left, hee is hard and cruel, proud ded of food and sustenance. Make you any doubt then, but he shall vanquish him, whose victuals still and take our ease, who day by day detaileth himselfe, and wareteth old and feeble, who neither hath store of victuals to maintaine an armie, nor supplie of men to make up his broken bands,

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A nor masse of monie to entertaine them. How long was he faine to fight for *Gertion*, a poore little castle in *Apulia*, as if it had been for the wals of *Carthage* it selfe? Neither will I boast and magnifie my selfe at all, before you, *L. Aemilius*. Doe you but onely consider, how *Cn. Servilius* and *Attilius*, the last Consuls, plaied mockholiday with him, and deluded him. This is the onely way of safetie, *L. Aemilius*, which I feare me, our own citizens will make, difficult and dangerous unto themselves, more than the enemies can. For you shall have your own souldiours & your enemies, both of one and the same mind. *Varro* the Roman Consul, and *Anniball* the Carthaginian, Generall, will aime and reach at one and the selfesame thing. And you, being but one man, must make account to resist two captains; and resist them you shall well enough if you will stand firm and hold your owne against all bruits and speeches of the people, if neither the vaine-glorie of your fellow that shall be blased, nor the infamous rumors that shall bee falsely blowne abroad to your disgrace, shall once stirre you from your constant resolution & maintenance of the truth. Old sayd sawes these be, and common proverbes, That right and true-dealing may well be sicke, but it shall not die: it may lie a bleeding, but shall not miscarie. And he that will despise vainglorie, shall attaine in the end to true glorie. Let them call you and spare not, fearefull for careful, cold and slow for wise and considerate, an ill souldiour and ignorant for a skilfull warrior and experienced. But be not you dismayed: I had leifer heare a wife and sober enemy to fear you, than see foolish and brainesicke citizens to praise you. Adventure all things boldly, *Anniball* will contemne your enterprise nothing rashly, he shall dread you. And yet my purpose is not, neither speake I this, that you should enter into no action, at all: but my meaning and advise is, that in all your doings you be guided and directed by sage reason, not haled and carried away with blind fortune. Order the matter so, that all things lie within your compasse, and at your disposition. Stand ever armed, and upon your guard. Have your eye about you still, and keepe good watch, that neither you lose any opportunitie that shall present it selfe unto you, nor yeeld unto the enemy any occasion for his advantage. Take time and leisure, you shall find all things cleere, plaine, easie, and certaine. Contrariwise, hast maketh wast: it is ever to seeke, it foreseeth nought, but is starke blind.

The Consul answered to these speeches, with no lightsome cheere and glad some countenance, as confessing, That all he spake was rather true in substance, than easie in execution. For (saith he) if the Generall of horsemen were so violent, and not to be endured of you, who were his Dictatour & Sovraigne Commanders; what course shall I take, what shift may I make, what power and authoritie sufficient, am I like to have, to sway against my seditious, quarrellsome, and headie Colleague? For mine owne part, in my former Consulship, I hardly escaped a scouring, and much ado I had to passe through the light fire of the flaming peoples doome and heavey censure, wherein I was well scorched and halfe burnt. I wish all may be well in the end. Howbeit, if any thing shall fall out otherwise than well, I had rather hazard the pikes and darts of the enemy, and leave my life behind me among them, than put my selfe to be tried againe by the voice & suffrages of angrie & restie citizens. *Paulus* had no sooner delivered this speech, but (as the report goeth) he went forth on his journe, & the cheefe LL. of the Senat accompanied him. The other Commoner Consul was likewise attended of his favourites the Commons, more looked on and gazed at for their multitude and number, than regarded for the worth and qualitie of their persons.

So soone as they were arrived at the campe, and that the new armie was intermingled with the old, they divided the whole into two camps, and ordered the matter so, that the new which was the lesse should be neerer to *Anniball*; and in the old, the greater number and the whole strength and floure of the maine forces should be quartered. Then they sent away to Rome *M. Atilius*, the Consul of the former yeare, who excused himselfe by reason of his old age; and desired to be gone. But they gave unto *Cn. Servilius* the charge and conduct of one Roman Legion, and besides of two thousand horsemen and footemen of their allies in the lesse campe. *Anniball*, notwithstanding he well perceived that the power of his enemies was reinforced by one halfe more than before: yet wonderful joyfull he was at the coming of these new Consuls. For not onely he had nothing left him of victuals which from day to day he brevied for, to serve his present neede and no more; but also there was no more to be had, and nothing remained for to fill his hands with; by reason that after the territorie was, not late to travaile in, that come from all parts was conveyed unto the strong walled townes and there laid up: so that

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(as afterwards it was known for certaine) he had scarce come ynough for to serve ten daies : and the Spaniards, by occasion of the dearth and want, were at the point to revolt unto the Romans, if they might but espie a good and commodious time therefore. Over and besides, to the inbred rathnesse and overhastie nature of the Confull, fortune also ministred mate to confume him therein. For in a certaine tumultuarie skirmish (to stop and impeach the forragers and boothalers of *Anniball*, and which began rather by chance, as the souldiours happened to encounter one another, than upon any considerate counsell aforehand, or by direction and commaundement from the Generals) the Carthaginians had the foile, & went by the worse; for of them there were 1700 slain: but of Romanes and Confederates, not passing 100. And when in the traine of victorie they hotely followed the chase in disaray, the Confull *Raulus*, who that day had the absolute command (for they governed by turnes, each on his day) refrained and staied them. *Verro* thereat chaufed and frownded, crying out aloud; That hee had let the enemy escape out of his hands: and if he had not thus given over the pursuit, the warre might have been ended at once. *Anniball* tooke this losse and damage nothing neere the heart, but rather made full reckning, that he had caught (as it were) with a bait, and beshed the audaciouesness of the foolchastie Confull, and of the new souldiours especially. For he knew as well, all that was done amongst the enemies, as in his owne campe; namely, that the Generals were not futable nor forcing one unto the other: and that of three parts of the armie, two in a manner were but rawe, fresht, and untrained souldiours. And therefore supposing he had now gotten place and time favourable unto him, to contrive and compasse some stratageme; the night following he led forth his souldiours, carying nothing about them but their armour; and abandoned the campe full of all things, as wel privat goods and furniture, as publike provision: and beyond the next hills, he bestowed secretly in ambush his footmen well appointed & in ordinance of battell, on the left hand; & the horsemen on the right: and conveyed all his carriages into the mids between the two flanks: to the end that whiles the enemy was busied in rifling and ransaking the tents, forlorne (as it were) and forsaken by the flight of the owners and masters, he might surpris him laden & encombred with bag and baggage. He left behind him in the campe many fires burning, to the end that the enemies should verily thinke and beleve, that under a pretended shew of an armie in campe, his purpose was to hold and keepe the Confulls, amused still where they were, whiles himselfe in the meane time might gaine more ground and escape further away: like as he had plaid by *Fabius* the verie before. When day light was come, and the Confull, first that the standing guards were gone, and perceived (as they approached neerer) an unwonted silence, they marvelled much. But after they discovered certainly that the campe was abandoned, and no person remaining behind, that was running of all hands who could run fastest to the pavilions of the Confull with newes that the enemies were fled, in such feare, as they left their tents standing entire, and had quit the campe wholly: and to the end their flight should be more secret and not descied; they had left light fires burning in everie place. Then began they all to crie & call upon the Confull, for to commaund the standers and ensignes to be brought abroad, and to lead forth in pursuite of the enemies; & without any stay to make spoile and havock of their campe. And in truth, one of the Confull was no wiser than the common souldiours. But *Paulus* replied & told them ever & anon, that they were to be circumspect and warie, & to looke about them what they did for feare of an ambush. Yet being in the end no remedie, and that otherwise hee could neither staie the mutinie, nor rule the captaine thereof: he sent out *M. Statilius* (the Provost marshall) with a troupe of Lutean horsemen, in cypiall, to discover the coasts & see all were cleare: who having ridden hard to the gates, and given order to all the rest for to stay without the fortifications; himselfe with two hundred besides, entred within the rampire; and having looked and searched every corner advisedly, portired and made relation, That past all peradventure there were rhaves abroad, & a peece of officerie was in hand: for why, there are fires made (qd. he) on that side only of the campe, that looked toward the enemy: the pavilions stand open, and all things of price & value which they looke most store by, are left at random even to sit our hands; & we have seen besides in divers places full ver plate and coine scattered along the way here and there, as if were a baril laid to traile in a bootie. These circumstances reported, of purpose to wither their minds from covetous and greedie desire of pillage; set them on & kindled them the more. And the forrers had no sooner cried aloud, that unlesse the signall were given, they would set forward with our Commanders, but they had a captain straight at hand to lead them the way for immediate pursuit, and to found the march.

A march. *Paulus* who of himselfe made flow haſt, and perceived beſides that the birds in taking the Auſpice, approved not this enterpriſe, nor gave good tokens of happy ſpeed, gave order ſtraightwaies that his Colleague ſhould be advertiſed of the unluckie Auſpice; who, was readie now to ſet out of the gate with his ſtandard, and that in any wife he ſhould ſay. *V*herwith albeit *Varro* was not wel content, yet the late miſfortune of *Flaminius*, & the memorable overthrow at ſea of *Claudius* [** Pulcher*] Conſull, in the Punick war, wrought ſome ſcruple of conſcience and feare in his heart. But it was even the faire grace of the gods (if a man may ſo ſay) and nothing elſe, which put by and deſerred; rather than impeached and inhibited the danger and deſtruction that hung over the Romanes heads. For, as good hap was, it chaunced at the very inſtant, when the Conſull commanded the enſignes to be brought into the campe; & the ſoldiours would not obey him, that two ſlaves (who ſerved ſometime two horſemen; the one a *Formian*, and the other a *Sidine*, and who in the year when *Servilius* and *Asilius* were Conſuls, among other foragers were taken priſoners by the *Numidians*) made an eſcape and fled that day to their old maiſters againe. *V*who being brought before the Coſſ, advertiſed them conſtantly, that the whole armie of *Anni-*
ball ſlay cloſe in embuſcado on the farther ſide of the mountaines. The coming of theſe bond-
ſlaves to right and jump as they did, cauſed the ſouldiours to obey their Coſſ. *V*hereas the one of them, by his ambitious courting and ſeeking unto them at the firſt for a Conſulſhip; and afterwards, by his unſeemly indulgence and pleaſing of them, had loſt all his maiſtie and reputa-
tion among them. *A*n
C *Anni*ball when hee ſaw that the Romanes rather began to ſtirre without adviſe, than ſtill to run raſhly on head to the full, and that his craftie deviſe was diſcloſed and tooke no effect, returne againe into his campe. *V*where, hee could not for want of come make abode many daies; and beſides, not onely ſouldiours (who were not all one mans children, but a mingle mangle and medley of all Nations) began daily to plot and enter into new deſignements, but alſo their captaine himſelfe was of many minds. For whereas they began with muttering and grumbling, and afterwards with open mouth, to demand and call for their due wages, complaining firſt of the death of victuals, and in the end, of meere hunger and famine: and withall a rumour ran, that the mercenarie ſouldiours, and the Spaniards eſpecially, were minded and intended to give him the ſlip, and to turne to the enemies; *Anni*ball likewiſe be thought himſelfe otherwhiles as it was ſaid, how he might ſlie into *Gallia*, but ſo, as he would leave his Infanterie behind him at ſixe and
D ſeven, and ſo be gone with his Cavallerie alone. As men, I ſay, were thus plotting and deviſing in the campe, he reſolved at length to diſlodge from thence, and to remove into the hotter countries of *Apulia*, where the harveſt was more timely: conſidering withall, that the farther hee went from the enemies, his ſouldiours who were by nature light-headed and unconstant, would not ſo eaſily revolt and ſlie from him. So he tooke his way by night, and made fires likewiſe, & left a few tents ſtanding in ſight; that the Romanes, ſeering the like traines and ambuſh as before, might keepe in, and not ſtirre abroad. But when as the ſame *Statilius* the Lucine, having ſcoured all the coaſts, both beyond the campe, and the other ſide of the hills, and brought word, that he had diſcovered the enemies a farre off diſmarching, then began they the morrow after to thinke and conſult of making after him with hote purſuite. But albeit both Conſuls continued, as ever
E before, the ſame men ſtill, that is to ſay, diverſly minded, and perſiſting in their ſeverall reſolutions; but ſo, as all in a manner accorded with *Varro*; and none agreed unto *Paulus*, but onely *Servilius* the Conſull of the former yeere: yet according to the opinion and counſell of the *Major* part, they went both together (for what might hold that which ſhall neceſſitie drive), to make *Canna* much renowned and famous for the noble overthrow and defeature of the Romanes. Neere this village *Anni*ball had encamped under the wind *Pulturnus*, and had it on his backe; which wind, when the fields are ſcorched and burnt with drought, is wont to bring with it clouds (as it were) of duſt. Which as it was good and commodious for the very campe it ſelfe; ſo it was like to ſerve in ſpeciall ſteed, when they ſhould range their battaile in order, and fight with the wind blowing on their backe, againſt the enemy, whoſe eyes the duſt was readie to put out, flying
F with the wind ſtill in their faces ſo abundantly. *A*n
The Conſuls having diligently ſearched the waies, and tried the paſſages ever before them, followed *Anni*ball hard, and ſo ſoone as they were come to *Canna*, had him in ſight: where they forſet two camps, of like diſtance almoſt aſunder, as at *Gerion* and devideid their forces like as before. The river *Auſidius* ran cloſe by both theſe camps, and yeelded waiting places a-

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cording as either of them had occasion and neede, but not without some skuffling and skirmish. But from the lesser camp, which lay on the farther side of Aufidus the Romanes had more libertie to water, because upon the farther banke there was planted no skence nor gard of the enimie. *Anniball* having possessed himselfe of a good plot of ground to his mind, commodious and meete for the service of horsemen (in which kind of forces he was invincible) ordred his battalions in array, and by putting out certaine Numidian light horse, made a bravado; and bad the Consuls battaile. And even then it fell out, that both the Roman camps were disquieted and troubled anew, what with the mutinie of the soldiours, and what with the disagreement and jarring of the Consuls; whiles *Paulus* laid hard unto *Varro*, and set before his eyes the rashnesse of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; and *Varro* againe hit him home, and twit him with the example of *Fabius*, which made so goodly a shew in the eyes of feareful, idle, & cowardly captaines: both of them fell to protesting & calling God and man to witnesse, the one giving out, that the fault was not in him that *Anniball* was now Lord welcomer of all Italy already; and why? because himselfe was kept short and tyed fast enough by his colleague, and the soldiours whose hote blood was up, and who were eager of fight, had their weapons even plucked out of their hands: *Aemilius* on the other side complaining, that if ought should happen amisse, unto the Legions thus betrayed, and offered willfully and unconsiderately to the daunger of doubtful battaile, notwithstanding he were not blameworthy, but innocent altogether, yet should he be the first that smarted, and be partaker of the mischiefe and misfortune: and yet he would gladly see, whether they who were so readie and halfe of their tongue to speake, would be as nimble and active of their hands to fight, when the time came. Thus whiles they spend time in chopping logick, and quarrelling one with another, rather than in good and sober consultations, *Anniball* who had stood arraigned a good part of the day readie to fight, minding to retire his other forces into his camp, sent forth certaine Numidians out of the battaile to charge upon the Romanes on the other side of the river, who from the lesser camp went for water. These being a disordred and confused multitude, were not fully landed on the banke, but with the shout only and tumult of the Numidians they were discomfited and put to flight: whereupon the enimie rode further, even to the standing *Corps de guard*, quartered before the rampier, and hard at the very gares of the Roman campe. This was such an indignitie offered to the Romanes, to see themselves now thus braved and bearded even in the very camp by the auxiliarie souldiers, and the raskal sort of the enemies, that there was no other thing stayed the Romanes from passing the river presently, and embattailing themselves, but only this; that it was *Paulus* his turne that day to have the soveraigne command of all. And therefore the morrow after, when it came to *Varro* his course for to rule, without any advise of his companion, he put forth the signall of battaile, & with all his forces put in order of battaile, went over the river. *Paulus* also followed after him, as one who might well enough mislike and disallow the purpose of his colleague, but otherwise could neither will nor choose, but second him, & take part in the execution. Being once over the river, they joyned so the forces which they had in the smaller camp, unto the other: and in this manner they ordred the battaile. In the right point which was neerer to the river, was arrayed the Roman Cavalterie, and after them the footmen. The left point al without forth, was flanked with the horfemen of the associates: within forth stood their Infantry: but in the middle part were bestowed the archers and loose shot, close to the maine battaile of the Roman Legion; and of all the rest of light armed auxiliarie souldiours, consisted the vanguard. The Consuls led both the points, *Temius* the left, *Aemilius* the right, *Cn. Servilius* had the conduct of the maine battaile. Now *Anniball* by the breake of day, having sent before the *Batane* slingers, and his other light armour, passed over the river, and marshalled them in battaile away, ever as they came to land. The horse as well Gaules as Spanyards, he opposed in the left point, neere to the banke, even against the horfemen of the Romanes: the right consisted of the Numidian light horse, and the maine battaile was strengthened & fortified with his Infantry, but in such manner as the Affricanes flanked both in maer of wings: and betweene them were bestowed the Gaules and the Spanyards in the midst. A man that had seene the Affricanes, would have taken most of them for Romanes, so armed were they with Roman armour, gotten made off at *Tybbis*, but most of all at *Thrafinus*. The Frenchmen and Spanyards, had argues more of one fashion, but their weapons were unlike and farre differing. Those of the Gaules were very long and not pointed. But the Spanyards whose manner is rather to fight with the thrust and to joyn, than to slash and strike, edged long

* That is, a skeler cast out of the Generall his pavilion.

The memorable battaile of Cannae.

A had handsome short cutlasses, and sharp at the point. And after this sort stood these two nations armed before the rest (terrible to behold, both for the bignesse of their persons, and also for their habite and attire.) The Gaules all from the navell upward naked: the Spanyards with linnen waistcoates or jackets, glittering wondrous bright, bordred and embroidered with purple and skarlet. The completer number of all, as well horse as footemen, that stood in battaile, amounted (as they report) unto fortie thousand foote, and ten thousand men of armes. These Captaines had the leading of the two points, to wit, *Asdruball* commanded the left, *Maharball* the right. *Anniball* himselfe in person with his brother *Mago*, conducted the middle battaile. The sunne shone sidewise upon the flanks both of the one and also of the other armie, very indifferent and commodious to both parts; were it that they were so placed and marshalled of set purpose, or chanced at adventure so to stand: the Romanes with their faces full South, the Carthaginians into the North. But the wind which the inhabitants of that countie call *Vulturnus*, arose and blew full up on the faces of the Romanes, and rayled such store of dust, and drove it so upon their eyes, that it took away their sight and prospect. The cry and shout began on both sides, and the Auxiliarie souldiours put themselves forth first to skirmish, and charged one another with their light shot. Then the left point of the Gaules and Spanish men of armes, encountered and ran full upon the right hand of the Romans Cavalterie, nothing at all after the order of horse service, for they were of necessity to affront one another straight forward, as having no rouble left about them to sling out and ride at large, being flanked on the one hand with the river, and enclosed on the other with the battallion of footemen. Whereupon I say, they were forced to charge full butt from both parts, directly before them, so long as their horses stood close and thrust together: but at length when they began to stir & winke, the riders, man to man, fell to rake hold and clasp one another, & every man to pluck his enimie besides his horse, so as now they were driven much what to fight on foot. This conflict was rather sharpe than long: and to be short, the Roman Cavalterie was discomfited and put to flight. And anon, as the horse made an end of their fight, began the medley of the foote also. At the first the Gaules and Spanyards equall to their enemies both in force and courage, maintained the conflict right hardily, and kept their order and array. At length the Romanes cast about and devised on what side, and with what forme of a close battailon, to force back that pointed squadron of the enemies, ranged very thin, and by so much the weaker, and bearing out withall, from the rest of the battaile. Now when they had once driven them to recule, and to give ground, the Romanes preased on still at one instant, and with the same violence perced through them as they fled for feare headlong, untill they were entered as far as to the very midst of the vanguard & maine battaile: and finding none able to stand in their way and make resistance, they gained in the end the very rereward of the Affricanes: who having drawn in from both sides their skirts and wings, stood together strong, and firmly kept their ground. The Gaules and Spanyards continued still in the midst, somewhat advanced without the rest of the battaile. Now when this pointed squadron was driven in by the Romanes, and made even & equal first with the front of the battaile, and afterwards upon further enforcement, gave way for them to passe in a lane through the midst thereof; by that time the Affricanes charged upon their flanks: and whiles the Romanes unwarily were engaged overfarre within them, they came about them on the skirts, & within a while having stretched out & spread their wings, inclosed the enemies round on their backs also. Hereupon the Romanes who had performed one battaile and conflict in vaine, were forced to give over the Gaules & Spanyards, whom they had disparayed and put to flight, and were to begin a fresh fight with the Affricanes: and that to their owne great disadvantage; not only because they being enclosed and pent up in a straight rouble, were to deale with them that had compassed them all about and were at libertie, but also because they being wearied, were to maintaine a new skirmish with those that were fresh in hart, and lustie. And now by this time, in the left point of the Romanes battaile, where the horfemen of their associates were marshalled to affront the Numidians, they were faine to close fight: which at the first these Numidians began but coldly and faintly, after the deceitfull manner of Carthaginians, into whose time they were sib and neere neighbours. For 500 of them or thereabout, having besides their usuall javelins & darts which they commonly cary, short daggers or skaines hidden under their cuirasse & harnesse, made semblance of riding away from their owne companies, & siding to the Romanes; with their bucklers at their backs, all of a sodain dismounted from their horses, and throwing their bucklers, targets, & speares at their enemies feet, were received within

within the main battell, and from thence conducted to the hindmost in the rearward, were com-
maunded there to abide behind at their backs. And untill such time as the medley joined on all
sides, they continued quiet. But when they saw every mans eye and mind busied and occupied in
the conflict, then they caught up those bucklers that lay strewed and scattered among the dead
bodies all abroad, and plaied upon the battell of the Romans from behind: and what with wound-
ding their backs, and cutting their hamstrings, they made foule worke & carnage among them;
and more than that, raised a greater feare and tumult by farre. Now when the Romans in one
place were frighted and ran away, and in another fought for life, armed only with despair of all
meanes to escape; *Asdruball* who had the charge of that side, caused the Numidian horsemen
who fought but coldly with those that stood affront them, to be withdrawn from the mids of the
battell, and sent them to pursue the enemies in the chase. And to the Affricaines overyearenon H
with execution and killing, rather than with any other fight, hee joined the Gaulles and Spanish
footmen to assist them. On the other side of the battell, *Paulus*, albein at the very high thicke and
encounter, he was fore wounded with a bullet from out of a sling, yet oftentimes he made head
against *Anniball*, and kept his battailons close and thicke together; yea, and in diverse places
renued the medley, and evenmore the Roman horsemen guarded and protected him. But at the
last they left their horses, because the Confull his strength failed him to rule his army, and to
him. Whereupon there was one brought word unto *Anniball*, that the Confull had comman-
ded his men of arms to light afoot. Then (quod *Anniball*, as the report goeth) Xea many! But how
much gladder would I be if hee delivered them into my hands bound hand & foot. And surely
the horsemen fought so after they were alighted, as if there had been no doubt, but that the ene-
mies had the victorie. Howbeit, although they had the worke, yet they chose rather to die in the
place, than to flie: and the Victours angled at the heart with them for thus having the accom-
plishment of the victorie, went downe with them, and killed outright all those whom they could
not make to give ground and yeeld. And yet a few, such as were wearied with much toile & over-
charged with many wounds they enforced to recule. Anon they were all disbanded and scattered
afunder: and as many as could, recovered their horses, and fled away. *Cn. Lentulus* a Colonell
seeing (as he rode by) the Confull sitting all agone bloud upon a stone. Ah *L. Aemilius* (quoth
he) whom the gods ought of right to regard and save, as being the onely guiltlesse man, and in-
nocent of this daies worke and unhappie overthrow, take here this horse of mine, while some yet
gour and strength remaineth in you. Able I am to mount you upon him, to accompanie & se-
cure you also. Come I say, and make not this battell more cursed, and sorrowful by the death of a
Confull. Without it ywis we have cause ynough already, and too much, of dolorous teares and
wofull lamentation. Whereunto the Confull made this answer: I con thee thanke, *L. Cornelius*
Gra-mercie for thy kindnesse, and God blesse thee in this thy vertue and prowess. But take thou
heed to thyselfe; least by thy foolish pitie of mee, thou loose that little time which thou hast
to escape out of the hands of the enemies. Save thyselfe, and go thy waies to the L.L. of the Senat,
and will them all from mee in generall, to fortifie the cite of Rome, and man it well with strong
guards, before the enemy follow the traine of victorie, and come against it. But more particular-
ly, let *Q. Fabius* understand, that *L. Aemilius* yet, was mindfull of his wholesome precepts, all the
whiles he lived, and now also forgot them not at the houre of his death. And suffer thou me to
yeeld unto nature, and let goe my last breath, even here among the heapes of mine owne slaie
souldiours, that I may end my daies and die neither an accused and guiltie person, nor in my
Confullship stand up to accuse my Colleague, and to defend mine owne innocencie, and jus-
tifie my selfe, by the blaming of another. As the Confull uttered these words, first the multitude
of his owne citizens in the rout, and then the enemies in pursuit, ran over him, and not knowing
who he was, overwhelmed him with javelins and darts good store. As for *Lentulus*, his horse car-
ried him away to a little hill. Then they fled all amaine as fast as they could: 7000. recovered the
lesser campe, and ten thousand the greater: and upon two thousand put themselves into the
large it selte of Cannæ. But because it was an unvalled and fencelesse towne, they were immedi-
ately environned by *Cartho* and the horsemen; and so fortified every one. The other Confull
made no semblance, that hee was offended or displeased with the companies that thus fled:
were it of purpose, or as it chanced; and accompanied with fiftie men of armes, or thereabout
escaped to Venusia. In this battell were slaine of Romans (by report) 40000. footmen, and 2700.
horsemen; and in a manner, as many besides of Allies, as of naturall citizens. Among (whom
there

A there was one Confull, two Treasurers, *Attilius* and *Furius Bibaculus*, one and twentie Colo-
nells, some also who had ben Consuls, Pretors, and Ediles. Of which number was *Cn. Servilius*,
and *G. Minicius Numidius*, who this yeere before had been Commander of the Cavallerie for
some certaine daies. Besides eightie Senatours, or such as were Senatours fellows, & had borne
those dignities in regard whereof they were to be chosen Senatours. These served as voluntaries
and were enrolled among the Legions. There were taken prisoners at this field, as the generall
speech went, thier thousand footmen, and three hundred men of Armes.
This is that noble battell, so famous for the overthrow at Cannæ, and comparable to that de-
fecture at the river *Allia*. For like as this was of lesse importance than the other, in respect of that
which ensued after the conflict, because the enemy staid his hand, and pursued not his victorie:
B. So if we consider the losse of men and defecture of the armie, it was the greater, & for the shame-
full sight more dishonourable. For the running away that was at *Allia*, as it betrayed the cite, so
it saved the armie; but at Cannæ, when the one Confull fled, there were scarce fiftie of his armie
that accompanied him; and as for the other Confull, whiles hee lay a bleeding and dying, all
his forces, to speake of, took their heales.
Now, there being a number in both camps halfe disarmed, and wholly without their cheefe
Commanders, the captains of the greater camp, sent a messenger unto the other, willing them
to come over thither, that they might march in one entire companie together, and depart to
Cannusum in the night season, whiles their enemies were fast asleep; as partly wearied with long
fight, and partly charged with wine and good cheate after their joyfull victorie. This advise, some
there were that misliked altogether and rejected. For why (say they) might not they come hither
themselves to us, as well as send for us, since we may as soon so join together? Because ywis, all the
waies betwene are full of enemies; and they chose rather to hazard the bodies of others, than
adventure their owne persons in so great danger. Others were not so much displeased for anie
dislike of the motion, as their hearts failed them to take in hand the enterprise therof. Then spake
C. *P. Sempronius Tuditans* a Colonell. And will yerather chose (quoth he) to be taken captive by a
most covetous and cruell enemy? And to have your heads valued at a price? And that Chap-
men comming to buy you in over-market, should aske every one of you this question, Whe-
ther art thou a Roman citizen, or a Latine Confederate? And so by thy disgrace, reproch, and
miserie, another man shall get honour, and thy selfe none. Yet are not (I see well) like to *Lucius*
D. *Aemilius*, who made choise to die valiantly, than to live in shame and obloquie; nor to many
other so brave and hardie men, who lie about him dead on the ground by heaps. But before day
light surprise us, and greater troupes of enemies beset the passages, let us breake through these;
that in disorder and out of array, make so foule noise at our gates. The point of sword and edge
of courage, is able to passe through enemies, stand they never so thicke and close together. We
will make a pointed battailon in wedge-form, and pierce through their lose and thin squadrons,
as easily as if nothing stood in purway. Go with me therefore as many of you, as are willing to
save your selves & the Commonweale. The word was no sooner out of his mouth, but his sword
was out of scabbard; and with a pointed battailon tooke his way through the mids of the ene-
mies: and when the Numidians flanked them, and shot hard at their right side that lay open to
them, they shifted their targuets to their right arme, and so escaped, to the number of 600. unto
the bigger campe, and forthwith from thence, joining to the other greater companie, they re-
turned themselves safe to Cannusum. These exploits were performed by men vanquished in more
upon a present fit of courage, as each mans naturall instinct guided, or chance led him, than by
any sage advise of their owne, or command of other.
Now, when all the rest came about *Anniball*, immediately upon this noble victorie, to con-
gratulate and reioice with him, yea and to advise him, that after so great a battaille performed, he
should the rest of that day, and the whole night following, both refresh himselfe, and also give
rest and repose to his wearied souldiours: *Mabarball*, Generall of the Cavallerie, was of minde
that it was no giving over thus; Nay (quoth he) that you may know of what consequence this bat-
taille is, you shall breake your fast and eate your dinner five dayes hence in the Capitoll. Follow
hardly with your horsemen, that they may see you are come, before they heare that you are com-
ing. No, saith *Anniball* again, let curriers on Gods name go afore, and spare not to cary newes
thereof. Your words are good, and it is a gay matter, and plausible you speake of: but the way
thereto is longer, and more than I can presently conceive and comprehend. I con you thanke
Mabarball

The speech of
P. Sempronius
Tuditans, to his
fellow souldiours.

Maharball, and I commend your good mind and forwardnesse; but we had need to deliberate and pause further upon this poynt. Ah (quoth *Maharball*) true it is, I see well, that God hath bestowed one man with all gifts. Thou hast the way & *Anniball* to win a victory; but not the grace to use a victorie. And certes, in this one daies delay, as it was certainly beleev'd, stood the safetie and preservation of the citie and Empire of Rome. The morrow after, so soone as ever the day beganne to appeare, they minded onely and intended the gathering of spoiles; and to view that great butchery & carnage: a pittifull & lamentable sight even to the very enemies to behold. So many thousand Romans lay there along in every place, horsemen and footmen pell mell, one with another, according as their hap was to meete together, and either to joyne in fight, or die in flight. Some were seen to arise up al bloudie front, out of the midst of the slaughter'd bodies, such, as the bitter morning cold had nipped their wounds, and made them to start up by reason of their smart, and were by the enemy knocked downe againe and killed. Other some they found lying along still alive; cut shorter by the thighs & hammes, who offered their bare neckes and throates to be cut, and called vnto them to let forth the rest of their blood. Divers were founde with their heads covered within the earth; who as it appeared, had made themselves holes & gutters in the ground, for this purpose, to inter themselves wherinto they thrust their mouthes and faces, and being buried with mould cast over them, were so stifled and choked. But above all the rest, there was one that drew every mans eye upon him, and made them all to wonder, a *Numidian* with his nose and eares pitiously mangled and cropt, but yet alive, lying under a Roman dead. For when his hands so wounded as they were, would not serve him to handle a weapon, for very anger hee fell raging mad, & lay (so long as he had any breath left within him) bying his enemy with his teeth.

After they had spent a good parte of the day in gathering spoiles, *Anniball* marched forward to assault the lesser campe: and first and foremost hee turned aside the arme of the river that flanked them, and so excluded them from the water. But they all within being overwearied with toyle, with watching and bleeding of their woundes, yielded sooner than he looked for: and covenanted, *Imprimis*, to deliver up their armour and horses: *Item* to pay 300 quadrigate peeces of silver, for every Roman: 200 for every one of the Allies, and every bondman 100 a peece. *Item*, that after this ranfome paid, they should depart in their single apparrell. Thus they received their enemies into the campe, and were themselves put all in ward: but Allies and citizens by themselves, apart one from the other. While they trised time there, there were about 4000 footemen, and two hundred horsemen, even as many as either their strength or harts would serve, who out of the greater campe fled to Cannusium, some marching in order, others scattering abroad over the fields, which was not the worse way of the twaine, and lesse safe. And then the campe was surrendered to the enemy, by those that were hurt and heartlesse, upon the same conditions that the other was. A rich boote was there gotten: and setting aside horses, and men, and silver, which they used much in trappings and caprisons of their horses, (for souldiers, be ye sure, occupied very litle silver, either in their owne apparrell, or at their boord) all the pillage was given to be rifled and ranfacked amongst them. Then he gaue commandement, that the dead bodies of his owne men should be gathered together for to be buried. And as men say, they were to the number of eight thousand; all right valiant and hardie men. Some Authors report, that the Roman Consull also was sought up and interred. As for those, which escaped to Cannusium, were by the Cannusines entertained onely within the walles, and lodged in their houses: but a noble Lady & a wealthie, named *Bissa*, relieved them with some victuall apparrell, yea and mony also in their purses for their wayfare. In regard of which bountifull liberalitie of hers, after the warre was finished, she was highly honored by the Senate of Rome.

Now, there were amongst them foure Coronels, namely *Fabius Max.* of the first Legion, whose father had bene Dictator the yeare before: & *L. Publicius Bibulus*, of the second Legion, together with *P. Cornel. Scipio*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher* of the third Legion, who had bene Aedile but lately afore: and by general consent of them all, *P. Scipio*, a very young man, and *M. Claudius*, were chosen to bear the soveraigne rule; & to haue the absolute command & conduct of the armie. But as they sat with some few others, in counsaile together about the managing of their maine affaires, behold *P. Furius Philus*, whose father had bene a Consull, gaue them to understand, that all their consultations were in vaine, and that they did but foster and cherish

A chieftain a foolish hope of an overthrowne state: for the Common-weale was in a desperate case, past all cure, and remediesse. Also that certaine noble young Gentlemen, of whom *L. Cecilius Metellus* was the principall, minded nothing else but to take sea, & were readie to imbarke, to abandon Italie, and to flee for sicke cor to some king or other. This evill tydings as it was most grievous & heavie in it selfe, so falling out as it did, presently upon other misfortunes so suddainly and unlooked for, put them into their dumps, and wonderfully amazed and astonished them all. And when they that were present in place laid their heads together, & thought good to call others to counsell upon this poynt, *Scipio* a young man, even then predestined to be the fatal Capitaine of this warre, answered: What do we here? (quoth he) it is no time now to sit consulting in so great extremitie, but leaving all discourses, presently to proceed to action; and to do some exploit. As many therefore as are willing to save the Common-weale, take armes and goe with me, forthwith: for to what are our enemies (to say a truth) encamped against us more, than where such designements are plotting and contriving. Forth hee went with a few following after him, unto the lodging of *Metellus*: and finding there the young Gentlemen aforesaid, close together in counsaile thereabout: he drew his sword, and brandisht it naked over their heads, as they sat in consultation. I sweare before you all (quoth he) & I sweare from my very hart, & no man yet gethime thereto, that I for my part, will neither forsake the Common-weale, nor suffer any Citizen else of Rome to abandon her. And if I faile witting and willing, then confound mee & *Scipio*, & thou & *L. Cecilius* after me, as I have done. I advise thee: & yee all that are here present take the same oath: for whosoever shall refuse, knowe hee assuredly, that upon him I have drawne this sword. Hereat they being no lesse terrified, than if they had seene the Conquerour himselfe, *Anniball* in person, tooke the oath every one, and yielded themselves unto *Scipio*, for to be kept in ward to serve against *Anniball*.

At the same time, while these things were working at Cannusium, there arrived at Venusia, upon foure thousand foote and horsemen together, such as in their flight had bene disparted a funder all over the fields; and repaired unto the Consull there. The Venusines tooke order for them all, that they should be gently entertained, and carefully tended, and divided into severall hostes: & they bestowed upon the horsemen a side callock, a coat, & 25 Quadrigates a peece, and gave ten Quadrigates to every footman: and armour besides, to as many as wanted. And in all other courtesies of hospitallitie, both publike and private, they strove and endeavored, that the people of Venusia should not in any kinde offend friendly offices, come behinde one woman of Cannusium. Howbeit in regard of the great multitude, the burthen and charge lay more heavey upon Dame *Bissa*: for now their number was risen to be ten thousand. Then *Appius* and *Scipio* having intelligence, that the other Consull was alive and well, dispatched a messenger presently, to advertise him how many footmen and horsemen there were in all with them: and to know his pleasure withall, whether he would command the armie to be brought unto Venusia, or abide still at Cannusium. But *Varro* (the Consull) of his owne accord brought his forces to Cannusium: So as by this time, they made a prettie good shew of a Consular army, & seemed sufficient to defend themselves, if not by force of armes in the field, yet at least wile, with the strength of walles within the towne. But the newes came to Rome, that there was not so much as this small remnant left of Citizens and Confederates together; but that the two Consuls and both the armies were purall to the sword, and hewen in peeces to the last man. Never was there knowne so great terrour and tumulte within the wals of Rome, (and the citie still remaining in safety) but therfore even as first, sike under my lode & say nothing at all: & never will I go about to recount those things by discourse of words, which in reporting, I should make lesse than they were indeed. For they went not now, a flying nimour first of one foile, and then of another, to say of this losse, and to morrow of that, as they used before, when the Consull & his armie were defeated at Thrasymenus: but manifold overthrowes together were multiplied, all huddled one to another, how both the Consuls were slaine, and two Consular armies lost, and no campe nor pavilion of the Romans left standing: neither Leader nor Soldier remaining alive, and how *Anniball* was now become Lord of Apulia, of Samnium, and well nere of all Italie full & whole. And verily there is not I suppose a nation under the copie of heaven besides, but would have bene overwhelmed and crushed utterly under the huge heape and heavey waigh of so great a ruine and overthrow. Should I compare therewith the desolure and soile that the Carthaginians received

25 lb. 7 ob.
ser. Aquadrige, which is a
peece of silver
coyne among the
Romans, the
same that *Dinarius*: called so of
Quadrige. i.
a chariot drawne
with foure horses, represented
on the one side of
the peece.

ved at the Ilands *Ægates*, in a conflict at sea: wherewith they were so quelled, and their backs so broken, that at one clap they lost *Sicilia* and *Sardinia* both: and that which more is, yielded themselves tributaries and subjects to the people of Rome. Or should I make comparison of their unfortunate and unhappy battaile in *Africke* afterwards: wherein this very same *Anniball* gave over play, yielded the bucklers, and confessed himselfe vanquished. Nay, they are not any way comparable with this, but only that they were borne and supported with lesse courage, and valour of mind.

Well, to proceede, *P. Furius Philus*, and *M. Pomponius* the Pretours, assembled the Senate in the Court *Hostilia*, for to consult about the defence and guard of the citie: for they made no doubt, but now that the armies were both defeated, the enimie would speedily come to assault Rome, the onely peece of worke, and warlike service that remained behind undone. But being to seeke what counsell to take, and what remedie to devise for redresse of these calamities, so exceeding great and grievous; and yet not knowne to the full, and interrupted and shrewdly troubled besides with the clamorous noyses and plaints of women: whiles that in every house almost, they ceased not to mourne, weepe, and waile confusedly, as well for the quick as the dead (because as yet it was not openly & for certain knowne who were alive, and who were slaine). Then *Fabius Max.* gave his opinion, that certaine light horsemen should be made out and sent forth by the highwaies *Appia* & *Latina*, & to ride along, & enquire of them whom they hapned to meeete with, (such I meane as fled, and were skattered here and there asunder) if happily some of them could report upon his knowledge, what was become of the Gonsuls; and the Armies: and in case the immortall gods had of their mercie and compassion spared some poore remnant still of this miserable and wofull empire, for the Roman name; where that residue of small forces was; what way *Anniball* tooke; and whither he was gone after the battaile was fought; what preparation he maketh, what presently he is doing, or intendeth for to do. His advise was, I say, that to espie, herken and learne certainly, these premises, certaine lustie young men; active and industrious, should be employed. But for the *LL.* of the Senate thus much; that considering there were few Magistrates at home, and those notable to rid the citie of this tumultuous and fearefull hurlyburly, therefore they should take upon themselves, to debate the dames and women for comming abroad; and force them every one to keepe home; and tarry within dores; to restraine the plaints and outcries of households and families; to cause silence throughout the citie; to take order that all Posts, and messengers of newes, should be brought before the Pretors; and that every man should attend at home the tidings, good or bad; that continued himselfe, or his owne state. Over and besides, that they should set warders at the gates; to see that no person went out of the citie: and compell every man, to hope for no other earthly safetie for themselves, but in the preservation of the citie; and walls thereof. And when the multitude and hurly is once hushed, then (quoth he) may the Senatours well be called againe into the Counsell house, and consult for the defence and safeguard of the citie. When all the assembly liked well, and approved of this opinion, and went every man on *Fabius* his side without contradiction, so as the market place, by authoritie of the Magistrates, was cleared and voided of the multitude, and the Senatours were divided and gone sundrie wayes, to appeare at the uppers: then at last, came letters from *T. Sempronius* the Consul, importing that *D. Acilius* the Consul was slaine together with the armie: that himselfe was at *Cannusum*, busily rallying the reliques of so great an overthrow, as it were after a shipwrack upon the sea: that there were ten thousand souldiours of them, or very neere, and those much out of frame and good order. As for *Anniball*, he sat still now at *Canna*, busily occupied about the ransomings of prisoners; and intentive to the rest of the spoyle and pillage: not minding the victorie with the hind and courage of a conquerour, nor yet after the guile and manner of a noble warrior and great commander. Then were the private and particular losses also divulged and spread abroad through every man his house and familie; and the whole citie was so filled with sorrow and lamentation, that the *Anniverarie* solemnitie of sacrifices to *Ceres* was foreborne, because it was not lawfull for those that mourned to celebrate the same: and there was no daunce or mirth throughout the citie, but a still heavinesse and sorrow for the time: Least therefore other sacrifices likewise, as well publick as private, upon the same occasion, should be neglected and discontinued, these passed judgment of the Senate, by vertue whereof a tyme was prescribed, to make an end of mourning within certaine dayes. Now was the trouble of the citie no longer allayed, and the Senatours called againe

A into the Counsell house: but to mend the matter, there were other letters brought out of *Sicilie* from *T. Octavius* the Vicepretor, notifying thus much, That the realme of *Sicilie* was much wasted by the *Carthaginian* navie: and when he would have succoured him at his earnest suite & petition; there was another Armado readie rigged, decked & furnished, riding by the Ilands *Ægates*, waiting the opportunitie of the time, that when the *Carthaginians* perceived once that he had turned and bent his forces to the defence of the coast and river of *Saracole*, they might immediately set upon *Lilybæum*, and the rest of the Roman province. And therefore, in case they were minded to aid and maintaine a confederate king, and defend the realme of *Sicilie*, they must of necessity rig and man another fleet out of hand. When the letters both of the Consul and also of the Vice-Pretor were read, agreed it was, and thought meet, that *M. Clandius*, Admirall of the fleet, which rid in the harbour of *Ostia*, should bee sent unto the armie at *Cannusum*, and letters be dispatched withall unto the Consul, willing him upon the deliverie of the armie to the Pretour, to repaire unto Rome with all speed possible, and not faile, so farre forth as he might, without any detriment & hinderance of the Commonweale. Besides these so great losses and adversities, men were put in feare with sundrie prodigious tokens: and among others, in that one yeare, two Vestall virgins, *Opimia*, and *Floronia*, were detected and attainted of manifest whoredome: the one of them was buried quick, as the manner was, under the ground at the gate *Collina*, the other killed herself. *L. Cantilius* (a Secretary or Scribe unto the Bishops, whom now they call *Minors Pontifices*) the partie who had committed fornication with *Floronia*, was by the chiefe or high Priest so beaten with rods in the Comitium, that he dyed under his hand. This heinous fact, and enormous offence falling out among so many misfortunes and calamities, was reckoned, I say (as usually it is) for a portentuous signe; and therefore the Decemvirs were commaunded to search and peruse the Bookes of *Sibylla*. And *Q. Fabius Pictor* was sent to *Delphos*, to consult with the Oracle there of *Apollo*, and to learne, by what prayers and supplications they might pacifie the gods, and what would be the end of so great and fearefull miseries. In the meane while, out of the learning contained in those bookes of destinies, there were performed certain extraordinary Sacrifices: among which a Frenchman together with a French woman; likewise a Grecian man and woman, were let downe alive in the Beast market into a vault under the ground, stoned all about: a place aforetime embrued and polluted with the blood of mankind sacrificed, but not according to the ceremonies and religion of the Romanes. When they had sufficiently (as they thought) pacified the gods, *M. Claudius Marcellus* sent from the haven of *Ostia* for the defense and guard of the citie, 1500 souldiours, whom he had levied and enrolled for the service at sea. Himselfe having sent afore the legion belonging to the *Armad* (which was the third) with *T. Cneius Sulpicius* a Coronell, and delivered the fleet unto *P. Furius* companion with him in commission: within few dayes after made hast, and with great journey arrived at *Cannusum*. At Rome, by vertue of the authoritie of the Senatours, *M. Junius* was created Dictatur, and *T. Sempronius* Generall of the horse, who proclaimed a muster; and enrolled all the younger fort above 17 yeares old, yea and some also under that age, that yet were in their *Prætexta*, and were not come to *Toga virilis*. Of these were made up foure legions: it was the upper garment that the Romanes children used untill they were fully 16 yeares of age, adorned with purple. Likewise they sent unto their Allies, and namely, to the Latine nation, to receive souldiours from thence according to the forme of the league: giving commaundement, that harness, weapons, and all other habiliments of warres, should be in readinesse. Also to furnish out the armie, they plucked from the temples, and publick galleries and walking places, the auncient spoiles and armour of their enemies. And for very neede and want of free men, they were compelled to devise a new kind of mustering never used before: for they bought up in market overt, with the citie money, 8000 lustie strong young men, neere bonds and slaves: but they demanded first of every one by himselfe, whether they were willing to serve in the warres, and so they put them in armour: And they thought it better to take up and levee souldiours thus, than to redeeme and buy againe their own who were captives, albeit they might have beene ransomed for smaller summes of money. For *Anniball*, after this so fortuneable field fought at *Canna*, setting his minde wholly upon the affaires belonging to an absolute conquest, rather than any more warres; caused his captives to be brought forth; and severed the Romanes confederates apart from the rest; and unto them (as he had done aforetime at *Trebis*, and the Lake *Thrasymenus*) hee spake graciously, and sent them home unransomed. The Romanes also hee called unto him, and gave them kind and loving words, more than ever

* The Peise
or Minors
Pontifices.

* It was the upper garment that the Romanes children used untill they were fully 16 yeares of age, adorned with purple.

* Otherwise called *Pura*, and *Prætexta*, because it was all white, and without any purple, which they put on at 17.

*15 lib. 12 sh.
6 d. fterl.

The Oration of
M. Iunius to the
Senate.

ever hee had done before. What? wee and the Romanes (quoth hee) waire not mortally and deadly one with the other to the utterance: nay, our quarrell is rather for honour and soveraintie. And as my father and progenitors afore me, were subdued of the Romanes, & yielded at length to their valour and prowesse: so the onely thing that I seeke for, & indevor unto is this; That they likewise in their alternative turne, may give place unto my felicitie and vertue together. And therefore I graunt the Romanes this favor and libertie, to redeeme their prisoners: and this shall be the ranfome, for every man of armes I demand *500 *Quadrigates*, 300 for a footman; and 100 for a bondman. And albeit the horsemens ranfome was somewhat enhaunsed, above that summe which they capitulated for, when they yielded, yet glad they were to accept of any condition & covenant whatsoever. So it was agreed, that tenne out of them should bee chosen by voices, to goe to Rome unto the Senate: and he tooke no other pledge for assurance of them but their oth, that they would returne again. With them was sent *Carthalo*, a Nobleman of Carthage, with commission (if he could perceive haply the Romanes incline to peace) to offer unto them conditions, and to capitulate with them. They were not so soone gone out of the campe, but one of them (a man of no Romane nature and disposition) made semblance, as if he had forgotten somewhat behind him, and so, to discharge himselfe (forsooth) of his oth, returned into the campe, and before night overtook his companie againe. When word was brought, that they were coming to Rome, there was a Licor sent out to meet *Carthalo* upon the way, and to warne him in the name of the Dictatour, before night to depart out of the confines of the territorie of Rome. But the Committees of the Captives had audience graunted them in the Senat house by the Dictatour. And the principall man among them, *Marcus Iunius*, spake in this manner.

Right honourable, and my very good L.L. of the Senat, There is not one of you all ignorant, that never any citie whatsoever, hath bene at lesse charge for redeeming of prisoners taken in warres, and made so small regard of them, than ours. But if wee be not blinded in our owne conceits, & think better of our cause, than there is reason; never were there any soldiours that fell into the hands of our enemies, more to be accounted of by you than we are. And why? VVe yielded not our weapons in battell for cowardise and feare, but after that wee had stood welneere untill night, fighting over the dead bodies of our fellowes slaine, and so maintained the medley to the very last, then we retired our selves into the campe. Therest of the day, and the night following, notwithstanding we were wearie with travell, and faint of our hurts, yet wee manfully defended our rampier. The morrow after, when we were beset and invested round about by the conquerors armie, yea, and excluded from water; and saw no other hope at all to breake through our enemies, raunged so strong and close together, and thinking it not a matter of reproofe; & against the law of armes, that when 50000 of our citizens were slaine in field; some Romane soldiours should remaine alive after the battell of Cannæ; then and not afore, we agreed upon a summe of monie, that being ranfomed, we might bee set at large, and so we yielded unto the enemies our weapons, wherein now we saw no helpe at all. VVe have heard likewise, that our aunccestors redeemed themselves from the Gauls with a summe of gold: and our fathers also, notwithstanding they were most streight laced, and hardly brought to capitular and compound for peace, yet sent Embassadours to Tarentum, for to redeeme their captives: and both those battailes, first in lie with the Gauls, and then before Heraclea with *Pyrrhus*, were not so ignominious and shameful full for the losse it selfe, as for the fright and beastly running away. But the plaines of Cannæ are coveted all over with heapes of Romane bodies; and we that bee here, had not remained alive after them, but that the enemies strength held out no longer, nor their sword would serve to kill any more. And yet there bee some of our men also, who fled not backe in battell: but being left behind to guard the campe, were taken prisoners by the enemies as well as we, at what time as it was surrendered into their hands. Certes, I envie not the fortune, nor repine at the welfare and good estate of any citizen or fellow soldiour, neither would I be thought the man, who by debasing another, would seeme to advance my selfe. But even they verily (unless peradventure good footmanship and swift running deserve reward) who for the most part fled out of the field unarmed, and never flinted before they gat *Venusia* or *Cannusium* over their heads, cannot justly preferre themselves before us, nor boast and glorie, that they stand the Commonweale in better stead than we. Find them you shall (I doubt not) good men & valourous soldiours: so shall you too, yea, and more readie to do true service to our countie, in that by your bountie and good means

A we have been ranfomed and restored again into our countie. Yee have levied souldiours of all ages and degrees, and I heare say, there be 8000 bondmen in armes. VVe are no fewer in number our selves, and redeemed we may be with as small monies as they are bought. I say no more but so, for if I should make farther comparisons betwene us and them, I must doe wrong to the Romane name and nation. This is a speciall thing moreover (my L.L.) which in mine advise yee are duly to consider in this deliberation, in case yee be so hard-hearted, as to have no regard of us, or of our desert, namely, in what enemies hand ye leave us. It is with *Pyrrhus* peradventure, who used us being his prisoners, like friends and guests. Nay, is he not a Barbarian and Carthaginian? who whether he bee more covetous or cruell, can hardly bee imagined. O that yee saw the yrons and chains, the nasty filthinesse and foule usage of your citizens. I am assured, you would be no lesse moved and affected to compassion at the sight thereof, than if yee beheld on the other side your Legions lying slaine all over the plaines and fields of Cannæ. Yee may observe and behold the sorrowfull cheare, and salt teares of our kinsfolke, standing here in the porch and entrie of this Court, and waiting for your answer. And if they so fare, & are so pensive for us, and for them that are absent, what heavie hearts have they themselves (thinke ye) whose libertie and whose life lieth now a bleeding? And in good faith, if so be *Annibal* himselfe would, contrarie to his nature, be respective and mercifull to us, yet should we thinke our lives did us small good, so long as we are reputed of you unworthie to be ranfomed & redeemed. There returned in times past to Rome certaine captives, sent home by *Pyrrhus* without any ranfome paid, but they returned accompanied with Embassadours, right honourable personages of this citie, who had bene sent for their redemption. And shall I returne unto my countie againe, not esteemed a citizen worth 300 Deniers. Every man hath a mind by himselfe, and a fanisie of his owne my L.L. And I wrote well, that my bodie and life is in jeopardy. But I feare more the hazard of honor & good name, least we should be thought condemned and rejected by you. For the world will never beleieve, that you did it to spare your purse, and to save monie.

When he had made an end of his speech, immediately the multitude who were gathered together in the common place, set up a lamentable and piteous crie, & held out their hands unto the counsell house, beseeching the L.L. of the Senate to let them have and enjoy their children, their brethren, and kinsfolke againe. The very women also, for feare and necessitie, thrust themselves among this prease of men in the market place. But when all others besides the Senatours were voided, they began to debate and consult about the matter in hand. Great variance there was in opinion. Some thought it reason, that their ranfome were disbursed out of the common chest: others were of mind, that the citie should bee at no charge at all for their redemption: marry they would not be against it, but that they might be enlarged and delivered at their owne cost and expences. And in case there were any that had not readie coine ynough for present payment, the chamber of the citie should lend them monie, so as the people might have good securitie, as well by sureties bound, as by their goods and lands, morgaged for the satisfaction of that debt. And when *T. Manlius Torquatus*, a man of the old world for precise severitie, and as most folke thought too too hard and austere in this point, was demanded his opinion, hee spake by report, to the cause in this wise.

E If the Committees (quoth he) had treated and made suit, for the redemption of them onely that are captive in the hands of the enemies, & there staid; if they had not touched the person of any other besides. I would in few words have knit up my verdict and judgement of them. For what need I to have done els, but put you in mind, and exhort you, to observe the custome delivered unto you from your aunccestors, and to maintaine the example, so good and necessarie for the service of warre. But now, seeing they have not onely justified, but also (as it were) glorified themselves, in that they yielded unto the enemies, and thought their good reason to bee preferred, not onely before them that were taken prisoners by the enemies in the field, but also those that saved themselves, and escaped to *Venusia* and *Cannusium*; yea, and before *C. Terentius* himselfe the Consul; I will not hide any thing from you my L.L. but acquaint you with every thing that was done there. And would to God, that the words which I will utter here in your presence, I might deliver at *Cannusium*, even before the bodie of the armie, the best witness of every mans cowardise or valour: or at leastwise, that *P. Sempronius* were present here alone, whome, if these fellows would have followed as their leader, they had been souldiours at this day in the Romane campe, and not captives at the devotion of the enemies. For whiles the enemies were wearied

The Oration of
T. Manlius Torquatus in the
Senate.

with fight, joyous and jocund of their fresh victorie; and most of them retired into their owne camp; they might have had the whole night to save themselves at their pleasure: & if that were not, yet being seven thousand strong, they had bene able to have made a lane through them; were they never so thick, & to have broken away in despite of their harts. But neither attempted they so much of themselves, nor yet would follow the leading of another. *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* ceased not all night long almost, to exhort, to admonish, and encourage them; for to follow his conduct, to take the time when but a few of the enemies were about their campe, while they were at repose and rest, and while the night lasted favourable vnto them; for to hide and cover their enterprize: persuading with them, that before day light they might easily reach unto places of securitie, and arrive safely at the cities of their Allies. Like as in the daies of our Grandfathers, *P. Decius* a Tribune Colonell in Samnium; like as of late time when I was a young man my selfe, in the first punick warre, *Calpurnius Flamma* said unto three hundred his voluntarie fouldiers, at what time as he minded to lead them to the gaining of a little hill, standing in the mids of his chemies: Let us die hardly my fouldiers, and by our death save and deliver our Legions, beset and besieged round about. If *P. Sempronius* had said so much to you, he would never haue esteemed you men of valour, nor yet Romanes, if no man among you would haue borne him company, or seconded him in that singular vertue. But he shewed you a plaine and easie way, leading as well to life and safetie, as to honour and glory. He offered himselfe to be your guide, to bring you to your native countrie, to your parents, your wives and children: yet would not your hearts serve you to escape and save your selves. Where had your hearts benethen, if he would have had you to die for your countrie? 50000 of our Citizens and confederates, lay that very day flaine at your feete. If so many examples of manhood and vertue could not move you, nothing in the world will ever move you: if so great a foile and overthrow was not able to make you despise and set litle by this life; none will ever do it. Desire home a Gods name, and long after your native countrie, whiles yee are free and in safetie may, desire to be in your countrie, whiles it is your countrie, and whiles yee are Citizens thereof. Now your desire and longing commeth too late, being disfranchised, having lost your former estate and right of Citizens, and made your selves bondslaves to the Carthaginians. Think yee for a peece of money to recover your libertie againe, and to returne to your former degree, from which through faintheartednesse and cowardise yee are fallen? You would not hearken nor give care to *P. Sempronius* your Citizen, willing you take weapon in hand, and to follow after him: but anon after, yee could listen after *Anniball*, commanding you to betray and render the campe, and deliver up your armour. But why blame I their lithernesse and dastardly feare, when I may reprove and accuse them for wilfull and lewd wickednesse? For they not onely refused to be ruled by his good counsaile and exhortations, but also attempted to hinder and stay him in his intended enterprize, had not right hardie and valiant men with their swords drawne, set these dastardly beastes farther off. *P. Sempronius*, I tell you, had somewhat a do; to passe the ranks and squadrons of his own countriemen, before he could break through the battailon of his chemies. Longeth our countrie to have these for her citizens? who if the rest had bene like them, should by this day, have had never a one of them that fought at Cannae, for her citizens. Of seven thousand armed fouldiours, there were found 600 that had the heart to breake way, malgre the enemies, to escape and returne with libertie, and with their armour home into their countrie, notwithstanding there were fortie thousand enemies to resist them: how easily they, and safely, deeme you, might a power almost of two Legions, have passed through them, and gon their waies? Yee had had this day my Lords twenty thousand at Cannisium, of right brave, hardie, and loyall fouldiours. But now, which way can these lukes possible be reputed true and faithfull citizens, (for valiant fouldiours, I am sure, they will not thinke themselves, nor take upon them to bee, unless a man could bee persuaded and beleve they were such) who would have impeached and withstood the rest for getting away, even when they were at the point to open a passage? or that they rather do not envie now, both the safetie & also the honor of others, which they have woon by prowesse; knowing in their owne conscience, that their timorousnesse and cowardinesse was the cause of most ignominious and shamefull servitude. They loved better to close within their pavilions, and to looke for the day-light and the enemy together, when as in the still dead time of the night, they had the opportunitie to escape. But how then? Although their hearts failed them to breake away out of the campe, yet to defend the same manfully

fully, they durst charge and labour enough. Besieged they were, and streightly beleaguered: in which they were day and night for a good time, and in their armour forced to stand upon their arms, and humbly they put themselves within their rampires, and at length (God woe) when they had rayed & endured all extremities, when all succours failed them for sustentation of their life, to breake with hunger and so enfeebled, that they were not able to beare their own armour and lift up their weapons; overcame at the last rather with the necessities of mans frail nature, than by the violence of the enemies they, good men, gave over and yielded them selves. Nay forsooth, it is neither so nor so. The morning when the Hanniballites, the enemies, approached toward the rampire, and within two houres after, without any tumult or tumult of skirmish, they delivered up their weapons and themselves, 50000 or so what. *Anniball* received them for two daies together. When they should have stood to in the field, he sought, and they fled backe to their tents: when they were to guard & defend their campe, and rampire, they attended them to meet the enemy, who had no other quarter in battail nor in battail. He agreed to ransom you, you say, when you ought to have suffered forth of the campe, finger behind ear, and saynall: & when need was to be aided by hand to defend, like valiant men, surrender campe, give up your weapons, and yield your owne bodies to the enemy. Nay, but to speake what I thinke, my sentence is, my Iudgement these shewes deserve no more to be ransomed, than those to be delivered unto *Anniball*, who issued out of the campe, pearced through the mids of the enemies, and most valiantly saved themselves, for to do service another day in their countrie. When *Manlius* had said, albeit the prisoners were allied neere in kindred to most of the Senators, yet overlaid besides the precedent of the citie itselfe, which never from the first beginning favored the redemption of such fouldiers, he stirred themselves to be taken prisoners: the ransome it selfe, which amounted to a good round summe, made them to pause: because they were unwilling both to empty the publicke treasure, having already disbursed great summes in buying up bond-slaves and arming them for the warres) and also that *Anniball* (who as the voyce went) was at a very great under for money) should be enriched thereby. When this their answer was returned, to wit, No redemption of captives: there was a newe fit of weeping and wailing afresh added to the former sorrow of the people, namely for the losse of so many Citizens: and so with many a teare that they shed, with sundrie plaints & mones which they made, they accompanied the Committees above said, as far as the gate. One of the ten went home to his house the same time, who upon a fraudulent and carelesse returne made into the enemies campe, as is aforesaid, supposed he had acquitted himselfe and disburdened his conscience of his oath. Which being knowne and recounted to the Senate, they were all of mind that he should be apprehended, and attended with a good and sufficient guard at the charge of the citie, and so carried backe to *Anniball*. There goeth another report of these captives, that first there came ten of them as Committees: and when it was debated in the Senate, and doubt made, whether they should be admitted into the citie or no; they were at length received, but so, as that they had no audience in the Senate: and upon longer stay made than they looked for, three others followed after them, to wit, *L. Scribonius*, *C. Calpurnius*, and *L. Manlius*. Then by mediation of one Tribune of the Com, a kinsman of *Scribonius*, the matter was propounded in the Senate concerning the ransome of the captives, but granted it would not be: whereupon the three latter Committees returned to *Anniball*, and the other ten that first came, remained stil behind, who upon a colourable occasion, had made an errand backe to *Anniball*, when they were well onward on their way, to take a note forsooth of the names of the prisoners, and thereby seemed to have discharged their conscience of the oath. Also, that in the Senate there was hard hold much question and variance, about the delivering of them againe into the hands of *Anniball*: and how at last, they who were of opinion to have them rendred and sent backe, failed of their purpose, by reason they came short by some voyces and opinions, and that the other side carried it cleane away. But by the next Censors that came in place, they were so marked & branded, with all notes of disgrace and shame, that some of them immediately made themselves away with their owne hands: and the rest forbore, not onely the common place and market all their life time after, but also came not abroad in manner, to be seen in the very streete, and never looked out of their doores. Thus a man may rather marvelle, that authors should so differ among themselves, than from any of them picke out and discerne the truth. But how much greater this overthrow and losse at Cannae was, than any other before time, appeareth by this

evident argument, in that those Allies, which ever to that day stood fast and sure unto them, now fell to shrink and faile: and surely for no earthly thing else, but because they began to despair of the maine chaunce of the whole State and Empire. For first upon this revolted unto the Carthaginians, the Attellanes, the Calabres, the Hirpines, a part of the Apulians, all the Samnites, except the Petellines, all the Brutii in general, and the Lucanes. And more than these, the Surrentines, and the whole tract well peopled, of the Greeks along the sea coast. The Tarentines, Metapontines, the Crotonians, the Locrians, and all the Gaules within the Alpes. And yet for all these defections, and rebellions of their Allies and subjects, were not the Romans one whit inclined to make any mention of peace, neither before the coming of the Consull, nor yet after that hee was returned, and retired againe the dolorous remembrance of that wofull overthrow received. And even at that very instant, so high-minded was the cittie, and so farre from drooping and being cast downe, that as the Consull returned homeward from so great a defeat, whereof himselfe only was a private pall, hee was not onely met upon the way by all the States, and companies of the cittie in great numbers, but also highly thanked, for that hee, despairing not of the State of the Commonweale: who, if hee had been the Generall and Leader of the Carthaginians, should have beene sure to have smoked for it, and endured all extremities of torment and punishment.

THE XXIII. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the three and twentieth Booke.



HE Campanes revolted unto Anniball. Mago was sent to Carthage, with newes of the Florie at Canne: and in the entrie of the Counsell house, he poured out (on the floor) the golden rings which had been plucked from the fingers of the Romanes there slaine, which by report exceeded the measure of a Modius. Upon these tidings, Hannibal the noblest personage among all the Carthaginians, persuaded with the Senat of Carthage, to give unto the people of Rome for peace, but he prevailed not, by reason of the Barchine side and faction that gave said him. Cl. M. acellus the Pretour, fought fortunately before Nola, in a little while, he made out of the towne against Anniball. The Armie of Anniball fell in riot at Capua, and gave themselves to such sensualitie, while they wintered there, that both in bodily strength, and also in courage of mind they became much enfeebled. Cassilinum was besieged by the Carthaginians, and the inhabitants within were driven to extreme famine, so that thongs and leatherns, plucked from off their shields and targets, were used to feede upon, and rats. They lived with nuts which the Romanes sent into them downe the river Vulturnus. The vidue of the Senat was replenished by receiving unto them a new supplie from out of the order of knights or gentlemen, to the number of 197. L. Posthumius the Pretour, was together with his armie defeated by the Gaules and put to the sword. C. Marius and Publius Scipiones, vanquished Asdruball in Spain, and had the conquest thereof. The remnants of the Armie defeated at Canne was sent away and confined into Sicilie, and commanded not to depart from thence, before the war was fully finished. A league and societie was concluded betwene Philip the king of the Macedonians and Anniball. Symplicius Gracchus the Consull, discomfited and slue the Campanes. Moreover, this booke containeth the fortunate exploits achieved by T. Manlius the lord Deputie in Sardinia, against the Carthaginians and the Sardi, who had the Generall himselfe Asdruball, together with Mago and Hanno, prisoners. Claudius M. acellus the Pretour, was vanquished and defeated in a set battaile before Nola by the Armie of Anniball: and was the first that put the Romanes some good hope of better successe, after they had beene taunted with so many foies and losses.

Annib.

A



Aniball after the battaile fought at Canne, & the winning and ransacking of both the Roman camps, dislodged anone, and was removed out of Apulia into Samnium, being sent unto, for to come unto the Hirpines countrey by Statius, who promised to betray and deliver the cittie of Consa into his hands. Now there was a citizen of Consa, named Trebius, a noble personage, and of great name in his countrey. But the bend and faction of the *Cossages* (a familie of great power, by favour of the Romanes) kept him downe and overweighed him: but after the same of the battaile of Canne, and the coming of Anniball, divulged and blowne abroad by the speeches of Trebius, those *Cossages* abandoned the cittie: and so was it without any conflict rendered unto the Carthaginians, and received a garrison. Anniball leaving behind him there, all the pillage and baggage that he had, divided his armie into two parts: giving Mago in charge, to possesse himselfe of the townes of that countrey, which would revolt of themselves from the Romanes: or else to force them thereunto, in case they denied and refused so to doe. Himselfe tooke his journey through the land of Campaine, toward the nether sea, intending to assault Naples, that he might bee lord of a port towne also, and have it at his devotion. When hee was entered the confines of the Neapolitanes, hee placed some of the Numidians in ambush, as cunningly as he could, (and therefore for the most part, the waies are hollow, and full of close and secret noukes and holes) others he commaunded to make a shew of driving a bootie out of the fields, and to ride out braving before the gates of the cittie. Against whom (seeming to bee not many, and those disordered) a troupe of horsemen issued forth, but the enemies of purpose giving back and retiring from them, killed and trained them on to the place of ambush: and so they were environned on every side, and there had not one of them escaped alive, but that the sea was neere, where they espied many sither boates along the shoare on the bancke side, and as many of them as were skilfull in swimming, gat unto them, and saved themselves: but in that skirmish nevertheless certaine young gentlemen were slaine. Among whome, *Heges* also, the Captaine of that Comst of horsemen died in the place, who followed too hotely upon them that reculed and seemed to flie. But Anniball after he had viewed the wals, and saw they were not easie to be woon, was discouraged and scared from giving assault to that cittie. From thence he turned his journey, and took his way to Capua, a cittie flowing in wealth and superfluitie of all pleasures, by reason of long felicitie, and the favourable aspect of gracious fortune. But among all corruptions that there reigned, it was infected most with the licentious loosenesse of the Commons, who exceeded beyond all measure, and abused their libertie. *Publius Calpurnius*, a man of noble race there, and popular with all, but one that by lewd & indirect courses became rich & mightie, by means thereof had both Senat and Com. under his girdle, & might do what he would. This man chanced to be head Magistrat the same year that the Romanes were defeated & overthrowen at the Lake Thrasymenus: & supposing that the Communitie (who had ben a long time maliciously affected to the Senat and Nobilitie) would by occasion of alteration in the State, enterprise some notable act to wit (in case Anniball should come with his victorious armie into those parts) the murdering of the Senat, and delivering of Capua into the Carthaginians hands. This man I say, lewd and bad enough otherwise, but yet not sturke naught, and wicked in the highest degree: and desirous to lord it, and dominiere with the safetie of the Commonwealt, rather than with the utter destruction of the same, as knowing full well, that no state could remaine safe, spoiled and bereft once of a publicke counsell, cast about and plotted, how he might both save the Senat, and also oblige the same to be at his, and the Commons devotion. He assembled therefore the Senat one day together, and after he had proffered with a solemne preamble, That in no case hee would like and allow of the disengagement and intent of revolting from the Romanes, unless it were upon necessity and constraint: for as much as himselfe had married the daughter of *Appius Claudius*, and had faire issue by her: and besides, affianced a daughter of his own in marriage unto *Livius* in Rome: but yet (quoth he) there is a matter of greater consequence toward, and a danger like to burst out more to be feared than that. For the Commons intend not by way of revolt, and rebellion to rid the cittie of the Senators authoritie, but are purposed to massacre all the Senators, and so to deliver unto Anniball and the Carthaginians, the Commonwealt, clearly void of a Senat. Of which imminent perill (quoth he) I know how to free you, in case

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you

The Oration of
T. Livius to the
Commons of
Capua.

you will wholly trust and rely upon me, and forget all former jarres, and old debates, which have fallen out in governance and managing of the State. Now when all of them in place, for feare were forced to put themselves into his hands: I will quoth he shut you up within this counsell-chamber, and pretend unto them, as though I were one of their complices, both privie and partie to this intended practise of theirs: and so by soothing them up, under a colourable approbation and allowance of their designements, which I should in vaine crosse and gaine say, I shall find out a ready way to save all your lives: And for assurance hereof, aske and have of me what bond and securitie yee will your selves. Thus having made his faithfull promise to be fast and true unto them, he went forth, and commaunded the Counsell-house doores to be shut sure, and left warders to keepe the gate and entrie thereof, that no man without his licence and commandement, should either enter in, or come forth. Then after he had called all the people together to an audience, in a solemne and frequent assembly, thus he spake unto them: That which ye have often wished for (O ye Campanes, my good neighbours and friends) namely, to have the power and meane to revenge your selves throughly of this wicked and cursed Senate, nowlieth in your hands to performe with safetie at your pleasure. And ye neede not by way of an uprore to assault their houses one after another, to the great danger and hazard of your persons, considering how they are defended with strong gards of their vassals, favorites, and bond-slaves: ye have them all fast and close mued up within the counsell chamber: themselves alone, without companie, without armour & weapon; there you may take them. But see that ye do nothing hastily upon head without pause, nor rashly without adviement. I will so compass and bring about, that ye shall give your doome of life and death upon every one of them; to the end that each one may have his desert, and suffer due punishment accordingly. But above all things ye must have an eye and looke to this, that ye proceede not too much in heate and choler: but that ye have more regard of your owne safetie and profite, than of yre and revenge. For (I take it) they be these Senatours onely whose persons ye hate and detest; and your meaning is not wholly to put downe & overthrow the Senat quite: for either ye must accept of a King, (oh government abominable) or else admit a Senate, the onely counsell in deede of a free citie and State: and therefore with one bush (as they say) ye are to stop two gaps, and to do both at once, namely, to abolish and depose the old Senate, and to elect a new. I will commaund, that the Senatours shall be cited by name one after another: and concerning their life and death, I will demand your opinion and resolute sentence: and looke what judgement ye give, shall surely stand and be put in execution. But before the condemned guiltie person be done to death, ye shall substitute in his rounge a new Senatour, some good man of valour and courage, and worthy to succede him in his place. With that, he sate him downe. And after all their names were throwne into a lotterie pitcher and shuffled together, he caused him to be cited and called aloud by name, and the man himselfe to be brought forth of the counsell house whose name chanced to be drawne out first. He was no sooner named, but every man cryed out, that he was a lowd and wicked person, and worthy to be hanged. Then *Picuvius* sayd, I see (quoth he) what destinie ye rede this man. Rejected he is, and cast out for naught and unjust: choose now a good Senatour, and a righteous in his rounge. At the first, all was silent, and as still as midnight, for default of finding a better to place in his stead. Afterwards, when some odde groome past all shame and reverence, seemed to nominate one: by and by they grew to much lower words and greater clamours: while some sayd flatly they knew not the man; others laid to his charge sundrie lowd and naughtie vices, and objected against him either object of basenesse, poverie and beggary, or else some dishonest kinde of trade and occupation, whereby hee lived. Thus sared they a much worse a good deale, when a second or third Senatour was named: so as it was well seene, that the men bethought themselves and repented of that they had done already, considering how they failed still and were to fecke, when they should substitute another in his place: for as much as it booteth not, but was absurd to nominate the same againe, since that their nomination gained them nothing, but either to heare their vices decyphred, or to beare reproachfull tearmes: and as for all the rest, they were farre more vile and obnoxious persons than those that came first into their remembrance, and were soonest thought upon. So the people fell at length, and gently came downe to this point, and confessed, that much better was bad they knew, than bad they knew not; and seldome came the better: willing the old Senatours to be let out of ward and enlarged. By this pollicie *Picuvius* having bound the Senate

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A. nate to himselfe, more than to the Commons, and even as much as their life was worth; without force of armes ruled the royst, and all was at his devotion and commaund. Hereupon, the Senatours laid aside the remembrance of their owne dignitie, port, and libertie, became affable to the Commons, & would salute them kindly: inviting them courteously, and interteining them liberally at their boards, with exquisite and delicate fare: undertaking and maintaining all their suites and causes: ready at all times to assist them and stand by them: and in one word, empanalling Iuries (to go upon all causes & matters in law) of those whom they knew to be gracious and popular, and fitter to winne and procure the favour and affection of the common sort. Thus at the Counsell-table all matters were decided, as if the Commons had there sat, and not otherwise.

B. This Capua was a citie ever given to dissolute life & excesse in pleasure, as well by reason of the naturall corruption and infer disposition of the Inhabitants, as also for the plenteous & flowing abundance of all delights; and the alluring inticements of all dainties, that either sea or land might afford. But at that time (such was the obsequious fawning and flatterie of the Nobles, such was the licentious living of the Commons) they were so lavish, that they exceeded in lust and superfluitie beyond measure, and laid it on in expense without stay. Besides their contempt of Lawes, Magistrates, and Senate, they grew to this passe after the overthrow at Cannae, that whereas before, they had some awfull and reverent regard of the Romanes, now they despised and set naught by the government and Empire of Rome. And nothing else stood in the way, but that presently they would have rejected their rule, and shaken off the yoke of obedience

C. and allegiance, saving onely this, That by reason of ancient entercourse of crosse and mutuall marriages, many noble houles and mightie families were linked and allied to the Romanes: and againe, which was the greatest bond of all, whereas there had served in the Romane warres, certaine of them: there were three hundred men of armes, and those of noblest birth of all the Campanes, chosen out of them: and sent by the Romanes to bee resiant in sundrie garrisons of the cities of Sicilie: whose fathers and kinsfolke (with much ado) obtained, that Embassadors should be sent unto the Consull of Rome: They found the Consull at Venusium with a few souldiours, and those armed by the halves (for as yet hee was not gone to Cannusium) being in that poore taking and hard plight, as he could not be in worse; either to move pittie in the hearts of true and well affected allies, or to breed contempt in proud and hollow-hearted friends, such

D. as these Campanes were. Contempible was their case, but the Consull made himselfe & his condition more despised, by bewraying too much his present distresse, and laying open to the world the nakednesse of his calamitie. For when the Embassadors delivered unto him, That the Senat and people of Capua tooke it to the heart, and greatly grieved at the adverse overthrow of the Romanes; and promised therewith, to furnish him with all things fit and meet for war: Ye have (quoth he) O Campanes, observed an order & custome, and for form and fashion visited us your confederates, in willing us to require at your hands all supplements of warre; rather than said any thing directly bestirring the present estate of our fortunes. For what have wee left us at all, after this discomfiture of Cannae, that wee should bee willing to have that supplied by our allies, which is wanting? as who would say, wee had somewhat already. Should we demand of

E. you footemen, as though wee were furnished with horse? Should wee say that we lacked mony, as if mony only were wanting, and nothing else? No, no, Fortune hath dealt so hardly with us, that shee hath left us just nothing, nor so much as that, which might bee made up and supplied by others. Our Legions of footmen, our Comets of horse, our armour and munition, our Standards and Ensignes, horse and man, monie and victuals: all is gone; lost and perished; either in the battaile, or the morrow after in the ruine of our campe, when we were turned out of our tents and pavilions. And therefore yee are not, O Campanes, to aid and helpe us in this warre; but in our behalfe; and for us; yee ought to take the whole charge of the warre upon your owne selves, against the Carthaginians. Call to remembrance how in times past, when your auncelsters and forefathers were fearefully driven to keepe within your walles, standing in dread and bodily feare, not of the Samnites onely your enemies, but also of the Sidicines: wee took them into our protection, and defended them before Satricula: and how for your sakes we began warre with the Samnites, and maintained the same for the space almost of an hundred year, and in great varietie of fortune, giving and taking sundrie foiles all the while. Over and besides, call to minde, how wee concluded an indifferent and equall league with you, to the dis-

advantage

The Oration of
Varro, to the Em-
bassadors of Capua.

advantage of neither parts: how wee graunted unto you the libertie of living under our owne lawes: and how at the last (a matter ywis of right great importance and consequence, before this our late overthrowe at Cannæ) wee graunted unto a great part of you, the freedome & privilege of Bourgeoisie, and parted with you the franchises of our owne citie. And therefore yee ought of right (my masters of Capua) to repute this losse and misfortune now received, to bee as well yours as ours: and to make reckoning to defend the common state & countrie of both. It is neither Samnite nor Tuscan that wee have to deale with, to whom, if we lost & parted with our Empire, yet it remained still within the compasse of Italie: but the enemy that pursueth us is a Carthaginian, drawing after him a traine of souldiers, who are not so much as borne in Affricke, but coming from the farthest and most remote parts and bounds of the world, from as far as the streights of the Ocean sea, even from *Hercules* his pillars: void of the knowledge of all law, right, and difference of condition, without reason and discretion, and (in manner) without comerce of mans language. These souldiers so fierce and fell by nature, so cruell & merciless by use and custome, their captaine hath withall made more wilde and savage, by making bridges, caufies, and high-waies, over heapes of dead mens bodies: and (which I abhorre to speake) by teaching them to eat mens flesh. To see and endure these men to be their LL. whom feeding as they do upon such execrable meates and viands, which even to touch and handle without great horror wee may not: to resort for justice as farr as into Affricke and Carthage, and to suffer Italie to be reduced into a Province under the Numidians and Moores, what is hee that would not detest and abhorre, were he but borne onely within Italie? A woorthie honour and immortall glorie it will be for you, O ye Campanes, if the Roman Empire and dominion, thus growing to ruine and falling downe prostrate under the weight of this late overthrowe, might by your fidelitie and forcible power be staied and vpheld; and set upright againe. I suppose yee have levied and enrolled already, thirtie thousand foote, and foure thousand horse out of Campaine: for coine, for corne, ye have store and plentie: Now if your faith and truth be answerable to your wealth and fortune, neither shall *Anniball* find that hee hath woon the victorie, nor the Romanes feele that they have lost a journey. With this Oration thus ended, the Consull gave the Embassadors their discharge, and dismissed them. As they returned homeward, one of them, *Sabinus Virius* by name, said thus unto his fellows: Now is the day come (qd. he) wherein the Campanes may be able; not onely to recover againe the lands which in times past the Romanes have wrongfully taken from them, but also obtaine & enjoy the sovereign rule & Empire of all Italie. As for *Anniball*, we may conclude, covenant, & capitulate with him what articles & conditions we list our selves, to our best behoofe & benefit: And it is all to nothing, that *Anniball*, having now dispatched & finished the war, will of his own accord depart like a Conqueror into Affricke, & withdraw his forces out of these parts: so as the dominion of Italie shall bee left wholly to the people of Capua. *Virius* had no sooner delivered these speeches, but they all applauded him and accorded thereto. And in such tearmes they related their Embassage, as all men thought no lesse but the Roman Empire and name was utterly perished and extinct for ever. Incontinently the Commons and the greatest part of the Nobilitie of Capua enclined to revolt and rebell: Yet by the countenance and authoritie of the Auncients and Elders, the matter was staied & deferred for some few daies. At length, the greater part prevailed, whose opinion was, That the same Embassadors which were sent to the Roman Consull, should be addressed in embassie unto *Anniball*. But I find in some Aunciall records, that before they went, & before their resolute determination to revolt, there was an Embassage sent from the Capuans to the citie of Rome, demanding thus much, That if they meant to have any helpe and aid from them, one of their Consuls might bee a Capuan. Whereat the Senat of Rome tooke such snuffe & indignation, that the said Embassadors were commanded to void the Councell-houle, & a Sergeant sent after them at their heeles, to set them out of the citie: charging them at their peril, to take up their lodging that night without the territories of Rome. But because this demand jumpeth too neere to the like that the Latines made long before: & both *Celcius* & other Historians have (nor without good reason) passed it over, & said nothing thereof, I dare not avow it for a truth. Well, Embassadors there came unto *Anniball*, & concluded peace with him under these conditions, and covenants: *Imptimis*, That no generall, capitaine, or magistrate of the Carthaginians, should have any jurisdiction or power over a citizen of Capua: *Item*, That no citizen of Capua should be compelled against his will to serve in any warres, or execute the

the charge and office of a souldiour. *Item*, That the Campanes still enjoy their old lawes and magistrates of their owne: *Item*, That *Anniball* deliver unto the Campanes three hundred Roman captives, such as they themselves shall choose; whom they might course and exchange for those three hundred horsemen of the Campanes that were in garrison, and served for pay in Sicilie. These were the articles of the accord. But the Campanes stucke not to doe more than so, and to go farther than their capitulations: committing divers and sundry outrages. For the commons suddenly at once, apprehended all the Roman captives over the confederat souldiers, yea and attached other citizens of Rome, that were either employed in any militarie charge, or otherwise occupied in their privat affaires; and caused them to bee clapped within the stouyes and hote houses, as in ward and safe custodie, where their breath being stifled, and stopped up with exceeding heat, and steaming vapours, they were stifled, and dyed miserably. But there was one *Decius Magius*, a man who wanted no meanes of soveraigne authoritie, but onely the sobrietie, discretion, and wisdom of the citizens with whom he lived; who withstood all that ever he could such enormous & audacious courses, and endeavoured to hinder the embassage sent to *Anniball*. And so soone as he heard that *Anniball* was sending a garison, he recomended unto his fellow citizens, the proud and lordly rule of *Pyrrius*, the miserable and wretched thraldome of the Tarentines, as precedents sufficient to give them warning. He ceased not to crie aloud in open place and audience, first, that they should not receive the garison into the citie; then, that being admitted they should either be thrust out againe; or rather, if they would expiate and make amends by some valiant and memorable act, for that shamefull lewd part of theirs, in revolting so from their most auncient Allies, yea and kinsmen by blood, they should fall upon the Carthaginian garison, and kill them every one, and so reconcile themselves againe to the Romanes. *Anniball* having intelligence of these plots (for they were not a forging and contriving in a corner) first sent certaine messengers to summon *Magius* to repaire unto his presence within his campe. After that, seeing he stoutly denied to go (for he pleaded that *Anniball* had no authoritie nor right to commaund a citizen of Capua) he waxed wroth, and commanded the man to be apprehended, and to be haled perforce bound, unto him. But fearing, upon better advise, least by offering such violence some tumult might arise, and in the heat of blood, breake forth into an inconsiderat fray, he dispatched beforehand a messenger of purpose unto *Marius Blotius*, the Pretour or L. Governour of Capua: signifying, that the morrow next following, he would be personally in Capua: and so with a small gard about him, he set forth of his campe, and put himselfe on his journey. *Marius* assembled the people together, making proclamation, and warning them to be ready in all frequent solemnities, with their wives and children, to meet *Anniball* upon the way. They of the adverse side unto *Magius* and the Romanes, performed this not only obediently, but also most effectually and with great diligence and endeavor. Yea, the common sort likewise were very forward in this action, as desirous especially to see this great Generall and brave warrior, so noble and renowned for his many victories. *Decius Magius* neither went forth to meet him, nor yet kept his house, because hee would not seeme to feare and cary a guiltie conscience: but walked up and downe idely for his pleasure in the Market place with one of his sonnes, and a few of his vassals and followers, whiles the whole citie besides was busily occupied, and much troubled in the entreteining and beholding of this great Captaine and commander of the Carthaginians. *Anniball* being entred the citie, incontinently required to have audience in their Councell house. Whereupon, the Nobles & principall citizens of Capua requested him, that he would not that day intend any weightie matters of importance, but himselfe in person solemnize it, with joy and mirth, as an high and festivall holiday for his welcome thither. And albeit he was by nature hastie, and ready to fall into fits of anger, yet because he would not seeme at his first coming to denie them anything, he employed a good part of that day in seeing and vewing the citie. Intertained and lodged he was and his whole traine, with the *Manj*, *Celerus*, *Stenius*, and *Pacuvius*, the most noble and honorable personages, and the welchiest of all others. Thither unto him, *Pacuvius Calavins* (concerning whome I spake before, the principall man of that bend and faction, which reduced the citie to the obedience and devotion of *Anniball*) brought his owne sonne a yong Gentleman, and said withall, that the youth kept continually with *Decius*, and that he was faine to pluck him away from his companie and traine, whose part he tooke, and stuck most stiffly to him, in maintaining the old societie and amitie of the Romanes, against the new league with the Carthaginians;

nians; and neither the bending and inclination of the whole cite to the contrary side, nor yet the reverent majestie of a father, had yet driven him from his obstinate resolution. And for that time, the father laboured with *Anniball* rather by way of prayer and intreatie, than by excoꝛding and cleering his sonne, that he would not be discontented nor displeased with the young man. So he was overcome with the importunate request and plentifull teares of the father, and gave commandement, that he together with his father, should be bidden to supper, at which feast he purposed to have the companie of no other guests of all Capua; but only of his hostes that gave him enterreinment; and one *Subellius Tauris*, a famous and brave warrior. To supper they went long before day light went downe; and sared at the table, not after the guise of Carthaginians, nor according to the discipline of souldiours, but after the order of a cite and house, which had bene used a long time to have the board furnished with sundrie sorts of delicate dishes, and with all delicate junkets to please the palate and tast. *Perolla* onely the sonne of *Calavius*, could not be brought to change his mind; and shew himselfe chieefull and merrie at meate, notwithstanding the masters of the feast, and *Anniball* himselfe otherwhiles, invited him to beate them companie, and sit with them; but he ever made his excuse to his father, that he was ill at ease and sickly whensoever he seemed to examine him; and to know the cause of this wonderfull trouble of mind, and vexation of spirit. So a little afore sunne setting, when his father arose, and was gone out from supper, he followed hard after him; and when they were come into a secret place apart, (a garden it was on the back side of the house) I will tell you a thing father, I have in my head a pollicie, and a readie meane, how we shall not only obreine pardon at the Romanes hands, for our trespasse committed, in falling away from them, and turning unto *Anniball*; but also how we Campanes may be in faire greater estimation and favour among them, than ever we were. The father marvelling hereat, was desirous to know what devise that might be: and with that, the youth cast his gowne from off his shoulder, and shewed him a good blade, girded to his side. I will quoth he out of hand, establish and scale sure, the Romanie league with the blood of *Anniball*. I was desirous (father) to let you know of it aforehand, if peradventure you would be willing to be out of the way when the deede is a doing. The old man seeing and hearing this, in a great fearefull agonie, as if he had bene present to see the execution of that which he heard him to speake of. Now I beseech thee, my sonne (quoth he) and pray thee of all loves and bonds that bind children and parents together, that thou wilt not before thy fathers face either commit or suffer this so horrible a part, full of all abhominable wickednes whatsoever, and not to be named. There are not many houres since, that we sware by all the gods and holy hallowes in heaven, and by joyning hand in hand, made faithfull promise, and obliged our selves, to communicate together with him, and to eat at the holy table of sacred viands. And are we no sooner departed asunder from our familiar conference and parlee, but we arme our selves against him? Arise! thou in deede from thy friends guest-bourd, to which thou wert thy selfe the third man bidden of all the Campanes, and even by *Anniball*, and wilt thou staine and pollute that bourd with the blood of the principall guests? I, thy father, erewhile was able to reconcile *Anniball* to my sonne; and can I not pacifie my sonne likewise, & appease his scarce stomach against *Anniball*? But if there be nothing sacred and inviolable, nothing to be trusted in the world, neither faithfull promise, nor religious oth, nor any pietie at all and good nature, things so honest and just: then adventure hardly, and spare not to put in execution all actions detestable and not to be spoken, so that besides the note and infamous marke of wickednesse, they bring not upon our owne heads present mischiefe, and utter confusion. Darest thou alone as saile the perfon of *Anniball*? What wilt that multitude about him do the while, so many freemen and bondmen both? All their gard and regard, all their eyes upon him alone, what serve they for? What will become of so many hands of theirs? Thinkest thou that they will be benumbed and dead, at the time of that frantick enterprife of thine? The grim visage of *Anniball* himselfe, whome whole armies of souldiours tremble to behold: whome the people of Rome dread, and for feare of whome they quake againe, wilt thou alone abide to see? And if all other meanes of help should faile him, wilt thou endure to strike and wound me thy father, putting my bodie betweene, for the savegard and defence of *Anniball*? And stabb me thou must through the very hart, before thou canst hurt him or run him through. Suffer therefore thy selfe here to be frightened from this thy intended mischiefe, before thou have the foyle there; and misse of thy purpose. Let my prayers take place with thee, as once this day they prevailed for thee. With that, he marked

A marked his sonne to weepe and shed teares, and embracing him about the middle, and kissing him ever and anon, he left him not, nor gave over to pray and intreate him instantly, untill he got at his hands to lay off his sword, and promise him faithfully, that he would not attempt any such enterprife. Then the youth, seeing how the case stood, I wil (quoth he) pay unto my naturall father that kindnesse and love, in which I am bound as a debtour to my native countrie. But alas for you, good father, I am right sory for your hard hap; who are to answer before God and the world, for the betraying of your countrie, no fewer times than thrice already. Once, when you gave counsell and perswaded to forsake the Romanes, and to revolt from them: againe, when you were the principall agent, and advised to make peace with *Anniball*: and now this day the third time, when you are the only obstacle and hinderance, that Capua is not restored againe into the hands of the Romanes. O sweet countrie and native soyle of mine, take here at my hand this sword, wherewith erewhile I was girt and armed for deere love of thee, and was fully minded to defend this thy chiefe castle and fortresse, and not to spare, but embroe it in the blood of thy mortall enemy: take it I say, since mine owne father is ready to wrest it from me. This sayd, he flung his sword over the garden wall into the high way and open street: and therewith, because he would not grow into any suspition, he shewed himselfe againe to the guests within the house, and tooke part of the banquet. The morrow after, the Senate in favour of *Anniball*, solemnly met together in great number: in which frequent assembly, the beginning of his speech was very pleasant and gracious: wherein he gave the Capuans thanks, for preferring his amitie before the alliance of the people of Rome: and among other faire and magnificall behests to them made, he promised that within a while, Capua should be the head cite and chiefe State of all Italic, whereunto the people of Rome, together with other nations, should resort for law and justice. Mary quoth he, there is one that hath no part or fellowship in the societe and league made betwene the Carthaginians and you; namely, *Magius Decius*, who neither was a Campanian, nor ought of right so to be called and reputed: him I demaund to be delivered into my hands, and that in my presence, the Senate should be asked their opinion concerning his trespasse, and an A& presently entred thereof. All of them there assembled allowed of the motion, and gave their assent in the end: albeit a great sort of them thought both the man unworthy of that hard fortune & calamitie, and that this was but an ill beginning and a very overture to the infringing of the right of their freedome. The chiefe Magistrate then, went forth of the Counsel chamber, & sate in the Iudiciall hall or temple, and commanded *Decius* to be attached, and to stand before him at his seate, and there to answer for himselfe and make his defence. Who persisted still in the same stoutnesse and boldnesse of spirit, alleadging that by verne of the covenants in the league comprised, he might not lawfully be pressed and forced thus farre. Whereupon he had yrons clapt upon him, and commaundement was given, that he should have a Lictor attend upon him, and so be conveighed into the campe of *Anniball*. All the way as hee was led, so long as he was bareheaded and open faced, hee went preaching to the multitude that flocked about him, and with a lowd voice spake and said. Now Capuans, yee have the libertie that ye sought and longed for. In the open market place, at noone day, and in your sight, lo how I, a man inferiour to none in all Capua, am led away bound in chaines to die: What greater violence could be offered, if Capua were wooon by assault of the enemies? Go forth, go & meet *Anniball*, adorne & hang the cite with rich cloth of tapistrie. Register in your Kalender, among other holydaies, this day of his Entrie, that in the end ye may behold this goodly triumph over the of your owne cittizens. Vpon the utterance of these words, the multitude seemed discontented at the indignitie of this sight. Whereupon hee was hood-winked, and his head covered, and the Sergeant was charged to have him away quickly; and make hast out of the gates. So hee was brought into the campe, and immediately shipped and sent to Carthage, for feare least some commotion might arise in Capua, upon so unworthie and shamefull a deede: and feare the Senate also should repent themselves, that they had delivered and yielded out of their hands a principall perfonage among them: also to prevent, that no Embassage might be sent into him for his redelivery, whereby he should either offend his new allies, in case he denied them their first request, or suffer Capua to have alwaies a buisie and seditious citizen, ready ever to stirre up new troubles, if he graunted their suite. The ship wherein he was embarked, was by tempest cast upon Cyrene, a port towne in the dominion at that time of the KK. There, *Magius* fled for refuge as to a Sanctuarie, unto the Image of king *Ptolemaus*, and was brought by his guard and keepers unto

unto Alexandria to the kings presence, and enformed the king, how contrarie to the tenor and privilege of the covenant, he was in bonds by *Annibal*. Whereupon hee was loosed from his chaines, and put to the choise, whether he would returne to Capua, or goe to Rome. *Magius* answered, that he could not in Capua remaine in safetie, and if he went to Rome at that time especially, when there was warre betwene the Romanes and Capuans, he should bee sooner lodged there in prison like a fugitive runagate, than intertained in house for a friend and loving guest; and concluded in the end, that he would make abode and live the rest of his daies more willingly in no place of the world, than in his highnesse realme, whom he found already to be the favourer of his life, and the redeemer of his libertie and enlargement.

The answer of
the Oracle.

Whiles these occurrents fell out abroad, *Q. Fabius Pictor*, sent (as is above said) Embassador to Delphos, returned to Rome, & out of a writing he red openly, the answer of the Oracle in these words (now yee must understand, that in this Scripture were certaine gods and saints named, unto whom they should make solemne supplication, and the manner also with all ceremonies and complements thereto belonging.) Then (6 Romanes) if yee shall so doe, your state shall prosper and be more happie: your Commonweale shall goe forward better to your mind, yea, and victorie in the wars shall happen unto the people of Rome. But remember, that when all things shall goe well on your side, and your State shall be saved and preserved, yee send unto *Pythius Apollo* a present, according to the merite of a due recompence; and of the sylver raised of the pillage, prizes, and spoiles taken from the enemies, doe him honour accordingly. After he had rehearsed these words truly, translated out of the Greeke Originall, then he said moreover, That so soone as he was departed from the Oracle, he presently sacrificed unto all those gods with frankincense and wine. Also, that he was commaunded by the Priest of *Apollo*, that like as he both came to the Oracle, and also celebrated sacrifices, crowned with a garland and chapelet of Lawrell, so hee should in the same manner adorned, take ship, and be imbarcked, and not lay off the said garland before hee was arrived to Rome. Finally, that after all ceremonies performed most precisely and diligently, which hee was commaunded to observe, hee had laid and bestowed the said chapelet upon the altar, before the Shrine of *Apollo* at Rome. Then the Senate made a decree, That those sacrifices and supplications should with all speed and carefull regard be celebrated.

Whiles these things passed at Rome and in Italie, *Mago* the sonne of *Amilcar*, arrived at Carthage, and brought the first tidings of the victorie at Cannæ. This *Mago* was not immediately and directly sent from his brother, out of the field where the battaile was fought, but first certaine daies about receiving the homage and subjection of certaine cities of the Brutij, which revolted from the Romanes. Who having audience given him in the Senate of Carthage, related what acts and exploits his brother *Annibal* had achieved in Italie: namely, That he had given battaile to sixe Generals, whereof foure were Consuls, and two were the Dictator & Commander of horsemen: That he had fought against sixe entire Consular armies, in which battailes he had slaine above 200000 enemies, taken prisoners more than 50000. That of those 4 Coll. he had killed twaine outright: as for the other two, one of them was deadly hurt, the other having lost his whole armie, was fled, accompanied scarcely with 50 men. That the Generall of the Cavalterie created with full Consular authoritie, was discomfited & put to flight: & the Dictator (sooth) because he never would hazard the fortune of a field, was counted the onely warrior and worthie Captaine: That the Brutij and Apulians part of the Samnites and Lucanes, were revolted to the Carthaginians: That Capua, the head citie not of Campanie onely, but (after the Romanes defeature and overthrow in the battell at Cannæ) of all Italie also, was surrendered to *Annibal*. For these so many and so worthie victories, he required (meete and requisit as it was) that there should be a solemne feastivall day holden, and sacrifices solemnified to the honor of the immortal gods. And for better assurance of these luckie and fortunate achievements, and to verify his words, he caused the gold rings of the Romanes slaine at Cannæ, to be poured forth in the port, and entrie of the councill house. The heape of them was so great, that as some authors affirm, when they measured the same, they filled three *Modij*, and an halfe. But the constant report went, and sounding nearer to a truth, that they were not above one *Modius*. Hee added moreover, and said (and all to prove their overthrow the greater) that none of his knights & men of arms, & those of the better sort, who served on horses found at the cities charges, used to wear that ornament. The drift and conclusion of his speech was this, that the sooner that *Annibal* hoped to make

A make an end of the warres, the more he ought to be aided and helped with all provision and furniture accordingly. And why? The service was farre from home, in the mids of the enemies land, a huge deale of corne was consumed, a great masse of monie was spent: and as so many battailes had utterly swoopt up the enemies armies, so reckning was to be made, that they had in some measure lessened and empairied the forces of the conquerour. Therefore, a new supplie of men was to be sent over, and monie for souldiers pay, yea and corne also was to be transported to so brave souldiers, that had done so singular good service, and deserved so well of the Carthaginian nation. Vpon these reports of *Mago*, when all men els were wonderous glad, and tooke great contentment, *Himilco*, a man of the Barchine bend, supposing he had now good occasion and opportunitie offered to carpe and check *Hanno*. How now *Hanno* quoth he, what say you to this geare? repent you still, and mislike the warre undertaken against the Romanes? Let us see now, B give your voyce and opinion that *Annibal* be yeilded: forbid now thanksgiving to be performed to the immortal gods, for this prosperous speed and fortunate successe. Let us heare a Roman Senator now to speake in the councill house of the Carthaginians. Then *Hanno*; I would have held my peace this day, my LL. quoth he, for feare to speake ought that in this common and generall joy might not be altogether pleasant unto you. But now, seeing a Senator blindly spurrerth me the question, whether I mislike still of the enterprise of war against the Romanes? if I should keepe silence and say nothing, I might seeme either proud and insolent, or else faultie and culpable. Whereof the one is the part of a man that hath forgotten the libertie of other men; the other a propertie of him, that thinketh not of his owne. Well may I therefore answer C to *Himilco*, that I cease not yet to mislike this warre, nor never will give over to blame and challenge this invincible Captaine and warrior of ours, before I see the war ended and determined, upon some indifferent hand, & tollerable condition: and nothing els shall stint the misse I have, and quench the longing desire of the old peace, but the making of a new. And therefore these particulars, which *Mago* crewhie so magnified and vaunted of, are for the present, joyfull newes to *Himilco* and other of that crew, and the supports of *Annibal*; and to mee likewise in some measure, they may be acceptable tidings, in this regard, that good successe and luckie speed in warre, if we will make the right use and benefite of our fortune, will be a mean to procure us a more easie and honourable peace. For if we let slip this advantage and opportunitie of the time, when as we may seeme, rather to give than take conditions of peace, I feare mee, that even this present D so goodly a shew of rancknesse as it maketh now, will run up all to straw, and beare no head to yeeld come in the end. And yet, let us consider now, what a speciall matter this is. Slaine I have whole armies of enemies: Therefore send me fresh and new souldiours. What could you (Sir) demaund more, if you had been overthrowne? Vpon I have by force two strong holds where the enemies were encamped, full and fraught (we must needs think) of prizes and victuals; Allow me more corne and monie. What would you have required and craved more, I say, in case you had been rifled, and turned perforce out of your owne campe & pavilions? But that I may not marvel alone at these strange Enthymemes and conclusions (for it is as free and lawfull for me to ask some questions, seeing I have already answered to *Himilco*) I would faine have *Himilco* or *Mago*, I care not whether, to make answer likewise to mee. Say, that in the battaile before Cannæ, the E Romane Empire was wholly defeited and foiled. Say also, that certaine it is, how all Italie is at point readie to revolt, tell me first and formost, whether any one Nation of the Latine people is fallen from them to us? Secondly, whether any one person of the five and thirtie wards in Rome, is run away, and fled to *Annibal*? When *Mago* said nay, and denied both. Why then (quoth hee) there be great numbers of our enemy still behind. But I would gladly know what courage, what heart, what hopes, that multitude hath. When *Mago* answered, he could not tell. And nothing quoth *Hanno* is more eise and easie to be knowne. Say man, sent the Romanes any Embassadors to *Annibal* to treat for peace? Nay, had yee any intelligence brought unto you, that there was so much as one word lised, or mention made at Rome of peace? When *Mago* said flatly, nay, to that too. Why then (quoth *Hanno*) by this account, this warre will find us F worke, and keepe us occupied as much as it did, the very first day that *Annibal* set foot in Italie. Howe variable fortune was in the former Punicke warre, how victorie went and came reciprocally, wee are most of us yet alive that well remember. Wee never sped better, nor had a luckier hand, both by land and sea, than before *Caius Lucatius*, and *Aulus Posthumus* were Consuls. And whiles *Lucatius* and *Posthumus* were Consuls, were wee vanqui-

shed and utterly overthrowne before the Ilands *Ægates*. And in case now (which God forfend) G
fortune should chance to change and turne her wheele, hope yee to have peace, then, being o-
vercome, which now when we are conquerours, no man offereth nor seeketh after. For mine
owne part, if any man should aske mine opinion of peace, either to present and tender it to the
enemies, or to accept it at their handes, I wote well what to say: but if yee would knowe what I
thinke concerning those demaunds of *Mago*, my advise is, that there is no sence nor reason to
send aide and supplies to conquerours: now if they beare us in hand, delude, and abuse us with
a vaine and false persuasion of conquest and victorie, much lesse a great deale. These remon-
strances of *Hanno* tooke small effect with many of them: for, both the secret grudge and ran-
cor which he bare to the *Barchin* house, much impeached his credit and authoritie, and also by
reason that their mindes were so fully possessed of the present joy, they could admit and abide H
heare of nothing, that might sound otherwise to daunt their glad hartes thinking, verily, that the
warre would soone be at an end, if they now would straine a litle and helpe it forward. And ther-
fore with great consent, there passed an Act of the Senate, That there should be a supplic sent un-
to *Anniball* of fortie thousand Numidians, fortie Elephants, and many talents of silver. Also
the Dictatour was sent before with *Mago* into Spaine, to levie and hire twentie thousand foot-
men, and foure thousand horsemen, for to make up those broken armies which were in Italie
and in Spaine. But these matters (as usually it hapneth in time of prosperitie) were performed but
slackly and at leisure. The Romanes contrariwise, made more speed, as being by nature more
industrious: and besides, such was their adverse fortune and extremitie, that they might not
sleepe their affaires and go slowly about their businesse. For neither the Consull was wanting in
any affaires that were by him to be managed: and the Dictatour *M. Iun. Brutus*, so soone as hee
had performed all the complements concerning sacrifices and religious ceremonies, pro-
posed unto the people, That (as the usuall manner was) he might mount on horsebacke. Which
done, over and besides the two legions of citizens, which in the beginning of the yeare had
bene levied and enrolled by the Consuls, and the bondslaves that were before mustred, and cer-
tein squadrons gathered together out of the *Picene* & *Gauls* countrie, he proceeded to the last
remedie and succour of a distressed and well neere desperate state, when as honest and direct
courses must give place unto commodious and profitable pollicies, and alight from his horse,
and made proclamation, That whosoever were guiltie & condemned of any capitall crime, or
whosoever were imprisoned for debt, & wold willingly serve under him, he would take order that
they should be exempt from all punishment, & discharged from their creditours. And of such he
armed sixe thousand, with the spoiles of the *Gauls*, which in the triumph of *Flaminus*
were carried in shew. Thus he departed from Rome five and twentie thousand strong.

Anniball having possessed himselfe of *Capua*, and solicited the *Neapolitanes* once againe,
and sounded their minds, proposing before their eyes feare and hope, and all in vaine, led his
forces into the countrie of *Nola*: with this minde, not at first to go roughly with them to worke,
and by way of open hostilitie, because he was not out of all hope, that they would willingly come
off and yeeld themselves: but in case they hasted, and answered not his hope and expectation in
some good time, hee would surely proceed against them in all extremitie, and put them to
whatsoever they could endure or feare. The Senate, and especially the principall of them, con-
tinued fast and sure in their alliance with the people of Rome. But the commons (as their maner
is, desirous of alteration, and to see a new world) enclined wholly to the side of *Anniball*, casting
many doubts, and feares, that their lands and possessions should be wasted and spoiled, with
furdrie calamities and indignities that follow upon siege: neither wanted there heads and ring-
leaders of a rebellion. Whereupon the Senat (for feare least if they should seeme to thwart and
crosse them, they had not bene able to withstand the violence of the multitude once up) and
drewne to an head) closely dissimuled their intent & purpose, and so by temporizing, prevented
a present mischief. For they made semblance that they liked well, and were resolved of re-
volting unto *Anniball*; but upon what conditions and capitulations, they should enter into new
league and amitie, they knew not certainly. So having taken a farther time, they dispatched M
halt certaine Embassadors unto the Rom. Prætor *Marcellus Claudius*, who remained with the
army at *Cannusium*, advertising him in how great jeopardie the state of *Nola* stood, to wit, That
Anniball was already lord of their lands, and the *Carthaginians* would soone be maisters of
the citie, unlesse they were succored & relieved: that their Senat were driven to this shift, for to
yeeld

A yeeld unto the commons, and graunt to revolt whensoever they would have them; and by that
meanes staid them that they rebelled not over hastily. *Marcellus* after hee had commended the
*Nolan*es, willed them with the same dissimulation to protract time, and hold off untill his com-
ming: & in the mean while, to conceale & keepe secret to themselves, the dealings and treaties
with him; and in no case to be knowne of any hope they had of aid from the Romanes. Himselfe
went from *Cannusium* to *Calatia*; and from thence passed over the river *Vultur*, and by
the way of *Saricula* and *Trebia*, journeyed over *Suessula* through the mountaines, and arrived
at *Nola*. A litle before the coming of the Roman Pretour, *Anniball* was departed & gone out
of the territorie of *Nola*, and drew downewards to the sea-side neere unto *Neapolis*: his teeth
watered at the port towne, and that out of Affricke his ships might arrive thither, as to a safe
aid and safe harbour. But after that hee heard that *Naples* was held by a Roman provost, *M. Iu-
liu*
B. *ius Hannu* (sent for thither by the *Neapolitanes* themselves) and had received a garrison: seeing
he could not be admitted into *Neapolis*, no more than into *Nola*, he went to *Nuceria*. Ha-
ving beleaguered it round a long time, and often assaulted it forcibly, and assailed to sollicite as,
well the Commons as the Nobilitie, but without effect; at the length by famine he forced them
to yeeld; and so became master of the towne, upon composition. That they should depart eve-
ry man disarmed, in their single garments. Then, as one that would seeme ever from the begin-
ning, to use clemencie to all Italians, but onely the Romanes, he made faire promises of great
rewards & advancement to honor, unto all those that would tarry behind & serve under him.
But as soon as upon those hopes wold remaine with him. For they all gave him the slip, and went
C sundrie waies, some to their friends and acquaintance, others at a venture as their minde stood,
to divers cities of *Campane*; but most to *Nola* and *Naples*. Amongst the rest, there were al-
most thirtie Senators, and those (as it fell out) of the best sort, that came to *Capua*: but being
kept out there, because they had shut their gates against *Anniball*, they went to *Cumes*. The
pillage of *Nuceria* was bestowed upon the souldiours, the citie sacked and burnt. Now kept *Mar-
cellus* *Nola*, nor presuming more upon the strength of his owne garrison, than upon the confi-
dence he had in the great men and chiefe of the citie. But he had the commons in jealousy,
and about all, one *L. Banti*, who for that he had comploted to rebell, and therefore stood in
feare of the Roman deputie: one while was pricked and incited to attempt treason, and to be-
tray his countrie; another while, in case he should faile of that opportunitie, and misse his pur-
pose, to make an escape and run away to the enemy. A courageous & lustie yong man he was;
D & the bravest Cavalier in those daies of all the Roman confederates. His hap was to be found ly-
ing halfe dead among the heapes of slain bodies before *Cannus*: *Annib* took order for the cu-
ring of his hurts, & when he was thoroughly healed, right courteously sent him home well & bounti-
fully rewarded. In remembrance of which favour and good tyme, and in token of thankfulness,
he was willing to deliver & yeeld *Nola* into the hands of *Anniball*, to be at his devotion. But the
Pretour had an eye unto him; & observed how his head wrought, and was busily occupied to
bring an alteration. And seeing there were but two waies to deale with him, either by punish-
ment to keepe him short, and cut him off; or by some benefit to winne his heart: he thinking it
a better course, to gaine unto himselfe so hardie and valiant a friend, than onely to bereave his
E enemy of his right sent for him; & in this manner spake friendly unto him. You have (quoth hee)
amongst your countrymen and fellow citizens, I see well, many that envie you, as it appears
well by this, that there is never a neighbour you have at *Nola*; that hath told me of you; and
how many noble exploits and good services in warre you have performed. But yet your valour
cannot be unknowne and hidden; ever since you served in the Roman armie. For many there
be that were souldiours then with you, which have made report unto me of your prowesse, and
what perils you have entred into, and how often you have put your life in hazard, for the safetie
and honour of the people of Rome; and namely, how in the battaile before *Canine*, you gave not
over fight, untill at length having bled well neere to death, you were borne to the ground and
lay under foote, overwhelmed with men, horse and armour, falling upon you; and so kept down
F that you could not rise up againe. But be of good cheere man, and go on still in this thy worke
and well doing; you shall have at my hands all honour and reward that may be possible: and the
officer you come to me and keepe me companie, you shall find it will be more for your reputa-
tion and commoditie both. The yong man was glad at heart for these gracious words & large
promises: and so *Marcellus* gave unto him freely, a goodly brave counsell, and commaunded the
Treasurer

* 11. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

Treasurer to tell him out in monie 5000 Bigates of silver, charging his officers & Lieutenants to let him have access to him at his pleasure, whensoever he came. By this courteous usage and humanity of *Marcellus*, the young mans stout heart was so doulced, mollified, and easie to be wrought, that of all Confederates and Allies there was not one, who bated himselfe more valiantly, nor maintained more faithfully the State of Rome. When *Anniball* was approached to the gates of Nola (for he was returned from Nuceria, and come thither againe) and the Commons within the towne practised affekt to rebell, *Marcellus* had a little before the comming of the enemies retired and put himselfe within the wals: not for feare, that he should not be able to keep the field and his hold; but least he should give advantage and opportunity to betray the citie, seeing too many of them within, disposed and forward thereunto. After this, they began on both sides to arraunge their battailes in array, the Romanes under the wals of Nola, the Carthaginians before their owne fort. Small skirmishes there were, between the citie & the campe of *Anniball* (with variable event of fortune) because the Generals were not willing, either to denie and debarre some few that were so eager and forward to call for fight, or yet to give forth the signal of a generall battaile. While these two armies temporized thus, and held their *campi* guard, continually, and in manner of a solemnesse Assemblie, the chiefe Nobles of the Nolaes advertised *Marcellus*, that there used to be night-meetings and conferences betweene their owne Commons and the Carthaginians: and that it was plotted and set downe, That when the Roman host was issued in battaile ray out of their gates, the Commons in the mean while should fall to lifting of their carriages, packs, and trassles within, and then shut the gates upon them, and keepe the wals: and so having the citie, and all their goods and baggage under their hands, should from thence forth receive *Anniball* into the citie in steed of *Marcellus*. Upon these and verifications, *Marcellus* after he had thanked and commended the Senators of Nola, determined before any commotion and mutinie arose within the wals, to trie the fortune of a battell. At those three gates that stood toward the enemy, he ranged his forces, divided into three battalions, & gave order, that all the carriages should follow after, and that the lackies, launders, & other camp-followers, together with the feeble and sickly persons, should carie stakes and pales for the rampier. At the middle gate he placed the floure & strength of the legions, together with the Roman Cavalierie: at the two gates of either hand, he bestowed the new souldiours, the light armour, and the auxiliarie horsemen of allies. The Nolaes were by straight commandement forbidden to approach the gates or the wals. As for the baggage & carriages, the ordinarie guard was appointed to attend thereupon; for feare, least while the Legions were busie in fight, there should bee some assault upon them. In this order and array marshalled they were, within the gates. *Anniball*, who likewise readie arrainged, stood with banner displayed (as hee had done for certaine daies together) until it was well toward noone, first wondered at it, that neither the Roman armie issued out of the gates, nor any souldiours appeared upon the wals: & supposing afterwards, that their usuall complots and conventicles were discovered and revealed, and that for very feare they kept within and sat still, sent backe part of his souldiours into the campe, with commandement, in all speed to bring abroad into the open field, before the vanguard, all the ordinance and artillerie for to batter the citie wals, with assured confidence; that if hee came hotely upon them, and gave an assault, while they thus lingered and stood not forth, the Commons would make some tumult and stirre within the citie. But anon, as every man was busily occupied running to and fro in hast about his owne charge, before the vanguard and forefront of his battaile, even at the point when hee advanced forward to the wals, all upon a suddaine a gate was set open, and *Marcellus* caused the trumpets to sound the alarme, and the souldiours to set up a shout, commanding the footmen first, and then the horse, to fallie out, and with all the might and force they could, to charge upon the enemy. Soone had they turned their main battell sufficiently, & made disorder there, when at the two gates of each side, *Publius Flaccus*, and *Caius Aurelius*, two Lieutenants generall, issued forth upon their pances and wings. The horse-boies, skul lions, and the other multitude above said, which was set to guard the carriages, arose up and made a new outcrie & shout, as though the Carthaginians, who were termed them before for their small numbers, especially, they represented, all at once a shew of a mightie armie. I dare not avouch that which some Authors thinke not to write, that of comons were slaine in this medley 2300: and that the Romanes lost but one onely man. But when a victory soever it was, either so great, or smaller, surely a doubtie peece of service was that day achieved.

A and I wot not whether I may truly say, of the greatest consequence that any ever was, during the time of that waire. For as the time was then, it was a greater matter for the Romanes (albeit they were the conquerors) not to be vanquished of *Anniball*, than it was afterwards to vanquish him. *Anniball* disappointed of his hope to win Nola, retired to Acerre. And *Marcellus* immediately having shut the gates, and placed the guards and warders to keepe the same, that no man might goe forth, far judicially in the market place to examine those that had used secret conference and parling with the enemies: & finding above seventie, guiltie of this action, pronounced sentence of death upon them, as in case of treason. Those he cut shorter by the head, & commanded their goods to be confiscate. And thus leaving the government of the citie to the Senat thereof, he departed with all his forces, and above Sueffula encamped himselfe, and there abode.

B *Anniball* being come before Acerre, first summoned the citie, to surrender voluntarily and without constraint: but seeing them obstinate, and not willing to relent, he made preparation to lay siege unto the towne, and to assault it. But the Acerranes had better heart and courage, than might and strength to resist him. Therefore, when they saw themselves like to bee entrenched all about, and were past hope to defend and keepe the towne: before the enemies had brought all ends of their trenches and sconces together, they got between the trenches & rampiers (where they were not finished, and stood not close together) in the dead time of the night, and escaped through the sentinels and watches that were slenderly looked unto, and as well as they could, making shift through bywaies and blind lanes, over hedge & ditch (as either their wits guided them, or their feare carried them) recovered those citties of Campania, which they knew for certaine were not revolted, but persisted true and fast unto the Romanes. *Anniball* after he had put Acerre to the sacke, and set it on fire, having intelligence, that the Roman Dictatour and the Legions were received at Casilinum: and fearing, least while the enemy lay so neere encamped, some should have recourse also into Capua, led his armie to Casilinum.

C At the same time Preneste was held by 500 Prenestines, with a few Romans and Latines, who upon the newes of the overthrow at Cannæ, were retired thither. These Prenestines, by occasion, that they were not levied and mustered at Preneste, by the day appointed, set out from thence somewhat too late, and were come as farre as Casilinum, before the rumour was bruited of the defeate before Cannæ: where they joined themselves with other Romanes and Confederates, set forward from Casilinum, and marched together with a good great companie: but meeting

D by the way with the tidings of that unfortunat field, turned back again to Casilinum. And after they had spent certain daies there, as well fearing the Campanes, as suspected of them againe, (for they devised on both sides how to entrap one another, and how to avoid each others trains), & having received also certain intelligence, That in Capua there was treating about a revolt, and that *Anniball* was there received, they in one night set upon the townsmen of Casilinum, & killed them, and got that part of the citie which is on this side Vulturis, (a river that runneth through it, and divideth it into two parts) and kept it still. Their number was well increased by the comming of a cohort of foure hundred and sixtie Perusines, who likewise were driven to Casilinum, by the same report and newes, which a few daies before had turned the Prenestines thither. And surely there was sufficient almost of armed souldiours, to man & defend the wals of that

E part, being of so small a circuit as they were, considering the towne was flanked on the one side with the river. And againe, for the proportion of corne (whereof they had small store) they were men but too many. *Anniball* being now not farre from thence, sent before him the Getulians, under the conduct of a capitaine named *Isalca*; with direction, that first, if he could come to a partie, he should perswade with the inhabitants within, and by faire words induce them to open their gates, and receive a garison: but in case they continued still in their obstinacie, then to assaile them by force, and give the attempt to enter into the citie one way or other. When they were come under the wals, the barbarous captain *Isalca*, supposing (because he heard no noyse, & saw no stirring) that they had quit and abandoned the towne and were fled, began to assaile the gates, breake open the locks, and burst the bars. But all at once on a suddaine, the gates were set open, and two cohorts well appointed and provided for that purpose within, sallied forth, with an exceeding noyse and tumult, overthrew a number of the enemies, and beat them downe. Thus when the first had the repulse and were set back, *Maharball* was sent with a greater power to second them, but was not able to make his partie good with these squadrons that sallied forth & charged upon him. At the last *Anniball* himselfe encamped even before the wall, and with all

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his powre and forces put together, made preparation to give assault to this little towne, and small garison. And while he pressed hard upon them with fresh and hote assaults, investing it round about, the enemies from off their walls, curtines and turrets, let flye their shot so lustily upon the assaillants, that he lost some of his best and most forward men there. Once they issued forth of themselves upon a bravery, and minded to bid them battaile, but by a counse of Elephants set betweene them and home, they had like to have bene shut forth and kept out; and so they made haft in great feare to recover the gates and put themselves within the towne againe; having lost, considering so small a number, a great fort and more had dyed for it, but that the night parted the fray, and made an end of the skirmish. The morrow after, the assaillants were all of them sharp set to give a fresh and hote charge, but not before there was a mirall coronet of gold shewed, and promised unto him that first could scale the walls. And the Generall himselfe cast in their teeth and reproved them for being so long about the assaulting of a small and weak skonsse, to speake of, seated also upon a plaine: whereas before they had woon the strong towne of Saguntum. He put them in mind both all and some, of Cannæ, Thrasymenus, and Trebia. Then began they to set mantlets and pavoises to, and to undermine. Many and sundry enterprises were attempted, and nothing left undone, that either by fine force could be performed, or by art and cunning devised. The Romane associates against these their engins and fabricks, rayed mounts, and platformes: yea and with countermines and crosse trenches, met with the mines of the enemies; so as both above ground, and underneath, they impeached all their attempts; so long, untill *Annibal* for very shame was faine to give over his impresse for the present. And when he had fortified his standing camp, and placed there a meane guard for the defence of it, because he would not seeme to have relinquished altogether the enterpryse; he withdrew himselfe into Capua, there to winter. There he lodged his souldiers within house for the better part of winter: those souldiours I say, who many a time and often had endured long, and held out against all travails and hardnesse that can possibly happen to the body of man; and never had bene used to any good keeping, nor acquainted with delights and pleasures of the world. But even these men, whom no calamitie, no miserie could tame and overcome, were spoyled and undone with too much wealth and excessive deinties; and so much the rather, as they more greedily fell thereto; and having not tasted thereof before, gave themselves wholly that way, and were deeply plunged and drowned therein. For sleeping on soft beds, wine and delicate fare, wenching and bathing, stews and hote houses, idleness and taking ease, which by use and custome grew pleasant and delightfome unto them every day more than others had in such sort weakened their bodies, and made their harts so effeminate, that from that time forward, the reputation and name only of their victories past, defended them more, than any present strength & vigour they had in so much, as expert and skilful warriours judged their Captaine *Annibal* in more fault, and farther overseene in this action, than in not leading his armie straight forward to Rome, after the battaile before Cannæ. For, that stay might have bene thought to have differed onely the entire and finall victorie for a time, but this error and oversight, seemed to dishabill him for achieving the victorie for ever. So little retained he of his former old discipline, that I assure you, he went out of Capua againe, as if he had led some other armie, and none of his owne. For, not only they returned from thence most of them intangled and snared in the love of harlots, but also so soon as they came againe to lye abroad on the bare earth under tents and pavilions covered with beausts hides, to march long journeyes, and to tast of other military toyle and labour; their bodies so tyred, their harts so faint, as if they had bene raw souldiers, new come into the field: in such wise, as all the time of their sommer abode in campe, many of them without licence and passport, would slip out of the way, and depart from their colours: and these start-backs had no other place of haunt to lurke in, but Capua. Now when the winter season began to be more mild, and draw toward the Spring, *Annibal* brought forth his souldiers out of his wintering harbours, and returned to Cassilinum: where, albeit the assault ceased, yet the siege had continued so streight, that the townesmen and the garison within the fort, were driven to extreame necessity & want of victuals. Now the Captaine over the Romane camp was *T. Sempronius* [*Gracchus*] M by reason that the Dictatour was gone to Rome to take new Auspices. And as for *Marcellus*, who was desirous for his part to relieve and succour the besieged, was impeached for coming to them, partly by the rising and swelling of the river *Vulturis*, and partly by the intreatie of the citizens of Nola and *Acerre*, who greatly feared the Campanes; in case the garison were once

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A once departed from them: And *Gracchus*, lying and keeping neere unto Cassilinum, stirred not one foote, by reason of the expresse commandement of the Dictatour. That he should attempt nothing in his absence: albeit there came dayly from Cassilinum into the campe such newes, as would have moved and provoked the most patient man that was. For it was constantly reported, and for certaine knowne, that some of them within the towne, no longer able to endure the famine, threw themselves downe headlong, and brake their necks: others stood unarmed upon the walls, offering their bare and naked bodies as a butt and marke to the shot of arrowes, and other darts. *Gracchus* grieved much to heare these piteous tidings, yet durst he not for his life, skirmish and fight without the warrant of the Dictatour: and he saw full well, that if he would convey corne and victuals unto them openly, fight he must; there was no remedie. Having therefore no hope at all to send any, but it should be spied, he devised to fill many tunnes and pipes with corne, that he had gotten together out of the countrie all about: and withall, to dispatch a messenger to the chiefe magistrate of Cassilinum, advising him, that he should in the night season take up all those vessels which came downe the river. The night next following, every man watched at the river side, according to the hope they conceived by the foresaid Romane messenger, and so received those tunnes, hulling downe the midst of the streame: and the corne was equally divided among them all. Thus did they the morrow after, and the third day also. For, ever by night these vessels were let downe into the water; and the same night they might easily come unto them: by reason whereof, the sentinels and guards of the enemies, were nothing ware of that which was done. But afterwards, the current growing more swift and rough, by occasion of continuall raynes that fell, the sayd tunnes were some of them driven crosse the channell to the banke side, even where the enemies warded: and were espied waving and sticking among the willowes and oisters that grew along, close unto the banks: whereof *Annibal* was advertised. And so from thence forward, they tended the watch more streightly, that nothing sent downe the river *Vulturis*, could escape them, and passe to the citie. Afterwards, there was powred into the water great store of nuts, from the campe of the Romanes; which floated downe the channell unto Cassilinum; and with grated skimmers of wicker were taken up. But at the last, they within the towne were driven to this poore shift and extremitie, for to take their thongs and bridle reines, to plucke off the leather from their shields & bucklers, and make them soft in skalding water, and prove how they could eat them. Nay, they spared not so much as mice, and rats, nor any other like vermin. Nor there was not a weed nor a root that they could come by; upon the banks and terrasses under the walles, but they gathered & digged up. And when the enemies had turned up with a plough all the green sod of the counter-skarpe without the wals, they within cast turnep seed upon the mould. Whereupon *Annibal* made a hout at it, and cried aloud: What? shall wee sit heere about Cassilinum so long, untill these rapes be come up and grown. And whereas before that time, he would never vouchsafe to heare of any composition and agreement, now at last, he was contented to take reason, and be conferred withall, about the raunsome of as many, as were freemen within the towne. And it was covenanted betwene him and them, that they should pay for their redemption * seven ounces of gold a peece: So upon faithfull promise made, & securitie given, they yielded themselves: and were kept bound in prison untill they had made full payment of the gold aforesaid. After which, they were sent backe under safe conduct to Cumes. For this is more like to be true, than the report which goeth, That there were sent out after them certaine horsemen, who fell upon them & slew them in the way. Most of them were Prenestines. And whereas, there were of them in all, five hundred and sevenie in garison, the one halfe well neere, were either by sword or hunger consumed: All the rest, together which their Pratour *Manitius* (one who a foretime had bene a Scibe or Notarie) returned safe unto Preneste. In memoriall & testimonie of this, his Statue was erected in the market place of Preneste, armed in his cuirasse, clad in a long robe, with his head covered: and three other images, with a title or inscription engraven in a plate of Brasse, with this tenor: That *Manitius* had made a vow for the foldiers who lay in garison with him at Cassilinum. And the same title also was graven under three other images, set up in the temple of *Fortuna*. The towne of Cassilinum was restored againe to the Campanes, with a strong garison of 700 souldiours, deducted out of the armie of *Annibal*: for feare least when hee was departed once from thence, the Romanes should assaile them.

The Senate of Rome by vertue of a decree, granted unto those souldiours of Preneste double wages

wages, with five yeeres vacation and rest from warfare. And when, to gratifie them farther, for their valiant service, they made offer unto them of the Burgeosie and freedome of Rome, they chose rather to remaine still at home, and would not change their owne countrie. But what befell unto the Perusines, is not recorded so plainly: for neither appeareth evidence by any publicke monument and memoriall of their owne, nor yet decree extant of the Romans. At the same time the Petellines (who alone of all the Brutij remained in friendship and amitie with the Romans) were assaulted not onely by the Carthaginians, (that were possessed of a great part of the countrie about them) but also by the other Brutij, with whom they would not joine in the complor of their rebellion. The Petellines not able of themselves to hold out and endure these daungers, sent their Embassadors to Rome, for to crave their aide and assistance: whose humble praers and piteous teares (for after an answer received, That they should provide and shift for themselves; they fell into lamentable mones and complaints, & lay prostrate upon the earth, before the porch of the Counsell-house) wrought exceeding compassion and pitié in the hearts both of the Senatours, and also of the people: whereupon the LL. were moved againe the second time, by *M. Aemilius* the Pretour, to deliver their opinion. And when they had cast all about, and well waied and considered their present state, and what they were able to do: being forced to confesse, that it lay not in their power to help their Allies, so far distant & remote from them: they willed them to repaire home againe; and since they had performed their fidelitie to the full, according to covenant, they gave them leave in this calamitie of theirs, to take that course, that they thought best for themselves. When they were returned with this answer unto the Petellines, their Senate all on a suddaine was stricken into such sorrowes, dumpes, and fearful maze; that some of them were of mind, and gave advice, to abandone the cittie, and flee everie man wheresoever he could: others were of opinion and perswaded, that seeing they were forsaken of their old friends, they should joyne with the other Brutij, and by their meanes, turne to *Anniball*, and come under his protection. Howbeit, a third side prevailed, who would in no wise that any thing should be done over hastily and rashly: but that they might meet againe, and sit in counsaile about the matter. And so it was put off, and respit given untill the next day. Then, after more mature deliberation, and their former feare somewhat assuaged, the principall personages there assembled, grew to this resolution, namely, To convey all things out of the tentorie about them into the cittie, and to fortifie both it and the walles.

Neere about one and the same time, there came Postes with packets of letters to Rome, from out of Sicilie and Sardinia. Those out of Sicilie from *Ostacilius* the vize-Pretor, were read first in the Senate-house, importing these newes: That *L. Furius* the Pretour, was come out of Africke, and with his fleet arrived at Lilybæum: himselfe sore hurt, & lying at point of death: that neither souldiours, nor sailors, and mariners, had their monie or corne, duly paid at the day; neither indeed was there any to bee had, for to keepe touch and make payment: moving and advising them earnestly, to send supplie thereof, with all convenient speed: and if they thought so good, one also of the new chosen Pretours to succeed after him. To the same effect in manner, wrote *Cornel. Mammula* the Propretor, out of Sardinia, as touching that point of money and corne. Answer was returned to the one and the other, That they had it not, & therefore they were to looke themselves both to their Armadoes and armies, and to provide for them. *Ostacilius*, who addressed Embassadors unto *K. Hiero* (the only refuge & stay of succor, that the people of Rome had) received for souldiers pay, as much silver as was needfull, and come to serve sixe months. The confederat cities likewise in Sardinia, contributed liberally unto *Cornelius*, and served his turne. At Rome also for want of silver, there were (by a law published by *Minutius*, Tribune of the Commons) created three Bankers, called *Triumviri Menfarij*, to wit, *L. Aemilius*, who had ben Consull and Censor: *M. Attilius Regulus*, vize Consull afore time: and *L. Scribonius Libo*, a Tribune of the Commons for the time being. Two Duumvirs also were chosen, *M. & C. Attilij*, who dedicated the temple of Concord; which *L. Manlius* Pretour, had vowed before: Three high Priests also were consecrated, *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, *Q. Fabius Max.* and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, all to supplie the roomes of *P. Scantinius* late deceased: of *L. Aemilius Paulus* the Consull, and *Q. Atilius Pater*, slaine both in the journey of Cannæ.

Now when as the LL. of the Senate had fulfilled other wants, and made up all decays and breaches, which fortune by continuall calamities and losses had wrought and brought upon them, so farre forth, as by any wisdome and pollicie of man, they could provide for at length

A length they had respect and regard unto themselves also, even to the desolat estate of the Counsell-house, and the unfrequent number of Senatours, assembling to the publicke Counsell of the cittie. For since that *L. Aemilius* and *C. Flaminius* were Censors, there had bene chosen no new Senatours, notwithstanding that in five yeares space, what with unfortunate battailes, and what with other particular chaunces, so many of them had miscaried. And when *M. Aemilius* the Pretour, in the absence of the Dictatour (who after the losse of *Casilium* was now gone againe to the host) had at the request of them all, propounded this matter: then *Sp. Carvilius*, after he had in a long oration complained, not only of the penurie, but also of the small choyce of those citizens, who were capable of Senatours dignitie, spake unto the point, and said, That he held it a matter of good importance, both for the full repairing and restoring of the decayed bodie of the Senate, as also for to bind the Latine nation in a more fast bond of amities: that two Senatours out of every State of the Latines (if the LL. of the Senate of Rome would agree unto it) should be enfranchised citizens of Rome, and taken into the Senate in place of those that were deceased. This opinion of his, the LL. of the Senate could abide to heare, with no better care, than in times past they accepted the motion & demand of the Latines themselves in that behalfe. And there being throughout the whole house a great muttering, for very indignation & disdain of those his words, *Manlius* above the rest brake out into this speech & said, That they were not all dead, but one man yet was left alive of that house & line, out of which a Consul (when time was) should be chosen in the Capitoll, that he would kill with his owne hand, that Latine whomsoever he saw sitting in the counsell house of Rome. With that, *Q. Fabius*. Never was there a thing, quoth he, propounded and mentioned in the Senate house, in a worse and more unreasonable time, than at this present, when the hearts and affections of our Allies being so wavering, their faith and allegiance so doubtfull, the very breaking and brooking of such a matter as this, were enough to set them further out. And therefore this inconsiderate speech of one foolish raine person, is to be suppressed and buried presently with the silence of all men, and never once to be spoken of againe. And if ever there were uttered at a counsell table, any secret and myserie, which were to be concealed, this of all other ought most to be kept close, hidden and smothered in oblivion, and reputed as never spoken at all. So this matter was dashed, and dyed there in the very birth. Then they proceeded and agreed, to create Dictatour for the choosing of Senators, one that had bene Censor aforetime, and of all those who had bene Censors, and were then living, the most ancient; and thereto they gave order, that *Q. Terentius Varro* the Consull should be sent for, to the nomination of that Dictatour. Who being returned out of *Apulia*, leaving the camp, there with a good guard, and taking long journeyes, untill he was come to Rome: the night next following (as the manner was) created by authority of an act of Senat, *M. Fabius Buteo*, Dict. for 6 months, without a General of horse. When he was mounted up with his Serjeants to the Rostra, which is the place of publicke audience, for to make a speech unto the people, he said, That he neither allowed of two Dictatours at one time, (a precedent never scene and knowne afore), nor yet could take himselfe for a Dictatour, so long as hee was without his Generall of Cavallerie. I will like alle (quoth he) that the greater authority and power of Censors, should bee put into the hands of one and the selfsame man, twice; & that a Dictator should have the rule & government for sixe months, unless he were created for the managing of warres. And therefore (said hee) I will myselfe limit and gage those things, which fortune, occasion of the times, and necessity have made excessive and beyond all measure powerful. Whether am I minded to depose or displace any of those from his Senatours dignitie, whom *C. Flaminius*, and *L. Aemilius* late Censors, have admitted into the Senate: but only, that a transcript and rehearsal bee made of their names, for that I would not have it lie in the power of one man alone, to censure and give judgement of the same and behavior of a Senatour; but this course will I take in substituting new Senatours in the roomes of the dead, that it may appeare, and be said, That this Order and degree is preferred before that, and not one person before another. So after that the names of the old Senatours were copied out and read, then he chose first into the place of them that were deceased those who after the time of *L. Aemilius* and *C. Flaminius* Censors, had borne any Magistracie of State, and of the chaire, and yet were not elected Senatours. And according as they had exercised their office one before another in order of time, so were they chosen first Senatours in their course. This done, he made a second election, of those who had bene *Adiles*, *Tribunes*, *Prætors*, or *Quæstors*; and last of all, such as could shew the spoyles taken from the enemies of Rome

Rome hanging in their houses: or had bene honoured and rewarded with a civill gallant. Thus after he had with right great approbation and contentment of all men, taken into the Senate 177, forthwith he resigned up his office, descended from the pulpit a private man againe, discharged and put from him the Serjeants, and came and stood beneath among the other multitude that attended their owne private businesse: tiding out the time for the noyse and of purpose, because he would not have the people to leave the common place for to wait upon him. Howbeit, for all that lingering and stay which he made, the peoples affection could not move more, and so with a goodly traine of men he was accompanied, and conducted home to his house.

The next night following, the Consull returned toward the armie, without making the Senate privie and acquainted with his departure, for feare he should have bene detained still in the cite for the solemne election of new Magistrates. The morrow after the Senate decreed, upon a motion propounded by *M. Pomponius* the Pretor, to write unto the Dictatour, that if he thought it were for the good of the common weale, he would together with his Generall of the Cavallerie, and *M. Marcellus* the Pretor, repaire to Rome to sabrogate and choose new Consuls: to the end that when they were all together in place, the LL of the Senate might by their owne knowledge in what state the Common wealth stood, and consult how to provide for every thing. They all came that were sent for accordingly, leaving behind them their Lieutenants for the government and conduct of the Legions. The Dictatour spake of himselfe but little, and with much modestie ascribing the greatest part of the honor unto *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and then summoned the generall assembly for the Election: in which were chosen *Coss. D. Posthumius* the third time (who then was absent, and as *L. Deputie* ruled the province of Gallia) and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, who at that time commended the Cavallerie, and repaired to Rome with speed. Then were elected Pretors *M. Valerius Maximus*, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *Q. Fabius Pictor*, & *Q. Mutius Scaevola*. The Dictatour after the choosing of these Magistrates, returned to Tienum, where the armie waited: leaving the Generall of the horse behind at Rome, to the end that he being to enter into his government, within few dayes after, might confide with the LL of the Senate as touching the levie and enrolling new armies against the yeare ensuing.

Whiles they were in their busiest and deepest conferences about these matters, newes came of a fresh overthrow: such was the fortune of that yeare to heape one calamitie in the neck of another: to wit, that *L. Posthumius* the Consull elect, was himselfe slaine, and the armie together with him in Gallia, utterly defeated and destroyed. The manner of which misfortune was this. There was in those parts a wide and huge Forrest (which the Gauls call *Litava*) through which *Posthumius* was to leade his army. The trees there growing on either hand of the paze, the Gauls had so cut, that they might stand upright of themselves so long as they were not stirred, for being forced never so little, they must needs fall downe. Now had *Posthumius* the conduct of two Romane legions; and of associates besides, from the high costs of the upper sea he had enrolled so many souldiours, as that he came into the enemies countrey as a host. The Gauls who had bestowed themselves in ambush round about the skirts of the wood, so soon as the armie was all engaged within the streights of the paze, moved from thence the trees (so quicked) which stood next unto them, and they fell one upon another (standing as they did, so ready of themselves, and ready to rotte and come downe on both sides of the way) and in the fall overthrew withall and covered over and over both horse and man, with their armes and humors, so as scarce ten of them escaped alive. For as most of them were felled and strucken in the head either with the bodies of the trees, or the broken armes and boughes, so the rest of the multitude, affrighted with this unexpected and unhappie accident, were killed by the Gauls that beset all the streights and passages of the wood, and of that great number, they took few prisoners, who making towards a bridge standing over the river, were intercepted by the way, and stopped by the enemies that kept the adventure of the bridge, in which place *Posthumius* was slaine, for he strived all that ever he could, not to be taken alive. The spoiles of this Generall captaine, together with the head cut off from the rest of his body, the Romans with great joy and solemnitie brought into the temple that amongst them was reputed most holy & sacred. And after they had censed the head, as their manner is, they enchained and enchained it with gold, and that served as well for any holy vessel to sacrifice and give say, as all upon high and festivall dayes, as also for an ordinary drinking mazar for the high Priests, and other Princes of that temple.

The defeat
of L. Posthumus
in this armie.

A temple. The bootie also, which the Gauls gained of their enemies, was of no lesse importance than the victorie: for although a great part of the beasts and living creatures was crushed and squealed to death with the fall of the wood, yet all other things, by reason that nothing was scattered and lost by flight, were found wholly on the ground, as the souldiers lay along in that order as they marched.

These wofull tidings being reported, the citie was for many daies in such feare and perplexitie, that all shop windowes were shut up, and no stirring at all in the streetes throughout, from one end to the other, as if it had bene night continually. Then the Senate gave the *Aediles* in charge to walke all about, and command the shops to be set open, and to make no more shew in the citie of publicke sorrow and heaviness. Then *T. Sempronius* assembled a Senate, spake comfortably to the LL of the Counsell, and exhorted them, that as they were not dismayed with the overthrow and discomfiture at Cannæ, so they would not be cast down & daunted with lighter and smaller losses and calamities. For if it might please the gods to blesse them, & give them good speed (as they hoped no lesse) against the Carthaginian enemies and *Anniball*, the warre with the Gauls might without danger and inconvenience either be laid aside cleane, or put off and deferred. As for the revenge of this deceitfull practise, it should rest still in the power either of the immortall gods, or of the people of Rome, to be performed one time or other. But for the present, they were to consult and resolve concerning *Anniball* their grand enemy, & to grow to some point and conclusion of such forces as were meet for that warre. And first himselfe discomfited and laid downe what companies of foot and horse, what number of citizens, & how many confederats were in the armie of the Dictatour. After him, *Marcellus* shewed and recounted the proportion of his own power & their strength. Also, what forces, and of what qualitie, were with *C. Terentius* the Consull in Apulia, they were required to declare, who might speake upon their knowledge. Then they proceeded to cast & examine, whether two Consular armies well appointed and furnished, were sufficient to go through so great a war. Thus for that year they let France alone, albeit they had good cause to bee angrie, and were provoked that way to follow revenge. The Dictatour his armie, was appointed unto the Consull. As for the forces under the leading of *Marcellus*, consisting of them that fled out of the field at Cannæ, those they ordained to bee sent over into Sicilie, there to remaine in service so long as the warre continued in Italie: and that thither also should be posted over out of the Dictatour his Legions, all those souldiours who were able to doe least service, there to abide in souldierie, without any other limitation of time than that, which the laws in that case provide for. For the other Consull, who should be substituted in stead of *L. Posthumius*, there were assigned two Legions of Romane cittizens: and order was given, so soone as the Auspices would permit, hee should bee elected with speed. Likewise it was agreed upon and ordained, to send for two legions besides out of Sicilie: out of which, the Consull unto whom those Legions aforesaid of the citie were allotted, should take what souldiours hee thought needfull. Finally, *C. Terentius* the Consull, had his commission of commaund continued for another yeare, without empairing one jot of the armie, which hee had in his conduct for the guard and defence of Apulia.

Amids these affaires and preparations in Italie, the war went forward never lesse in Spaine, E and over to that day prospered on the Romanes side. *P.* and *Cn. Scipions* divided their forces so, as *Cn.* should serve by land, and *Publius* at sea with the navie. *Asdruball* the cheefe Colonell and commander there of the Carthaginians, distrusting his owne strength both by sea & land, kept himselfe aloofe, and farre from the enemy, in sure places of safetie. Unto whome, after long suite and instant prayers, were sent 4000 foot, and 300 horse out of Affricke for supplie. Having thus at length, with new helpes gathered fresh hope, he encamped neerer to his enemy, and gave order and direction withall, that the Armada should be rigged and decked for the defence of the Islands, and the sea coasts. And whiles hee was thus beginning hotely to make warre againe, hee was suddainly discomfited and disquieted with the revolt of the Admirals and great capitaines of the navie: who for their fearefull abandoning of the fleet upon Iberus, having been sharply checked and rebuked, were never after trustie and sure, either to the Colonell himselfe, or to the State of Carthage. These fugitive renegates had first practised to raise troubles & insurrections in the land of the Carpesij, and by their solliciting & instigation, certaine citties were procured to rebell, and one of them they had forced by assault. Whereupon, *Asdruball* turned his forces from the Romanes, and bent them wholly against that Nation: and with a cruell armie entering the frontiers

*. The death of
Posthumus.

frontiers of the enemies, determined to give the charge upon *Calbus*, a Nobleman, and renowned cheefestaine of the Carpesians, even before the citie, that some few daies before was lost, where the said *Calbus* with a puissant power kept himselfe strongly encamped. Having therefore sent out before, certaine vaunt-courriers lightly armed, to traine forth and draw the enemies to skirmish, he made out withall certaine companies of his Infanterie sundrie waies to overrun and spoile the countrie, and likewise to catch up and meet with all straglers, dispersed in the fields. Whereupon, at one time there was a skirmish before the campe: and likewise in the fields, they were either slaine, or put to flight. But afterwards, having by divers waies from all parts recovered againe the campe, suddainly they shaked off all feare, plucked up their harts, & thought themselves good ynough, not onely to defend their fort and hold, but also to bid the enemy battaile. They sallied out therefore of the campe in good array, shouting, dauncing, and hopping after their manner, so as this unexpected boldnesse and courage of theirs, terrified the enemies, who a little before had challenged them to fight. Whereupon *Asdruball* himselfe withdrew and retired his power for more securitie to an hill of good heighth, and situate for his advantage, with a river likewise betwene him and his enemies. The light armed vaunt-courriers also, and the forsome hope, together with the horsemen that rode scattering abroad, he caused thither to repaire for their better safetie. And because he trusted neither hill nor river, hee fortified himselfe with a trench and rampier besides. In this alternate and interchangeable feare on both sides, there passed some bickerments, and blows were dealt between. In which, neither the Numidian horsemen were able to match the Spaniards in that kind; nor the Moores archers could make their part good with the light Carpesians targatiers, who in nimblenesse & swiftnes were as good as they, and for courage and bodily strength, farre better. These Carpesians seeing they neither could provoke *Asdruball* to a battaile, with all their braving hard under his campe, nor yet easily by assault win it, they tooke by force the citie *Asena*, into which *Asdruball* when he first invaded the frontiers of his enemies, had conveyed store of corn and other victuals: yea, and became LL. of all the countrie thereabout. And they grew so lustie & audacious, that neither in their march and array, nor within their campe they would bee ruled and ordered by any mans command. This secure and carelesse negligence of theirs, when *Asdruball* perceived to arise (as usually it doth) upon good successe and prosperitie; after an exhortation made to his souldiors, to charge upon the enemies, roving abroad without their colors, he descended from the hill, and marched in battaile array against their campe. So soone as the Spaniards were advertised by those who came in great hast, and fled from the Sentinels and *corps de guard*, that he was coming, & neere at hand, with a great outcrie they gave the alarme. And as every man could get weapon in hand they ran upon the head to battaile, without direction and commaundement of captain, without signall, ensigne, and order, confusedly. When the foremost in the vaward were joined in conflict and come to hand fight, some of their fellows were seene running on heapes and by troupes, and others were not well come forth of the campe. At the first the enemy was terrified with their bold adventure. Afterwards, as they encountered, thin and loosely raied, with the enemies thicke and closely raunged together, seeing themselves too weak, & not sufficient, so few in number to defend themselves, they looked backe one upon another for succour: and being on every side put backe, and forced to recule and lose ground, they cast themselves into a ring, and thus thrust (as they were) close together, bodie to bodie, and armour to armour, they were so pent and pestered in so narrow a ground, that they had scarce rounne ynough to wield their weapons: so they were compassed and environned round with the enemy, and for a good part of the day hewen, in peeces, and massacred. Some few of them that brake through by dint of sword, escaped to the woods and mountains. With like feare the campe was abandoned: and the day following, the whole nation yielded, and came under the subjection of the Carthaginians.

Long they continued not quiet. For within a while newes came from Carthage, that *Asdruball* should make what speed he could with his armie into Italie. Which rumour being blowne abroad through Spaine, turned in manner all their hearts away unto the Romanes. Whereupon *Asdruball* addressed his letters immediately to Carthage, shewing what hurt the fame of his departure had done already: and in case hee should set forward on his journey, and go out of those parts, all Spaine would turne to the Romanes, before hee were passed the river *Iberus*. For over and besides, that he had not strength ynough to leave behind for a garrison, nor a sufficient commaunder in steed of himselfe, the Generals of the Roman armie, who had set foot in Spaine,

were

A were such, as he might hardly make head against them with equall puissance. And therefore, if they had any regard of Spaine, hee advised them to send one to succede him with a strong power: For he should have his hands full, and ynough to doe in the province, fall out things as fortunately as they could. These letters, albeit at the first sight they greatly troubled the Senate, yet because the Italian affaires seemed of more moment and greater importance; they wrought no alteration in their intended course, either for *Asdruball* himselfe, or his forces. Howbeit *Himilco* was sent with a compleate and competent armie, and a greater Armada; both for the holding of Spaine in their allegiance, and also for their defence by sea and land. Who having passed over with all his power, as well for land service as the sea, fortified his campe, drawne his ships ashore, laid them up in drie land, and empaled them strongly all about; himselfe in person with his elect and most choise men of armes, made what hast possible hee could, through nations partly enemies, partly doubtfull and untrusting, and staid not either in one place or other (but evermore standing upon his guard) untill he was come to *Asdruball*. After he had declared unto him the order decreed by the Senate, and what he had in commission; and taken himselfe direction likewise from him, in what manner the warre in Spaine was to be managed, he returned backe againe to his owne campe. In which voyage to and fro, hee travailed safely by no one thing more, than by speedie expedition. For hee was ever gone from a place, before the people could agree together, and make head against him. Now *Asdruball*, before that hee dislodged and set his armie on foot out of those parts, levied summes of money of all the cities and states under his jurisdiction; for well he knew, that *Anniball* had paid sweetly before him, for his passage through certaine countries, and as well he wist besides, that the Gauls he was faine to wage: for amongst them no money, no men. And if he undertooke and entred upon that great expedition, poore and bare of silver, hee had never reached so farre as the Alpes. Thus having in great hast raised and collected his monies, he came downe to the river *Iberus*.

When the Romanes heard of the proceedings and designements of the Carthaginians; and likewise of the journey of *Asdruball*: both the Generals (laying all other matters apart) prepared to joine their whole forces together, to oppose themselves, and to withstand such intended attempts: supposing and considering, that if *Anniball* (who by himselfe alone was an enemy to Italie hardly supportable) were once seconded by Colonell *Asdruball* and the Spanish armie, the Empire of Rome would soone be at an end. Upon these carefull cogitations being grieved and perplexed, they assembled all their power neere to *Iberus*: and after they had passed over the river, and long counselled whither they should encampe themselves and abide the coming of the enemies to bid them battaile; or by invading and assailing the associates & subjects of the Carthaginians, to stay the enemy & hinder his intended journey, they resolved at length & made preparation to assault *Ibera*, (so named of the river neereby) the richest and most wealthy citie at that time, of all others in those parts. Whereof when *Asdruball* was advertised, hee for to helpe his friends, advanced himselfe likewise to set upon another citie lately yeilded to the Romanes, and reduced under their subjection. And so the Romanes after they had begun to lay siege to *Ibera*, gave over that enterprise, and made head against *Asdruball* himselfe. And for some few daies, they lay incamped five miles asunder one from the other, not without some light skirmishes; but never came to pitch a faire field. At length upon one and the same day (as if they had bene so agreed afore) they hapned on both sides to set out the signall of battaile, and to come forth with all their power into the plaine ground. The Romanes stood arranged in three battalions: one part of the Infanterie was placed before the standards in the vaward; another regiment bestowed behind in the reargard; the men of armes flanked the sides likewise. On the other part, *Asdruball* strengthened his main battel with Spaniards in the right point he most valued the Carthaginians, in the left, the Affricanes. As for the auxiliar & mercenarie horsemen, whom hee waged and hired, such as were Numidians, hee ordained a front the Carthaginians to be sent to guard them, the rest that were Affricanes, hee distributed and disposed about the skirts and edges of the battalions. Neither were all the Numidians placed in the right flank, but (such as after the guise and manner of Vaulters, led two horses apeece, and used often times in the midst of the hottest conflict, to leape armed as they were from their wearied horses to another fresh one. So nimble are they themselves, and so tractable and well taught to their hands) were their horses. Thus stood they arranged on both sides in order of battaile. The Captains of either part for hopes in manner nothing unequal: for neither in number or qualitie of souldiours, was there

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there any great oddes betwene them Marie, for courage and heart, there was great difference and inequality in the souldiours themselves. For the Romanes, (notwithstanding they fought farre from home) were so perswaded by their leaders, that they fought for Italie and the citie of Rome: and therefore, as if the whole hope of their fate returned into their countrie, were to be tried and decided in this one battaile, they resolved either to winne the day or do die for it. On the other side, the souldiours were not so resolute, for most of them being Spaniards, would have chosen rather to bee conquered and overcome in Spaine, than with conquest and victorie to be drawne into Italie. And therefore at the first shocke, when scarcely the darts and javelins were lanced & let flie, their maine battaile reculed and so soon as the Romanes with great violence redoubled the charge, they turned their backs and fled. Howbeit in both flanks the fight was hote enough. The Carthaginians of the one side, the Affricans on the other, charged the Romanes very hard, and fought sore against them, as if they had them invironed round about within their battailons. But when as the whole power of the Romanes were once rallied and gathered together in the mids, they were strong enough to remove and seeke the wings of the enemies. So they maintained fight in two divers places at once. But both in the one & the other, the Romanes (after they had discomfited the maine battaile in the mids) were no doubt much better, as well in number, and also in strength and vigour of men. Many a tall fellows was there slaine. And had not the Spaniards at the first when the battaile was scarce begun, fled amaine by heapes, very few of the whole battaile had escaped and remained alive. The horsemen fought little or not at all. For the Moores and Numidians, so soon as they espied the battaile to shrink and loose ground, presently all on a suddaine fled as fast as they could, & left the sides & flanks of the said battaile naked, driving afore them the Elephants withall. And even *Asdruball* himself, who maintained the medley to the very last, escaped with some few out of the thickest massacre and execution. The Romanes tooke their campe and rested it. This battaile was of such import and consequence, that it caused all the Spaniards, who were before but wavering, to time wholly to the Romanes: and left *Asdruball* no hope at all, to passe with his forces into Italie, not so much as to make abode with safetie in Spaine. The newes hereof being bruited abroad and sent to Rome, by the letters of the two *Scipions*, great joy there was, not so much for the victorie, as because *Asdruball* was tied by the foot, and staid for comming into Italie.

*Bellisima.

Amids these exploitcs in Spaine, *Petelia* (a citie of the Brutij, having endured the siege and many assaults for certaine moneths) was finally won by *Himilco*, one of *Anniball* his capitaines. But that victorie cost the Carthaginians much blood, and many a fore wound. No force nor violence overcame the besieged *Petelians* more, than very famine. For having consumed and eaten up all food of corne, all flesh of foure footed beasts whatsoever: they were driven at length to feede and live upon shoemakers lether, weeds, and roots, tender barks of trees, & the crops of briars and brambles: and they gave not over so long as they were able to stand on their legs upon the walles, and beare their armour.

*Cassius.

Anniball after the winning of *Petelia*, conducted his armie against *Consentia*, which being not so valiantly defended, was within few daies surrendered up into his hands. Neere about the same time, a power of the Brutians also, laid siege unto *Creroni*, a citie built and inhabited by the Greekes, and in times past, mightie in men and munition: but now at this time so distressed with manifold and grievous calamities, that of all ages one with another, they were not able to make twentie thousand men. And therefore no marvel, if the enemies were soon maisters of the citie; being so destitute as it was of citizens to defend it. Once the citie they kept still, into which there were some that escaped in that tumult when the citie was taken, out of the mids of the massacre. The *Locrians* likewise revolted unto the Brutij and the Carthaginians. By reason that the common multitude were fraudulently betrayed by the chiefe and principall citizens. The *Rheginis* onely of all that countrie, continued both true unto the Romanes, and also to their owne libertie to the very last. The same disposition to revolt, was to be seen even in *Sicilie*, in so much as the very house of *Hiero* was not cleere: and free in all parts from rebellion. For *Gelo* his eldest sonne, having in contempt both the olde age of his father, and altho after the overthrow at Cannæ the societie and friendship of the Romanes, turned unto the Carthaginians. And he had no doubt made a general alteration in *Sicilie*, but that his death came between, and cut him off; which hapned so juniper, even when he was arming the multitude, and soliciting his friends to rebellion, that his very father himselfe was drawn unto deepe suspicion that hee

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A took his life away. These were the occurrents that fell out that yeare with variable event, in Italie, Affricke, Sicilie and Spaine. In the end of the same yeare, *Publius Maximus* moved the Senate, and made request, that the temple of *Venus Erycina*, which he had vowed being Dictator, might now be dedicated. And the Senate made a decree, That *Tiberius Sempronius* Consull elect, should soone as he was entered into his office, propose unto the people, that they would create two *Duumvirs* for the dedication of temples: And in honour of *Aemilius Lepidus*, who had bene Consull twice, and *Augustus*, his three sonnes, *Lucius*, *Marcius*, and *Quintus*, exhibited certaine publicall games for three daies space; and a shew in the Common place likewise for three daies together, of two and twenty pair of sword-fencers, to fight at shapeto the overage. The Consul *Publius* *Aemilius* *Leptinus*, and *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus* now Consull elect, who in his Edileship had bene Generall of the holsemen, set out the Roman games, which were renewed and continued still for three daies. Likewise the Plaies of the Common, were thise exhibited by *Publius Aemilius* *Leptinus*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. Now after these yeeres expired by the Punick warre, *Tiberius Sempronius* the Consull, began his government upon the Ides of March, As for the Prators, *Publius Valerius* *Flaccus*, who had afore time bene Consull and Censor, objected by lot the jurisdiction of the citibenis, and *M. Valerius Corvinus* of the strangers and alliens. To *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, was allotted the government of Sicilie; and to *Publius Sulpicius* of Sardinia. *M. Marcellus* was by the people allowed to have the authoritie of a Vice Consull, in regard that he above all the Roman captaines, after the defeature of Cannæ, managed his affaires & varied prosperously in Italie. Now the very first day that the Senate was assembled in the Capitoll, they decreed upon the first motion, that within the compass of that yeare, there should be levied a double tax of tributes; and that one single tribute should be forthwith gathered, for present pay to all the souldiours, saving those that served at Cannæ. Then concerning the atries this order was set downe: *Imprimis*, that *Tiberius Sempronius* the Consull, should appoint the two legions of citizens a certaine day to meete at *Cales*: *Item*, that six legions should be conducted to the campe of *Glandius* above *Sicculi*. *Item*, that the legions which there were (and those consisted for the most part of the residue of the Cannian armie) *Appius Claudius Pulcher* the Pretour, should put over sea into Sicilie; and as for those that were in Sicilie, they should be transported to Rome. *Item*, unto that amie which was appointed to meet by a day at *Cales*, *M. Claudius Marcellus* was sent: and he was commanded to conduct the legions of the citizens to the campe of *Glandius*. Last of all, to receive the charge of the old armie, and to leade it into Sicilie, *Tiberius Gracchus* Lieutenant, was sent by *Appius Claudius*. Men looked at first, and yet they sayd nothing, that the Consull should call an assembly for the treating of a Collegue unto him. But after that they saw that *M. Marcellus* was sent out of the way (as it were of purpose) whom above all others they were desirous to be the Consull for that yeare, in regard of his notable good service whiles he was Pretour, there arose much muttering in the Senate house. Which the Consull perceiving: my LL. quoth he, it was for the good of the Common wealth, that both *M. Claudius* should go into Campaine to exchange the armies; and also, that the Election of Consuls, should not be proclaimed, untill that he were returned againe from thence, with dispatch of that business which he had in charge: that ye might have a Consull, such a one as the present condition of the State required, and your selves most desired. So there was no more speech of the election, untill *Marcellus* was come backe againe. In this meane time were two *Duumvirs* created, *Publius Erycina*, and *Tiberius Gracchus*, of another to the Goddess *Mentis*. Both stand upon the Capitoll hill, devided asunder no more than with one onely conduit of water passing betwene. And as concerning the three hundred Campaine horsemen, who had served out their full time of warfare faithfully, and were come to Rome, a motion was propounded to the people, that they should be enfranchised citizens of Rome: and in like manner, that they should be reputed as free Denizens of *Cumes*, from the day afore that the Capuans revolted from the people of Rome and rebelled. The chiefe cause of proposing this act, was this, because themselves denied staidly that they knew to whom they did appertaine, seeing they had abandoned their old native countrey, and as yet were not enrolled and incorporate into that state, unto which they had retired. After that *Marcellus* was come againe from the armie, the solenne day of election of a Consull in place of *Publius* *Postumius*, was published. And with exceeding great consent of all men,

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Marcellus

Marcellus was chosen: and forthwith he was to begin his Magistracie. At whose first entrance, it hapned to thunder: and the *Augurs* being called to give their opinion of it, pronounced, that they thought hee was not rightly created. And the *Senatours* gave it out commonly & bruited abroad, that the gods were not well pleased therewith, because (forsooth) two Coss. were elected of the communalitie (a thing never seene before.) Whereupon *Marcellus* resigned up his place, and in his roome was substituted *Fabius*, the third time.

That yeere the sea burned. At *Sinuessa* a cow brought forth a horse foale. And at *Lanuvium* in the temple of *Iuno Hospita*, certaine flames or images dropped with blood: & about that temple it rained stones. For which shewre, there was solemnised, according to the customeable manner, a Novendiall sacrifice. The other prodigious signes likewise, were expiated with great care and heedfull regard. The *Consuls* then parted their armies betweene them: *Fabius* tooke charge of those forces which had bene commaunded by *M. Junius* the Dictator. *Sempronius* had the conduct of all the voluntary souldiers, and besides of 25000 of *Auxiliaries* sent from the confederates. *M. Valerius* the Pretour had the legions appointed for him, that were returned out of *Sicilie*. *M. Claudius* the Vizconsull, was sent unto that armie, which lay in garison at *Nola*, above *Suessula*. And the Pretours tooke their journey into *Sicilie* and *Sardinia*. The *Consuls*, whensoever they would assemble the Senate, proclaimed that the *Senatours*, and all others that had lawfull authoritie to speake their mind and deliver their opinion in the Counsell house, should meet at the gate *Capena*. The Pretours, those that were Iudges in the court, and to whom the civile jurisdiction appertained, erected their Tribunall seats and places of Assises at the publicke Fishpooles, and thither they commaunded all wits to bee returned, and apparence there to bee made. And for that yeare all pleas and iudgements of causes passed there.

In this meane time newes came to *Carthage*: (from whence *Mago* the brother of *Anniball* was minded to transport and set over into *Italie* 12000 footmen, and 1500 horsemen, 20 Elephants, and 1000 talents of silver, together with a guard and supplie of 60 gallies) That in *Spaine* things went untowardly: and that all the cities of *Spaine* (in a manner) were revolted unto the *Romanes*. Some there were of opinion, to withdraw *Mago* with that fleet and power of his, from the enterprise of *Italie* into *Spaine*. Considering there was good hope shewed of a suddaine, to recover againe *Sardinia*, for that there was but a small power of *Romanes* there; and *Cornelius* the old Lord Deputie, well acquainted with the state of the province, was now upon his departure from thence, and a new expected in his turne. Over and besides, that the *Sardinians* were wearie alreadie of the *Romanes* government, which they had so long endured, as who the yeare that past was, had tyrannised over them cruelly, and exercised their authoritie with oppression, covetously imposing upon them hard exactions and tributes, and levying of them a most unjust taxation and contribution of come: and finally they wanted nothing but an head, upon whom they might relie themselves. To this effect there was an Embassage sent secretly from the Lords and Princes of the Island. And the principall actor and procurer hereof, was *Hersicora*, a man in those daies of greatest authoritie and power among them. Vpon these tidings aforesaid, hapning so just at one time, they were both disquieted and also refreshed. So they sent *Mago* with his fleet, and other forces into *Spaine*: and they chose for the expedition into *Sardinia*, *Asdruball* surnamed *Calvus*, for the L. Generall, furnished and appointed with as great a power almost as *Mago* had.

At *Rome* likewise, the *Consuls* having dispatched the affaires of the citie, addressed themselves to the war. *T. Sempronius* appointed *Sinuessa* to be the *Rendezvous*, where the souldiers should meete at a certaine day. And *Q. Fabius*, by an order and direction from the Senate, made an Edict, That all men should before the first day of *Iulie* next ensuing, gather all their come out of the countries, and convey the same into the principall walled strong townes: proclaiming that whosoever did not accordingly, their fields he would lay wast; sell their servants in portsale at the speare, and set their farmes and villages a fire. Not so much as the Pretors themselves (created for civil jurisdiction and to decide law matters) were freed and exempted from the conduct of warre. As for *Valerius* the Pretor, he was appointed to goe into *Apulia*, for to receive the armie of *Terenius*: and when the legions were returned out of *Sicilie*, to employ them especially for the guard and defence of that countrey; and that the armie of *Terenius* should be sent with some one of the Lieutenants. And *M. Valerius* had 25 saile allowed him, to keep and defend all the sea coasts betweene *Brundisium* & *Tarentum*. The like number of ships was assigned

*Brundis.
*Tarentum.

A to *Q. Fulvius* the citie *Pretor*, for to guard the river side, neere adjoyning to the citie of *Rome*. *C. Terentius* the Proconsull had in charge to take up by commission souldiers in the *Picene* countrey, and to guard those quarters. And *T. Otacilius Crassus*, after that hee had dedicated the temple of *Minus* in the *Capitoll*, was sent into *Sicilie*, as Lord Admirall of the Armado there.

Vpon this warre betweene two of the mightiest cities, and most puissant states of the world, there was not a king and prince, nor a Nation under heaven, but was amused. Among whom *Philip* king of the *Macedonians*, had an eie thereto, and was more intensive, in that he was neerer unto *Italie*, and onely divided from thence by the *Ionian* sea. Hee at the first, when the bruit came to his eares, That *Anniball* was passed beyond the *Alpes*: as hee joied much, that there was warre kindled betweene the *Romanes* and the *Carthaginians*, so, as long as it was uncertaine, whether nation was the stronger, he wavered in mind and was in suspence, whether of the twaine he should wish to have the victorie. But after that he heard once, that in three severall battailes one after another, *Anniball* and the *Carthaginians* had gotten the better hand, hee enclined to the fortunate side, and sent Embassadors unto *Anniball*: who falling off, and desirous to avoid the fortunate side, and sent Embassadors unto *Anniball*: who falling off, and desirous to avoid the havens of *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*, which were guarded and kept by the *Romane* fleet, arrived and landed at the temple of *Iuno Lacinia*: and so through *Apulia*, travailing toward *Capua*, chaunced to light upon the mids of the *Romanes* corps de guard, and were brought before *M. Valerius Levinus* the Lord Deputie, being then encamped before *Nuceria*. Where *Xenophanes*, the principall of the Embassadors, bashed not to say, That he was sent from king *Philip*, to treat and conclude a league and amitie with the people of *Rome*, and had commission & direction to the *Consuls*, to the Senate likewise and people of *Rome*, to that effect. *Valerius* taking great contentment to heare of this new societie and friendship with so noble a king, especially upon the rebellion of so many old allies, courteously intreated and friendly entertained this false hearted enemy, in steed of a trustie friend: & appointed diverse to accompanie him forward, to guide him carefully in the waies; and to shew him what places, what passages and streights were held, and kept, either by the *Romanes*, or the enemies. *Xenophanes* with these instructions, passed through the midst of the *Romane* guards into *Campania*, and so the next way arrived at the campe of *Anniball*, and made a league and amitie with him, under these conditions and capitulations. *Imprimis*, That king *Philip* should with a right puissant Armada (for that he was supposed able to set out 200 saile) passe over into *Italie*, wast and spoile all the sea coasts; and to his power maintaine war by sea and land. Item, That when the warre was finished, all *Italie*, together with the very citie of *Rome* should be possessed by the *Carthaginians* and *Anniball*, and unto him all the pillage and bootie likewise should belong. Item, When *Italie* was thus subdued, that they should faile into *Greece*, and wage warre with what Princes there they pleased, and that all the cities of the maine, and the islands which lay to *Macedonie*, should fall unto *Philip*, and bee annexed to his kingdome. In these termes, and upon these articles, in manner, was the league concluded and confirmed betweene the Generall *Anniball*, and the Embassadors of the *Macedonians*: and with them were sent backe unto the king, for the better ratifying of the said covenants, certaine Legates, to wit, *Gisco*, *Bostar*, and *Mago*, who arrived together at the same temple aforesaid, of *Iuno Lacinia*, where there rid closely a ship at anker, expecting their returne. From whence being departed, they were not so soone launched out into the deepe, and had taken the open sea, but they were descryed by the *Romane* fleet that guarded the coasts of *Calabria*. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* made out certain *Goryreans*, to pursue & search in that ship. Whereupon, the *Macedonians* began to flie, but seeing themselves overmatched in swiftnesse of saile, and not able to make way with them, they yielded themselves unto the *Romans*, & were presented unto the Admirall. Who demanded what they were, from whence they came, and whether they were bound. *Xenophanes* who had already spied so well by making of a lye, began to cog againe, and say: That he was sent from *Philip* unto the *Romanes*: that he came unto *M. Valerius*; because to him onely he was able to passe in safetie, but could not possibly get beyond *Campania*, being so strongly kept with garisons of the enemies. But afterwards, upon the sight of the *Carthaginian* habite and apparel, they began to suspect the embassadors of *Anniball*: and they being questioned withall, their speech and language bewraied them. Then was their retinue taken apart, and threatened to confesse. Letters also were found upon them, sent from *Anniball* unto *Philip*, concerning the peace betweene the king of the *Macedonians* and *Anniball*. Vpon these matters

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thus detected and certainly knowne, it was thought good to convey the Embassadors and their companie with all speede prisoners to Rome, unto the Senate there, or unto the Consuls where-soever they were. To this purpose were chosen five pinnasses that were most swift, under the conduct of *L. Valerius Antias*, who had his direction and charge to part these embassadors in severall ships, and keepe them sure asunder: and to take good heede, that they neither talked nor conferred together.

About the same time it happened at Rome, that *An. Cornelius Mammula*, upon his departure out of the province Sardinia, made report in what state the Iland stood, namely, that they all inclined to rebellion and warre: that *Mutius* who succeeded after him, presently upon his first coming, by reason of the ill aire and unholosome water, was fallen into a sickness, not so quick and dangerous, as chronick and tedious, and would not be able long to endure the service of warre: that the armie there, as it was sufficient to guard and keepe in good order a quiet and peaceable province, so it could not hold out with the warre that was like to ensue. Whereupon the LL. of the Senate gave order, that *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, should levee and enroll 3000 foote, and 400 horse, and provide that this legion should passe over with all speede into Sardinia: and send therewith whom it pleased him to conduct and manage the warre until *Mutius* were recovered of his disease. For this intent was *T. Manlius Torquatus* sent governour; one, who had bene twice Consull and Cenfor, and in his Consulship had subdued the Sardinians.

Neere about the same time, there was an Armado set out from Carthage unto Sardinia, under the leading of *Asdruball* surnamed *Calvus*, and being fore tossed and beaten with tempests, was cast upon the Balear Ilands: where (so farre out of order was not only the ship tacking, but also the very keeles and bodies of the ships so shaken) they drew up the ships to shore, and whiles they stayed there about calking and trimming them againe, they spent much time.

In Italie whiles the warres began to flake and waxe cold, by reason that after the battaile of Cannæ, the strength of the one part was much abated, and their force decayed, and the courage of the other, well allaid and made effeminate: the Campanians upon their owne heads began to contrive, how to reduce the State of Cumes under their obedience, first soliciting them to revolt from the Romanes: and seeing that course would not speede and take effect, they devised by a fraudulent practise to compasse and entrap them. The Campanians use yerele to solemnise a feast and sacrifice in a certaine place called Hamæ: and they gave notice unto the Cumaines, that the whole Senat of Capua would resort thither: requesting the Senat of Cumes likewise to meete them there, for to conferre and consult together in common; how both cities, the one and the other, might have the same friends and the same enemies, and no other: giving them withall to understand, that they minded there to have a good guard about them of armed men; for feare of some sodaine and dangerous attempt from the Romanes. The Cumaines, albeit they suspected some treacherie, denied nothing, supposing thereby to colour and cover their owne craftie intended designement. Now all this while, *T. Sempronius*, the Roman Consull, having surveied and purged his armie at Sinuessa, at which place he had made proclamation, that his forces should meete together: passed over the river Vulturinus, and encamped neere unto Luiternum: where because the souldiers in the standing campe had nothing els to do, he exercised them to run often the race and skirmish in aray, to the end that the raw souldiers (for such were the voluntaries for the most part) might by use and practise learne how to follow their colonnes in good order, and in the time of battaile know their owne ranks and ensignes. In these kinds of training, the speciall care that the Generall had, and the onely thing that he aimed at, was their concord and good agreement. And for this purpose, he charged the Lieutenants, and the Colonels and Captaines, that they should not cast in any mans teeth one or other, their fortunes and condition aforesaid, thereby to breede any discord & harburing among the companies: and that the olde experienced souldiers should suffer themselves to be but equal in estate to the new learners: and those that were borne free unto the voluntaries, who had bene slaves: reputing them all of birth good enough, and of gentle blood descended, unto whom the people of Rome had vouchsafed to commit their armour and ensignes: saying, that the same fortunes which had driven them so to do, forced them likewise to maintaine the same, and make the best of it, now it was done. The captaines were not more carefull in giving these good lessons and instructions, but the souldiers were as diligent to observe the same: and within a while their hearts and affections grew to bee so linked and united together, that they forgot generally, in what degree

Agree and of what condition each souldier entred into service. Whiles *Gracchus* was busied hereabout, the Embassadors of Cumes certified him, what kinde of Embassage came unto them from the Campanians, a few daies before, and what answer they had returned: advorsing him that their festivall daie was to be holden three daies after: that not onely the whole Senat would be present, but also the campe and armie of the Campanians. *Gracchus* having commaunded the Cumaines to convey all that they had out of the fields & territories about, into their cittie, and themselves to keepe within their walles: himselfe the day before the solemnitie aforesaid of the Campanians, removed his power to Cumes, and there incamped. Now Hamæ is three myles off from thence. The Campanians by this time were assembled there in great number, according to appointment: and not farre from the place, *Marius Alfius* the chiefe head magistrat of Capua, was incamped closely with fourteen thousand souldiours. Hee, what with preparation of the sacrifice, and contriving withall the deceitfull traine of treacherie, was more busie & careful thereabout, than either in fortifying his campe, or in any other militarie action. Thus for three daies continued this festivall sacrifice at Hamæ. And ever in the night season it was performed: so, as before midnight all was done and finished. *Gracchus* supposing that a good time for his ambush to be enpioied, having set certaine warders before the gates, that no man might go forth to give intelligence; caused the souldiours betwixt the sixth and tenth houre of the day, from hooke untill foure of the clocke, to refresh themselves and take their sleepe: that in the beginning of the darke night, they might assemble together at the watch-word or signall given them. And about the first watch hee commaunded to display their Ensignes and advance forward: and thus with a still march, hee arrived at Hamæ by midnight; surprised the hold of the Campanians, and entred all the gates at once, being negligently guarded, by reason of their overwatching. Some he killed lying along fast asleepe: others, as they returned unarmed from the sacrifice. In this night tumult there were slaine more than two thousand, with *Marius Alfius* himselfe their leader: and 43 ensignes taken and carried away. *Gracchus* with the losse of fewer than one hundred of his souldiours, having won the campe, retired speedily to Cumes, for feare of *Anniball*, who lay in fort encamped upon Tifata over Capua. And (as hee was a provident man and of great foresight) nothing was he deceived in his opinion. For so soone as this defeat was reported at Capua, *Anniball*, supposing that he should at Hamæ find the armie of the Romanes (consisting for the most part of raw souldiers, and those bondslaves) jocund and lustie above measure, & insolent upon their fresh victorie, busie in riling their dead enemies thus conquered, driving away booties, and charged with pillage, removed his forces in hast, & marched a pace beneath Capua: and encountered with some of the Campanians that were fled, whom hee caused betwixt two guards to be conducted safe to Capua, and such as were hurt & wounded, to be set in waggons and carried thither. Himselfe found in Hamæ the campe empty and void of enemies; and nothing there but the tokens of a fresh massacre, and the dead bodies of his friends and allies lying here and there scattered. Some there were that advised him presently to advance forward to Cumes, and to assault the towne. And albeit *Anniball* was willing enough thereto, and passing desirous (seeing hee could not come by Naples) to have Cumes at least a maritime port towne, as well as the other, yet because his souldiours had brought nothing with them but their weapons, as being led forth to march in such hast, hee retired backe againe to his fort and campe upon Tifata. From whence, at the importunate prayers of the Campanians, the day following hee furnished himselfe with all the ordinance and engines meet for the assault of a cittie, and returned toward Cumes; and having wasted the country thereto; hee encamped himselfe a myle from the towne. There *Gracchus*, more for shame, than hee might nor seeme to leave his associates in such necessitie, (who craved protection and trust that hee reposed in the strength of his armie, staid in Cumes. Neither *Fabius*, the other Consull, who was encamped at Cales, durst set his armie over the river Vulturinus: as having bene busied first at Rome in renewing the Auspices and bird-sights: and after that, troubled also about the fearefull prodigious signes, which were reported one after another.) And when hee sought expiation thereof by sacrifices, the Soothsayers made answer and said, That they could not perceive that the gods were appeased and pacified for all that hee did. Thus whiles *Anniball* upon these occasions was kept backe, *Sempronius* was besieged; yea and by this time assaulted, with fabrickes and engines of batterie. One mightie great towne of wood there was erected

sted against the town. Against which, the Roman Consul raised another from the very wall, some what higher than it: for that he used the wall (which of it selfe was of good height) in stead of a groundworke, and planted thereon strong postes and piles of timber to beare up the forside frame. From thence, at first the souldiours within, defended the towne & walles with stones, with long poles and perches and other instruments to launce against the assailants. But at length seeing the other turret coming forward even close to the towne wall, they flung thereon at once much fireworke, and burning matter: at which fires the multitude of armed men for fear leapt headlong downe the turret: and withall, they of the towne issued out at two gates at once, discomfited the guards of the enemies, and drave them into their campe: so that that day *Anniball* was more like one besieged himselfe, than laying siege unto others. There were of Carthaginians slain about fourteene hundred, fortie wanting one were taken prisoners alive, such as about the wals & their *Corps de gard* stood rechelesse & negligent, fearing nothing lesse than a sallie out of the towne, and were suddainly at unwaras taken and surprisid. *Gracchus* sounded the retreat, and caused his men to retire within the walles, before the enemies after their suddaine flight could be rallied together. The morrow after, *Anniball* (supposing that the Consul in his russe for this happie hand, would come into the field to fight a set battaile) arranged himselfe in array betwene his Campe and Cumes. But after that, he saw no stirring at all from the usuall guard and defence of the citie, and nothing put to the rash hazard of doubtfull hope, he retired to Tifara, without any good at all done.

At the very same time that the siege was raised before Cumes, *Titus Sempronius* surnamed *Longus*, fought fortunatly in Lucania before Grumentum, with *Hanno* the Carthaginian slew more than two thousand of his enemies, lost himselfe two hundred and eightie men, and went away with 41 ensignes. *Hanno* thus driven out of the confines of Lucania, retired himselfe backe into the countrie of the Brutij. And *M. Valerius* the Pretour, recovered by force from the Hirpines, three townes that had revolted from the Romanes. *Terrellius* and *Sicilius* the motives and chieftains of that rebellion were cut shorter by the head. More than one thousand captives were sold at the speare in port sale; to who that would bid most. All the pillage besides was given to the souldiours, and the armie brought backe to Cumes.

Whiles these things hapned in the countries of the Lucanes & Hirpines, those 5 ships above said (wherein were embarked the Embassadors of the Macedonians & Carthaginians as prisoners) having set a compasse from the upper Adriaticke sea unto the nether sea of Tulean ground about (in a manner) all the sea coast of Italie, hapned to saile along neere the citie of Cumes, and being not certainly knowne whither they were friends or enemies, *Gracchus* put forth out of his fleet two pinaces to encounter them. When as by demanding and questioning one with another, it was once certified unto them, that the Consul was within Cumes, and the ships then arrived in the haven, the prisoners were brought to the presence of the Consul, and all the letters delivered. The Consul after hee had read over the letters, both of *Philip* and *Anniball*, sealed them up againe sure, and sent them by land unto the Senate of Rome, but commaunded the Embassadors themselves to be conducted thither by sea. When as both letters, and also the Embassadors were arrived at Rome, in a manner, all in one day, and that (after due examination) words and writings agreed together in one: at the first, the LL. of the Senate were pensive and plunged deeply into cares, considering in how great danger they stood of a new Macedonian warre, who were hardly able to endure the Carthaginian. But in conclusion, so farre were they off from being utterly dismayed heereat, and sinking under the waters, that forthwith they beganne to treate and debate, how they might begin themselves to warre with these enemies first, and so stop them from their entrance into Italie. The captive Embassadors they laid up fast in yrons: their train and retinue were sold in over se market, and besides theesse and twentie ships, whereof *Q. Puleius Flaccus* was Admirall; they took order for want of men to be rigged and decked: which being provided, furnished and shot into the pottle about together with those five barks, wherein the prisoners were conducted: there were so saile in all, that lodged from Ostia and arrived at Tarentum. *Quintus Fulvius* had commission to embarke the souldiours of *Karrh*, who had bene under the leading of *L. Apustius* the Lieutenant at Tarentum, with this flecte of fiftie saile, not onely to defend the sea coast of Italie, but also to hearken and have an eye after the Macedonian warre: and in case he could learne that the designement and intent of *Philip* was suitable to those letters and informations of the Embassadors

A Embassadors, then he should by his letters certifie *M. Valerius* the Pretor so much; and that leaving with *L. Apustius* his Lieutenant the charge of the armie, he should go to the Armada at Tarentum, and with all speed possible set over into Macedonie, and there endeavor to keepe *Philip* play at home within his owne realme. As for that money which was sent unto *Appius Claudius* into Sicilie for to be repaid unto king *Hiero*, it was appointed unto him, for the maintenance of his Armada, and managing of the Macedonian warre. This monie was by *L. Apustius* the Lieutenant brought to Tarentum, and with it, there were sent from *Hiero* 156600 Modij of wheate, and 100000 of barley.

Whiles these preparations and doings passed at Rome, one ship of those prisoners which were sent to Rome, chanced to single it selfe from the other, and to escape away to *Philip*: where by he was advertised, that the embassadors or commissioners were taken, and the letters intercepted. But he not knowing what covenants had passed betwene *Anniball* and his legats, and what answer they should have brought unto him, sent forth another embassage with the same commission. The Embassadors sent unto *Anniball*, were *Herastius* surnamed *Sicilius*, *Criso* of Berrea, and *Sesibulus* of Magnesia. These went too and fro betwene in safetie, these caried and recaried their errands fortunatly. But the summer was come and gone, before the king could enter into a cition, or execute any enterprife. Of so great moment and importance was the boording of that one ship at the first with the embassadors, for the differing of that imminent warre intended against the Romanes.

When *Fabius* had passed over the river Vulturnus, after the expiation at length of the prodigious tokens aforesaid, both Consuls together made warre about Capua. *Fabius* by assault wonne these cities, *Combulteria*, *Trebula*, and *Austicula*, which had revolted unto the Carthaginians: and within them he surprisid the garison souldiours of *Anniball*. Many of the Campanes likewise were taken prisoners. At Nola (like as in the yeare before) the Senate held with the Romanes, but the Communitie tooke part with *Anniball*, and plotted secretly, how to murder the Nobilitie, and to betray the citie. But to stop the proceedings of these mischievous designements, *Fabius* led his armie betwene Capua, and the camp of *Anniball* upon the hill of Tifara, and fortified himselfe upon the mountaine *Vesuvius*, in that fort where *Claudius* had encamped before. From thence he sent *M. Marcellus* the Viz. Consul with those forces which he had, into Nola, there to ly in garison.

D Likewise in Sardinia, *T. Manlius* the L. Deputy began to administer those affaires, which had bene forelet, by occasion that *Q. Mutius* the Pretour was fallen sicke, and lay of a long and lingering disease. *Manlius* after he had drawne the gallies ashore at Caraleis, and put the mariners and rowers in armes for land service, and received of the Pretour his armie, was able to make 22000 foote, and 1200 horse. With this power of men of armes & footmen together, he entered into the enemies countrey, and not farre from the camp of *Herseora*, pitched his tents. *Herseora* himselfe was by chance gone then, into the countrie of the Pellidians (a people of Sardinia) to arme the youth there, for the mending of his strength; and left his sonne named *Hiosius*, ruler over the campe in the meane time. He a lustie hote youth, rashly joyned battaile, and quickly was discomfited and put to flight: thirtie thousand Sardinians in that field were slaine, and upon 1030 taken prisoners alive. The rest of the armie first fled stragling asunder over the fields, and through the woods; but afterwards, hearing by the voice that went, how their captain was fled to

E *Cornus* the head citie of that region, they retired thither also. And surely they had in that one battaile, made an end of all warre in Sardinia, but that the Armada of Carthage, under the leading of *Asdruball* (which by tempest had been cast upon the Baleare Islands) came in time to entertaine the Islanders, in hope to rebell. *Manlius*, after it was noised abroad, that the Carthaginian fleet was arrived, retired himselfe to Caraleis: which gave *Herseora* good opportunitie to venture to joine with *Asdruball*. Who having landed his souldiours, and sent the ships back againe unto Carthage, went forward by the guidance of *Herseora*, robbing and spoiling the lands of the Romanes confederates: and had come as farre as Caraleis, but that *Manlius* with an armie encountered him upon the way, and restrained him from so lavish overrunning and robbing the countrey. At the first they encamped one against the other, not farre asunder: afterwards they began to put out certaine bands and companies, and to maintaine light skirmishes with variable event, untill at last they pitched a set field, and in full battaile fought for the space of 4 hours. The Carthaginians held out conflict a good while; and the victorie still remained doubtfull

Much about
5000 quarter
of London mea-
sure.

Monte di
Capua.
Monte di
Somma.

Carthage.

(for

(for the Sardinians were ever used to have the soyle) but as it fell, seeing every quarter full of the Sardinians either lying along dead; or running away, they also were distressed; and as they turned their backs, and were about to flye, the Romans whetted about with that wing, where with they had defeated the Sardinians, and enclosed them abund, and so they fell rather to killing than fighting any longer. 12000 enemies were there slain: of Sardinians and Carthaginians together about 3700 were taken prisoners, and by military ensignes nobly. This was a noble and famous battaile, memorable especially above all, for taking of these prisoners, namely, *Adrabal* the L. Generall, *Hanno* and *Mago*, two noble men of Carthage. *Mago* was of the Barchine house, neere of kin and in blood to *Anniball*. *Hanno* was the solicitor of the Sardinians to rebellion, and no doubt, the principall author of that warre. Neither was this field less famous for the overthrow of the chiefe commanders of the Sardinians: for both *Hesperus* the sonne of *Asdrubal* was slaine in fight: and also *Hesperus* himselfe, as he fled, with a few horsemen, hearing besides other calamities and losses, of the death of his sonne in the night season, because he would have no man come betweene to stay his purposed intent, killed himselfe. All the rest fled to the citie. *Comus*, as they had done afore, and there as in a place of refuge sought to save themselves. But *Manlius* following the trace of his victory, came againe to it, and within few daies was maister of it. After this, other cities also which had revolted, and turned to *Asdrubal* and the Carthaginians, gave hostages, and yielded by composition. And when *Manlius* had levied off them certaine money for the souldiours pay and come likewise, according to the havour and abilitie or trespasse of each of them, he led his army back to Caraleis: and there having put the galleys on the water, and embarked the souldiers that he had brought with him, he sailed to Rome, and recounted unto the L.L. of the Senate the utter subduing of Sardinia. The money he delivered to the Treasurers, the come to the *Asides*, and the prisoners unto *Fulvius* the Pretor.

Much about that time, *T. Octavius* the Pretor, having sailed from Lilybaeum into Africke, and wasted the territorie of the Carthaginians, as he was bound from thence and set saile for Sardinia, whether *Asdrubal* as the newes went had lately crossed over from the Baleare Islands, he met with the Armada returning back into Africke: and after a skirmish made upon the sea by his souldiers lightly armed, he tooke there with seven galleys with their ores and maimers: the rest for feare were scattered, as it had bene with a tempest, all over the sea. And it happened about the same time, that *Bomilcar* with certaine companies of souldiers sent from Carthage for a supply, and fortie Elephants, and good store of victuals, came to Locri. For the surprising and setting upon him on a sodaine, *Ap. Claudius* leading his armie in hast, and marching to Messina, under a colour of visiting the Province, put over to Locres with the tide. Now was *Bomilcar* passed alreadie from thence into the Brutians countrie to *Hanno*, and the men of Locres shut the gates against the Romans. So *Appius*, after much ado and preparation, having effected nothing, returned back to Messina. In the same summer, *Marcellus* made many rodes from Nola (which he held with a garison) into the Hirpines countrie, and the Samnites, about Caudium, and made such wast there, with fire and sword, that they in Samnium called into their fellowship the old losses and overthrowes which they had received: whereupon there were sent immediatly from both nations embassadors together, unto *Anniball*, who in this wise delivered their speech unto him. We have bene enemies, *O. Anniball* to the people of Rome, first of our selves, and in our owne quarrell, so long as our armour and forces were able to defend us: but after that our hope therein began to faile us, we drew to a side, and took part with king *Pyrhus*. And when he forooke us once, we accepted of peace for very necessity: wherein we continued for fiftie yeares almost, even untill the time that you entered into Italie. Neither was it your prowess, virtue and fortune, rather than your singular courtesie and benignitie, extended toward our countrey men and fellow citizens (whom being taken prisoners, you released and sent unto us back againe) which hath caused us to entertaine your amitie: in so much, that so long as you remaine our friend, alive and safe, we would not stand in dread of the people of Rome; nor of the very gods themselves (if it be lawfull so to say) were they never so angry against us. Howbeit assuredly, for this summer season, we have bene divers and sundrie times so spoiled and wasted, not only whiles you are alive and safe, but also (which is more) present in place, where you might both heart, in manner, the wailing and weeping of our wives and children, and also see our houses set on a light fire. So it seemeth it was *Marcellus* and not *Anniball*, that had the victorie at Cannæ. And the Romans boast and say, that you are good at the first push only, and when

The Oration of the Embassadors of the Hirpines and Samnites, unto Anniball.

A you have once let flie and launced the javelin (as it were) out of your hands, you are cleane done, and can abide no longer. We warred almost an hundred yeares with the people of Rome, without help either of foreine captaine, or armie of strangers: save that for two yeares only, *Pyrhus* with the aide of our souldiours, rather increased his owne strength, than by any power of his defended us. But we list not to make vaunt and boast of fortunate successe and brave victories, namely, how we subdued and put under the yoke two Consuls, and two consular armies: nor of other noble exploits which hapned to our joy and honor. And as for the crosses and adversities that befell us during that time, we may report them with lesse griefe and indignation, than those that this day light upon us. Then in those dayes, mightie great Dictators with their Generals of horsemen, two Consuls at once, with their two royall hostes, entered our territories, having sent out beforehand their espials and skouts, and led forth their souldiours to make spoyle, under their colours and ensignes, arranged in good order of battaile, and seconded strongly behinde. Now are we exposed as it were to be a prey of one onely garison, and that but a small one, left for the gard and defence of Nola. For now they overrunne all our confines & borders, not by bands and companies in warlike wise, but like thieves and robbers, more carelessly and negligently, than if they raunged about for their pleasure in the Romane territorie. The only cause is this, because your selfe make no reckning to protect us: and all our owne youth (which if they were at home were able to defend us) serveth under your banner and stander. But I know neither you, nor your armie at all: if I should not be persuaded and beleve that he whom I wot well to have discomfited and put to flight so many Romane armies, were soone able to defeat and suppress these robbers that vagabond our country, stragling without leaders, and without their colours.

C disordredly whither they list, according to the vaine hope of pillage that haleth them here and there; and, as every one gapeth for prizes, which they shall never get. No doubt but if you put forth a few of your Numidians, they will soone fall into their hands: Send but unto us a garison to succour us, you shall quickly displace that other at Nola: in case you judge not us (whom you have thought worthy to be your confederates) now, unworthy to be defended, after you have received us into your protection. Hereto *Anniball* made this answer againe, and sayd, That the Hirpines and Samnites huddled up all at once together: they declared their calamities and losses, they craved ayd and succour, and they made complaint that they were neither guarded by him, nor regarded of him. Whereas they should have first made declaration of their daunces: after, sued for help: and last of all, if they might not obtaine, then and not afore they should have complained, that they had besought his helping hand in vaine. Howbeit hee promised, that hee would not bring his armie into the territorie, either of the Hirpines or the Samnites, least himselfe also should be chargeable and troublesome unto them, but into the next quarters belonging to the allies of the Romanes: by spoiling and wasting whereof, both he would fill his souldiours hands, and also with the terror thereof, set their enemies farre ynough off from them. And as for the managing of the Romane war, like as the battell of *Thrasymenus* was more noble than that of *Trebia*; and the field of *Cannæ* more memorable, than that of *Thrasymenus*: even so would he make the memoriall of *Cannæ* dimme and obscure, in regard of one greater victorie yet, and more renowned than the other. With this answer, and with honourable rewards besides, he dismissed the Embassadors, and gave them their dispatch.

E And leaving a small guard to keepe the hill *Tifata*, hee marched in person with the rest of his army against Nola. Thither also was *Hanno* come, out of the countrie of the Brutii, with the supply that he brought from Carthage, and the Elephants. Where, after *Anniball* had pitched his tents not farre from the towne, and made diligent enquire, he found, that the case was far other, than it was reported by the Embassadors of his associates. For *Maxcellus* bare not himselfe in any of his actions, so as it might be fully said, that he blindly committed ought to the hazard of fortune, or rashly adventured upon the enemy. For he never went a booting, without his skoutes and espials, without setting strong guards in due places, whereunto he might retire himselfe in safetie: but had a good eye afore him, and a wary regard and heedfull forecast, as if he went to the counter with *Anniball* in person. And even then at that time, when hee perceived, that the enemy approached and was coming, he kept his forces within the citie, commanding the Senators of Nola, to walke up and downe upon the wals, and to survey all over, & espie what the enemies did, or were about. Amongst whom it happened, that *Hanno* being come under the very wall, espied *Herennius Bursus* & *Herius Perius*, whom he called out to a parle. And when they were

The speech of
Hannibal to
Herenius and
Hannibal to his
soldiers.

were gone forth unto him by the permission and leave of *Marcellus*, thus he spake unto them by his interpreter. First he highly extolled the vertue and fortune of *Anniball*, debasing & treading under foot the dignitie and majestie of the people of Rome, growing now old in time, and decaying in force and strength. Which if they were (quoth hee) on both sides equal, as sometimes they were, yet seeing they had good experience, how heave and greivous the government of the Romanes was to all their Allies, & again, how indulgent and gracious *Anniball* is, even to all the captives of the Italian nation & name, they should with rather to be in league & amitie with the Carthaginians, than with the Romanes. If both Cosse were with their armies at Nola, they were no more able to match with *Anniball*, than they were at Cannæ: much lesse might one Pretour, with a few raw and new souldiours hold out and keepe Nola against him. And as for the Nolaues themselves, it concerned them much more than it did *Anniball*, to consider, whether hee should win Nola by force, or enter upon it by surrender & composition. For to be Lord thereof he made no doubt, like as he was maister already of Capua and Nuceria: but what ods and difference there is betwene the state of Capua and of Nuceria, the Nolaues know best themselves, who are seated (as it were) in the midway betwene both. Loth hee was to bode so much unto Nola, what calamities might befall the citie, if it were conquered by assault: rather yet would hee give his word and promise, That if they would deliver *Marcellus* with his garrison, and yeeld up Nola into *Anniball* his hand, they should themselves, and none but they, yet downe and capitulate under what conditions they would entertaine alliance and friendship with *Anniball*. To this motion *Herenius Bassus* framed his answer in this sort. For many yeeres already there hath been continuall amitie betwene the people of Rome and Nola, and neither of both to this day, hath repented thereof. As for the Nolaues themselves, if they had been disposed to turne with the wind, and to change their faith and allegiance, together with their fortune, they would have done so long before this: for now it was too late to start and alter. If they had minded to yeeld themselves unto *Anniball*, they would never have sent for a garrison of Romanes: but since they were now come to protect and defend them, they had imparted & communicated all their state with them already, and would take such part, as they, so long as they had an houre to live. This embassage *Anniball* cleane besides all hope of gaining Nola by treason. Therefore he beleaguered the town on every side, and invested it round about like a garland, to the end, that in one instant he might give the assault on every part of the wals. When *Marcellus* saw him under the wals, he set his people first in battell aray within the gate, and then with a great noise and tumult he suddenly sallied out. At their first shooke and onser, diverse of the enemies were beaten downe and slaine: but after that, they ran from all parts to battell, and were come together with equall forces, the fight began to be hore and sharpe, and a memorable conflict it had beene; and few like it, but that it rained and poured downe so fast, and with so many stormes and tempests, that it parted both the battells, & staid the fight. So for that day, having with that small skirmish kindled their courages, and set their blood in heat, they retired backe, the Romanes within the citie, and the Carthaginians to their campe. Howbeit, of the Carthaginians there were slaine, upon the first fall, and charge given, not above thirtie, and of the Romanes not one man. This tempestuous shooke of raine lasted all night long, and continued still, & never gave over untill nine of the clocke before noone the next day. And therefore, albeit they were sharpe set, and their fingers itched on both sides to be a fighting, yet for that day they kept within their hold and strength. So the third day *Anniball* sent out certaine companies into the territorie about Nola, for to loy and fetch in booties: which, so soone as *Marcellus* understood, he presently set his men in array and entered the field, neither was *Anniball* for his part behind. Now there was a mile distance, or very neere, betwene the citie and the enemies campe. In this space betwene (for all about Nola is plaine and champion) they encountered and joined battell. They shew that they set up on both sides, as claimed and caused to returne unto the fight already begun, the rearest of those cohorts and bands, which were gone a foraging into the country. The men of Nola likewise came unto the Romanes, and mended their battell, whom *Marcellus* commended for their forwardnes, & gave them in charge to abide in the reeward, to helpe as occasion served, and to come forth of the skirmish those that were hurt and wounded, and to forbear fight in any case, unless they had a signall and token given them by him. The fight was doubtfull, for both the Generals gave encouragement effectually, and also the souldiours did their best and fought right manfully. *Marcellus* was earnest with his men to presse hard and charge still upon their enemies, whom they had

The answer of
Herenius to
Hannibal.

The speech of
Marcellus to
his souldiours.

A had defeated not three daies agoe, who not many daies past were put to flight, and driven from Cumæ, and who the yeare before were beaten from Nola, under his conduct, by other souldiours, saying. That they were not all there in the field, but many of them gone ranging abroad into the country, for to hale booties, and get prizes. As for them that fought, they were such as were decayed with rioting and following their delights in Capua, such as with wine-bibbing in everie taverne, whoorehunting in everie Stewes and Brothelhouse; all the whole winter, were become enfeebled in bodie, spent, and wasted utterly. As for that lively strength and vigour of theirs, it was cleane gone: those able and lustie bodie were decayed, those courageous hearts abated, wherewith they passed over the Pyrenean mountaynes, and the high cliffes of the Alpes. There remained now nothing but the reliques & shadow of those men to fight, who are scarce able to beare their verie armour, to lift up their armes, and carrie their owne bodie. Adding withall, that Capua was another Cannæ unto *Anniball*: there died his warlike prowess, there lost he his stillaire discipline; there was the glorious fame of former daies buried; there the hope of future time for ever suppressed and stifled. As *Marcellus* by reproving these and such like things in his enemies, animated his owne souldiours: so *Anniball* rebuked his men with more sharpe words and bitter checkes. I know these to bee (quoth hee) the same armes and weapons, the very same ensignes and standards, which I saw and had at Trebia, at Thrasymenus, and last of all at Cannæ. But surely, me thinks, when I went to Capua, there to winter, I carried with me thither, other manner of souldiours than I have brought againe from thence. Have yee in deed so much a do to maintaine fight, with a Roman Lieutenant, leader of one only legion & cohort, whom heretofore two full Consular armies were never able to abide in the field. Shall *Marcellus* with young and raw souldiours of his owne, seconded only with the aide of the Nolaues, challenge and bid his battaile the second time? Where is that souldiour of mine, that unhorsed *C. Flaminius* the Consill, and strake off his head? What is become of him that at Cannæ slew *C. Paulus*? what is the edge of your sword dull, and the point blunt? or are your right hands aslespe and benumbed? or what strange and wonderfull accident is befallen you? Ye that were wont being few in number to vanquish many, are yee now being many in number, hardly able to withstand and abide the violence of a few? Ye spake big, and gave out great brags and proud words, that if any man would lead you, you would winne Rome; that you would, Behold now, a smaller peece of service. Here I would have you prove your strength, and make trial of your valour. Let us see how winne me Nola, a citie situate in the champion, on a plaine, defended neither with sea nor river. Out of this so weakie a citie, will I be ready either to lead you, laden with rich pillage & spoyle, whither soever yee will; or follow you, wher soever yee would have mee. But nothing availed either his cheerefull words, on his cheeking rebukes, to encourage and comfort his hearts. For the Carthaginians being forced on every side to receyve (whiles the Romanes grew more and more animated, not onely through the comfortable speeches of their owne captaine, but also by the Nolaues themselves, who with their lowd shouting in token of their love and affection, enkindled their courages to hore fight) turned their backs, and were driven into their hold. And when the Romanes were desirous to assaile the same, *Marcellus* recomended them to Nola, with great joy & congratulation even of the Commons thier, who before, were more inclined and affected to the Carthaginians. There were of the enemies slaine that day, above one thousand, sixteen hundred were taken prisoners, sixteen militarie ensignes won, weapons pliant gotten alive, and foure slaine in the conflict. Of Romanes there were not killed all quene a thousand. The morrow after, they spent (upon a truce concluded) in burying the dead that were slaine on both sides. Of the spoyle of the enemies, *Marcellus* made a great fire, upon a my pronounced, unto *Fulcanus*. On the third day, twelve hundred of Numidians and Spaniards, came with another (upon some spleene and anger I believe, for hope of more liberall entertainment and commodious gaine), fled from *Anniball* and turned to *Marcellus*, whose valiant and faithful service, stood the Romanes in very good stead, often times during that war. After the warre was ended, the Spaniards in Spaine, and the Numidians in Affricke, in reward of their vertue and prowess, were endued with faire lands and large possessions. *Anniball* sent *Hannibal Fabius* so soone as he heard that *Anniball* had taken his way into Apulia, conveyed all the souldiours from Nola and Naples into his campe, which he had pitched above Suessula: and had

The words of
Anniball to his
souldiours.

ving well fortified the hold, and left there a sufficient garrison, to guard the place for that winter time, removed himselfe neerer to Capua, & there encamped: and so wasted the Campaner ritorie with fire and sword, that the Campanes little trusting in their owne forces, were constrained to issue forth of their gates, and fortifie themselves in campe before the citie, in the open plaine. Six thousand they were in all. Their footemen were weak & not for service: their horsemen were farre better and more able: so that oftentimes they charged their enemies with their horse, and provoked them to fight. Among many brave men of armes that the Campanes had, one *labellus* surnamed *Taurca*, a citizen of Capua, was the worthiest and best horseman of them all, by many degrees: inso much, as when hee served under the Romanes, *Claudius Afellus* onely, a citizen of Rome, was able to match him in glorie of good horsemanship, and horse service. This *Taurca* when he had ridden all about the troups of his enemies, casting his eye every way, to see if hee could espie *Claudius Afellus*, enquired at length closely, after silence made, where about hee was, & made this challenge unto him, That seeing hee was wont in words to contend with him for valour and prowess, hee should now determine the question by the speare point and dint of sword, and either bee dispoiled of his glorious armoury if hee were overcome, or else gaine the same with the victorie. Which defiance being brought into the campe to *Afellus* his eares, hee made no more to do, but went presently to the Confull, to know whether hee might with his good leave and licence, out of his ranke fight extraordinarily, with his enemy that had him combat. After leave obtained, hee armed himselfe immediately, mounted on horsebacke, and rode before the enemies *corps de guard*, effusions calling upon *Taurca* by name, and bidding him come forth to encounter whensoever hee durst. Now were the Romanes by this time gone forth of the campe in great number to behold this combat: the men of Capua likewise filled not onely the rampier of their hold, but also the walles of the citie to see this fight. When as they had made some goodly flourish afore hand with brave words and stout speeches, to set out the action: they set speare in rest, and put spurres to horse, and jousted together a maine. Afterwards having gotten the libertie of the ground, they dallied one with another, trifling out the time, and making a long peece of worke of it, without giving or taking wound. Then quoth the Campan knight to the Romane, This will bee but a fight of horses, and not of horsemen, unless we ride out of the open plaine ground, here into this hollow way, where having no such scope to prick out at large, we shall soone come to hand gripes, and close together. The word was not so soone spoken, but *Claudius* turned his horse head, and rode into the foresaid way. But *Taurca* a stouter champion in word than deed: Oh, take heed of all things (quoth he) how you ride a gelding in a ditch: Which grew afterwards to a by-word used amongst the cuntry people. *Claudius* after he had rode in and out, up and downe, a long time in the lane, and never met with his enemy returned again into the open plain: & rating the cowardise of his enemy, with great joy and gratulation, rode back as conqueror into the campe. Some Annales and Chronicles do record and adde to this combat of horsemen, a straung and wonderfull thing (no doubt) if it bee true, as by the common opinion it is reputed no lesse: namely, that when *Taurca* fled back into the citie, *Claudius* followed hard after him in chase, entered with him at one gate standing open, and rode out cleere at the other unhurt, to the great wonder and astonishment of the enemies. Upon this the standing camps were quiet on both sides: & the host moved backward farther off from the citie, that the men of Capua might sow their grounds: neither did he any harme unto their fields, before the corn was come up & so well grown, that the blade thereof yielded good forage & fodder for the horses, which he gathered & brought into the standing camp and hold of *Claudius* above *Suessula*, & there hee built winter harbors for to make his abode. And hee gave order to *Claudius* the Viz-consull, to keepe still at Nola a competent garrison for defence of the citie, and to charge the rest of the foldiers, & send them to Rome, that they should neither be combatants to their Allies, nor chargeable to the Commonweale. *Tib. Gracchus* also while hee led his legions from Cumes into Apulia to Luceria, sent *M. Valerius* the Pretour from thence to Brundisium, with that armie which he had at Luceria, commanding him to keepe the sea coast of the *Sallentine* cuntry, and to provide for all things necessarie against *Philip* and the Macedonian warre. In the end of this summer, wherein these acts were achieved, whereof I have written: there came a packet of letters from *P. and Cornel. Scipius*, importing how great and how fortunate exploits they had performed in Spaine: but there wanted money for pay: and appaerell and victuals to serve both souldiours and mariners. And albeit all these things were away, yet as concerning money,

A money, in the Citie chamber and common treasure were not stored, they would make some shift to raise it of the Spaniards: but for all the rest, needs it must be sent from Rome, for otherwise neither could they keep the army together, nor hold the province in their allegiance. When the letters were read, there was no man there, but acknowledged that they wrote a truth, and demanded that which was reasonable. But they considered withall, what great armies both on land and at sea they maintained, and what a mighty Armie they must prepare & set out anew, in case the Macedonian warre went forward. As for Sicillie and Sardinia, which before the wars began, paid tribute were scarce able to find and keepe the garrisons, that were for the guard of the provinces, and that they were to trust upon their owne revenues and tribute for the maintenance of the charge they were at. But as the number of them that paid rent and conferred tribute, was greatly diminished by so great overthrowes of the annies, both at the poole *Thrasymene*, and also at *Cannae*, so those few that remained if they were burdened with many exactions and payments, should be plagued and undone another way, therefore it was concluded, that unlesse the Commonweale maintained not her selfe by her credite and borrowing money, she were not able to be sustained by her owne wealth and riches. So it was agreed, That *Fulvius* the Pretour must needs assemble all the people together, and lay abroad and declare unto them the necessitie and exigent that the Commonweale was driven unto, and to exhort all them that had enriched themselves and encreased their livings, by renting and taking to ferme the revenues and commodities of the citie, should now doe good to the Commonweale for a time, by which they were grown to that wealth, and undertake the provision at a price, and furnish the armie in Spaine, with all necessities thereto belonging, to bee contented and paid therefore with the first out of the common chest, when it were stored with money. Thus the Pretour made declaration of these matters in the open assemble of the people, and withall determined and set downe a certaine day, whereupon hee minded to put forth the souldiours liveries and appaerell, and come to be provided for the Spanishe armie, and all things else requisite for the mariners. When the day was come, there presented themselves unto him three companies of nineteene men, for to take this bargain. Who made two requests & demands, the one, that for that three yeeres next ensuing, there should bee no other Publicanes, or farmers of the citie: the other, that whatsoever they shipped, the Commonweale would make good, against all force of enemy, or violence of tempest. Both being graunted, they tooke upon them the matter, and for the Commonweale was served, by the money of private persons. This was the demeaure, this was the loving affection to their cuntry, that went through all degrees of men (as it were) after one sort and manner. And like as they undertooke with great courage to serve the armie, so with singular fidelitie they performed every thing, in such sort, as there was nothing at all wanting, no more than if they had been maintained from a rich treasure, as in times past. At what time, as this provision came, the towne of *Illiturgi* was assailed by *Asdruball*, *Mago*, and *Amilcar* the sonne of *Bomilear*, because it was revolted unto the Romanes. Amidst these three severall campes of the enemies, the two *Scipios* passed into the citie of their allies, that made resistance against and with great losse of men, and brought come with them, whereof there was great want: and after they had encouraged and exhorted the townsmen, that with the same resolution they would defend the walls, as they had seene the Romanie armie to fight for them and in their quarell: they led forth their power to give an assault upon the greatest camp, whereof *Asdruball* was the Generall. Thither also repaired the two capitaines and two armies of the Carthaginians, when they saw that the whole triall of the matter was there to be determined, and so they issued out of their tents & fought. Three score thousand enemies were that day in field, and about 16000 Romanes: and yet the victorie went so cleere with the Romanes, that they slew more of their enemies than they were in number themselves, tooke prisoners more, than three thousand men, and not many under a thousand horse; and withall won 60 militarie ensignes wanting one, and killed 5 Elephants in the battell, and to conclude, were lords that day of three camps. After that the siege was raised from *Illiturgi*, the Carthaginian armies were led to the assault of the towne *Incibili*, having their companies made up and supplied againe out of the province, (as being a nation of al others most desirous and eager of war, so there be hope of pillage or good recompence) & at that time especially full of yong & lustie men. Where there was a second field fought with like fortune of both sides as before. There were slaine above thirtene thousand enemies, and more than 3000 taken prisoners, besides

two and fortie militarie ensignes, and nine Elephants. Then in manner, all the cities of Spaine, G
revolted to the Romanes. And farre greater exploits were that summer performed in Spaine,
than in Italie.

THE XXIII. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the
Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the foure and twentieth Booke.



Herome, king of the Syracusians (whose grandfather Hiero had bene a friend unto the people of Rome) revolted unto the Carthaginians, and for his crueltye and pride, was by his own people murdered. *Titus Sempronius Gracchus* the Proconsull, had a fortunate battaile nere Beneventum, against the Carthaginians and Hanno their Generall, through the helpe especially of the bondslaves, whose for their good service, he commaunded to be made free. *Claudius Marcellus* the Consull, laid siege unto Syracuse in Sicilie, which wholly in manner was fallen away and turned to the Carthaginians. Warre was proclaimed against Philip king of the Macedonians, who in a night skirmish was surprised, discomfited, and put to flight, and with his armie welnere disarmed, escaped into Macedonia. To maner that warre, *Valerius* the Pretor was slain. This booke containeth also the acts achieved in Spaine by P. and Cn. Scipions against the Carthaginians. *Syrachus* king of the Numidians, having entred into amitie with the Romanes, fought against *M. Juncus* king of the Macesians: who stood for the Carthaginians, and being overcome, passed over into Spaine with a most mightie armie unto Scipio, lying over against Gades, where the narrow sea runneth betwene Affricke and Spaine. The Celtiberians also were received into friendship, whose aids the Romanes sent for: and this was the first time that mercenarie souldiours were waged, and served in the Roman warres.



Lanno was not so soone returned out of Campane, into the countrie of the Brutij, but by their helpe and guidance he sollicitated rebellion the Greek cities, which continued the more willingly in league and alliance with the Romanes, because they saw, that the Brutij, whom they both hated and feared, sided with the Carthaginians. And first hee assailed and went in hand with Rhegium, where he spent certaine daies to little or no purpose. In this mean time, the inhabitants of Locri, were busie in carrying away with great haste the corne, wood, and fellow, and all things else, necessarie for the use of man; out of the countrey into the citie; because they would leave nothing for the enemy to prey upon. And daily more & more of them went out of the gates by heapes, so as at last there were no more left in the citie, than those that were compelled to repaire the breaches of the wals and the gates, and to bring into the turrets & bulwarks store of darts and other shot. Against this multitude and confused medley of all ages, sexes, and degrees, ranging over the fields, whereof most were altogether unarmed, *Amilcar* the Carthaginian, sent out his Cavallerie, giving them direction, and charging them to hurt no person. These horsemen opposed their troups betwene them and home, onely to exclude them out of the citie, when they were scattered one from another in flight. The Generall himselfe in person encamped on a high ground, from whence hee might view the countie and the citie. And gave commaundement to a cohort of the Brutij, to approach the wals, to call forth the principall citizens of Locri to parle, and by making promise of *Anniball* his friendship, to persuade and exhort them to yeeld up the towne. At the first they gave no credite at all unto the Brutij, whatso-

ever

Aever they said. But afterwards, when they discovered *Hanno* and the Carthaginians upon the hills, and heard by some few of their owne citizens that were fled backe and escaped, how all the rest of the multitude were fallen within daunger of the enemies, they made answer, that they would conferre and consult thereupon with the bodie of the people. So immediately they were assembled together. The most light headed persons were desirous of a change and new alliance: they also, whose kinsfolke and friends were by the enemy intercepted and kept out of the citie, had their minds engaged and bound sure ynough, as if they had put in hostages: and some few who were well affected inwardly in heart, & liked of constancie and true loialtie, yet durst not be knowne thereof, and shew themselves to stand to it: so as, they all agreed in outward appearance, to surrender themselves to the Carthaginians. And after they had closely conveyed into the haven, and embarked *L. Stilius* the capitaine of the garrison, and all the Romane souldiours that served under him, to the end, that they might bee transported to Rhegium, they received *Amilcar* and the Carthaginians into the citie, with this condition; that presently there should be concluded a league, upon equall and indifferent covenants and capitulations betwene them. But the promise in this behalfe (when they had once yeelded themselves) was nothing well performed: whiles *Amilcar* charged the Locrians, with fraudulent dismissing and letting goe the Romanes: & they againe alleaged for their excuse, that they fled away, and made an escape. The horsemen also followed hard in chase by land; if haply either the tide might cause the ships to stay in the current within the streight, or drive them a land. But those whom they pursued, they could not overtake: marry, other ships they espied, crossing the streights from Messina to Rhegium. Roman souldiours they were, sent from *Claudius* the Pretor, to lie in garison there, and to keepe the towne. Whereupon they presently departed from Rhegium.

As for the citizens of Locri, they had peace graunted them by expresse order and direction from *Anniball* upon these conditions: *Imprimis*, That they might live free under their owne lawes: *Item*, That both the citie and the haven should remaine still in the hands of the Locrians. The substance of the covenant rested and was established upon these tearmes, That the Carthaginians and Locrians should aid and assist one another mutually, both in peace and warre. So the Carthaginians retired from the streights, notwithstanding the muttering & murmuring of the Brutij, because they had left Rhegium and Locri untouched, which two cities they made full account to have sacked and rised. And therefore they of themselves having levied and put in armes a power of fiftene thousand of their owne youth, marched forward to assaile Croton, a Grecian citie likewise, and seated upon the sea. Assuring themselves, much to better their estate, if they could bee possessed of a port and sea-towne, fenced with strong wals and bulwarks. This onely troubled and perplexed their minds, that they durst not, but send unto the Carthaginians for aid: fearing, lest they might seeme to have entered into action and warre, without regard of the common good of their confederates, if they called them not: and doubting besides, that if the Generall of the Carthaginians should proove againe, rather an arbitratour of peace, than a coadjutour in warre, they should fight in vaine against the libertie of Croton, as they had done before, against the citie of Locri. Whereupon they thought best to send Embassadors unto *Anniball* for his warrant, and to be secured from him, that if Croton were recovered by the Brutians, it should be subject unto them. *Anniball* made answer that this matter required consultation of men present with them in place, and therefore he put them over to *Hanno*, from whom they received no certaine answer to trust unto. For willing they were not, that a noble and rich citie, as it was, should be spoiled: and besides, they were in good hope, that in case the Brutians should assaile it, and the Carthaginians all the while nor scene, either to allow or help them in their enterprise, the citizens would the more willingly revolt unto them. The inhabitants within Croton were not of one mind, and affected alike. For there was one maladie that had infected all the cities of Italie, namely, the disension betwene the Commons and the Nobles. The Senatours inclined to the Romanes, the Commons on the other side tooke part with the Carthaginians. This division within the citie, the Brutij were by a fugitive runaway advertised of in these tearmes: namely, that *Aristomachus* the ringleader and head of the Commons, minded to betray the citie: that it was a wide vast and desolate towne, taking a great circuit of ground: and all the wals being decayed and in sundry places broken downe, the Senatours and the Commons kept their severall guards and watches in sundrie quarters far asunder. And looke (quoth he) where the Commons ward, there ye may enter

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at your pleasure. Upon this intelligence and direction given by the fugitive, the Brutij envied the citie round about: and being let in by the Commons, at the first assault were masters of all places, saving the Castle. The Nobles held that peece, foreseeing what might happen, and therefore provided themselves of a sure refuge. Thither fled *Aristomachus* also, pretending that he ment to deliver the citie to the Carthaginians and not to the Brutij. Now this citie Croton had a wall (before *Pyrrhus* coming into Italie) twelve miles in compasse; but after it was laid wast by that warre, scarce the one halfe of the towne was inhabited. The river that was wont to run through the mids of the towne, passed now along the walls without those streets where the houses stood thick and well peopled, far from the parts inhabited.

Six miles without the towne there stood a noble temple of *Lacinia Inno*, more renowned than the citie it selfe, as being honored with great religion and devotion of all the cities and nations there about. A sacred grove there was in that place compassed with a thick wood, of tall Firre trees, having in the mids within it divers pleasant and fruitfull pastures, wherein were fed beasts consecrated unto the goddesse, of all sorts, without any keeper and pastour. And albeit this cattail went forth in the morning by herds and flocks of their owne kinde, severed by themselves, yet at night they used to returne back againe to their owne pennis and stalls, without harme received either by the wait-laying of wilde and ravenous beasts, or by deceitfull fraude of men. Great increase therefore and much commoditie accrued by those cattail, in somuch as thereof was made a massy Colunne or pillar of beaten gold, and consecrated in that place, so as the temple was famous, as well for riches, as holinesse and devotion. And many times it falleth out, that to such notable places there are attributed some strange miracles. For the report goeth, that there standeth an alter in the very porch of the temple, the ashes lying whereupon, no wind was ever knowne to blow away.

But to returne to Croton. The Castle thereof on the one side standeth upon the sea, on the other side it bendeth and looketh toward the land. Defended in times past it was, only by the natural situation of the ground, but afterwards fortified also with a wall; on that part whereas *Dionysius* the tyrant of Sicilie, having gained the back rocks and cliffes behind, by craft and guile sometime wan it. This Castle at that time supposed to be strong and safe enough, the Nobles seized and kept, notwithstanding the Brutij and their owne commons besieged them. At length the Brutij seeing the Castle imprenable, by all the forces and assaults that they could make of themselves, were driven of necessitie to crave aid of *Hanno*. Who having assaied to draw and urge the Crotoniates to yeeld, upon these conditions, To suffer a Colonie of the Brutij thither to be brought, & there planted; and that thereby a citie lying so wast & desolate, might be replenished and peopled againe, as in auncient time: could not move and perswade any one of them all, but *Aristomachus*. For all besides, protested and said, they would dye before they would be intermingled with the Brutij, to change their owne rites and manner of life, their customes, their lawes, and within a while their language also, for others that were strange and foreine. *Aristomachus* alone, seeing that he could not prevale neither by perswasions to induce them to yeeld, nor find any meanes to betray the Castle like as he had done the towne before, fled away to *Hanno*. Shortly after, certaine embassadors from Locri, by the licence and permission of *Hanno*, entered the Castle, and perswaded them to be content for to be translated to Locri, rather than to abide and stand out the extremitie: saying, that they had sent embassadors already to that intent, unto *Anniball*, and had gotten a graunt at his hands, that they might so do. So they abandoned Croton, and the Crotoniates were brought downe to the sea side and embarked, and the whole multitude departed to Locri.

In Apulia, the very winter season was not quiet betweene the Romanes and *Anniball*. *Sempronius* the Consull wintred at Luceria, and *Anniball* not farre from him in Arpi: and as they could spie opportunitie, or take their vantage, of the one side or the other, there passed some light skirmishes betweene them. But the Romanes had alwaies the better, and every day more than other, became more warie and secured from all traines and deceitfull snares of the enemy.

In Sicilie the Romanes found a great change, and all out of order, by reason that king *Hiero* was dead, and the crowne translated to his nephew, or sonnes sonne, *Hieronymus*: being yet a child, not like to use his owne libertie with moderation, and much lesse to sway the kingdome and scepter with discretion. His guardians and friends gladly entertained the protection and government of such a nature, and were readie enough to plunge him headlong into all vice and

wickednesse.

A wickednesse. Which king *Hiero* foreseeing, was willing (by report) in his latter dayes, to have left Syracuse free and at libertie, to the end that so noble a kingdome, acquired & established by good meanes, should not under the lordly dominion of a child, to the great obloquie and shame of the world, be ruinate and come to nought. But his daughters with toooth and naile crossed this of his designement, and made full reckning, that the child should only beare the name of a King, but the government of the whole State should wholly rest in them and their husbands, *Andronodorus* and *Zoilus*: who were the principall guardians, left to oversee the young Prince. And an easie matter it was not, for an aged man, now fourscore yeares old and ten, so hardly laid at day and night, by the faire speeches, and feminine flatteries of his daughters, to keepe his mind free, and to applie and convert it to intend private regards, and the publicke consideration of the State. And therefore he left fiftene tutors to oversee and governe the child, whom he besought upon his death-bed, even when he was going out of this world, to mainteine entier and unspotted, the faithfull allegiance to the Romanes, which he had kept and observed inviolate for the space of fiftie yeares: and to set to their helping hand willingly, to direct the young Prince above all, to tread in his steps, and to follow that discipline wherein he had bene nurtured and taught. After he had given this charge, and yeilded up his breath, the guardians came abroad, brought forth the kings last will and testament, and shewed the young Prince in the open assemblie of the people (and welneere fiftene yeares of age he was:) Where some few, such as were bestowed here and there of purpose, within the prease of the assemblie for to shew and shew testimonie of all their joy and good liking, approved with open voyce, and allowed the kings will: whereas all the rest, fared as orphans in a citie bereaved of their king, and (as it were) become fatherlesse, and feared all things that might ensue. The King was interred; and his funerals solemnised, with the love and kinde affection of his people and subjects; more than with any studious care and diligence of his owne friends that were nearest to him. After this, *Andronodorus* removed from about the Prince all other guardians but himselfe; giving out estoones, that *Hieronymus* was past a child, and able to governe of himselfe as King. Thus by deposing the Protektour-ship, which was commitee to him and many others, he tooke upon him and usurped the power and authoritie of them all. Hard it was even for a right good king and well governed, that should succeed after *Hiero*, to find favour and win grace among the Syracusians: so heartily they affected and loved king *Hiero*. But *Hieronymus*, as if hee had bene willing and desirous, that by his vicious and wicked life, they should have a great misse of his grandfather, and with againe for him; at the very first sight, when hee shewed himselfe abroad in open place, declared unto the world, what difference and great oddes there was. For they who so many yeares together had never seene *Hiero*, nor his sonne *Gelo*, either in habit of apparrell, or in any other ornaments and port, differing from all other citizens; now beheld him in his purple robes, with his regall crown & diademe, attended with his guard and traine of armed pensionars; yea and other while, after the manner of *Demis* the Tyrant, riding forth of his court & pallace; in a chariot drawne with foure white steeds. This proud pomp and stately array was accompanied and suited with semblable qualities and conditions. He contemned and despised all men: he scorned most proudly to give audience to humble suppliants; and sent them away with reprochfull termes & taunts. And not only strangers, but also his very guardians hardly might have access unto him: and to conclude, his lusts and delights whereunto hee gave himselfe, were new and strange: his crueltie that hee exercised outrageous and inhumane. So dread and terrible was hee to all, that some of his Turours, either by making themselves away, or by voluntarie exile were driven to prevent and avoid the danger of cruell torments. Of whom, three onely, who alone had more familiar recourse into the court, to wit, *Andronodorus* and *Zoilus*, the sonnes in law of king *Hiero*, that had married his daughters, and one *Trasus*, had little or no care given unto them in other matters; but whiles two of them drew toward the Carthaginians, and *Trasus* to the Romane alliance: with their arguing, debating and dispute, they otherwhile turned the mind of the young king to hearken & give audience to their opinions. Now it hapned that there was a conspiracie intended against the life and person of the Tyrant, and the same detected by one *Calo*, the companion & playfere of *Hieronymus*, & of the same age: one who ever from his childhood had bene familiarly acquainted with him, and inward to all his secrets. This revealer of the conspiracie, could appeach and nominate of all the conspiratours onely *Theodorus*, by whom himselfe was made privie to the treason, and solicited to be a complice therein. The par-

tie was apprehended incontinently, and delivered unto *Andronodorus* to bee tortured. Who at the first without delay, confessed himselfe to be guiltie, but concealed all the rest that were accessories. At the last, when hee had bene torne, mangled, and dismembred, with most dolorous torments, and intollerable for any man to endure: pretending and making semblance, that hee could abide no longer paines; disclosed not for all this, the guiltie persons in deed, but accused the innocent, and said falsely, that *Thraso* was the first deviser of the whole plot: and unless they had borne themselves, and relied upon so mightie an head, to set them on worke, they would never have attempted so daungerous an enterprise. Hee appeached also some other of the Tyrant his guard and houshold servants and daily waiters: even such as came into his mind during the time of his dolors and paines, & whom amid his grones he imagined to bee such, as whose lives might be best spared, and deaths least lamented. The naming of *Thraso* especially made the Tyrant to beleve, that the detection founded to a very truth in deed: whereupon the man was immediately led to execution and put to death: & the other innocents, as cleere as himselfe, tasted of the same cup and suffered with him for companie. As for the conspiratours themselves, albeit one of their fellowes was a long while put to bitter and extreme torture, there was not one of them, that either hid his head or made an escape: so assured confidence had they in the resolute constancie and faithfull promise of *Theodoris*: and such power and strength had *Theodoris* himselfe, to keep close the secrets committed unto him. Now when *Thraso* was ones dispatched out the way, who onely was the meane to hold them in, and to bind them to their alliance and allegiance to the Romanes: then forthwith they began openly to encline to rebellion, and sent as Embassadors for the same purpose, two noble young gentlemen, *Hipocrates* and *Epicides* unto *Anniball*. From whom also they were sent backe againe in embassage. These were both borne at Carthage, but descended in blood from the Syracusians by their grandfather, that was from thence banished: and were themselves by the mother side, meer Carthaginians. By entercouise of these two Embassadors, a league was concluded between *Anniball* and the Tyrant of Syracuse. And *Anniball* was content that they should abide still as leggers in the Tyrants court.

When *Appius Claudius* the Pretour and lord Deputie of the province of Sicilie, heard these newes, hee addressed straightwaies embassadors unto *Hieronimus*: who saying that they were come to renew the alliance which they had with his grandfather, had scornfull audience given them to deliver their message, and were dismissed and sent away by *Hieronimus* with a frumpe, demanding of them by way of a scoffe, How they had sped at the battaile of Cannæ. For I can hardly beleve (quoth he) that all is true which the embassadors report of that field: and I would gladly know the certaine truth, & thereupon deliberate & take counsell, which side I were best to take. The Roman Embassadors said, they would repaire againe unto him, when he could begin once to give audience with gravitie & in good earnest to their embassage: and so after they had warned and admonished, rather than praised and entreated him, not to change, but to stand to the first covenant and promises, they departed. Then *Hieronimus* sent his Legates to Carthage, for to confirme the league with the Carthaginians, according to the alliance and amitie made with *Anniball*. In which it was capitulate and covenanted, that when they had expelled the Romanes out of Sicilie (which would shortly come to passe, in case they sent thither ships and a power of men) the river Himera, which (as it were) divided the Iland in the mids, should confine and limit, both the Saracusan kingdome, and the dominion of the Carthaginians. After this, being puffed up with the faire flattering speeches of such as were about him, who suggested unto him, to remember & call to mind, that not only king *Hiero* was his grandfather, but also king *Pirrhus* by the mother side: hee sent Embassadors unto the Carthaginians, to give them from him to understand, That he demed it right & meet, that all Sicilie wholly should lie unto his dominion: and that the Empire of Italie onely, belonged properly to the Carthaginian people to acquire and conquer. This levitie and vainglorious humour, they neither wondred at, as a straunge thing in a giddie brained young man; nor yet greatly blamed and found fault with, so long as they might estrange him wholly and alienate him altogether from the friendship of the Romanes. But all things in him turned to his overthrow and utter confusion. For whiles *Hipocrates* and *Epicides* were sent afore with two thousand soldiours, for to sound and sollicite the cities to rebellion, that were held by the garrisons of the Romanes: and himselfe in person entered the countrie of the Leontines, with all the rest of the forces, which amounted to fifteen thousand foot and horse together: certaine conspiratours, who chaunced all to be his owne fouldiours, and bare

A bare armes under him, possessed themselves of a wake house, standing over a narrow lane, through which the king was wont to go down into the market-place of the citie: there, when other stood armed and well appointed, and waiting when the king should passe by, one of the conspiratours (whose name was *Indigeminus*) had given him in charge, because he was one of the squires of the kings bodie; when the king approached neere unto the doore of the said house, to find some occasion or other; in that streight passage, to stay the troupe and traine that followed behind: And so he effected, indeed, and put in execution, as it was agreed and contrived. For *Indigeminus* lift up his foot, making as though he would loose, and slacke a streight knot of his shoelatchet, which hindered his going, whereby hee staid the companie that followed after, so long, that the king passing by alone without his guard of armed men about him, was assaulted in the while, and received sundrie stabbes and wounds, before they could come to reskue and save him. Hereupon arose an outcrie and tumult, and divers of the guard let sic at *Indigeminus*, who by this time was ready to oppose himselfe, and to ward all venues: howbeit he was hurt onely in two places, and so escaped. The guard seeing the king there lying dead, fled away as fast as they could. The murderers, some of them betooke themselves into the market-place unto the multitude, that rejoiced for the recoverie of their freedom: others repaired to Syracuse, to intercept and prevent the designments of *Andronodorus*, and other favourites and followers of the late king.

Whiles things stood in these uncerteine and doubtfull reames, *Appius Claudius* foreseeing warre like to ensue, and that very shortly, addressed his letters unto the Senate of Rome, certifying them that Sicilie enclined alreadie, and was at hand to side with the people of Carthage, and with *Anniball*. Himselfe in the meane time, bent all his forces toward the frontiers of the Province and confines of that kingdome, to withstand and hinder all the proceedings and enterprises of the Syracusians.

In the end of that yeare, *Q. Fabius* by order from the Senate, fortified Puteoli, a towne of merchandise, & which in time of the warres began to be much resorted unto & frequented, and there he placed a garison. From whence as he was in his journey toward Rome against the grand Election of Magistrates, he proclaimed the solemn assembly of the people for that purpose, to be the next Comitiall day, that followed upon his arrivall thither: and so it fell out, that he went along the citie side immediatly upon his journey, and came downe into *Mars* field before he entered the citie. Vpon which day, when it hapned that the centurie of the younger sort was drawne out first by lot, and had the prerogative, and by their voyces nominated *T. Otacilius* and *M. Aemilius Regillus* for Consuls, then *Q. Fabius* after silence made, rose up, and delivered this or such like speech: If either we had peace in Italie, or warre at leastwaies with those enemies, with whom if we dealt either negligently or unadvisedly, the matter were not much, nor importing great hazard and danger: I would thinke, that whosoever disturbed and crossed your favours and free affections which ye bring hither with you into this solemn place of assembly, to bestow honors and dignities upon whom ye please, had but small or no regard of your libertie and freedom. But since that in this warre and with this enemy, never any Generall of ours faulted in the managing of his affaires, but it cost us deere, and wee had some great foile and overthrow; it becometh you, that with what mind and carefull regard yee enter the field to combate in your armour, in the same yee should come hither into this *Mars* field in your gownes, and so proceed by your suffrages to elect your Consuls: and that every one of you should thus say to himselfe, I am to nominate a Consul to match with Generall *Anniball*: No longer since, than this very yeare, when as before *Capua*, *Tullius Taurus*, the bravest horseman & Cavalier of all the Campanes defied the Romanes, and challenged them to fight man to man, *Acellus Claudius* the noblest knight of all the Romanes, and best man at armes, was chosen to encounter him. In times past, against a Gaule that offered combate upon the bridge over Anio, our auncestours sent out *Manlius* a courageous, resolute, and puissant champion. Neither can I denie, but upon such another occasion, not many yeares after, the like trust was reposed in *M. Valerius*, who rooke armes likewise against another Gaule that challenged single fight. And even as we are desirous, & wish to have our foot and horsemen both, more valourous and hardie than our enemies, or if that we will not be, at leastwise equall unto them, and able to countermatch them: even so let us be careful to find out a Generall of our own, comparable every way to the cheefe commander of our enemies. And when we have chosen the best warriour and captaine in the whole citie, then presently without any longer delay, being elect and created for one yeare, he shall be sent to match with

The Oration of
Q. Fabius to the
people of Rome.

Ianiculum. Whereupon the citie rose up in armes, & when they were come into the Ianicle, they said plainly, that there were none there appeared, but the ordinarie inhabitants of the hill. These prodigious sights, by direction from the Aruspices, the Soothsayers were expiate, & the gods pacified with greater sacrifices, and a solemn procession and supplication was proclaimed unto all the gods that were shrined at Rome, and had their chappels there.

After all complements performed, that belonged to the pacification of the gods, the Consuls proposed unto the Senate concerning State matters, and especially about the managing of the warres. Namely, what forces should be prepared, what numbers of souldiours levied, and where they should be bestowed severally. And agreed it was, That there should be eight new Legions employed in the warres. Whereof the Consuls were to take unto them two a peece, the provinces likewise of Gaule, Sicillie and Sardinia, should be guarded each of them with other twaine. *Q. Fabius* the Lord Deputie of Apulia, was to have two Legions under his hand, to command the province; and *T. Gracchus* other two of voluntaries to keepe the countie about Luceria and *C. Terentius* the Proconsull, to have the charge of one in the Picene countie, and *M. C. Celerius* another, for the navie about Brundisium: and last of all, twaine were left behind, for the guard and defence of the citie of Rome. For to make out this full number of Legions, sixe of necessity were to be levied new. And the Consuls were appointed with all convenient speed to enroll them: and likewise to provide an Armada that yeare, of 150 gallies, together with those ships which rid in the river, along the coasts of Calabria for the defence of that countie. When the muster was done, and the new shippes haled and shor into sea, *Quintus Fabius* assembled the Centuries for the Election of Censors; wherein were created, *M. Atilius Regulus*, and *P. Enrius Philus*.

The rumour still encreased, that Sicillie was out, and up in armes. Whereupon *T. Q. Fabius* was commanded to goe thither with his fleet. And because there wanted sailers and mariners, the Consuls by vertue of a decree of the Senat, published an Edict, That as many as in the time of *L. Aemilius*, and *C. Flaminius* Censors, either themselves or their fathers were affected in the Subsidie booke, from 50000 Asles unto 100000 in goods, or who afterwards grew to that worth, should find one mariner, and six months pay. Item, That who ever were rated above 100000 unto 300000 should be charged with three mariners, & one yeares pay. Item, That who ever were valued in the Censors booke betweene 300000 and 1000000, should allow five mariners. Item, That those above that proportion should set out seven. And every Senator should provide eight mariners, and furnish them with a whole yeares pay. According to this Edict, the mariners were set out well armed and appointed, by their masters, and having with them aforesaid meat, dressed and foddens to serve them thirtie daies, they were embarked. This is the first time that ever the Romane navie was furnished with sailers and mariners, at the proper charges of private citizens.

This extraordinarie preparation more than usuall, terrified the Campanes most of all others, for feare least the Romanes would begin warre that yeare, with laying siege to Capua. Therefore they dispatched Embassadors unto *Anniball*, requesting him to come neerer unto Capua with his forces. For why at Rome there were new armies levied, for to assaile that citie, & the Romanes were not discontented more with the revolt of any than of them. And for as much as this message was delivered in such hast and feare, *Anniball* thinking it good to make speed, lest the Romanes prevented him, dislodged and removed from Arpi, and encamped upon *L. Fata* over *L. Fata* pua, in the fort, where he kept of old. Then leaving the Numidians and Spaniards behind him, both to guard the campe, and also to defend Capua, he went downe with the rest of his armie to the lake Avernus, pretending in shew there to sacrifice; but in very deed to found and followe *Putcoli* and the garrison there, for to rebell. *Maximus* was no sooner advertised that *Anniball* was departed from Arpi, and in his returne to Campania, but he journeyed night and day, and never staid, until he was come againe, and repaired to his armie. And withall, he gave order and direction unto *T. Gracchus*, to remove with his power from Luceria, and to draw neerer to Beneventum: likewise unto *Q. Fabius* the Pretour, (who was the Consull this yeare) to supply the route of *Gracchus* at Luceria. At the same time the two Pretours took their journey, and went into Sicillie. *P. Cornelius*, to the armie there on land, and *Q. Fabius* to keepe the sea coast, and to be Admiral of the navie; and the rest sped them every one into their severall provinces. They all who had their authoritie and government continued, ruled the same counties that they did before.

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A While *Anniball* abode at the Lake Avernus, there came unto him from Tarentum, five noble young gentlemen (Romane associates) which had been taken prisoners, some at the poole *Thrasymenus*, others at *Cannæ*, whom hee had sent home in the same manner of curtisie, as he had shewed ever to all the allies of the Romans. These gentlemen, in remembrance of his favors and benefits, made report unto him, that they had persuaded and induced a great part of the youth of Tarentum, to entertaine rather the amitie and alliance of *Anniball*, than of the people of Rome: and for this intent they were sent embassadors from them, to request in their name, that it might please him to come neerer with his forces to Tarentum. For say they, if they might but once see from out of Tarentum his standerd and ensignes, and himselfe neere encamped, the citie would without delay be surrendered up into his hands. For the younger people had the commons at their beck and commandement, and the commons ruled the whole state of Tarentum at their pleasure. *Anniball* after hee had commended and thanked them, and withall laden them with many faire and great promises; willed them to returne home; to hasten and set forward, and effect these intended designements, saying, that he would be there in good and convenient time. With these hopes the Tarentines tooke their leave, and departed. *Anniball* himselfe was wonderfully desirous to be maister of Tarentum. He saw it was a noble citie and a wealthie, seated also by the sea side, and a very commodious port, looking and lying toward Macedonia: and well he wist that King *Philip* (if he should passe over into Italie, seeing the Romanes were possessed of Brundisium) would arrive at this haven. When he had performed the Sacrifice for which he thither came, and (whiles he made his abode there) forsaied all the territorie of Cumes, even as farre as the Cape of the Promontorie Misenum: sodainly he turned his armie and marched to *Putcoli*, for to surpise and give a camfado to the fort and garison there. There were sixe thousand of them within the towne: and the place not only by naturall situation strong, but also surely fortified by industrie of man. *Anniball* having stayed there three dayes, and assailed the fort and the garison on every side, seeing hee could not prevail nor effect anything, went forward from thence, and proceeded to the wasting of the territorie of Naples, upon anger, rather than any hope of gaining the citie. The Commons of Nola, who long time were discontented with the Romanes, and at deadly scwd with their owne Senatours, upon his coming into the territorie and confines so neere unto them, began to rise in a commotion. Whereupon, there came Embassadors unto *Anniball*, requiring him to advance to Nola, upon assured promise, that the towne should be delivered into his hands. But *Marcellus*, who was sent unto by the Nobles, prevented this their plot and designement: and in one day, he reached to *Suessula* from Cales, notwithstanding hee made some stay to ferrie over the river *Vulturnus*. And so the next night he sent into Nola 6000 footmen, and 300 horse, for to aid and defend the Senat. And like as the Consull bestirred himselfe with all speed and diligence, to make Nola sure to him aforesaid, so *Anniball* contrariwise temporised, being not so readie now to credite the Nolanes; as having twice before given the like attempt, and to no purpose in the end, and therefore hee trifled out the time, and made finall hast.

At the same time also, *Q. Fabius* the Consull came against *Castellum*, which was kept by a garison of the Carthaginians, to see if he could surpise it. And to Beneventum at one time (as if they had been so agreed) came on the one side, *Hanno* from the Brutij, with a great power of foot and horse; and on another side, *Gracchus* from Luceria: who entered the towne first. From whence, so soone as hee heard that *Hanno* lay encamped within three miles of the citie, by the river *Calores*, and there wasted the countie, he himselfe issued, and pitched his tents within a mile of the enemies: where he assembled all his souldiours together, purposing to make a speech unto them. He had with him the legions that consisted most of voluntaries, who alreedy two yeres before, had bene more willing to deserve their freedome in silent maner, than to challenge and demand it with open mouth. Howbeit he perceived when he departed out of the winter harbors, that they began to murmure & grumble in the armie when they marched: & to complain in this wise. What shal we never serve in the quality & condition of freemen? Whereupon he had written unto the Senate, and shewed unto them, not so much what they desired, as what they deserved to have: certifying them, that unto that day they had done him good and valiant service: & wanted nothing save onely their freedome, but they might go for true and lawfull soldiours. Whereupon the lords of the Senate had put it unto his discretion, for to do by them what he thought was expedient for the common-weale. Thereupon, before that he should joyne battaile with the ene-

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mie, hee pronounced these words before them all, and said: That now the time was come, of obtaining and acquiring that libertie, which so long they hoped after. For the next morrow, they were to affront their enemies with banner displayed, and to fight in a plaine and open ground; where without feare of any ambush, the triall might be made with fine force & true valour: Who soever therefore can bring me the head of an enemy, him my pleasure & will is, to make free immediately: and who so loseth ground and reculeth, him will I chasise as a bondslave ought to be punished. Now every man hath his state and condition lying in his owne hands: & of your freedome, not only my selfe will assure you, but for further warrant, yee have the allowance of *M. Marcellus* the Cos. & generally of all the LL. of the Counsel, whose advise I sought, & who committed unto my hands the ordering of your libertie. And withall, he read the Consuls letters, and the decree of the Senate in that behalfe. Whereat they set up a mightie crye, in token of their assent and approbation, and called for battaile, & earnestly urged to give the signall out of hand. Then *Gracchus* having pronounced the next day for battaile, dismissed the assembly. The souldiours were joyous, especially such as were to have their freedome in reward of one daies service, and bestowed the rest of that day in making their armour and weapons readie. The morrow after, so soone as the trumpets began to sound: they were the first of all other, that presented themselves before the Generall his pavilion, well appointed and readie to fight: and by the sun-rising *Gracchus* led forth his men into the field in order of battaile. The enemies for their parts, were nothing behind, but forward to encounter them. They were in number: seventeen thousand of footmen, most of them *Brutij* and *Lucans*: of horsemen, twelve hundred: among whom there were very few Italians, the rest were in manner all *Numidians* and *Moors*. The fight was sharpe, and continued long, and for four houres it was not scene which side had the better. No one thing else troubled the Romans more, than their enemies heads, which were the prizes to redeeme the souldiours libertie. For as any had killed their enemies lustilie, they were faine first, with much ado, to cut off their heads, within the trouble some prease & tumult: & so to loose time: and after that, by reason that their right hands were employed and occupied with holding the same heads, it fell out, that the best souldiours gave over fighting, and the feeble dastards & fearfull cowards only, were to maintain the medley. Which when the Marshals of the field & Colonels reported unto *Gracchus*, and namely that there was not a souldiour of the enemies standing: that was wounded and hurt any more: but they that lay along were hacked and hewed as it were by butchers: and that his owne souldiours in stead of swords, held their enemies heads in their hands: hee commaunded in all hast, that upon a signall given, they should sling away their heads from them, & charge afresh upon the enemies. For their valor & prowesse (saith he) was well enough scene alredie, and evidently testified, & so long as they were so hardie men, & bare themselves so manfully, they should not need to doubt of their libertie. Then the conflict began to be renewed, and withall, the horsemen charged the enemies: whom the *Numidians* received with equall valour: inso much as the fight of the cavaleric was as bravely performed, as the other of the Infanterie: wherupon once againe the victorie seemed doubtfull, to which part it would incline: whiles in both hosts, the Generals reproached and debased the adverse part. *Gracchus* said, that the *Brutij* and *Lucanes* were so often vanquished and subdued by the *Romane* auncestors: and *Hanno* againe girded at the *Romans*, calling them bondslaves, and souldiours let loose out of prison and houles of correction. At the last, *Gracchus* declared alowd and said, They were not to hope at all for their libertie, unlesse that day their enemies were discomfited & put to flight. This one word of his at length set their blood in such an heat, that they raised a fresh shout, & as if they had bin cast again into a new mould, they charged upon the enemies so violently, that they could no longer be resisted & withstood. First, they that fought in the vanguard of the *Carthaginians* were put out of order; then they about their standards and ensignes: and last of all, the whole battaile was driven backe and reculed. Whereupon they faire turned their backs, and fled so fast one upon another into their campe, in such feare and fright, that not so much, as at the very gates nor upon the rampiar, they staied once, & turned againe to make head: so as the *Romans* following them hard at heeles into their campe, as it were in one traine pell mell, made a new skirmish even within the rampiar of their enemies. Where the fight was not so comber some, by reason of the streightnesse of the rounge wherein they were pent, but the massacre and execution was as cruell & bloudie. The prisoners also that were among the enemies, in this confused medley and tumult joyned themselves and stucke close together: and having caught up some weapons, helped

helped forward the victorie: & either charging upon the backs of the *Carthaginians* slew them, or else hindered them in their flight and running away. So of that great armie, there were not all out two thousand (and the most part of them horsemen) that escaped with the Generall himself: all the rest were either slain or taken prisoners: and of militarie ensignes were caried away 40. save twaine. Of the victours, there died fast upon two thousand. All the spoyle, but only the prisoners, was granted to the souldiours: The cattell also was reserved, as many as within thirtie daies the right owners could justly make claime unto for their owne. When they were returned laden with booties and pillage into the campe, there were almost 4000. of the voluntarie souldiours, who had fought bravely, and brake not into the campe with the rest: who for feare of punishment seized a little hill not farre from the campe, and kept it for their hold. But the morrow after, being set from thence by the Colonels, they repaired again to the campe, at what time as *Gracchus* had summoned his souldiours to an assembly: Where, after that the Proconsull, first had rewarded his old souldiours with militarie gifts, according to each one his prowesse and good service in that battaile: then as concerning the voluntaries, he said thus much, That hee had liever they were all commended by him, good and bad one with another, than that one of them that day should tast of any punishment: and therefore hee pronounced them all free in the name of God, to the benefite, happinesse, and felicitie, both of the common-weale, and also of themselves. At which word, they lift up their voyces alowd with exceeding cheerfulness and alacritie: and one while they clipped and embraced one another in their armes, with gratulation and joy: another while againe, they held up their hands toward heaven, wishing and praying at the gods hands, all good blessings for the people of *Rome*, and for *Gracchus* especially. Then (quoth *Gracchus*) Before that I had made you all alike, and to have equall part in the right and priviledge of freedom: I would not set upon any of you, either the marke of a stout and hardie souldiour, or the note of a faint hearted and beastly coward. But now that I have discharged my selfe of the trust committed unto me by the Common-weale, to the end, that all difference betweene prowesse and cowardise, should not be forgotten altogether and perishe: I will take expresse order, that the names of all them, whose conscience accused them of faint fighting, and avoiding the hazard of battaile, and therefore etwile withdrew themselves apart, be brought unto me. And when they are cited and called forth every one by his name, I will compell them to take a corporall oath (quoth hee) that unlesse it be upon sickness; so long as they shall continue in soldierie, they neither eat nor drinke, but standing upon their feet. And this punishment (I am sure) you will willingly take in good part: when yee shall consider better of it, and see that you could not have had an easier note of disgrace and shame, for your false hearts and slender service. Then hee gave the signall to trusse up bag and baggage, and founded the remove, and so dislodged: & thus the souldiours carrying and driving before them their bodies, all the way disporting themselves so merrilie and jocund, returned to *Beneventum*, as if they had come from some great dinner, upon a solemne and festivall day, and not from fighting a bloudie battaile. All the people of *Beneventum*, came forth in great number to meet them at the gates, welcomed the souldiours, bad them joy, embraced them, and envited them to their houles, to give them entertainment and lodging. The bours were spread in every mans court-yard, and furnished with store of viands: they willed them to come and make merrie with them, and requested *Gracchus* to give his souldiours leave to feast and make good cheere. And *Gracchus* was content, but upon this condition, that they should all ear their meals abroad in the open street. Then all things was brought forth, and set upon the tables, at every mans doore. The voluntaries tooke their repast and refection, either with their caps on their heads, or else covered their crownes with white wooll: some sitting, some standing: waiting and serving one another at the table, and eat their meat: & fed with them together. This was such a worthie sight & solemnitie, that *Gracchus* after hee was returned to *Rome*, caused the representation and resemblance of the celebration of this day, to be drawne and portraied in colours, and the picture to remaine in the temple of the goddess *Libertie*, which his father caused to be built in the mount *Aventine*, of certaine fines and forfeits, and afterwards there dedicated it.

While these matters thus passed at *Beneventum*, *Anniball* having spoiled and harried the territorie about *Naples*, removed toward *Nola*, and there encamped before the town. Whom when the Consull understood to be comming, he sent for *Pomponius* the pro-Pretour, together with that armie which lay encamped above *Suessula*, & provided to meet with the enemy, minding

ding presently to bid him battaile. He sent out *Claudius Nero* with the strength of his horsemen in the dead time of the night at a backe gate, that was farthest from the enemye, giving him in charge to cast about closely, and fetch a compassse, and faire and softly to follow the enemye, as he marched: and when he perceived the battaile was begun, then to come forward and set upon him behind on his backe. But whether it were that *Nero* missed of the way, or having not time ynough, could not put this policie in execution, I know not. In his absence the enemyes joined battaile, wherein (no doubt) the Romans had the better hand. Howbeit, for default that the horsemen were not there in due time, the order of the direction failed, and tooke not effect. And not withstanding that the enemyes gave ground and recoiled, yet *Marcellus* durst not follow hot tip on them, but sounded the retreat to his own men, being in a good way of victory. Yet were there by report above 2000 of the enemyes slaine that day, but of Romans under 400. And about the sunneler, *Nero* who all the day and night past, had tired horse & man, and done no good, and now returned, without so much as a sight of the enemye, was sharply rebuked of the Consul, inasmuch that he gave him this checke to choke him, That it was long of him and none else, that they had not cried quittance with the enemye, for the overthrow and losse received at Cannæ. The day following *Marcellus* came downe againe into the field, ready to give battell. But *Anniball*, as one that secretly confessed himselfe to be overcome, held himselfe close, within the strength of his campe. And on the third day, giving over all hope to get Nola, (an enterprise that never succeeded well) he departed in the still time of the night toward Tarentum, upon a better and more assured hope to gaine it by treason.

The civile affaires at Rome were managed with no lesse courage at home, than the warres in the field abroad. For the Censors, who by reason that the citie treasure waxed low, were eased of their care of setting out the publick works of the citie by the great: & having nothing els to do, employed themselves in reformation of mens manners and chastising of vices and enormities, which sprung upon warre: like as mens bodies, which by long and lingering sicknesse growne weake, ever and anon breed new diseases. And first they convented before them those citizens, who after the battail at Cannæ, were (by report) minded & disposed to leave the Commonweale, and to depart out of Italie. The ringleader of them all was *L. Cecilius Metellus*, who hapned then to be Treasurer of the citie. He, with the rest of that crew, who were culpable in the same crime, were commaunded to make their answer, and plead their causes: but when they were not able to cleare and quit themselves, the Censors charged them openly, that they had given out certaine words, and made speeches against the State, tending to a sedition & conspiracie, for to abandon Italie. Next after them were cited to appeare, those cunning and craftie companions abovesaid, who with their over-subtile interpretation and construing of words, would seeme to avoid their oth: those captives, I meane, who being on their way to Rome, came backe secretly into the campe of *Anniball*, and tooke themselves thereby freed and discharged, because they had sworne to returne againe. But these and the others afore rehearsed, as many as served upon the citie horses, had their horses taken from them, were displaced out of their tribe, and condemned all to loose their voices, and to serve without cittie pay. Neither were the Censors carefull to correct the Senate, and reforme the degree of the knights onely, but also they proceeded to rase out of the publicke checkroll of the younger citizens, the names of all those, who for foure yeares space had not served in warres, as many, I say of them, as could not justly plead and alleage, either ordinarie immunitie by law, or sicknes for their excuse. And of these, were found guilty above 2000: who were awarded to be *Ærarij*, & all of them to be removed out of their tribe. And besides this shameful disgrace and note of ignominie awarded by the Censors, there passed an heave decree of the Senate against them, to wit, That all they whome the Censors had thus scored and noted, should bee bound to serve on foot in the warres, and be confined and sent over into Sicillie, to the residue there, of the armie that remained at Cannæ: And no other time of service and warfare was limited unto this sort of souldiours, but until the enemye were driven cleane out of Italie.

Whiles the Censors, as is afore said, upon occasion that the citties stocke was so decayed, gave over and forbore to bargain for the repairing & maintenance of the churches and holy temples, and for the finding and provision of chariot horses for the State, and such like: there resorted unto them a great number of those that were wont at the speare, to take these bargaines at their hands by the great, and for a grosse summe of money: who exhorted the Censors, to deale

A in those matters still, and to set, let, and enter into bargain with them, as if the citie chamber wanted no money: making this offer, that none of them all would demand payment out of the common chest, before the warres were fully ended.

Then repaired unto the Censors, the maisters of those bondmen, whom *T. Sempronius* had manumitted and set free at Beneventum, saying, that they were sent for by the Triumvirs, out of the office of the Bankers called *Mensarij*, for to receive againe their monies, according as they priced and valued their slaves: howbeit, they would not, before the warre was finished. And as the hearts of the Commons were thus favourable affected, to sustaine and support the poverie of the treasure house, so the stockes of money also that belonged first to Orphanes, and afterwards to widdowes, began now to be bestowed in the chamber of the citie: and they that presented and brought in those monies, beleaved assuredly, that they could not lay them up more sure and safe, than in the publicke credite & securitie of the citie. And whatsoever out of these stockes was disbursed and defraied, for to buy and provide any thing for the Orphanes or widdowes afore said, the treasurers kept a booke thereof, & noted it down in a register. This kindnes & benevolence of privat persons unto their countrye, extended it selfe from the citie, even as far as to the campe: inasmuch, that neither horseman nor centurion would take their wages, but rebuke and rate them, that could find in their hearts to receive their pay, rearming them no better than mercenaries and hirelings.

Now *Q. Fabius* the Consull lay in campe before Casilinum, which citie was kept with a garrison of two thousand Campanes, and seven hundred of *Anniball* his souldiers. They had for their captaine and commaunder, one *Statius Metius*, sent thither by *Cn. Magius Attellanus*, who for that yeare was *Mediastuticus* of Capua. He put the bondslaves and commons in armes, C entermingled one with another, for to enter upon the campe of the Romanes, whiles the Consull was busie in assailing Casilinum. *Fabius* was nothing ignorant of all these things, and therefore he sent unto Nola to his colleague there, signifying unto him, that there was neede of a second armie to make head against the Campanes, whiles the other was employed about the assault of Casilinum: and telling him besides, that either he must himselfe come in person, leaving a meane garrison behind him at Nola: or els if he might not be spared from thence, for feare of danger from *Anniball*, he would send for *T. Gracchus* the Proconsull, from Beneventum. Upon this message, *Marcellus* having left in Nola a garr. of two thousand souldiers, with the rest of his forces, presented himselfe before Casilinum: upon whose comming, the Campanes, who were ready to set forward, stayed themselves and were quiet. So both Consuls togither jointly began to assault Casilinum: where the Romanes souldiers that rashly came under the walls received much hurt: and *Fabius* seeing little good done, judged it best to surcease and give over the enterprise, being in service of small consequence, and nath'lesse very dangerous: and to depart from thence, seeing there was business toward of greater importance. But *Marcellus* contrarywise was of opinion and said, that as there were many things which great warriours were not to attempt: so if they were once taken in hand, and the adventure given, they were not lightly to be given over and laid asides, for as much as in it lay matter of great consequence, for fame and reputation; both wayes and so he prevailed, that the enterprise was not neglected and abandoned. Whereupon, there were mantlets, and all other kinds of fabricks and engines of batterie and assault, bent against the citie: so, as the Campanes besought *Fabius*, that they might depart to Capua in safetie. And when some few were gone forth, *Marcellus* possessed himselfe of that gate whereout they went, and then they fell to kill and slay one with another, first about the gate: and after they had rushed once in, they put to like execution those also within the citie. Little there were of the about of the Campanes, that first gate out of the towne, and fled for mercie to *Fabius*: and they by his gard and safeconduct, arrived at Capua. But see, Casilinum, through the lingering slacknesse of the inhabitants that craved protection, was (by advantage taken of their long parley, and remporising) woon by the enemyes. The captives, so many as were either Campanes or *Anniball* his souldiours, were sent to Rome, and there clapt up fast in prisons. But the multitude of the towne men, were distributed into sundrie citties adjoining, and there kept in ward.

F At the very same time that the Consuls after their conquest, retired from Casilinum, *Gracchus* being in the countrie of the Lucanes, and having gathered and enrolled certaine cohorts and companies of souldiours out of those parts, sent them out a forraying, under the conduct of a captaine of Allies, into the territories of the enemyes. *Hanniball* encountered them as they stragled

in scattering wife out of order, and set upon them, and paid his enemies againe with the like dis-
 featue and losse, or not much lesse, than that which he had received at Beneuentum: and in great
 hast withdrew himselfe into the country of the Brutij, for feare lest *Gracchus* should overtake
 him.

* Thelce.
 * Beneuentum.
 * Callipolis.

The Confull *Marcellus* returned back to Nola, from whence he came, and *Fabius* went for-
 ward into Samnium, to spoile and wast the countie, and to recover by force of armes the cities
 which had revolted. The Samnites about Caudium were piteously and grievously dammed:
 their villages in all places set on fire, their fields laid wast and destroyed, and great booties both
 of cattail & people driven away. Sixe townes forced by assault, namely, Compulteria, * Telefia,
 Cossa, Melæ, Fusulæ, and Orbitanium. In the Lucanes countie, the towne of * Blander and in
 Apulia the citie * Anca was assaulted. In these townes and cities, there were taken prisoners and
 slaine 25000 of the enemies: of fugitives and renegate traitours there were recovered 370,
 whome the Confull sent home againe to Rome, and being thither come, they were all beaten
 and scourged with rods in the Comitium, and then pitched downe headlong to the earth, from
 the rock Tarpeia. These exploits were achieved by *Q. Fabius*, within the compasse of a few
 dayes. But *Marcellus* by occasion that he lay sick at Nola, was hindered from performing any
 feates of armes. The Pretour likewise *Q. Fabius*, who had the charge and jurisdiction of the pro-
 vince about Luceria, woon by force about the same time the towne Accia, and fortified a stand-
 ing camp planted before Ardoreæ.

Whiles the Romanes were thus employed about these affaires in divers other places, *Anniball*
 was come unto Tarentum, to the exceeding great damage and detriment of all places where
 he journeyed: but being arived once in the territorie of Tarentum, he began to march and
 lead his armie more peaceably. There he did no harme at all, made no havock, nor once went
 out of the high way. And it was evidently seen, that all this was done not upon any modestie that
 appeared either in souldiour or captaine, but only to win unto him the hearts of the Tarentines.
 But when he approached the walls of the citie, and saw no commotion, nor insurrection from
 thence upon the discovery of his Vantgard, as he thought he should; he pitched his camp al-
 most a mile from the towne. Now had *M. Valerius* the Viz-Pretour, who was Admirall of the
 Fleete at Brundisium, sent *T. Valerius* his Lieutenant unto Tarentum, thirte dayes before, that
Anniball shewed himselfe before the walls. He had mustred and enrolled the floure of the No-
 bilitie, and so bestowed at every gate, and about the walls where neede required, good gards for
 defence: with such vigilant diligence both day and night, that he gave no opportunitie and ad-
 vantage either to the enemies to adventure any assault, or to the doubtfull and untrustie friends
 to practise any treason. So *Anniball*, having spent there certaine dayes in vaine, and seeing none
 of them who repaired unto him at the lake * Avernus, either to come themselves, or to send mes-
 senger or letters: and perceiving now that he had rashly and foolishly followed vaine promises,
 and so was deluded; dislodged, and removed from thence. And even then also he spared the ter-
 ritorie of Tarentum, and did no hurt at all: and albeir his feined and counterfeit lenitie and mild-
 nesse hitherto tooke no effect: yet he hoped still thereby to corrupt their faithfull allegiance to
 the Romanes: and so he went to Salapia. And (by reason that now midsummer was past, and he
 liked well of that place for a winter harbour) he conveyed thither all the come from out of the
 territorie of Metapontum and Heraclea. Then he sent out the Numidijs and Moores, to fetch
 booties and prizes from out of the Salentine countie, and all the woods and chafes next unto
 Apulia, from whence they drave of other cattail small stee: but of horses especially they
 brought away great numbers, of which there were foure thousand divided amongst the horse-
 men to be handled, broken; and made gentle.

* Lacus Tiberinus.

The Romanes seeing there was like to be war in Sicilie, & the same not lightly to be regarded;
 and that the death of the tyrant there, rather gave the Saracossians good captains, than wrought
 any change in their minds, or alteration in the cause: assigned unto *M. Marcellus*, one of the
 Confulls, that province to governe. Presently upon the murder of *Hieronymus* first the souldiours
 in the Leontine countie, began to mutine and make an uprise; and boldly spake and said: That
 the kings death should be expiate, and his obsequies solemnized with sacrificing the blood of
 conspiratours. But afterwards, when they heard often iterated the sweet name of libertie & free-
 dome restored unto them: and that there was good hope that the souldiours should have a lar-
 gesse dealt amongst them out of the kings treasure; and be under the command of capitaines of
 better

A better qualitie, and having besides all this, a bederoll reheated unto them of the Tyrant his
 crueltie and foule facts, and of more filthie and lothsome lusts; their affections were so altered,
 that they suffered the bodie of their king to lie above ground unburies, whom a little before,
 they so greatly desired and wished for. Now as concerning the conspiratours, whiles the rest of
 them remained behind to assure and possesse themselves of the armie, *Theodorus* and *Sosis* tooke
 the kings horses and rode post, as hard as ever they could, to Syracusa, for to surprise upon a sud-
 dain all his followers & favourites (who knew nothing of that which was done) & fall upon them
 unawares: but they were prevented not onely by the fame (which above all other things in such
 cases is most swift) but also by a courier one of the kings servants. Whereupon *Andronodorus*
 had seized before hand of that part of the citie which is called the Iland, together with the castle,
 and all other places that hee could come at, which were thought of any good importance; and
 B. them he fortified with good gards: *Theodorus* and *Sosis* being entred within the citie at * *Hexapyllos*
 after the sunne setting, in the twy-light and shutting in of the evening: and shewing the kings rei-
 all robes all embued with blood, & the ornament & attire likewise of his head, he passed through
 * *Tibica*, & called aloud unto the people to fight all at once for their libertie, and to arme them-
 selves, and willed them to repaire unto * *Acradina*. The people some of them ran out into the
 streets, others stood in their entries and porches, divers looked out at the windowes from with-
 in their houses, and asked what the matter might be? Every place shone with torch and cresset-
 light, and was filled with sundrie garboiles and hurlyburlys. As many as were in armes gathered
 together in the open places of the citie: those that were unarmed, tooke downe off the temple of
 C. *Iup, Olympius*, the spoiles of the Gaules and the Illyrians, which the people off Rome had given
 as a present to king *Hiero*, and which he set aloft for a memoriall: praying unto *Iupiter* that hee
 would vouchsafe them this gracious favour, as to bestow those sacred weapons & harness upon
 them; that meant to arme themselves therewith, for the defence of their countie, for the mainte-
 nance of the churches & shrines of the gods, and for the recoverie of their libertie. This multi-
 tude also joined with the *Corps de gards*, that in the principall quarters of the citie, were bestowed
 in places convenient. But *Andronodorus* amongst other places that he fortified, made sure al-
 so with strong gards of armed men: the publike garners of the citie within the Iland. There was a
 place enclosed round about with foure square stone, and built strongly like a fortress; this was
 possessed by the youth that had bene appointed for to guard and defend that quarter: and they
 D. sent messengers into the *Acradina*, to signifie that the garners & the corne were kept by them to
 the behoofe of the Senate. And on the morrow at the breake of day, the whole people, as well
 armed as unarmed, assembled together in *Acradina*, within the pallace. And there before the
 altar of *Concordia*, which in that place stood erected, one of the principall and chiefe citizens,
 named *Polyneus*, made an oration unto them all, with franknesse of speech enough, tending unto
 libertie, and yet seasoned with modestie and moderation, in this wise. Men (qd. he) that have ex-
 perience of servitude and other indignities, fall to abhorre the same, and their stomackes rise a-
 gainst them as known evils. But as for civill discord, what calamities & miseries it bringeth with
 it, the citizens of *Saracoss* have heard their fathers tell, and not seen and tasted themselves. That
 yee have bene so readie to take armes and weapons in hand, I commend you for it: but I would
 E. can you more thanke, if yee used them not, unlesse ye be driven thereto by extreame necessitie.
 For the present, I hold it good, & my counsell is, that embassadours be sent unto *Andronodorus*,
 to intimate unto him, yea and to require and charge him, to submit himselfe unto the Senat and
 people, and by them to be ordered: to set open the gates of the Iland, to put away from about
 him his guard, and deliver up the castle and garrison. But in case hee intend under the pretence
 of being guardian or protectour to the kingdome of another, thereby to usurpe it to his own use,
 he must be given to understand, by mine advise, that we will seek to recover our libertie out of the
 hands of *Andronodorus*, more fiercely & forcibly than from *Hieronymus*. And so presently upon
 this assembly, embassadours were sent. Then the Senate went together & sat in counsell: for as dur-
 ing the raigne of *Hiero*, there was a set and ordinarie publike counsell of State: so after his death
 F. unto that day, the Senatours were neither called together, nor their advise taken or sought in any
 matter. When the embassadours were come unto *Andronodorus*, & had delivered their mes-
 sage, hee was himselfe (verily) for his owne part, moved with the generall consent of the citizens;
 but especially when hee considered, that among other quarters of the citie possessed by the ad-
 versetide, that one part also of the Iland, which was the strongest, was betrayed (as it were) & held
 out

* The citie of Syracuse was divided into foure parts, *Hexapyllos*, *Tibica*, *Acradina* and *Iosula*.
 In other authors called *Tiche*, or *Tura Fortuna*, whose temple there stood.
 * *Acradina* of others.

out against him. But when the Embassadors called still upon him to come forth, his wife *Demirata*, daughter of king *Hiero*, puffed up still with the proud mind & haughtie stomach of a prince, and full of the vaine humour and spirit of a woman, put him effoones in mind of a saying; that
 » *Demis* the Tyrant had evermore in his mouth, namely, That a man should not ride on horsebacke
 » to be depofed from royall dignitie and estate of tyrannie, but be led faire and softly a foot-pace,
 » and go to that, as a beere to the stake. An easie matter (quoth she) it is for one to yeeld and forgo
 » the poffeffion of high place and honor, and a thing that may be done in the turning of an hand,
 » whensoever one will: but to compaffe and attaine thereto, is a right hard matter, and of all o-
 » ther most difficult. You were best therefore to borrow some refpite of time of the Embassadors,
 » for to take farther deliberation of this maine point, and in the mean while, to use the advantage
 » thereof, to fend for the souldiours out of the Leontine countrie: unto whom no doubt, if you
 » would promiffe a reward out of the Princes treasure, you shall belord of all. This perilous un-
 » happie counsell of a woman, *Andronodorus* neither despised and rejected altogether, nor yet pre-
 » fently accepted and embraced: fuppofing it a better and safer course, if hee meant to aspire un-
 » to high dignitie and great puiffance, for the present to temporize and give place unto the ne-
 » ceffitie of the time. And therefore hee willed them to carrie backe unto the Senate. this answer
 » from him, That hee submitted himfelfe, and would be ordered and fet downe by the Senate and
 » the people. The morrow after, fo soone as it was daylight, hee caused the gates of the Ifland to
 » be fet open, & shewed himfelfe in the market place of *Acradina*: where hee afcended up unto the
 » altar of *Concord*, from which the day before, *Polyneus* had made a fpeech unto the people. Hee
 » began his oration with an excufe of his late comming and long stay behind, and craved pardon
 » therefor: alleading that hee had kept the gates fhut, not becaufe he meant to feparate his own
 » affairs from the State, & not to take fuch part as the citie tooke but when fwords were once drawn,
 » hee feared, what would be the end and iffue of murders & massacres, & whether men would flay
 » their hands, when there was affurance of libertie effected, (as being contented with the death on-
 » ly of the Tyrant) or whither, as many as either in blood and kindred, or in affinitie and alliance, or
 » in other offices or fervice, were toward the K. & his court, fhould be touched culpable in the fault
 » of another, and fo like wife have their throats cut. For after that (quoth hee) I understood once,
 » that they who had delivered and fet free their countrie, were minded and willing to fave & pre-
 » ferve it, thus enfranchifed; and that there was confulting on all hands indifferently, for the good
 » of the state, I made no longer doubt of the matter, but to yeeld both mine owne perfon, and alfo
 » all that ever was under my hand (as committed unto me upon trust and fidelitie) unto my native
 » countrie: now that he, who put all into my hand, is through his own follie & outrage overthrowne
 » and brought to confufion. Then turning to the murderers of the tyrant, and by name calling
 » unto *Theodorus* and *Sofis*. A noble and memorable peece of fervice yee have already done, (quoth
 » he) but trust me truly, your glorie in this behalfe is begun onely, and not thoroughly finished and
 » performed: nay, a great daunger is yet behind, unleffe yee fee to the generall concord and uni-
 » tie of all parts, that the common libertie of the citie, turne not into pride and infolencie be-
 » yond all meafure.

After his fpeech ended, hee laid downe the keyes of the gates, and of the kings treasure, at their
 feet. And fo for that day, when the people were difmiffed from the affembly, with joy and mirth,
 they went in proceffion and fupplication with their wives and children, round about all the
 Churches and chappels of their gods. The day following, the folemne Election was held for
 the creation of Pretours. And first, before all others, *Andronodorus* was chosen, and the rest for
 the most part, the very murderers of the Tyrant. They elected alfo two that were abfent, to wit,
Sopater and *Deomenes*. Who being advertifed of all matters that paffed at *Syracufe*, delivered up
 the kings treasure which lay in the Leontines countrie, and was now brought unto *Syracufe*, into
 the hands of the Treafurers; who for the fame purpofe were created. Likewise that which was in
 the Ifland, and in *Acradina*, was committed over unto their custodie. That part alfo of the wall
 which devided the Ifland from the rest of the citie, and was fuppofed too ftrong a bar betwene,
 was by common confent caft downe and rafed. And as their minds were thus affected and enclie-
 ned to procure and mainteine libertie, fo all other matters forted futable, and followed after ac-
 cordingly.

Hippocrates and *Epicides*, when tidings came of the Tyrants death (which *Hippocrates* would
 faine have had concealed, and therefore flew the messenger that brought newes thereof) being
 forfaken

The Oration of
Andronodorus

A forfaken of the souldiours, returned to *Syracufe*; fuppofing for the present, that to bee the safest
 course they could take. Where, becaufe they would grow into neceffity, nor be noted to feek
 for fome opportunitie and occasion of change and alteration in the State, first they prefented
 themfelves before the Pretours & Governours of the citie; and fo by their mediation, they had
 acceffe to the Senate. They gave out, that they had been fent from *Anniball* unto *Hieronymus*
 as unto a friend and confederate, and had yielded obedience unto him, as they were willed by
 their owne Generall and Commander. Now their defire was, to returne againe unto *Anniball*. But
 for as much as they might not travell in fafetic, for the Roimane forces, that raged all over
 Sicilie, they craved a convoy and fufficient guard to conduct them, as farre as to *Locri* in Sicilie;
 affuring them, that by this small courtefie and defart of theirs, they fhould reape great thanks of
Anniball, and come into high favour with him. The fute was foon obtained. For defirous they
 were, that thofe Cavaliers that ufed to lead the king, and were expert and skilfull besides in war,
 and therewith needie and audacious, fhould bee fent away: but they made not fo good fpeed to
 put this their defire in execution, as they fhould have done. For in the mean feafon, thofe young
 and juftie martiall men, and fuch as ever had conversed with the souldiours, went up and downe
 one while to them; another while to the fugitive ftraungers, that were revolted; (who for the
 most part were failers and fea men that came from the Romanes) yea, and forted themfelves with
 the baselt and moft abject perfons of the Commoners, fpredding tales, and whifpering into their
 eares, fundrie fufpitious matters of crime againft the Senatours and great men of the Nobilitie,
 faying, that they plotted and practifed clofely under hand, nothing elfe, but that *Syracufe* un-
 der a colour of reconciliation and accord, fhould be reduced to the obedience of the Romanes;
 and then, the fide and faction, and fome few with them, that are of counfell to renew the associati-
 on, might bee lords; and tyrannize over the rest. By this meanes there flocked multitudes, every
 day more than other, to *Syracufe*: whose eares were tickled, and itched still to heare fuch fumnif-
 fes, and were apt ynough to give credite thereto. And they gave not onely *Hippocrates* and *Epi-
 cides*; but *Andronodorus* alfo good hope of an alteration; and a new world. For he (being at
 length overcome with the importunate fuggeltions of his wife, who ever put into his head,
 That now was the only time to ufurpe and take upon him the rule of the State, whiles all things
 were troubled, and in a confufed medley, upon their new and unknowne libertie; whiles the
 souldiours were prefented in their way, to bee dealt withall, and dayly mainteined and fed out
 of the kings efchequer; and whiles thofe captaines fent from *Anniball*, by reafon of their ac-
 quaintance with the souldiours, were prefent to fet forward, and further his designements) first
 therefore acquainted *Themiftius*, who had married *Gelo* his daughter, with his complor; and
 after a few daies (full unadvifedly) imparted his mind alfo, unto one *Aristo*, an Actor of Tragedies,
 whom he ufed aforetime to make privie unto his other fecrets. This *Aristo* was well borne, and
 defended of a worfhipfull houfe, a man in good place and of honeft reputation: and his pro-
 feflion (for among the Greekes it is reputed no matter of fhame, to play either in Tragedies or
 Comedies) was no blot either to his birth, or difgrace to his calling: and therefore as one who
 made more reckning of his dutie to his country, than of private friendfhip, bewrayed and dif-
 clofed all the treason unto the Pretors. Who finding by good proofes and certaine evidences
 that this was ho forged and counterfet information, after confultation had with the auncients of
 the counfell, by their warrant and direktion, fet a gard of armed men about the dore of the
 Senate houfe, and fo foon as *Themiftius* and *Andronodorus* were entred in place, flew them
 outright. And when there began fome uprore upon this fact, which in fhew seemed very hor-
 rible and heinous (efpecially to all the rest that knew not the caufe) at length they appeafed the
 tumult, and caufed fentence, and brought the enformer into the counsell houfe, that had detected
 the intended treason: who declared all things orderly in particular: namely, that this confpira-
 cie was devised & fprung first from the mariage of *Harmonia*, the daughter of *Gelo*, who was wed-
 ded unto *Themiftius*: that divers auxiliarie souldiers of Africanes and Spaniards, were appoin-
 ted and provided to mafacre the Pretours, and other principall citizens: that their goods were
 F promifed unto the murderers to be ranfaked and rifled: that befides, there was a band of mer-
 cenarie souldiours (fuch as were wont to be at a beck, and readie to execute the commaunde-
 ment of *Andronodorus*) fet in a readineffe, to feize the Ifland againe, and keepe it to his ufe. And
 when hee had laid every thing abroad in order, with all circumftances, what the practifes were,
 and by whom they were to be performed and executed, & shewed before their eyes moft plainly,
 the

the whole conspiracie: and namely, what persons and what forces should have been employed. Then the whole bodie of the Senate were likewise verily persuaded, that they had deserved such an end, and were as justly murdered as *Hieronymus*. But without the counsell-house done, the confused multitude, composed of all sorts of people, who were doubtfull of the matter, & knew not what to make thereof, cried out. And albeit they menaced and threatened before the earre, and porch of the Senate, yet at the sight of the dead bodies of the Conspirators, lying before their face, they were affrighted and soone huffed, so as with great silence they followed the whole bodie of the Commons to the publicke place of assemble, unto whom *Sopater*, by order from the Senate, and his fellow Pretors, was commaunded to make an Oracion.

*Sopater his speech
to the people of
Syracusa.*

Hee began formally to inveigh against *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, (as they that accuse men at the barre) and ripped up their former life past, charging them with all the wicked deeds and impious facts, committed since the death of *Hiero*. For what (quoth he) did *Hieronymus* say, what could he doe of himselfe, so long as he was but a child and suckling, and scarcely come all the while he lived, to have any haire on his face? His officers and guardians, were they that ruled all, and managed the kingdome at their pleasures, but so, as the blame and heaviest load lay upon him. Who if they had perished either before *Hieronymus*, or at leastwise together with him, they had been but well enough served. But they, who long ago had deserved to die, and for whom the gallows had already groned, ceased not still, after the death of the tyrant, to devise & plot new mischiefs, one in the necke of another. At the first, openly in the sight of the world, *Andronodorus* by shutting the gates of the Island, entered by way of inheritance upon the kingdome, and fought to seize in his owne right, as immediat heire apparent, upon those things that hee held under the prince, only during his nonage. Afterwards, being betrayed by them that were in the Island, and besieged round about by the whole citie (which was possessed fully of the *Acradina*) seeing, that in vaine he had attempted to be king by a pert and open force, he sought meanes now to aspire thereto secretly, and by cunning sleights. Neither could hee bee so much as reclaimed and wooed, by any favours and honors done unto him: who being himselfe a traitor to the free dome of the state, was notwithstanding advanced to be Pretour, among other redeemers of the libertie of their countrie. But no marvel it was, (quoth he) that these men were of this haughtie spirit, and longed to bee Kings; for they had to their wives two princely dames, the daughters, one of king *Hiero*, and the other of his sonne *Gelo*.

At these words, the people from all parts of the assemble, began to crie out with one voice, that neither of them both were worthie to live, nor any one besides of the kings stocke & lineage ought to remaine upon the face of the earth. See the nature and disposition of the multitude, whether they serve basely, or rule proudly. Libertie that is the meane betwene, they have neither the skill to despise with reason, or the grace to entertaine in measure. Now, there wanted not (ye may be sure, as at all times else) readie instruments and firebrands, to helpe forward, and kindle more anger, such as seeing the Commoners distempred already, and bloudily minded of themselves, put them forward to murder and massacre. As it appeared then. For immediately, as the Pretors put up a bill, that all the kings stocke should be rooted out, and the whole line utterly extinguished: before in manner that it was all red out and published, it passed cleare, and was graintied. And presently there were sent certaine persons from the Pretours, that murdered *Demaratus* and *Harmonia* the daughters of king *Hiero* and *Gelo*, the two wives of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*. Now there was another daughter of *Hiero*, named *Heraclea*, wife to *Sosippus*, who having been sent as Embassador from *Hieronymus*, to king *Ptolomeus*, chose a life in voluntarie exile, & lived not with his wife. She having an inkling given her aforehand, and knowing that the murderers were coming also toward her, tooke her two daughters, virgines: and together, with their haire loose hanging downe their shoulders, and in other most poore array and rusfull habit, able to have moved pittie and compassion, they were fled into a privat Oratorie or chappell unto their house-gods, to save themselves. The mother seeing the murderers, fell to entreating them most pittieously, and recommended unto them the late remembrance of her father *Hiero*, and her brother *Gelo*: Beseeching them not to suffer her (an innocent and guiltlesse person) to fare the worse, and be punished upon hatred that was borne unto her nephew *Hieronymus*. As for me (quoth she) I reaped no good by his reigne and kingdome, unless it were the banishment and absence of my husband: and as by the life of *Hieronymus*, my fortune was not so good as my sisters; so after hee was murdered and dead, my cause is not so bad, nor like unto hers. Moreover,

*The pittifull
words of dame
Heraclea.*

over and besides, in case *Andronodorus* had effected his designements, my sister should have been a Queene, and reigned together with her husband: but as for me, I must have bene a subject and servant with the rest. Again, if there were any messenger sent unto *Sosippus*, to report the death of *Hieronymus*, and the restitution of *Saracose* to libertie: who can make doubt, but that forthwith he would be embarked and take the seas, and returne againe into his countrie? But how much are men put besides their hope, and deceived of their expectation? And who would ever have thought, to have seene in a freed state his wife and children in danger to lose their lives? For wherein do we hinder the common libertie, or the course of lawes? What danger can come to any person from us, one desolate lone woman and in manner a widow, and two yong maidens, living as orphans fatherlesse? And if it be said againe, that there was in deed no feare of hurt to be imagined from us; but only the kings bloud and kindred was odious in the eyes of the people: Then quoth she, let us be sent away farre from *Saracose* and *Scellie*, and confined over to *Alexandria*, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their owne father. But when they would neither give care to her words, nor incline their hearts to pittie and compassion: then, because she would not spend longer time in vaine (for now she saw some of them drawing their swords forth) she gave over all intreating for her selfe, and besought them instantly to be good yet, to the yong silly girles, & spare their lives, unto whom being of that age, even the very enemies in their heart of anger forbore to offer violence: and that seeing they were to be revenged of tyrants, they would not play the tyrants themselves, and commit that wickednesse, which they seemed to hate in others. Amid these words the murderers (sent from the Pretors) pulled her forth of the inward and most secret place of the chappell, and cut her throte: and when they had so done, they assayed and fell upon the maidens, besprent with the bloud of their mother: who for sorrow of heart and feare together, being past themselves and out of their wits, and as it were in a furious fit of frenzie, ranne against them, and gate out of the chappell: minding, if they could have escaped forth and recovered the streete, to set the whole citie on an upreare. And so they shifted for themselves poore wretches, by running too and fro within the house, (which was not large and spacious) that for a good while they escaped amongst the thickest of so many armed men, and oftentimes avoided their reaches, and caught no hurt: yea and when they had caught hold of them, notwithstanding they were to struggle with so many hands, and those so strong, yet they wound away from them all: untill at length after they had received many a wound, & filled every place with bloud, they fainted & sunke down, & yielded up their innocent spirits. This murder, no doubt, was of it selfe piteous; but much more lamentable, by occasion of a present accident. For straight after, came a messenger with expresse commandement, to spare the women, and not to kill them: for that upon a sodaine the hearts of the people relented, and enclined to mercie. But when they heard that there was so quick dispatch made of execution, that neither they had time to bethinke themselves and repent, nor space to coole upon their heat, they fell from pittie and compassion, into an extreme fit of anger and choler. The multitude thereupon began to mutter and murmure, and called to have an election of Pretours in the roume of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius* (for they were both of them Pretours:) which new election was not like to fall out in the end to the good liking and contentment of the other Pretours in place. So a day was set downe, and proclaimed for this election. At which time, it happened that beyond all mens expectation, one from the farthest part of the assembly nominated *Epicides*: and then another from thence named *Hippocrates*. After which, the same voyces came thick and threefold still, so as it seemed the multitude would whole goe that way. The people there assembled, were a confused sort intermingled as well of a number of souldiers, as of a companie of citizens and commoners: yea and many of them were strangers fugitives, shuffled among, such as rather than their life, desired a generall change and alteration. The Pretours at first dissimuled all, and would seeme to take no knowledge thereof: but thought it best to put off the matter to a farther day: yet overcome at last with the common accord and consent of the people: and fearing withall a mutinie and sedition, pronounced and declared the men aforesaid, for Pretours. Neither would they, at first hand so soone as they were created, set that abroach which was in their mind & desire to effect: notwithstanding they were displeased and discontented much, both for that there had bene ambassadors dispatched unto *Appius Claudius*, about a truce for ten dayes: and also when it was obtained, that there were others addressed, to treat for the renewing of the aunient league with the Romanes.

* Porto Lango
bardo, or Cabo
Passaro.

The Oratour
Apollonides, to
the people of
Syracuse.

At the same time (*Ap. Claudius*) the Roman General lay at Murgantia with an Armada of 100 galleies, waiting there to heare what was the event of the troubles which arose upon the murder of the tyrants: and how far forth men would proceede upon this their new and unwonted libertie. And much about those dayes, when as the Saracusan Embassadors were sent from *Appius*, unto *Marcellus* now comming into Sicilia, *Marcellus* himselfe after he heard the conditions of peace, thought they would grow to some good agreement and conclusion in the end: and therefore sent other embassadors also to Saracuse, personally to debate and confesse in the presence of the Pretours concerning the renewing of the league aforesaid. But by that time, they found not the citie in the same quiettune and peaceable state. For *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, after newes came that the Carthaginian navie was arived and rid at anchor under the bay of *Porto Lango*, another while of the fugitive traitours, many false surmises against their brethren in office, and namely, that they went about to betray Saracuse to the Romanes. But *Appius* began to keepe his Armada at anchor in the very mouth of the river, listening to know what hart and hope they of the contrary faction had, to effect that which they intended. Much credit was given (as it should seem) unto those flanders and lewd suggestions: in so much as at the first, the multitude ran to the water side in a great hurrey and tumultuous manner to hinder their landing, if haply they attempted it. In this trouble some confusion of all things, it was thought good, that the people should meete together to deliberate what was best to be done. In which assembly, whiles some drew one way, other haied and pulled another way, and were at the point to mutine and grow to a sedition, *Apollonides* one of the principall and chiefe citizens made a speech to very good purpose for preservation of the publicke peace, and thus he said. Never was there any citie neerer, either to hope of assured safetie, or to feare of utter destruction, than this of ours at this present. For if all would goe one way together, and with one accord either incline to the

Romanes, or bend to the Carthaginians, there were not a citie under the cope of heaven, whose state were more happie and fortunate than ours. But in case we be distracted, and the Commonweale go divers waies, there would not be more bitter and cruell warre betwene the Saracusan and the Romanes, than among the Saracusan themselves: when within one and the same walls, there should be banding one against another, and each side have their forces, their armor, and their captaines of their owne. And therefore we ought of all hands to endeavor what we can, that all may be of one mind and draw in the same line. As for the maine point now in question, Whether societic and alliance be the better and more commodious, the Romanes or the Carthaginians, is a matter of far lesse moment & importance than to be consulted and studied long upon. Howbeit, in choosing our friends and allies, we are to be directed by the authoritie and act of *Hiero*, rather than of *Hieronymus*: and to preserve that amitie which we have tried for 50 yeares in much felicitie, above a friendship for the present unknowne, and sometime heretofore found unfaithfull. It maketh somewhat also, to resolve upon this course, that in case we should deny peace and alliance to the Carthaginians, we neede not presently go to warre with them: but with the Romanes we must out of hand make accompt either of peace, or els of hot warres. This speech of his, the lesse that it favoured of factious partialitie and affection, the more autoritie and sway it caried with it. And besides the deliberation of the Pretours and choise Senators, the advice also of the martiall men was taken. And therefore the captaines of all their owne ensignes and companies, yea and the great commanders of the auxiliarie forces of their allies were willed to sit in counsell together with them. When the matter had bene often debated, and much contention and hot words passed betwene, at the last, because there appeared no colourable reason or cause to make warre with the Romanes, they agreed that a peace should be concluded, and that together with their embassadors, there should be others also from them sent to ratifie and confirme the thing.

There passed not many daies between, when out of the Leontines countrie there arrived certaine Oratours, to crave helpe and succour for the gard and defence of their marches. This embassage seemed to come very fity and in good time, for to exonerate and rid the citie of the unruly and disordered multitude, and likewise to send out of the way, their chieftaines and ringleaders. So *Hippocrates* the Pretour was commaunded to lead thither the fugitive strangers. Many also of the mercenarie fouldiours, that were waged to helpe them in their warres, accompanied them: so as in all, the number amounted to foure thousand. This expedition and journey contented

rented greatly as well the senders and setters of it out, as also the parties themselves that were sent forth. For these of the one side had a good occasion and opportunitie now offered them, to contrive a change in the state (the onely thing that so long they had desired) and those of the other, were right glad, that the sinke (as it were) of the citie was now well scoured & voided away. But this was like the palliative cure of a fore, & a lightning for the present of a sick bodie: whereby it might soone after by relapse fall backe, as it were, into a recidive, and a worse disease and more dangerous than the other. For *Hippocrates* began at first to make rodes by stealth into the confines bordering upon the Roman Province, and there to waite and spoyle afterward when *Appius* had sent a power of men to defend the frontiers of his confederates, hee charged with his whole power upon that guard that was opposed against him, and slew many of them. Whereof when *Marcellus* was advertised, hee dispatched embassadors incontinently to Saracuse, to charge them with the breach of peace: and to give them to understand, that there would never bee wanting some occasion or other of quarrell and warre, unless *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were removed, and sent farre enough out of the way, not onely from Saracuse, but also quite out of Sicilia. *Epicides* for feare least if hee remained present in the citie, he might be charged & brought in question, for the fault and trespass of his brother absent, or be wanting for his part, in the raising of new warre, went himselfe also in person into the Leontines countrie: and seeing them there forward enough of themselves, and provoked already against the Romanes, began also to alienate & turne their harts from Saracuse. For in these termes he suggested & informed against the Saracusan: namely, how they had capitulated with the Romanes, that all the cities & nations which were under the kings, should be subject unto them, and within their jurisdiction: so as now they cannot be content (quoth hee) with their libertie, unless they rule also like lords & kings. I would advise and counsell you therefore, to send word unto them and give them to understand, that the Leontines likewise deeme it good reason, that they should themselves be free: in regard either that the tyrant was killed within the ground of their citie, or because the first alarme for libertie began there. For they leaving and abandoning the captaines there that followed the kings, ran at once from thence to Saracuse. And therefore they are (saith hee) to rale that foresaid article out of the instrument of the covenants, or not to accept at all of peace with that condition. Soon were the multitude persuaded hereunto. And therefore when the embassadors of the Saracusan came to the Leontines, both to make complaint for killing of the Romans *Corps de guard*, & also to commaund peremptorily, that *Hippocrates* & *Epicides* should depart either to Locri, or to what other place they would rather chuse, so they went their waies & voided clean out of Sicilia: they returned unto them this stout answer againe, that neither the Saracusan had any commission and warrant from them, to make peace with the Romanes in their name, neither would they bee tied and obliged to any confederacie made by others than their owne selves. This answer the Saracusan made report of to the Romanes, and said plainly, that the Leontines were not under their jurisdiction, to be ordered and censured by them: and therefore, any thing comprised in the league with them notwithstanding, the Romanes might warre against them without breach of any covenant: and in that warre they would not for their parts, faile them; but doe their best: upon condition, that when they were once subdued, they might be reduced againe unto their obedience, according to the covenant comprehended in the league. Whereupon *Marcellus* with his whole power went forth against the Leontines, and sent *Jug. Appius* also, to assault them on the other side: and so hote were his fouldiours in this service, and bare themselves so resolute, for anger that the guard was slaine, during the time that there was truce of peace betwene, that at the very first assault they woon the citie. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, after they saw the walls skaled, and the gates of the citie broken open, besought themselves for their safetie, with some few into the castle, from whence by night they made a fearefull escape, and fled to *Hieropolis*, a citie in the same countrie, and there they hid themselves. As the Saracusan marched from home with a power of eight thousand armed men, and were come forward as far as to the river *Mylas*, they met with a messenger, who told them that the citie Leontium was forced. They reported other newes besides, as well lies as truths, one with another, namely, that townsmen & fouldiours indifferently without respect were put to the sword: that hee though verily, there was not left one alive of fourtene yeares of age and upward; that the citie was put to the sacke, and all the rich mens goods were given away. At this so fearefull and horrible newes, the armie staid and went not forward. And when they all were greatly troubled

bled, their leaders *Sofis* and *Diomenes*, consulted what to do. This lowd lie, arose not upon nothing, but was occasioned by mistaking of a matter. For there were scourged and belicaded of fugitive traitours, to the number of two thousand. But of *Leontines* and other souldiours, there was not one hurt, after the cittie was lost. And every man had all his owne goods, restored unto him againe: saving that onely which in the first hurlyburly of a cittie newly won, hapned to miscarie & perith. Howbeit upon this bare report, they neither could be induced to go forward to the *Leontines*, complaining & grieving that their fellow souldiours were so betraied & murdered, nor yet to abide there still, for to expect and heare more certeine tidings. The Pretours perceiving their minds disposed to revolt, and yet hoping that this mutinous fit of theirs would not continue long, in case the captaines and heads of their furie and follie were once rid out of the way, led the armie to *Megara*: and went themselves in person with a few horsemen toward *Herbelus*, hoping to gaine the cittie by treason, whiles they all there were affrighted. But seeing that enterprise would not prevaile, they minded to use forcible meanes. The morrow after, they dislodged and raised their camp from *Megara*, purposing with all their forces, to assaile *Herbelus*. *Hippocrates* & *Epicides* supposing this to be the only way for them, although at the first sight not the safest, (considering all hope besides was cut off) namely to put themselves into the hands of the souldiours, who were for the most part acquainted with them, & besides, upon the brute of the execution and massacre of their fellow souldiours, thoroughly chafed, went out to meet the armie. The foremost ensignes in the forefront, hapned to consist of those six hundred *Cretensians*, who in the warres of *Hieronymus* had served under them, and received a favour and benefit at *Anniball* his hands. For being taken prisoners at *Thrasymenus*, among other auxiliaries that came to aid the Romanes, they were set at large and sent away without ransom. Whom when *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* knew by their colours, habite, and fashion of their armour, they held out branches of olives and other veiles and tokens of suppliants, beseeching them humbly to receive them, and being once received, to vouchsafe to protect them, and not to deliver them into the hands of the *Saracofians*: by whom they should soon be yeckled unto the people of *Rome*, for to be murdered and cut in peeces. At this, they all cried aloud with one voice, & willed them to be of good cheere, for they should fare no worse than their owne selves. Vpon this communication the ensignes staid, and the armie stood still and marched not forward: but the general captaines wist not as yet what the cause might be of this stay. After the rumour was spread that *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were come, and that all the host throughout by a generall applause seemed to like well of their comming: the Pretours incontinently set spurs to horse, and rode forward apace to the forefront of the vanguard, demanding of the *Cretensians*, what manner and fashion this was of theirs: and how they durst be so bold, as to parle and talke with enemies: and without license of their Pretours, to enter in them within their companies. And herewith they gave commandement, that *Hippocrates* should bee apprehended & bound sure with chaines. At which word the *Cretensians* set up such a crie, and the rest so answered it againe, with the like, that it was well scene, in case they had proceeded forward as they began, they should have incurred themselves no small danger. And thus in great perplexitie and feare of their owne lives, they commaunded to turne ensignes, and retire unto *Megara*, from whence they came; and dispatched messengers presently to *Saracofe*, to signifie in what tearmes they stood. *Hippocrates* seeing the souldiours given to be suspicious and readie to beleeve every thing, devised a cunning shift besides, in this manner. After he had sent out certeine of the *Cretensians* to beset the waies betweene them and *Saracofe*, he pretended that they had intercepted some letters from thence, which hee read unto the souldiours, and were in deed framed and indited by himselfe. The report of the letters ran in this forme. The Pretours of *Saracofe* to *M. Marcellus* their friend, greeting.

After these salutations and commendations premised, as the manner is, it followed written thus:

„ You have done well and orderly, in sparing none at all of the *Leontines*. But all other mercenarie souldiours besides, are in the same predicament: neither will *Saracofe* be ever in quiet, so long as any forraigne aide be either in the cittie or in your armie. And therefore our advice and counsel is, that you would endeavour to get them into your hands, who with our Pretours are encamped before *Megara*, and by execution of them to deliver and set *Syracusa* free in the end.

The contents of these letters were not so soone read, but with such an outcrie & alarme they ran to their weapons on all hands, that the Pretours amid this garboile, were faine to ride away as fast as they could gallop, toward *Syracusa*. But although they were fled, the mutinie neverthelesse continued

A continued and was not appeased: for the souldiours fell upon the *Syracufians* that were in the camp amongst them, and they had all drunke of the same cup, and not one escaped, but that *Epicides* and *Hippocrates* came betweene and opposed themselves against the multitude in this their furious rage, not upon any pittifull compassion that was in them, or regard of common humanities, but because they would not cut themselves from all hope of returne, and besides, they were not onely desirous to have the souldiours themselves affectionate unto them and faithfull, and withall in sted of hostages: but also purposed, by this so great desert, first to gain and win unto them the kinsfolke and friends of those souldiours, and afterwards to oblige and bind them fast, by so good a pawne and gage, remaining still among them. And having good experience, with how small a puffe and gale of wind, the common people turneth every way, they soborned a souldiour, one of them who was besieged within the cittie of *Leontium*, to carrie newes to *Syracusa*, sitting with those false tidings that were reported at the river *Mylus*, yea, and to aver the same confidently upon his owne knowledge, and tell things that were doubtfull, as if they were most certain, and by himselfe scene and knowne: thereby to stire up men to anger and indignation. This fellow was not onely credited of the common multitude, but also being brought into the Countsell house, he greatly moved the Senate: insomuch, as some of them, more light of beleefe than others, gave it out openly and said, That it was happie, that the avarice and crueltie of the Romanes was thus discovered among the *Leontines*. And God blesse us from them here. For if they set foot once within *Syracusa*, they would commit the like outrages, yea, and worse too, a great deale, & more horrible; as they should find there greater matter to work upon, & to satisfie their covetous and greedie appetite to the full. Whereupon they agreed in generall, to shut the gates and to stand upon their guard, and defend the cittie. But they all feared not alike, nor hated the same persons. For the marriall men, in a manner every one, and a great part of the common people abhorred the name of the Romanes: the Pretours, and some few of the principall citizens, albeit they were in the huffe, and possessed with the false report aforesaid, yet they had more regard to provide for a mischief that was more imminent and nere, and readie presently to fall upon their heads. And now by this time *Hippocrates* & *Epicides* were come before *Hexapylus*. Within the cittie, the kinsfolke and friends of those citizens which were in the armie, drew together in conventicles, conferred among themselves to set the gates open, and agreed to have the common countie of them all, to be defended against the violence of the Romanes. Now, when one onely wicket of *Hexapylus* was opened, and they readie to enter in thereat, the Pretours came upon them in the manner. And first they commaunded by word of mouth, and threatened them; after that, by vertue of their place and authoritie, they seemed to fright and terrifie them: and last of all, seeing nothing could prevaile, forgetting their owne dignitie and majestie of their talling, they fell to pray & intreat them, not to betray their countie to those who aforesime were the instruments and supports of the Tyrant, and now the corrupters of the armie. But so deafe eare gave all the multitude in this their rage and furious fit unto the Pretours, that they within, as well as without, set their hands to, by all forcible meanes to burst downe the gates, and so when they were all broken open, the armie was let in safe, and received within the *Hexapylus*. The Pretours fled for refuge with the youth and strength of the citizens unto *Acradina*. The mercenaries, the fugitives, and all the souldiours that were left in *Syracusa* (of them who served the king) joined to the armie, and augmented their forces. And so *Acradina* also was upon the first assault won. All the Pretours, but those that escaped by flight, and saved themselves in the midst of this hurly, were slaine: and the night coming upon them, staid the massacre. The day following, all bondslaves were called to receive the cap, and made freeth: the prisons were set open, and the prisoners let goe at large. And this confused rable and multitude of all sorts, created *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* Pretours. And thus *Syracusa*, having for a short time libertie, shining favourably upon it, fell backe againe into her old servitude.

When these tidings came to the Romanes, they incontinently they dislodged and removed the camp from *Leontium*, and marched directly toward *Saracofe*. It hapned the same time that the embassadors that from *Zippus* by the way of the haven, were embarked in a galacee of five banks of oares, but another galley of foure banks which was sent before, was not so soone entred into the mouth of the harbour, but it was taken, and the embassadors hardly, and with much ado escaped in the other. And now the world there was growne red this passage, that no laves of peace, nor so much as the very laws of arms were observed, but broken cleane at what time as

the Romane armie lay in campe a mile and an halfe from the citie, at Olympium, the temple of Jupiter. For when it was thought meet to send Embassadors from thence, *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* with their followers encountered them without the gate, and charged them upon their petrill not to enter the citie. The Romane Oratour alleadged and said, That he came not to proclaime warre against the Syracusians, but to bring aid and helpe, as well unto those, who having escaped out of the middest of the slaughter fled unto the Romane campe, as also unto them, who being kept under with fear, endure bondage and thraldome more miserable than banishment, yea and death it selfe. Neither will the Romanes (saith hee) put up that shamefull and cruell murder of their allies without due revenge. And therefore, if those persons who were fled for succour unto them, may returne home safely into their countrie: if the authors of that massacre above said, be delivered into their hands: and if the Syracusians may enjoy againe their libertie, together with their lawes, there shall not need any hostilitie or warre. But in case these conditions bee not performed, they would persecute with fire and sword, all such as shall hinder and stand against the same, whosoever.

To this, *Epicides* framed his words in this wise. If (saith hee) yee had any message and commission, to parle with my brother and mee, wee would returne you an answer accordingly. In the meane while, yee were best be gone for this time, and returne againe when the citie and state of Syracuse shall be under their governance, unto whom yee were sent. As for war, if the Romanes thinke it good to deale that way, they shall find and know by experience, trie when they would, that it is one thing to assaile Syracuse, & another to set upon Leontium. And so leaving the Embassadors, he made the gates fast against them.

From this time forward, the Romanes laid siege unto Syracuse, and began to beleaguer it both by sea and land at once. On the land side at Hexapylus, by water at Acradina; upon the walls whereof the sea beateh. And like as they wan the citie of the Leontines, by terrifying them at the first assault, and therefore distrusted not, but that they should force and enter this also, one side or other, being so large and vast as it was, not compact, but built so scattering: one part sage afunder from another, they approached with all their fabrickes, engines, and ordinance of batterie against the walls. Which enterprife of theirs, so resolutely begun, and so hotely and forcible followed, had sped well and taken effect, if one man at that time had not been in Syracuse, *Archimedes* was hee, a singular Astronomer. A rare man for contemplation, & beholding the skie with the planners, and other starres therein fixed: but a more wonderfull engineer, for devising and framing of artillerie, ordinance, fabrickes, and instruments of warre, whereby he would with very little ado and at ease, checke and frustrate all the inventions which the enemies with so great difficultie had prepared for to give the assault. This cunning artificer and admirable workman, had planted engines of all sorts, upon the curtaine of the wall, which stood on certaine hills, and those not of even heighth: and having for the most part, high places that yielded hard access, and some other low againe, whereunto men might come on even and plaine ground, hee fitted and furnished every place accordingly. Now *Marcellus* from out of his galleies, of five ranks of oares, assaulted the wall of Acradina, which (as is above said) is washed and dashed upon, with the sea. And from the other galleies, the archers, slingers, yea and the light armed darters (called Velites) whose javelins are of that fashion, that they be unhandsome to be launched backe againe (by those that have not the cast and skil of it) so assailed the defendants, that they hardly suffered any one to stand upon the wals without hurt and danger. These I say, kept their galleies far distant from the wall, because archers and darters had need of some space and compass to lunge and let drive their shot. But unto the galleies of five course of oares, there were adjoined other two of either side: for which purpose the oares within were taken away, that they might close labourd to starboard, and so be coupled one unto the other. And thus being rowed as one entire gallee, by the helpe of the utmost oares without forth, they carried upon them platformes of timber framed with floures and lofts of planks, and other engines and instruments within them to batter and shake the wals. Against this artillerie from the galleies, *Archimedes* bestowed and disposed upon the walls counter-engines of sundrie sizes, some greater, some smaller. Against those galleies that were furthest off, he weighed and discharged stones of exceeding maine weight, and those that were neerer, he annoyed with lighter bullets, but those hee shot far thicker upon them. And last of all, to the end, that his owne citizens might without taking harme, make a counter-batterie against the enemies, and so annoy them, he caused certaine barbacanes or loop-holes,

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A almost a cubit deep, to be pierced through the wals, & to stand thick from the foot thereof, to the parapet, and all to flank the enemy, through which ouvertures they within shot closely against the enemies, some arrows out of bowes, some quarrels out of scorpions and brakes, of meane and in different bignesse. And against those galleies, which approached more close and neer under the wals (because they would be within the shot, and that they within might earie and levell over them) he devised a crane or swiue to be planted aloft upon the wals, having at the one end, which hung over the sea, a drag or grappling hooke of yron like an hand, fastened thereto with a strong chaine: which tooke hold upon the proo of a gallee, and when the heavie counterpoise of lead at the other end, weighed it downe to the ground, and therewith drew with it the proo up on high, whiles it hung thus aloft in the aire, the gallee stood in a manner, endlong upon the poupe. And then the swiue being let go againe all at once sodainly with a sway, dashed the gallee, tumbling (as it were) downe from the top of the wall, with such a swinge and violence against the water (to the exceeding feare of the mariners) that if it had fallen directly downeright upon the keele, yet needs it must have received good store of water into it. Thus all their provision for assault by the sea side, was deluded and made void: and then they turned their whole forces from thence, to give assault by land. But even that part of the wall likewise, was as well furnished with all manner of engines & ordinance, provided at the great charge of *Hiero*, and by his careful forecast for many yeeres together: but devised & framed by the artificial cunning and skil only of *Archimedes*. Besides, the naturall situation of the ground was a great helpe: for that the rocke, upon which the foundations of the wall stand, is for the most part so steepe and bending forward, that not only the shot levelled out of any engine, but also whatsoever was but rolled & tumbled down, with the very own weight & poise, came with a great force and violence upon the enemy. Which foresaid cause, made the assailants to have difficult climbing up, and as unstedfast footing & keeping of their hold: Whereupon they went to counsell. And considering well, that all their attempts and enterprises were thus deluded & mocked by the enemy: it was thought good to give over assault, and only by long and continuall siege, to cut them off from all vituals both by land and sea. In the mean while *Marcellus* with one third part (welneere) of the armie, went forth in expedition, to recover againe those cities, which taking occasion upon these troubles, were revolted to the Carthaginians. And he gained Pelorus & Herbecus, which yielded on their own accord. As for Megara, which he woon by assault, he rased it downe to the ground, and sacked it, to the fearefull example of all the rest, and especially of the Saracensians.

And much about that time, *Himilco* also, who had a long time rid in the Bay of the Cape Pachynus with his Armada, disbarked & set a land at Heraclea (which they call Minoa) 25000 footmen, 3000 horsemen, & 12 Elephants. He had not all this power of men when he lay with his fleet under Pachinus. For after that *Hippocrates* had taken & held the possession of Saracofe, he went to Carthage: where, being sent unto both by embassadors from *Hippocrates*, & also by letters from *Annibal* (who moved him & made remonstrances, That now the time was come to recover Sicilie againe with much honor & glorie: and being himselfe there present in person no bad solicitor by word of mouth to further & follow the cause) he easily perswaded the Carthaginians & prevailed that as great a power both of horse & foot as might possibly be raised, should passe over into Sicilie. Being arrived at Heraclea, within few daies after Agrigentum was delivered up into his hands. And all other cities, which had banded & taken part with the Carthaginians, were put in so good hope to drive the Romans out of Sicilie: that even they at last who were besieged within Saracofe, took hart unto them; & were so in their ruffe, that supposing part of their forces sufficient enough to defend their citie, they parted between them the charge & managing of the whole war in this manner: That *Epicides* should remaine behind for the guard and defence of the citie, and *Hippocrates* ioyned with *Himilco*, and warre jointly against the Romanes. Hee with 10000 foot, and 50 horse, set out by night: and passed betweene the *Corps de guard*, where none at all warded, and encamped about the citie Acerræ. As they were fortifying their campe, *Marcellus* came upon them as hee retired backe from Agrigentum, possessed now by the adverse part: whether he had made great hast, but in vaine, in hope to prevent his enemies, and get thither afore: but little thought he (and nothing lesse) than in his returne from thence, at that time and in that place, to meete with an armie of Saracensians that should make head against him. Howbeit, for feare of *Himilco* and the Carthaginians, whom he knew to be abroad, and with whom he was not able to make his part good with that power which he had about him, he marched as circumspectly

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spectly as he could, having his eye on every side, and led his army in good order of battaile against all occurrences whatsoever might happen by the way. And so as good hap was, than gave full forecast and diligence, which he was provided with against the Carthaginians, served him in very good steed against the Sicilians. Finding them therefore busie in pitching their tents, without order, and skattered asunder, and most of them unarmed, he environed soone all the Infanterie that they had, and put them to the sword. But the Cavallerie after a slight skirmish begun, fled with their leader *Hippocrates* to *Acrae*. *Marcellus* after he had by this fight refreshed, and kept in the Sicilians, who were at hand to fall away: and revolt unto the Romanes, returned to *Saracofe*: and after some few dayes, *Himilco* joynted with *Hippocrates*, and encamped about eight miles from thence, upon the river *Anatis*.

Likewise about the same time, or very neere, it hapned that 55 war-ships of the Carthaginians, under the conduct of *Bomilcar*, Admirall of the Armada, put into the great haven of *Saracofe* out of the deepe and maine sea: and also the Romanes fleet of thirtie gallies, with five ranks of oars, arrived at *Panormus*, and landed the first legion there: and thus the warre was turned, and diverted from *Italie*. So wholly seemed both nations, as well Romanes as Carthaginians, amused upon nothing now but *Sicilie*. *Himilco* making full account to prey upon the Romanes legion which was set a land at *Panormus*, as they should come to *Saracofe*, missed of the right way to meete with them: for he marched and led his power far within land higher in the country, but the legion coasted along by the sea side, accompanied as it were with the fleet which flanked them: and came to *Pachinus* unto *Appius Claudius*, who with part of his forces went out to meet them on the way. But the Carthaginians made no long stay about *Saracofe*. For *Bomilcar* having small trust and confidence in his ships, considering that the Romanes were comming toward him with a fleet, and were twice as many in number: and withall seeing, that by sojourning there, he did no other good but with his companie empoverish and eat out his friends, spread and halved up saile, and with a mery wind passed over into *Africa*. *Himilco* also, who had dogged and followed after *Marcellus* in vaine as far as *Saracofe*, to espie some good opportunitie and vantage to bid him battaile, before he joynted with a greater power: seeing that he was hereof disappointed, and the enemy lying about *Saracofe* safe and secure, as well in regard of their fortifications, as their forces: because he would not spend any longer time to no purpose in sitting there still, to looke upon their allies how they were besieged, he dislodged and removed from thence: attending, wheresoever there were any hope and likelihood of revolt from the Romanes, thither to come with his armie, and shew himselfe in person, to encourage and animate by his presence, those that favoured his part. And first he recovered *Murgantia*, where the Romanes garrison was betrayed by the inhabitants, and delivered unto his hands. Into which citie the Romanes had conveyed great store of corne, victuall, and provision of all sorts. Vpon this revolt, other cities also tooke hart unto them, and the Romanes garrisons were either thrust and driven out of the castles and fortress, or els were treacherously betrayed, surprised, and destroyed.

The citie *Enna*, seated upon an high hill, and on every side inaccessible, as it was by naturall situation of the ground imprenable, so it had a strong garrison within the castle, and a capitaine of that garrison, one, that was not so easy to be compassed and over-raught by deceitfull traines. His name was *Pinarius*, a witty man, & hardie withall, who reposed more trust in his owne diligence to prevent, that he might not possibly be deceived, than in the truth and faith of the Sicilians. And at this time more than ever before, he stood upon his gard, and tooke heedfull care of himselfe and his charge, by occasion that he heard of so many treacheries & treasons, so many revolts of cities, and massacres of garrisons: and therefore as well by day as night, he looked that the castle was well provided and furnished of good watch and ward continually, and the souldiers never departed from their armor nor their appointed place. Which when the chiefe citizens of *Enna* perceived, who already had covenanted with *Himilco*, and promised to betray the fort and the garrison: and saw that the Romanes capitaine was so wary, that he lay not open unto the opportunitie of any fraudulent and guilefull course, they resolved by a pect and open meanes to effect this their designed enterprise. They alleged therefore unto *Pinarius*, that the citie and castle both, ought to be in their power since that they entred into league and amitie with the Romanes as freemen, and were not yeilded as slaves to be kept in duresse and prison. Reason would therefore, and meete it was (as they thought) that all the keyes of the gates were delivered unto them. With good and trustie allies, their owne faith and truth is the surest bond: And no doubt, the

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A people and Senate of Rome would give them greater thanke, and esteeme more deere of them, if so be they of themselves, not by constraint but of willing mind, would abide and continue in their sound allegiance and fast friendship. *Pinarius* made answer againe, That he was by his generall placed there, capitaine of the garrison: at his hands he received the keyes of the gates, and the Constableship of the castle, and the same to hold and keepe neither at his owne will, nor at the pleasure of the men of *Enna*; but at his disposition, who lealed him his commission. Now for a capitaine to abandon his fort (quoth he) is a capitall crime among the Romanes, by vertue of a law, which our fathers themselves have confirmed, even by the exemplary punishment & death of their owne children, who have transgressed the same. And seeing the Constable *Marcellus* is not far off, ye may if it please you, send your embassadours unto him, of whom you may be certified, under whose power, commandement, and government I am. I tush, say they, we will never send unto him. But if words and reasons may not prevaile, we will worke some other meanes to recover our libertie againe. Then quoth *Pinarius* to them, If ye thinke much to addresse your messengers to the Constable, yet do me this favour, as to call a common counsell of the people for my sake, that I may know, whether these demands proceede from some few, or from the whole bodie of the citie. So it was accorded and agreed, that a generall assemblie should be proclaimed against the morrow. Then *Pinarius* after that he was departed from this parlie, returned into the fortress, and calling his souldiers together, spake unto them in this wise. I suppose, ye have heard already (my souldiers) in what sort the Romanes garrisons have these dayes past, bene betrayed and murdered by the Sicilians. That treacherie hitherto ye have avoided & escaped; first & principally through the goodnesse of the gods: next and immediately by your owne valour and prowess, and by continuall watch & ward standing in your armor both day & night. And I would to God ye might passe as well the time to come, without falling into this hard choise, either to endure & suffer some horrible mischiefe, or to execute and commit a fearefull example of crueltie. This intended treason of theirs, hath bene carried and conveyed closely and cautelously all this while, & seeing they cannot as yet meet with any advantage to surpris us, they would seem now openly and without dissimulation, to demand for to have all the keyes of the gates under their hands. Which we should not so soon part with & render unto them, but presently *Enna* would turne to the Carthaginians, and more cruelly should we heere be murdered and hewen in peeces, than the garrison was at *Murgantia*. Much a do I had to obtaine of them respite of this one night, to take further counsell: that I might advertise you of the present danger, wherein both I and you stand. To morrow morning by day light, they purpose to hold a solemne assembly of the people, and to make a speech unto them, to accuse me, and to stirre them up against you. And to morrow is the day, that the citie *Enna* shall overflow either with the blood of you, or of the inhabitants. And be ye well assured, that as ye shall loose all that you have, if they surpris you: so in case you prevent them & begin the fray, there shall no perill at all betide you. Looke who first laich hand on his sword & draweth it, he shall carie away the victorie cleere. Therefore ye must beethere, prest in your armour, and attentive to expect a signall from me. I my selfe will be present in the assembly, and with parling and debating, temporise and draw out the time, untill ye be all in readinesse and every thing in order. And so soone as I shall give you a signe with my gowne, then let me heare you set up an outcrie, then let me see you fall upon the multitude: down with them and spare not, and put them all to the sword. See in any case there be not one of them escape your hands and remaine a live; from whom ye may feare any harme, either by fraud or force. And now I beseech thee O *Dame Ceres*, and thy daughter *Proserpina*; and all other gods in heaven above, or in hell beneath, who inhabit this citie, these holy lakes and sacred groves, wherein ye are honoured, and worshipped, to vouchsafe to be propice and favourable unto us; in case we enter into this action and enterprise, for the avoiding of treacherie intended against us, and not to offer mischiefe unto other: and not otherwise. I would use more words unto you my friends and souldiours, for to animate and encourage you, if it were that you had to deale with men in armes: but since they are naked, unarmed, & unwarned, you shall kill and sleie them at your pleasure, and satisfie your selves with their blood. And to the end that you need not feare any harme from *Himilco* and the Carthaginians, loe the Constable himselfe lieth encamped neere at hand. After this exhortation, they were dismissed, to take their resfection and rest. The next day, they were bestowed in sundrie parts of the citie; some to beset all the streets, others to stop the passages and the waies against the townsmen, that they might not escape. But the most of them,

them stood upon and about the Theatre, and were nothing suspected, as being used heretofore to behold and see the assemblies of the people. The Roman captain *Publius*, was by the magistrates brought forth & presented before the people, where hee pleaded; That it lay not in his hands, but in the power and authoritie of the Consull, to dispose of that which they demanded; and he iterated for the most part, the same allegations that he shewed the day before. At first they began gently, some few by litle and litle; afterwards more and more of them, required him to deliver up the keys; and so consequently all with one voice charged and commanded him so to do: and when hee seemed to make some stay & deferre the matter, they menaced & threatened fiercely, yea, and seemed as if they would no longer forbear, but proceed to extreme violence. Then the capaine made a signe with his robe, according to the former agreement, & with that, the soldiers who had their eyes upon him, waiting wistly for the signall, and were ready for execution, set up a lowd crie & ran: some from aloft upon the multitude assembled over against them; others stood thicke at every corner of the Theatre, where the people should go forth, & opposed themselves against them. Thus the men of Enna, shut up & penned within the theatre, were massacred & lay tumbled one upon other, not they onely that were killed, but such also as fled one over anothers head: the sound fell upon the wounded, the quick upon the dead, one with another, by heapes. Then there was running from thence sundrie waies, & as if the citie had bin taken upon assault by the enemy, there was nothing but murdering & flying away in every place. And as hore & furious were the soldiers in the execution of this unarmed multitude (whom they judged worthily & justly to be killed) as if like danger presented unto them, or holler raised in (set battle), had provoked them thereto. Thus Enna was held still for the Romanes, by this means: were the deed simply ill, or by circumstance needful & necessarie; *Marcellus* mistook not of the fact, and granted the pillage of the citizens of Enna to the soldiers: supposing that the Sicilians thoroughly frightened by this fearfull example, would betray no more garisons. The calamitie & hard fortune of this citie, (standing as it did, in the very hart of Sicilie) was in one day divulged and noised throughout the Island, from one end to the other. And otherwise, a famous & renowned town it was, either for the natural situation so exceeding strong; or because all places in it, were accounted sacred & holy, in remembrance of *Proserpina*, who in times past left her footing & traces there, at what time as the was stolen away & ravished by *Pluto*. Nowe was generally thought by the Sicilians, that this cursed & detestable massacre, had defiled & polluted not onely the habitations of men, but also the temples of the gods: whereupon even they likewise, who stood but doubtfull and indifferent before, fell now away from the Romanes, and turned to the Carthaginians.

Then *Hippocrates* retired to Murgantia, and *Himilco* to Agrigentum: who were sent for, by the conspiratours and traitors within Enna, and approached with their forces, but to no purpose. *Marcellus* returned to the Léontines countie: and after hee had brought into the campe corne and other victuals, and left there a mean guard, hee presented himselfe to the siege that lay before Saracose. And when hee had sent *Appius Claudius* to Rome to sue for the Consullship, hee committed the charge in his roume of the armada there, and the old leaguer unto *T. Quintius Crispinus*. Himselfe erected and fortified his wint'ring harbours five myles from Exapylos, at a place which men call Leontia. And these were the affairs of Sicilie unto the beginning of winter.

In the same summer, the warre began likewise with king *Philip*, which long before had bene suspected. For there came Embassadours from Oricum to *M. Valerius* the Pretor, Admirall of the fleet, for the defence of Brundisium, and the sea coast therabout, of Calabria, & made report that *Philip* first assaied to win *Apollonia*, and was come up the river with one hundred & twentie light gallies, or foists with two ranks of oars against the streame: and afterwards, seeing hee could not effect his purpose so speedily as hee hoped, privily by night hee approached with his armie to Oricum: and that the citie, situate upon a plaine, neither strongly fenced with walls, nor well manned with souldiours, ne yet furnished with armour and munition, was at the first assault surprised and woon. And as they recounted these newes, so, they besought him to grant aid and succour: and to make head against this undoubted enemy of the Romanes, either by land, or forces at sea, and to chase him away from them, who for no other reason were by him failed, but because they were neer neighbors to Italie. *M. Valerius* leaving the guard of that place to *T. Valerius* his Lieutenant generall, with a fleet of ships well rigged, furnished, and appointed; and having embarked these souldiours (which the gallies for war would not receive) in the merchants ships of burden, arrived at Oricum on the second day after, and finding that the

kept

A kept with a small and slight garrison, which *Philip* when he departed from thence, had left there, recovered it without much resistance. Thither repaired unto him Embassadours from Apollonia, who brought word that they were besieged, because they refused to revolve from the Romanes: and were not able to hold out any longer against the forcible attempts of the Macedonians, unless a garrison of Romanes were sent unto them. Hee promised to effect whatsoever they desired, and so shipped a thousand elect and choise souldiours in gallies, & sent them to the mouth of the river, under the conduct of a capaine of Allies *Nevius Crispus*, an industrious man & an expert souldiour. He having landed his men, and sent the gallies backe to Oricum (from whence hee came) to the rest of the armada, conducted his souldiours higher in the countie, farre from the river side, by a way that was not beset nor held by the kings forces: and in the night season, unware to all the enemies, entred the citie. The day following they rested, only the captain tooke

B a survey of the youth & able men of Apollonia, of their armor & the munitions & forces of the citie. When hee had scene and perused all, thereupon hee was well appaied and encouraged to fight, and wit hall, hee had learned by the escoutes and spies, how trechlesse, ydle, and negligent the enemies were without. So at midnight hee went forth of the citie without any noise, and entered the campe of the enemies so carelessly guarded as it was, and lying so open: that by credible report, there were above one thousand men gotten within the trench & rampier, before that any one was ware thereof, and if they had held their hands & not fallen to killing, they might have passed on still even as farre as to the kings pavilion. But by reason that they slew the warders next the gates, the enemies were raised: whereupon, they were all so frightened and terrified, that

C not onely there was never a souldiour tooke weapon in hand, and went about to repulse the enemy out of the campe, but even the king himselfe, halfe naked as he was, and newly awakened out of his sleepe, clad in simple appaerell, scarce decent for a common souldiour, much lesse ywis for a king, was faine to run toward the river side to his ships. Thither also the other multitude fled disordered in heapes. There were not many under three thousand, either slaine or taken prisoners in the campe. Yet there were more by oddes of the enemies taken, than killed. In the rising of the campe, the Apollonians met with Catapults and Balists, and other engines, provided for the assault of the citie, which they conveyed all to Apollonia, to serve for defence of their walls against the like occasion of needfull service. All the boodie besides of the campe was graunted unto the Romanes.

D Tidings hereof being come to Oricum, *M. Valerius* presently set forth the Armada as far as to the mouth of the river, that the king might not flee away and escape by sea with his ships, whereupon *Philip* distrustful of his power as well by sea as shore, and doubting he was not able to match the Romanes, drew up some of his ships to land, set fire upon the rest, and so by land went into Macedonie, with a great part of his souldiours disarmed and spoiled. The Roman fleet wintered at Oricum with *M. Valerius*.

The same yeere in Spaine the affairs went variably on both sides. For before that the Romanes passed over the river Iberus, *Mago* & *Asdruball* defeated a mightie host of Spaniards, so as, all the fatter part of Spaine had fallen from the Romanes, but that *P. Cornelius* made hast to transport his armie over Iberus, and came in good time to settle the wavering and doubtfull minds of the

E allies. At the first the Romanes encamped at *Castum Alunt*, a place memorable for the death of great *Amilcar*. The castle was well fortified and thither afore, they had conveyed corne. But because all those quarters thereabout were full of enemies, and sundrie times, their Cavallic had charged the Roman footmen, and gone cleere away without any harme, whereby there had ben slain at times upon a 2000 of them, which either made small halt away, & staid behind, or straggled loosely over the fields: the Romanes departed from thence, neerer unto places of more securitie & peace, and fortified themselves in campe upon the mount of *Alunt*. Thither came *Cn. Scipio* with all his forces, and likewise *Asdruball* the sonne of *Gisco*, the third captaine of the Carthaginians with a full armie. And they all encamped beyond the water, over against the fort of the Romanes above said. *P. Scipio*, accompanied with certaine light armed souldiours, was gone out closely to discover and take view of the places thereabout, howbeit not so covertly, but hee was espied by the enemies, and (no doubt) they had put him to a shrewd foile in the open plaine champaign, but that hee tooke a little hill thereby for his vantage. Where hee was environned and beset round about: but by the coming of his brother *Cneus*, he was delivered out of that danger.

Castulo,

Castulo, a famous and strong citie in Spaine, and so nere linked in affinitie to the Carthaginians, that *Anniball* from thence married his wife, raunged to the Romanes. The Carthaginians came against *Illiturgum*, and began to assault it, because a garison of the Romanes lay there: and like they were to be mailters of the towne, by occasion especially of a great dearth and scarcitie of victuals within. But *Cn. Scipio* for to relieve his friends and the garison, went out with a legion lightly appointed without cariages, and marching betwene the two camps of the enemies, skirmished with them, slew many of them, and entred the citie. The morrow after, he sallied out, joyined in fight with the enemy, and sped as well: so as in both battailes there were slaine of them, above twelve thousand in the place, more than ten thousand taken prisoners, and 36 militarie ensignes caried away. Thus the siege brake up at *Illiturgum*. After this, the Carthaginians began to lay siege unto *Bigerra* (a citie also confederate with the Romanes.) But *Cn. Scipio* at his coming raised that siege without any conflict. Then the Carthaginians from thence went forward against *Munda*, and the Romanes followed them thither streight after. There they encountered together, and fought a set battaile with banners displayed, for the space welneere of foure houres. And as the Romanes bare themselves bravely, and had gotten the better, and were at point of the victorie, the retreat was sounded, by occasion that *Cn. Scipio* was hurt fore in his thigh with a barbed javelin, and the souldiers about him were greatly afraid, that the wound was deadly. But no doubt, if it had not bene for that stay and hinderance, the very camp of the Carthaginians might that day have bene forced. For not only the souldiers, but the Elephants also were driven already so farre as the trench, and even there upon the very banke, 39 of them were sticked with darts and pikes. In this battaile likewise, were killed (by report) twelve thousand men, almost three thousand taken prisoners, and 57 militarie ensignes woon. Then the Carthaginians retred back to the citie *Aurinx*, and the Romanes followed upon them, because they would give them no time to rest and breath themselves after their fright. Where *Scipio* being brought into the field in a litter, gave them battaile the second time, and got the victorie cleere: but fewer of the enemies were slaine by the one halfe than afore, because there were not so many in number left to fight. But (as they are a nation given naturally to renew warre, and to be ever fighting, and can not give over) they soone repaired and made up all their forces. For *Asdruball* had sent his brother *Mago*, to levie and gather new souldiours: whereupon they tooke fresh hart againe to try another field. These, being for the most part other souldiours (new come) fought as it were in revenge, and to uphold that side which in few dayes space had so often taken the foyle, and demeaned themselves as courageously as they before, and sped as untowardly. For there were slaine of them above eight thousand, not many under one thousand taken captives, with militarie ensignes 58. In rifling of them, there was found very much spoile of the Gauls, as rings of gould, carkanets, colars, and bracelets great store. Over and besides, two great lords or princes of the Gauls, whose names were *Manicapus* and *Civismarus*, were slaine outright in that conflict. Eight Elephants taken alive, and three killed.

Now when as the affaires in Spaine went thus fortunately with the Romanes, they began at length for very shame to thinke of *Saguntum*, a towne that was the cause of all these warres, and had now five yeares already bene in the hands and possession of the enemy. Whereupon by force of armes they recovered it, drave out of the towne the garison of the Carthaginians, and restored it againe to the auncient inhabitants, as many as remained alive, and had escaped these broiles of warre. As for the Turdetanes, who were the occasion of the warres betwene the *Saguntines* and the Carthaginians, they subdued them, and brought them under their subjection, sold them in port sale, and destroyed their citie utterly. These were the atchievances in Spaine during the time that *Q. Fabius* and *M. Claudius* were Consuls.

At Rome, when the new Tribunes of the commons were once entred into their office, presently *L. Metellus* one of the Tribunes aforesaid, arrested the Censors *P. Furius*, and *M. Atilius*, peremptory to make their apparence and answer before the people. These Censors had taken from him being Treasurer the year before, his horse of service allowed him by the citie, called & displaced him out of his Tribe, deprived him of libertie to give his voice, & made him *Aerarius*, and all, for being a partie with them at Cannæ, who, conspired to abandon *Italic*. But by the meanes and mediation of the other nine Tribunes, they were discharged: for they would not suffer, that the Censors should come to their answer while they were in office. And the death of one of them, namely *P. Furius*, was the cause that they could not accomplish the fessing & numbring

A bring of the citizens. And then *M. Atilius* surrendered up his Magistracie. *Qu. Fabius Max.* held the solemne assembly and parliament of the people for the election of Consuls, wherein were created *Q. Fabius Max.* the Consul his sonne, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time, both absent. For Pretours, there were elected *M. Atilius*, and with him, they who at that time were *Ædiles* of the chaire, to wit, *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *Cn. Fulvius Centimalus*, and *M. Aemylus Lepidus*.

This yeare, as it appeareth in old Records, were the Stage-plays first set out by the *Ædiles* of the chaire, and continued foure dayes. This *Ædile Tuditanus* above named was he, who at Cannæ (when all besides him for feare were astonied, in that wofull calamitie) brake forcibly through the mids of the enemies, and escaped. When *Q. Fabius* the old Consull had finished the Election, then the new Consuls Elect were sent for, to repaire into Rome; and they entred their Magistracie. Then they assembled the Senate for to consult and take order for the warre, for the provinces as well their owne, as those that were under the Pretours: also concerning the armies, and the disposition of every charge and place of commaund. So the provinces and armies were divided in this wise: The warre with *Anniball*, wherefoever it fell out, was committed to the managing of the Coss with the charge of one armie, which *Sempronius* himselfe had before under his conduct: and of another, commaunded by *Fabius* the Consull. And those were two legions. *M. Aemylus* the Pretour, whose lot it was to have the jurisdiction over the foreiners, had committed his auctoritie unto his Colleague *Atilius*, the Pretour of the citizens of Rome, that he might governe the province about *Luceria*, and those two legions, over which *Q. Fabius* now Consull, had the commaund, while he was Pretour. To *Sempronius* the Pretor, befell the province of *Ariminum*. To *Cn. Fulvius* was allotted *Suessula*, with two legions likewise: so as, *Fulvius* should have the leading of the legions of citizens, and *Tuditanus* receive his from *M. Pomponius*. The government of the forein provinces continued still in the former deputies. *M. Claudius* ruled *Sicilie*, so farre as the dominion of king *Hiero* extended: and *Centulus* the Viz-Pretour, had the charge of the old province. *T. Otacilius* was high Admirall of the navie, without any new supply or augmentation of forces. *M. Valerius* was employed in Greece and Macedonie, with one legion, and the armada which he had before. *Q. Mutius* was L. Deputie in *Sardinia*, having under him the old armie, consisting of two legions. And *C. Terentius* had the administration of the affaires in *Picenum*, with that one legion which long time he had bene D captain of. Moreover, it was decreed and agreed upon, that there should be mustred and enrolled two new legions of citizens, and twentie thousand men besides levied of allies and associates. With these captaines and these forces aforesaid, they provided for the defence and maintenance of the State and Empire of Rome, against many warres at once, either in hand already, or suspected shortly. The Consuls having enrolled two legions of citizens, and chosen a supplie to make out the rest, before that they set foote out of the citie, procured the pacification of the gods, for the fearefull & prodigious tokens that were reported. For the wall and gates of Rome were blasted and smitten with lightning from heaven: and likewise the temple of *Jupiter* at *Aricia*. Other vaine objects and illusions also of the eyes and eares, which men imagined they saw and heard, were beleevied for truthe. Namely, there appeared in the river of *Tarracina* certain resemblances and shewes of gallies, whereas in deece there were none such. And in the temple of *Iup. Vicilinus*, which standeth in the territorie of *Cossa*, there was heard, forsooth, rustling of armour: and the river of *Amitemus* seemed to run with blood. When satisfaction was made for these strange signes, the gods pleased, and all well againe, according to the direction set downe by the Priests and Prelates, then the Consuls set forward in their expedition, *Sempronius* into *Lucania*, and *Fabius* into *Apulia*. Where, if it fell out, that *Fabius* the father repaired into the camp at *Suessula*, as Lieutenant & assistant unto his sonne. And when *Fabius* the younger went forth to meete him, and his sergeants or huiffers marching afore, said not a word to *Fabius* the father, nor put him aside to give way, for very reverence of his person. (such a majestic he caried) the old man rode forward, and passed by eleven of the said *Lictors* with their bundles of rods. Then the Consull commaunded the Serjeant that was next himselfe to do his office: and with that, the said huiffier called upon old *Fabius*, to alight from his horseback: and at last, as he set foot a ground: I did all this but to try quoth he, my sonne, whether you knew well that you were a Consull or no.

There came that night secretly to the Consull while the camp lay there, one *Cassius Attinius* an

an Arpinate, with his three bondslaves, promising, that if hee might have a good reward for his service, he would betray Arpos into his hands. *Fabius* then proposed this matter unto his counsell, to be debated off. Some were of opinion, that *Altinus* was to be whipped and put to death, fugitive renegade and false knave as he was: a common enemy, and a dangerous to either part, and playing with both hands, like a double-hearted hypocrite. Who first, after the overthrow at Cannæ (as if hee might turne with the wheele of fortune, and goe from his woord and faithfull promise, and change ever as the chancheth) raunged himselfe unto *Anniball*; and by his example, drew with him Arpos to revolt and rebell: now, after that he seeth the Roman estate to rise again, and hold up head (and that, beyond his hope, and contrary to his desires) he would play the villain and turne-coat againe, and come with a new practise of a more shamefull treason than before: as if trecherie and falshood were of the nature and qualitie of a judgement passed in Septenvirall court: and as if he might be allowed to carrie two faces under a hood, & alter every houre. Faithlesse friend, that he is, not to be trusted, and slipperie enemy, not to be regarded. A good deed it were, that together with that same traitour of Falerij, and the other of king *Pyrrhus*, hee made a third, and were punished accordingly for exemplarie justice, to teach all rogues and renegates hereafter, how they run from their lords and maisters. On the other side, old *Fabius* (the Consuls father) replied againe and said, That men nowadaies had forgotten how to make difference of factions, and in the very heat and midst of warres, reasoned and gave their opinion and censure of every thing and person, as in a free time of open peace: when as indeed, wee are to thinke, consider, and deliberate of this point, that (if possible it might bee) no more of our allies revolt from the people of Rome, rather than invite and incite them thereto: and after one is started aside, and upon repentance returned againe to the auncient amitie, to fall a reviling and rebuking of him, and bitterly to say, that he deserveth to be made an example to all others. For if it may be lawfull for one to turne from the Romanes, and held unlawfull to returne againe unto the Romanes, no man need doubt, but shortly the Romane Empire will bee forsaken of all her confederates and allies, and we shall see within a while all the cities in Italie linked and confedered in fast league and friendship with the Carthaginians. And yet (quoth hee) I am not the man, that thinketh *Altinus* worthe to be trusted in any thing for all this, but I would take a meane course and middle way betweene both extremities. My opinion is therefore, that for the present he should be taken neither for enemy nor friend, but commaunded to ward, & to have the libertie of a prisoner, and only be kept forthcomming in some confederat & trustie citie, not far from the campe, during the time of the warre. And when the warre is once finished and ended, then I hold it good to deliberate and consult, whither that his former revolt hath deserved more punishment, than this his present returne meriteth favour and grace. Every man liked well of this advice of old *Fabius*, and gave their assent. So he was bound with chaines, and both himselfe and his companie delivered over and put in custodie, & a good round summe of gold, which he then had brought with him, was by commandement reserved for his use. At Cales he made his abode: where all the day time he used to walk at libertie, with his keepers following him, but in the night they kept him close prisoner. But at Arpi, where his home was, they of his own house began first to misse him, and seeke for him: afterwards, when it was noised throughout the whole citie, that he was out of the way, and could not be found: the same hereof caused a tumult, for the losse of a principall person as hee was, thus revolted to the enemy. And for feare of an alteration in the State, presently the newes thereof was sent to *Anniball*. Who was nothing offended thereat, both because long afore he had the partie himselfe in jealousie and suspicion, as one neither fish nor flesh, a man of no credit, and hardly to be trusted; and also for that he found a good occasion and quartrell to seize upon the goods of so rich and substantiall a citizen, and to make sale thereof. But to the end, that the world might thinke, that hee was more angrie against his person, than greedie of his substance, he joined with crueltie, a grave course also of judicall severitie, that the one might serve as a fuile to give lustre to the other. For having sent for his wife & children into the campe, first he examined them straitly, for to know whether he was fled, and what store of silver and gold he had left behind him at home in his house: and when he had learned ynough of them touching every particular, and as much as he desired, he burnt them quick to ashes.

Fabius being departed from Suesula, purposed the first thing that hee did, to assaile Arpi. Where he lay encamped a mile from the town: and after hee had well viewed by night approach, the situation of the citie, and considered the wall, looke where hee saw it was most strong and

and sure, and therefore guarded most slightly and negligently, there especially he purposed to give the hottest assault. And when he had sufficiently provided & got together all ordinance and engines, requisite for the batterie of cities, he made choise of the most hardie and valiant Centurions of the whole armie, and set over them certaine Tribunes and marshals, valourous and doubtie good men, and appointed unto them a regiment of fixe hundred souldiours (for so many he thought sufficient for the present service) with direction and commaundement, that when the trumpet sounded the reliefe of the fourth watch, they should bring skaling ladders to that place aforesaid. Now there stood a gate low and narrow, answering to a street not much used and frequented, by reason that quarter of the citie was not inhabited, but stood void. That gate hee gave them order first to scale and climbe over, and then to goe forward on the wall, & from within-forth to breake downe the barres, and levell the said gate, and when they were maisters of that quarter of the citie, then to wind the home, & give signall to the rest of the forces for to approach and come hard to the towne, saying, That he would have all things in readinesse, and in good order. This direction was performed accordingly with great diligence, & that which was thought and feared, would have been a hinderance and let unto them in the action, was the only thing which helped them most, that they were not descried. And that was a smoking shower of raine that began after midnight, which caused the warders and watchmen to quit their standings, forsake the Sentinels, and to flie into the houses for covert. The first noise of the storme pouring downe with such force, made, that the rumbling of the souldiours could not bee heard, as they were breaking downe the gate; and as it grew after to raine more softly, and so kept still at one, it sounded gently and sweetly in their eares, untill it brought a good many of them fast asleepe.

Now after they had seized the gate, the marshals gave order, That the Cornettiers should be bestowed in that void street aforesaid, distant equally asunder, and to wind their hornes, for to waken and raise the Consull. Which being done, according as it was before agreed, the Consull commaunded the standards and ensignes to be brought forth, and somewhat before day light, entered at the said broken gate into the citie. With that, the enemies at length began to rouse themselves, for now the shower and storme was past, and the day approached. There was a garrison in the citie at hand of five thousand of *Anniball* his souldiours, armed and well appointed: and the Arpines of themselves were 3000 strong. Those the Carthaginians put in the forefront, as a forlorne hope, and opposed them against the enemy, for feare of some trecherous prank that they might play behind their backs. First they began to arraigne themselves to fight in the darke, blind, and narrow lanes. For the Romanes had filled and taken up not onely all the streets, but also the houses that were next the gate, to the end, they might not be gauled with shot, and wounded from aloft. Some Arpines and Romanes fell at length to meet, to take knowledge and acquaintance one of another, and so began to commune and talke together. The Romanes asked what the Arpines meant to rebell; for what offence and harme given of the Romanes, and for what desert & benefit received from the Carthaginians, should they (being naturall Italians) maintaine warre, for Aliens, straungers, and barbarous nations, against the Romanes their old friends and auncient allies; and so to bring Italie in subjection to Affricke, to do homage and fealtie, yea and to become tributarie, and to pay pension unto it? The Arpines excused and cleared themselves, saying that they (simple men, and ignorant of all things) were bought and sold by their great rulers and principall citizens, and lived in manner as captives and slaves under the commaund of some few persons, that might do all. Vpon this beginning, more & more of them grew to parling and conference. At length the Pretour of Arpi himselfe, was by his own people and citizens brought and presented before the Consull: where, after faithfull promise passed, betweene the ensignes & the battailes; the Arpines immediatly bent their forces on the Romanes side against the Carthaginians. The Spaniards likewise (who were not many under one thousand men) after they had capitulate and agreed with the Romane Consull, nothing but this one article, That the garison of the Carthaginians might be sent forth & passe away safe without harme: came with their colours to the Consull. Then all the gates were set open for the Carthaginians to depart: and being sent away upon safe conduct, without any harme at all or dammage unto *Anniball*, arrived at Salapia. Thus Arpi was restored againe to the Romans, without the losse and detriment of any one man, but one onely old traitour and new fugitive revolt. The Spaniards were appointed to have double allowance of victuals: and they performed good, faithfull, and valiant service many times after to the Commonweale.

A a a

When

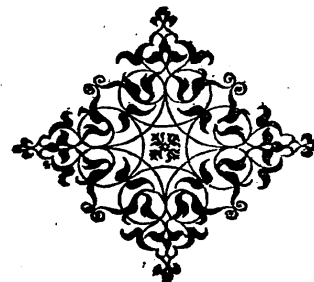
When one of the Consul was in Apulia, and the other in Lucania, one hundred and twelve men of armes, Gentlemen of the nobilitie of Capua, having license graunted by the magistrates to go out of the citie, pretending to make a rode into the enemies countrie, and to fetch in booties and prizes, came directly to the Romanes campe, lying about Sueffula. And meeting with the *Corps de guard*, declared who they were, & that they would parle with the lord Deputie. Now *Cn. Fulvius* was the Generall and commaunder of the armie there: who being advertised and certified heereof, gave order that ten onely of all that number, should bee brought before him unarmed. When he had heard their suite and demanda, which was nothing else, but that when Capua was recovered by the Romanes, they might have their goods restored unto them: he received them all into his protection. The other Pretour also *Sempronius Tuditanus*, woon by force the towne Cliternum: where there were taken prisoners above seven thousand men: and a good H
deale of copper and silver coine gained besides. At Rome there chanced a fearfull and pittifull fire, which continued two nights & one whole day. All between Salinae & the gate Carmentalis, together with the *Aequimelum* and the street *Iugarium*, were burned downe and made even with the ground. Likewise without the gate the fire spred far all about, and in the temples of *Fortuna* and Dame *Matuta*, and *Sper*, consumed much, aswell hallowed as prophane.

The same yeare, when all things prospered well & had good successe in Spain, *P.* and *Cn.* both *Scipioni* having recovered many associates & those of ancient league, that came in again to him and yielded themselves; and besides, gained some new confederates: conceived good hope, and tooke heart to proceed farther even into Affricke.

Syphax king of the Numidians, on a suddaine fell out with the Carthaginians, and became I
their professed enemy. Vnto him the *Scipioni* addrest three Centurians as Embassadors, to treat with him about a league and alliance: and to promise withall, that if he went on still to trouble and molest the Carthaginians, by making warre upon them, hee should do an high favor to the Senate and people of Rome: and that they would endeavour and bring about, that in good time and place, hee should be well requited for that kindeesse, and receiue at their hands a double recompence with thanks. This embassage pleased the barbarous king right well. And after he had conferred & reasoned with the Embassadors, concerning militarie affairs, and the knowledge of warfare: and heard those old and experienced soldiers talke of war, hee soone found his own wants, & how unskillfull himselfe was in many points & feats of armes, in comparison of that
methodicall and orderly discipline, whereof they had discoursed. The first thing then, that he re- K
quested at their hands, was this: that as they were good friends and faithfull allies, two of them
only would go back with their embassie unto their generals, and that the third might remain with
him, to read unto him a lecture in the militarie science of warfare. Saying, that the nation of the
Numidians, were raw and altogether unskillfull in footmens service, & onely nimble and practised
in fight on horseback. So (quoth he) from the first beginning of our nation have our ancestors
used to warre: and so have we from our childhood bene enured to fight. Mary, an enemy I have,
trusting and presuming much upon his Infanterie, whom I would gladly be able to match every
way in all kind of service. Footmen I am able to set out as well as another: for why? my realme
is populous, & yeeldeth abundance of men: but altogether ignorant wee are, how to fit them
with armour, how to manhandle them, how to order and set them in battaile array: inso much as all L
my people in battell go to it pell mell, and are as a multitude huddled and thrumpled together at a
venture, without skil, without discretion and adviement. The Embassadors answered and said,
that for the present, they would do according to his will and pleasure: but withall, they had his
faithfull promise and word of a Prince, that hee should immediately send backe their companion
again, in case their Generals approved not their deed in that behalfe. *Q. Statorius* his name
was, that staid behind with the king. So *Syphax* sent by the two Romans, his answer to the fore-
said embassage, into Spaine: and besides, with them other Numidians, Embassadors of his down,
to receiue farther assurance and securitie from the Romane Generals: unto whom hee gave in
charge, that forthwith they should sollicite, persuade, and entice all the Numidians that
were auxiliarie souldiours unto the Carthaginians, and served in any campe, citie, or garrison M
town of theirs, for to abandon them and come to him. And *Statorius* for his part, having muste-
red a great multitude of serviceable young men; chose forth and enrolled a power of footmen,
to serve in the kings warres: and when hee had sorted them into bands and companies, and
ordred them in battaile array, as neere as possibly hee could, to the manner of the Romanes: he
trained

A trained them in their running to follow their colors: he taught them to keep their places in their
ranks, and to double their files: and likewise he accustomed them to travaile & do worke: & so
acquainted them with other militarie orders and exercises, that within short time, the king repo-
sed as good confidence, and was as mightie in his new Infanterie, as in his old cavallerie: and
in a set pitched field on even ground, was able to meet the Carthaginian with banner displayed,
and give him the foile in a full battaile. The comming of the kings Embassadors into Spaine, was
to the Romanes also a matter of great consequence and importance: for upon the rumour and
fame that went thereof, the Numidians began to fall away apace, and to come thicke unto the
Romanes. Thus were the Romanes joynd in amitie and friendship with king *Syphax*.

When the Carthaginians had intelligence of this new alliance, they addrest immediately
B their embassadors to *Gala*, who reigned in another part of *Numidia*, over a nation called *Mat-
syla*. This *Gala* had a sonne named *Masanisa*, of seventeen yeares of age, but a youth of such to-
wardnesse, and so forward in vertue, that even then hee made good and apparant shew, that he
would another day enlarge his dominion, and make a more flourishing and mightie kingdome, <
than his father should leave it unto him. These Embassadors declared unto *Gala*, that for as much <
as *Syphax* had entred league, and was banded with the Romanes, to the end that by their alliance <
and societie, he might be more mightie and puissant against other kings & nations of Affricke: <
it were also better for him and much more commodious, to joyne with the Carthaginians in all <
convenient speed: before that either *Syphax* passed over into Spaine, or the Romanes into Af- <
ricke: And *Syphax* (say they) may soone be defeated and overthrown now, while that hee hath <
C gained naught yet, but the bare name of the Romane league. *Gala* was soone persuaded to send
a power of men, especially at the earnest instance of his son, who was very desirous of that war, and
to have the manning thereof. He with the helpe of the Carthaginian legions, vanquished *Sy-
phax*, & gave him a great overthrow. So as at that field there were slain by report, in one day thir-
tie thousand. *Syphax* himselfe in person, with some few Numidian horsemen fled backe to the
Maurisians, that inhabit the farthest coasts, hard upon the Ocean over-against Gades. But the
Barbarous people at the fame of his comming so resorted in great numbers to him out of all
parts, that in a short space, hee was able to arme a mightie host. And before he could with them
crosse over into Spaine, which was divided from Affricke, with a narrow arme of the sea, *Masi-
nissa* was come with his victorious armie: who in that place, of himselfe, without any help or aid
D of the Carthaginians, gave *Syphax* battaile, to his great honour and singular glorie. In Spaine
no memorable exploit was achieved, but that the Romane Generals allured and drew to them
the able and serviceable manhood of the Celtiberians, for the same hire and stipend, that
they bargained for with the Carthaginians: and sent from thence above three hundred Spaniards of
the noblest parentage into Italie, to sollicite their countymen who served under *Anniball* as auxi-
liaries, to follow them and take part with the Romanes. This onely, touching the
affaires of Spaine that yeare, is a thing worthie to be noted and remem-
bred, That the Romans never waged soldiour to serve in their war
before that time, when the Celtiberians began to be their
mercenaries, and first received pay.



THE XXV. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the
Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the five and twentieth Booke.



Publius Cornelius Scipio, surnamed afterwards Africanus, was made Ædile, before he was of lawfull yeares. Anniball wonn the citie Tarentum (all but the castle, into which the Roman garrison was retired) by meanes of certain young Tarentine gentlemen, who had made semblance, that they went by night a hunting. The solempne plaies in the honour of Apollo, were now first instituted, upon occasion of certaine propheticall verses of M. artius, wherein the overthrow at Cannæ had been foretold. Q. Fulvius and App. Claudius Consull, fought fortimally against Hanno, a Duke or captain of the Carthaginians. T. Sempronius Gracchus the Treasurall, was by a Lucane (his host that gave him entertenement) trined into the danger of an ambush, and slaine by Mago. Centenius Penula, who had served in the warres as a Centurion, having made suit unto the Senate, to have the leading of an armie, and promised, if this petition were granted, to win the victorie of Anniball, and to vanquish him, tooke the charge of eight thousand footmen, and gave battaile to Anniball: but hee was slaine himselfe, and his whole armie defeated and put to the sword. Cn. Fulvius the Pretour fought unfortunately against Anniball, and lost the field: in which fight there died sixteene thousand men. Himselfe, with two hundred horsemen fled and escaped. Capua was besieged by Q. Fulvius and App. Claudius the Consuls. Claudius M. artius in the third year of the siege, won Syracuse, and bare himselfe in that service like a worthie and noble knight. In that tumult and hurlyburly when the citie was newly taken, Archimedes, whilst he was busily occupied about certaine Geometrical figures and forms that he had drawne in the dust, was killed. The two Scipions, Pub. and Cornel. after many and so worthie exploits performed fortunately in Spaine, came to a wofull and beavie end, being themselves slaine there, with the losse whereof their whole armies, in the eight yeares after that they went into Spaine. And the maine possession of that province had bene quite lost, but for the singular manhood and industrie of L. M. artius a knight of Rome, who having rallied and gathered together the remnants of the armies, so encouraged them, that by their valiant service two severall encamped holds of the enemies were wonn, seven and thirtie thousand of the enemies slaine, and eightene hundred taken prisoners, and a great rich bootie obtained. Whereupon he was called Capitaine M. artius.



Whiles these affaires thus passed in Affricke and in Spaine, Anniball employed the summer season in the territorie of Tarentum, in hope by treason to be maister of the citie of the Tarentines. In which meane while, certaine base cities of the Salentines, and townes of no importance revolted unto him. And at the same time, of those 12 States of the Brutii, which the yeare before had turned, & banded with the Carthaginians, the Consentines and Thurines were rallied wholly again to the devotion of the people of Rome. And more of them had returned likewise, but for L. Pomponius Vientianus, captain of the allies: who after he had made certaine rodes into the countrey of the Brutii, and sped his hand well with many booties, tooke upon him the countenance of a sufficient Colonell, and was no lesse reputed: and having gathered a power of men, suddainly in hast without good adviement, fought with Hanno. In which conflict, a mightie multitude of his men were either slaine or taken prisoners. But, as good hap was, they were but a disordered unruly rable of rusticall clownes and bond-slaves: and the least losse of all other, was the capitaine himselfe, who amongst the rest was taken captive: a man as then, the authour of a rash and foole-hardie fight, and had bene a foretime a Publi-

A Publicane or farmer of the citie revenues, and alwaies (through his naughtie practises and cunning fetches and shifts wherein he was become skilfull) a disloyall person, and dangerous both to the publicke State, and also to those privat companies and societies, with whom he had commerce and dealing. Sempronius the Consull, lying in the Lucanes countrie, made many light skirmishes, but not any one worth remembrance, and woon certaine poore townes, and of small regard, belonging unto the Lucanes.

The longer that this warre continued lingering, whilst prosperous successe and advetse mishap interchangeably wrought much varietie and alteration, as well in the inward minds of men, as in their outward state & fortune; such religious zeale and superstition (& the same for the most part in forein ceremonies) had so seized & possessed the citie, that either the men or gods therof, were sodainly all at once become clean altered, and transfigured. In so much as now the Roman rites & holy observations were contemned, not only in secret and within dores at home in their privat houses, but abroad also in the open streets, yea and in the common place and Capitoll: where there stocket alwayes a sort of women, that neither offered sacrifice and oblations, nor said their prayers, and did their devotions according to the use and custome of their native countrie and citie. Certaine od priests and chaplaines, yea and dotting wiseards and blind prophets, had inveigled the minds and consciences of men: whose number was the greater by reason first of the rurall people and paissants of the countrie, who for neede and povertie, and for feare together, were driven to quit their lands which they had not tilled and husbanded, by reason of the long warres, and many invasions and rodes that laid all wast, and so retired into the citie; afterwards by the easy occupation and readie meanes of gaine which they found by the error of others, whom they soone seduced and abused: which trade they used and practised openly, as if it had bene a lawfull art and misterie. At the first, divers good and honest persons began secretly to grieve and be offended herewith, yea and to mutter and utter their griefes in private: but afterwards in proceesse of time, the matter was presented before the LL. of the counsell, and brake forth to open complaint in publick places. The Ædiles and Triumvirs capitall were blamed much, and sharply rebuked of the Senate, for not redressing these disorders: and when they went in hand, to rid the common place of this multitude, and to cast down, overturne and fling away the preparation and provison for their sacrifices and oblations, they had like to have bene misused and mischieved by the people. When this maladic and misorder seemed now to be greater than might be remedied and reformed by the meaner and inferior Magistrate, M. Aemilius, Pretor of the citie for the time being, received commission by order from the Senate, to see that the people were eased and delivered from this new religion and superstition. He not only red unto them in a publicke assembly the decree of the Senate in that behalfe, but also made proclamation, *Imprimis*, that whosoever had any bookes of prophecies or prayers, or treatises written of this art and science of sacrifices, should bring in all those books and writings unto him before the Kalends of Aprill next ensuing. *Item*, that no person should sacrifice either in publick place, or sacred Church, after any new forme or forein rites and traditions. And in that yeare, there dyed certaine publick Priests, to wit, L. Cornelius Lentulus the Arch-prelate, or high Priest: and C. Papyrius Maffo, the sonne of Caius, a Bishop. Also P. Furius Philus an Augur, and C. Papyrius Maffo the sonne of Lucius, a Decemvir, deputed for holy mysteries. In place of Lentulus and of Papyrius, were M. Cornelius Cethegus, and Cn. Servilius Cepio substituted high-priest and bishop. For Augur, there was created L. Quintus Flaminius: and L. Cornelius Lentulus was chosen Decemvir over sacred ceremonies and divine service.

Now the time drew neere of the solempne election of new Consuls: but because it was not thought good to call the old away, (busied as they were in the warres) T. Sempronius one of the Consuls, nominated for Dictator, to hold that election aforesaid, C. Claudius Cento, who named for his Generall of the Cavallerie Q. Fulvius Flaccus. This Dictatour, the first comitial day following, created for Consuls Q. Fulvius Flaccus abovenamed, his Generall of horsemen, and App. Claudius Pulcher, who in his Pretourship had the jurisdiction and government of the province of Sicillie. Then were the Pretours elected, Cn. Fulvius Flaccus, C. Claudius Nero, M. Janius Syllanus, and P. Cornelius Sulla. When the Election was ended, the Dictatour resigned up his place.

That yeare was Ædile Curule, together with M. Cornelius Cethegus, one P. Cornelius Scipio, whose surname afterwards was Africanus. When he stood and made suite for the Ædileship, and

* About a wine
gallon.

the Tribunes of the Commons were against him, objecting that he was not eligible: and capable of that office, for that he was not of lawfull age to be a competitor, and to put in for it: If (quoth he) all the Quirites and citizens of Rome will choofe me *Ædile*, I have yeares enough on my back. Whereupon, in favour and furtherance of his suite, there was such running and labouring on all hands to the Tribes for their voices, that the Tribunes sodainly surceaied their purpose to hinder him. And this was the largesse and donative that the *Ædiles* bestowed. The Roman Games were, according to the wealth of that time, exhibited and set out with great state and magnificence, and continued one day longer than ordinary: and for every street thoroughout the citie, was allowed a * Congius of oyle. *L. Villius Tappulus*, and *M. Fundanus Fundulus* *Ædiles* of the Commons, accused certaine dames and wives of the citie before the people, of dishonest and incontinent life: and some of them being condemned, they forced into banishment. The Games called *Plæbej*, were renewed for two dayes: and by occasion of these games, a solemne feast or dinner was kept for the honor of *Jupiter*.

Then *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third time entered the Consulship, together with *Appius Claudius*: and the Pretours cast lots for their Provinces. It fell unto *P. Cornelius Sulla* his lot, to have the jurisdiction both of citizens and strangers, which before was executed by twaine. To *Cn. Fulvius Flaccus* fell *Apulia*: to *C. Claudius Nero*, was allotted *Suessula*: and *M. Junius Syllanus* his hap was to have the rule of the *Tuscānes*. The Consuls were appointed by decree of the Senate to warre with *Anniball*, and to have under their commaund two legions apiece: and that one of them should receive his legions of *Q. Fabius*, the *Cof.* of the former yeare: and the other take his, at the hands of *Fulvius Centimalus*. As for the Pretours, *Fulvius Flaccus* had commission for the conduct of the legions at *Luceria*, which served under *Aemilius* Pretour there: and *Nero Claudius* was to have the leading of those that were under the hand of *C. Terentius* in *Picenum*: and that they should provide themselves of supply to make up the full number of the companies. *M. Junius* had the charge of the legions of citizens mustred the yeare before to serve in *Tuscāne*: *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* continued still in the government of their provinces, the one of *Lucania*, the other of *Gallia*, and kept their owne forces. Likewise *P. Lentulus* governed the old province in *Sicilie*: *M. Marcellus* was *L. Deputie* of *Saracose*, and so far as the realme and dominion of *King Hiero* reached. *T. Octavius* Admirall of the navie. *Greece* was governed still by *M. Valerius*. *Sardinia* by *Q. Mutius Sævolus*. *Spaine* by *P.* and *Cornelius Scipiones*. To the old armies before, there were other two new legions levied and enrolled by the *Coff.* So as in all, the whole forces for that yeare amounted to 23 legions.

When the Consuls should muster the souldiours, they were hindered by occasion of a lewd pranke played by one *M. Posthumius Pyrgensis*, to the great trouble & disquiet of the state & publicke peace. This *Posthumius* was by his vocation and calling a publican, who many yeares together for craftie and deceitfull dealing, for avarice and covetousnesse, had not his fellow in all the citie, but it were *L. Pomponius Vientianus* againe; the same man, whom the yeare before, as hee forraied the territories of the *Lucans* rashly & unadvisedly, the *Carthaginians* by the conduct of *Hanno* had taken prisoner. These two (for as much as it was covenanted & indented before, that the transporting of those things which were for the provision of the armies beyond sea, should be warranted by the citie against all danger of tempest; and that all damage & losse of goods that way miscarrying, should not lie upon the shoulders of the Publicanes, who had undertaken by great, to serve the armies, but be made good againe out of the common chest & treasure:) these Publicans (I say) not only gave false information of certain shipwracks, but also if they brought word at any time truly of some ships that were perished, they were such onely as were lost by their owne fraud and deceit, and not cast away by chaunce or violence of weather. For they would freight and charge certaine old vessels and shaken bothomes, with some few wares of small or no worth at all, and suffer them to sinke for the nonce in the deepe sea, and save the mariners and failers, with small pinnases and cockbotes prepared aforehand for the purpose: and when they had done, lie shamefully and say, that they had lost merchandise and commodities in those ships of sundrie sorts, and of great value. These cunning parts of theirs had bene the yeare past revealed and notified to *M. Aemilius* the Pretour, and the Senate by him made acquainted therewith: howbeit there was nothing done, nor any act of Senate devised for the chastisement of the offender: because the *L.L.* of the Counsell in no case would offend the companie and societie of these publicans and farmers, in such a time especially, when there was some need of them. Then the

A the common people tooke the matter into their owne hands, for to proceed with more severitie against these lewd and fraudulent practises. At length, two of the Trib. of the Com. *Sp.* and *Lucius*, both *Carvilij*, arose up and shewed themselves. For seeing how odious and infamous an indignitie this was, and not to be suffered, they brought *M. Posthumius* in question, and laid an action & set a fine upon his head, of two hundred thousand * *Asses*. When the day of trial was come, whither the fine aforesaid should stand and be paid, or taken off and remitted; and that the commons were assembled in so great number, that the great court-yard of the Capitol would scarcely hold the multitude: the defendant spake for himselfe and pleaded at large. But the onely hope that hee seemed to have was this, in case *G. Servilius Casca* a Trib. of the Com. a friend and neere kinsman of *Posthumius*, would by vertue of his place come betweene & stop the course of law for proceeding farther, before that the tribes & wards were called forth, to go together and to give their voices. The two Tribunes abovenamed, having brought forth the witnesses to depose, & their depositions being taken, commanded the people to void & make way: And the lotterie casket or fossier was brought forth to cast lots, in what tribes the Latines should give their voices. All this while the Publicanes were earnest with *Casca*, to dissolve the assembly by one means or other, and put off the court for that day. The common people on the other side, called on hard, and gaineaied it. And as it fell out, *Casca* sat formost in one of the points and corners of the assembly. Hee wist not what to do, his mind was so perplexed for shame of the one side, if he did not helpe his friend and kinsman, and for feare on the ether side, because hee saw the people so eagerly bent. The Publicanes seeing small hope of helpe in him, with full intent to make some stirre, and to trouble the court, put forward forcibly and advanced themselves through a void way, seized upon an high place, and between the Tribunes & the people, rushed in upon them; and fell to quarrell and braule both with the people of the one side, and also with the Tribunes on the other: insomuch as they were like to go together by the eares. Whereupon *Fulvius* the Consul; See ye not (quoth hee to the Tribunes) how basely yee are accounted of, and made of no better reckoning among them, than private persons? See ye not a riot & mutinie toward, unlesse yee make haft and breake up the assembly? So the commons were dismissed, and a Senate called: Where the Consuls made relation unto the Lords of the Counsell, & complained how the solemne Session and Court of the Commons, was by the audacious violence of the Publicanes disturbed: That Court (I say) wherein *M. Furius Camillus*, upon whose exile ensued the destruction of the citie, suffered himselfe to bee condemned by ungratefull citizen: wherein the Decemvirs afore him, by vertue of whose good lawes, the citie is governed, and wee live at this day: and wherein many principall citizens afterwards, have bene content to be set down and judged by the people. Moreover, how *Posthumius Pyrgensis* by force wrested from the commons, the libertie of their voices and suffrages: subverted and made void the judicall Session of the commons: curbed the Tribunes and had no regard of them: came as it were in warlike manner against the people of Rome: and gat for their vantage the higher ground, to keepe the Tribunes from comming unto the commons: & to stop the tribes for being called to scrutinie and to give their voices: and nothing else it was that kept men from committing a fray, and shedding bloud, but the patience of the magistrats themselves in that for the present, they gave place to the furious rage and malapart saucinesse of a few: and for his will and pleasure brake up the assembly, before they could go together about the matter they were met for: (which the defendant himselfe with force and armes was readie to stop & hinder for going forward) because they might have no occasion given them to quarrell, which was the onely thing that they sought for. When this matter with all the circumstances was thoroughly skanned of, and the best men there had spoken their minds, and given their opinion according to the outragiousnesse and indignitie of the thing: and therupon the Senate decreed, that this violence tended to the breach of common peace, and the hazard of the state (a most dangerous precedent to bee suffered) then without more ado, the two *Carvilij* Tribunes of the Com. laid aside cleane all debating about the penall fine aforesaid, and indicted *Posthumius* of a capitall crime: and commaunded him to be attached by a principall Sergeant, and to be led to prison, unlesse hee put in good sureties for his appearance to answer the cause, such as would be bound for him bodie for bodie. *Posthumius* put in baile: and made default at his day. Then the Tribunes called the Commons together, preferred a bil unto them, which they granted to passe as an act in this forme: That if *M. Posthumius* came not forth and made apparance before the * *Calends* of May, and being cited and called that day, answered

* 625 lib. ster.

The complaints
of the Consuls to
the Romanes.

* 1. of May.

served not to his name, and no lawfull excuse alleaged for his absence, they judged him to be a banished man, and therefore awarded his goods to be sold in portsale, and himselfe to bee excommunicate, and interdicted the use of water and of fire: and to loose the benefit of a citizen for ever. This done, they began also to endite all those, one after another, of a capitall crime, who were his abettors, and the movers and stirrers of a sedition and commotion of the people, and to call for personall pledges. At the first they committed as many of them as could find no such sureties: and afterwards, those also that were sufficient to put in baile. For the avoiding of which daunger, most of them departed into voluntarie exile. This was the end of the Publicanes fraudulent dealing: and this was the issue of their audacious enterprise, in defence and maintenance of their guile and deceit.

After this, a solemne Court was called for the creation of the Arch-prelat, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus* newly elected Prelat, was the President of this election. Three competitors there were, who sued for that Prelacie; & strived earnestly one against the other: namely *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, Consul for the time being, who also had before bene twice Consul, & Censor besides; also *T. Manius Porquatus*, a man of great reputation, for that he had bin likewise dignified with a double Consulship, and one Censureship; and last of all, *P. Licinius Crassus*, who as yet, was to sue for the Edileship: howbeit, this young man in that sute and contention was superiour, and carried it away from those grave, ancient and honourable persons. Before him, for the space of an hundred and twentie yeares, there had not bene created any one, the highest priest, (save only *P. Cornelius Calpurnius*) but had fit before in the yvorie chaire and borne office of state. The Consul had much ado, to go through with the levie, & to enroll the full legion of soldiours, by reason that the small number of young and able men would hardly afford both to furnish out the new legions of citizens, and also to supply and make up the old. Howbeit the Senate would not suffer them to give over their enterprise which they were about, but agreed that there should be chosen two Ternions of Triumvirs: the one sort of them to be sent out, within the compasse of fiftie miles every way from Rome, the other to go farther, with commission, to take good view and survey, both within that precinct and without, in all through-fares and market townes: in boroughs and places of frequent assemblies; of all persons of free condition that they could see on: and so many as they thought able men of bodie to beare armes, although they were not come to the lawfull age for service, to prest them for soldiours. Also it was decreed, that the Tribunes of the commons, if they so pleased, should put up a bill, that all under severenteene yeares of age, who had bound themselves by militarie oath, should have as good pay, as if they had bene enrolled souldiours at severenteene yeares or upward. By vertue of this decree, the two Ternions aforesaid of the Triumvirs being chosen, made diligent search, and visited all the countie over for free borne men accordingly.

At the same time letters came from *M. Marcellus* out of Sicilie, concerning the demands of those souldiours who served under *P. Lentulus*, and they were read in the Senate house. That armie consisted of the residue which remained after the field lost at Cannæ, and was confined into Italie (as hath bene said afore) with this condition, not to returne back into Italie before the Punicke warre should be ended. These souldiours obtained licence of *Lentulus* to send as embassadors unto *Marcellus* (where he lay in winter harbour) the principall men of armes, such as served on horses allowed by the citie, the chiefe centurions also, and the bravest souldiours and choise floure of the legions. One of these in the name of the rest, having libertie graunted for to speake, made his oration in this wise. We had come to you into Italie, *o M. Marcellus* when you were Consul, immediately upon that decree made against us (which if it were not unjust and unreasonable, yet surely it was heaveie and rigorous enough:) but that we hoped to be sent into this province (so generally troubled and out of order by the death of the KK.) there to be employed in some dangerous and cruell warre against the Sicilians and Carthaginians both at once: and so with our bloudshed and grievous wounds to make satisfaction for our trespasses unto the Magistrates and rulers of Rome. Like as in our fathers dayes, they which were taken prisoners by king *Pyrrhus* before Heraclea, made amends for their fault by their good service against the same *Pyrrhus*. And yet, I can not see, [my LL. of the Senate] for what ill desert of our parts, ye either have bene displeased aforesaid, or are offended at this present with us. For me thinks, I see both Consuls, and the whole bodie of the Senate of Rome, when I behold your face, *o Marcellus*: whom if we had had to our Consul at Cannæ, it would have gone better both

The oration of
one of the Em-
bassadors of the
Carthaginians
to M. Marcellus.

A with the Common-weale, and with our selves, then it did. For I beseech you, suffer us now, before I make mone, and complaine of our hard state and condition, to purge our selves of that crime for which we are blamed. Set case, that neither the wrath of the gods, nor destinie and fatal necessity (upon the law and decree whereof dependeth the immutable order and infallible course and consequence of all things in the world) was the cause that we were defeated and overthrowne at Cannæ, but our owne selves, and our default was the occasion: let us see then, whose fault it was, the souldiours, or the Generals? For mine owne part, I remember I am a souldier, and of my Captaine and Generall I will never speake but well; of him especially, unto whom I know the Senate rendred thanks, for that he despaired not of the common-wealth; and whose government ever since his flight and running away, hath bene proroged from yeare to yeare, and who hath had the conduct of armies continually. Neither will I say ought of the rest likewise, who escaped that unfortunate foile and diffature, I meane our militarie tribunes and Colonels, who (as we here say) sue for dignities, beare honourable offices in citie, yea and rule whole Provinces as LL. Presidents in foreign parts. Is it so indeede my LL? do ye so easily pardon and forgive your own selves & children? and deale ye so hardly, so rigorously and cruelly, against us base abject persons, and vile wretches? And was it no shame and dishonor imputed to the Consul and other great personages of the citie to flie, when there was no other hope; and were the poore souldiers sent by you into the field with this intention, to be all killed up, & none to escape? At the battaile of Allia, the whole armie in a manner fled away: Also at the straights of Caudium (to say nothing of other shamefull foiles of our armies) the host yielded up their armour to the enemy, before they joined battell, and fought one stroke. Yet, so far off it was, that those armies sustained any infamie & shameful reproch therefore, that both the citie of Rome was recovered againe by the means of those regiments which fled from Allia to Veij: and also the Caudine legions which returned to Rome naked, were sent againe into Samnium well armed: who subdued & brought under the yoke of subjection, the very same enemies, who had taken such pride and joy in that dishonour and ignominie of theirs. And now, for the armie before Cannæ, is any man able to come forth and charge them justly, that either they fled, or for cowardly fear behaved themselves unseemely, and not like souldiours? Where were slaine in field above fiftie thousand men: from whence the Consul fled with fiftie horsemen, and no more: and of which companie there is not one remaineth alive, but whom the enemy, wearie with killing, spared and left. I remember, at what time as the prisoners taken there, were denied money to pay for their ransom, then every man commended and praised us, for saving and reserving our selves against another day, to be employed in the service of the Commonweale: for returning unto Venusia to the Consul, and for making a good shew of a complet armie. But now, in worse case are wee, than in our fathers dayes, captives have bene that were taken prisoners. For they onely had their armor and weapons changed for worse, their rancke in the battell shifted, their place in the campe where they should quarter, altered: which notwithstanding, they recovered againe all at once, by performing their good devoir to their countie, and winning a victorie in one fortunate battell. Not one of them was ever confined (as it were) to a place of exile: none put beside hope to be discharged from soldierie by serving out his full time: and to bee briefe, they were set to fight with some enemy or other, where they might once for all, either loose their life, or end their dishonour. And wee, against whom nothing can be objected at all, unlesse it be this, that wee were the cause, and none but wee, that some citizen of Rome might bee said to remaine alive of all those that were at the battell of Cannæ: we I say, are sent farre ynough off, not onely from our native countrey, and Italie, but also from all enemies: where we waxe old in exile, to the end, that we should have no hope, no occasion and opportunitie to wipe away and cancel our disgrace, to mitigate and pacifie the anger of our fellow citizens, and finally to die with honour. But it is neither end of shame, nor reward of vertue and valour, that we desire and crave: but only that we might be permitted to make proofe of our courage, and shew our prowesse. Paines and perils wee seeke for, and to be employed in dangerous adventures, like hardie men and brave souldiers. Two yeares already there hath bene sharpe and hot warre in Sicilie. Some citie the Carthaginians woon by force, other some the Romanes tooke likewise by assault. Whole regiments of foote, many troupes and cornets of horse encounter together, and assaile one another. At Saracose there are great enterprises and wortheie feats of armes, both by sea and land. The shouts of them that fight, the very clattering and ringing againe of their armour and weapons, wee can heare where

we are, and we sit still like idle luskies, and doe nothing, as if we had neither hands nor weapons to fight with. T. *Sempronius* the Confull, with legions of bondslaves, hath bidden battell to the enemies, and fought with them in plaine field so oft, that they are well recompensed for their labour with gaining their freedome first, and then the Burgeoisie of the citie. Let us yet, in place & qualitye at leastwise, of bondslaves taken up and bought for money against these warres, fight with those enemies, as well as they have done, and by our fight trie, whether we can regain our enlargement and libertie. Will you your selfe, O *Marcellus*, make triall of us, and of our valour, by sea, by land, in pitched field, and battell ranged, or in giving assault and winning of walled townes? Put us to it, and spare not. The hardest adventures, the most painful and dangerous enterprises, are they which we require most gladly: that we may have that betimes, and at once, which we should have come unto at Cannæ: seeing that all the time we have lived since, hath been destined to our ignominie and disgrace.

At these words they fell downe prostrate at *Marcellus* his feet. *Marcellus* answered them, that he had neither power of himselfe, nor commission otherwise, to content them, and satisfie their request. Howbeit, write to the Senate he would: and according as the LL. should give advise and direction, so he would do and not faile. These letters (as I said before) were brought to the Consuls, and by them red in the Senate house. And after deliberate consultation about their contents, the Senate passed this decree: That as concerning those souldiours, who had forsaken their fellows fighting before Cannæ, the Senate saw no reason, why they should be put in trust any more with the affaires of the Common-wealth: but if *M. Claudius* the Proconsul thought it good otherwise, he might do according to that which he judged convenient, and to stand with his owne credit, and the safetie of the State. Provided alwayes, that not one of them be dispensed with, and freed from service or charge of souldierie: nor rewarded with any militarie gift in testimonie and token of his valour: ne yet reduced home againe into Italie, so long as the enemye made abode there.

After this, the Pretour for the citie, by vertue of a decree from the Senate, and an act of the Commons, assembled the people together. In which Session were created five Commissioners called *Quinqueviri*, for the reedifying and repairing of the turrets and the walls: Likewise two other fraternities of Triumvirs, the one for taking an inventarie of all sacred things, and to signe and note all offerings and oblations: the other for reedifying the temples of *Fortune* and dame *Matuta*, within the gate *Carmentalis*, and likewise of *Spes* without the gate, which the yeare past were consumed by fire. Great and fearefull tempests hapned this yeare. On the Albane mount it rained stones continually for two dayes. Many places were blasted and smitten with lightning from heaven, and namely two chappels in the Capitoll, and the rampier about the camp and fort above *Suessula* in divers places thereof: and two watchmen in their Sentinels stricken sturke dead. The wall and certaine turrets thereon at *Cumes*, not only smitten, but also shaken downe and overthrowne with lightnings and thunderbolts. At *Reate* there was scene an huge stone to flie to and fro in the aire. The sunne also appeared more red than it useth to be, and like to blood. In regard of these prodigious sights, there was a solemne Procession and supplication all one day: and the Consuls for certaine dayes together, attended onely upon divine service of the gods: and the Novendiall sacrifices were devoutly celebrated nine dayes together.

Now whereas a long time alreadie both *Anniball* hoped, and the Romanes also suspected that the Tarentines would revolt: there fell out betwene, an occurrence and outward accident, which hastned it the rather. There was one *Phileas* a Tarentine, who having abode long at Rome under colour of an embassador leger, a busie headed man, and of an unquiet spirit, one that of all things could not away with rest and peace, in which so long as he lived he thought every day a yeare, and that now he was waxen old and aged therein, found meanes to haue access unto the hostages of the Tarentines. Kept they were in the Close belonging to the temple of Liberty, with the lesse attendance and carefull eye, because it was expedient and good neither for themselves, nor for their citie, to make an escape, & deceive the Romanes. These hostages he had oftentimes solicited and perswaded by much talke and many reasons, and at length having bribed and corrupted two sextaines and wardens of the said temple, he trained them forth in the evening out from the place where they were in safe custodie: and when he had accompanied them onward on the way as a guide, and directed them how to passe secretly, he fled himselfe and they together. By day breake the next morning they were missed, and their escape was noyed throughout the citie:

A citie. Whereupon, men were sent out after them from all parts, to fetch them in againe: who having overtaken them at *Tarracina*, laid hold of them, and brought them back to Rome: where in the Comitium, they were, by the consent of the people, beate with rods, and then throwne downe headlong from the cliffe *Tarpeia*.

The cruell rigor of this punishment, caused much anger, and provoked two of the noblest and most famous Grecian cities in Italie to indignation, not only in publick generally, but also in private particularly: according as any man was either in blood joyned, or in alliance and friendship linked to them who were thus foully and shamefully put to death. Amongst whom there were about thirteene noble gentlemen of *Tarentum*, conspired together, and the chiefe of them were *Nico* and *Philomenes*. These conspiratours before they would stirre and enter into any action, thought best to speake and confer with *Anniball* first: and so having gone forth of the citie, under a pretence as if they went to the chase a hunting, by night they came unto him. But when they drew neere unto the camp, the rest hid themselves within a wood neere unto the high way: *Nico* and *Philomenes* only went forward to the watch, and there being taken (as they requested themselves) were brought before *Anniball*. Who when they had delivered unto him their complor, and upon what occasions they entred into that designement, they were highly commended, and promised great rewards, and willed and charged by him, that to the intent they might beare their countrymen in hand, how they ever went out of the citie to fetch in some booties, they should drive afore them into the citie, certaine cattails of the Carthaginians, which were put out to pasture and feeding: and herewith gave them his word to do it safely, and without any impeachment & resistance whensoever. Thus these yong gentlemen were scene to bring in good store of cattails: and as they were knowne to make this adventure the second time and oftner still, men marvelled the lesse at the matter, & suspected nothing. Now upon a new parling and communication with *Anniball*, they covenanted with him upon his faithfull promise in these termes, *Imprimis*, for the Tarentines themselves, to enjoy freely their lands and goods, and live under their owne lawes. Item, to pay no pension nor tribute unto *Anniball*, nor be forced to receive a garison against their wils. And last of all, to betray the garison souldiours of the Romanes, and all their fortresses and places of strength deliver up into the hands of the Carthaginians. When these conditions and capitulations were agreed upon, then *Philomenes* used much oiter to go forth and come in againe in the night: and as he was knowne to be a great hunter, and much delighted in that exercise, he had his hounds following him hard at his heeles, and all other furniture about him fit for huntsmen: and lightly ever he tooke some wild beast or other with his hounds, or els got something from the enemye, that of purpose lay readie for his hands: and alwayes as he brought home ought with him, he would bestow it either upon the captaine of the Romane garison, or deale it among the warders of the gates. And they all verily beleaved and were persuaded, that his going out and in thus, most by night, was only for feare of the enemies. Now, when he had used this so accustomedly, that he had made it an ordinary practise, in so much, that at what time of the night so ever he had but once lured or whistled, the gate was straight set open for him: then *Anniball* thought it time, to put the plot abovesaid in execution. Three dayes journey he was off. Where because he would have men the lesse mervaile, why he kept a standing camp so long stil in one place, he feigned and made himselfe sick. The Romanes also, that lay in garison at *Tarentum*, gave over to suspect his long abode and leaguering there. But after that he was determined and resolved to advance toward *Tarentum*, he picked out ten thousand foote and horsemen together, whom he supposed for nimble bodied, swift footmanship, and lightnesse of armour, to be most meete for expedition: and with them at the fourth watch of the night, he marched forward with his ensignes. And having sent our afore-hand fourescore Numidian light horses, he commaunded them, to ride about and scoure all the waies on every side, and to cast their eye to espye and discover all the coasts, that no countrey people a far off might descrie and view the armie on foote, but they should be scene: and withall, to bring in, as many as were gone before, and kill all them they met & encountered: to the end that the passants there inhabiting, might thinke they were theeves and robbers, rather than the vancurriers and foreriders of an armie. Himselfe in person marching with great speed and celeritie, pitched his camp almost 15 miles from *Tarentum*. Neither would he there be knowne unto his men of his purpose, nor tell them whither they should go: onely he called his souldiers together, and charged them to hold on the direct way, and not suffer anyone to turne aside,

nor in the march go out of his ranke or file: & above all things, to be readie for to receive their charge and commaundment from their captaines, and do nothing without their warrant and commission. As for himselfe, hee would when he saw his time, let them know his mind, & what the service was that he would have done. And about the same very houre and instant, newes came as farre as Tarentum, that some few Numidian horsemen forraied the countrey, and had put the villagers in great fright all about. At which tidings, the captaine of the Romane garrison was no more moved, nor made any other hast, but only gave order, that some of the horsemen the next morning by day light should ride forth, to keepe the enemy from farther excursions. In the meane time, they that had this charge, bare themselves so carelessly in providing themselves to execute that which they were commaunded, that contrariwise, they tooke those outrodes of the Numidians for a good argument, That *Anniball* with his armie was not dislodged, but abode still in leaguer where hee lay first. *Anniball* when it was once darke and dead night, began to set forward. *Philomenes* was there readie to be his guide, loden with his game hunted as his manner was. The rest of his conspiracie waited their time to execute their several charges, as it was agreed among them. Now it was ordred betwene them afore, that *Philomenes* comming in at the usuall little wicket, with his venison that he had hunted, should bring in with him some armed men: and *Anniball* on another part, come to the gate called *Temenis*, which looked toward the East, and stood on the land side of the citie, a good way within the wall, as it were in a nooke. When *Anniball* approached the said gate, hee made a fire, in token that hee was come (as it was devised betwene them before) and it flamed forth and gave a shining light. The like did *Nico* againe. Then the fires on both sides were put out, that they made no more blaze. And *Anniball* in great and still silence, led his armie close to the gate. *Nico* came suddainely at unawares upon the watchmen fast asleepe, killed them in their beds, and opened that gate. *Anniball* entred with his regiment of footmen, and commanded the cavallerie to stay behind, to the end they might have libertie of open ground to ride, whithersoever there was need, and as occasion required. Now by this time, *Philomenes* also was come neere to that little gate on the other side, where he used to make his egress and ingresse to and fro. And when he had raised the watchman with his voice so well knowne, and with his whistle wherewith now he was familiarly acquainted, and said withall, that hee was troubled with tugging and lugging of a foule & heave beast: therewith the wicket was set open. Two lustie fellows there were carrying in the wild bore between them, and he himselfe followed with one of the huntsmen, lightly & nimble appointed, & whiles the watchman his eye was upon the two porters that carried the beast, wondering at the bignesse of the bore, and tooke no heed to himselfe, *Nicomenes* thrust him through with his bore-speare. Then there entred in after them, about thirtie men armed, who killed the rest of the watch, and brake downe the great gates withall: and immediatly there entred the companies with banner displayed: and so, forth from thence they were conducted and brought to the market place, without making any noise, and there joyned themselves to *Anniball*. Then *Anniball* divided two thousand Gauls into three regiments, whom hee sent into sundrie parts of the citie: and gave order to the Tarentines and the Affricanes, to get possession of the most principall & populous places of the citie; and when the crie and shout was once up, to kill all the Romanes wheresoever, and to spare the townsmen. But to the end that this might be orderly done, hee gave direction to the young Gentlemen aforesaid of Tarentum, that so soone as they espied a farre off, any of their owne citizens and countriemen, they should bid them be quiet and still, to hold their peace, to be of good cheere and feare nothing. By which time, they began to set up a shout and crie, as men use to do in a citie taken by assault: but what the matter should be, no man of the towne or garrison could certainly tell. For the Tarentine inhabitants supposed verily, that the Romane souldiours of the garrison were risen up to sacke the citie: the Romanes on the other side, thought that the townsmen mutined, and they were in doubt of some traiterous practise. The Captaine himselfe awakened and raised at the first tumult, escaped to the key, where he tooke a small barge or whirrie-bote, & fled to the castle. The trumpet also that sounded from the Theatre, made the greater terror: for it was both a Roman trumpet, provided aforehand for the purpose by those traitors, and a Grecian blew it, one who had no skill; & so it was doubtful, both who he was that sounded, and who they were that he gave signall unto. When day appeared, and the Romanes saw the armour of the Carthaginians and Gauls, then they wist well in what doore the wind was, and how the world went: and the Greekes seeing the Romanes lying along every where slaine, were soon ware

Aware that the citie was taken by *Anniball*. But after it was broad day light, and that the Romanes who remained unkilld, were fled into the castle, and the noise and hurlyburly began by little and little to slake and give over: then *Anniball* commaunded the Tarentines to be called to a generall assembly, and to present themselves without armes. When they were all come together, but onely those who with the Romanes were fled for companie into the castle, there to abide such fortune as they; *Anniball* spake kindly unto the Tarentines, gave them good & friendly words, rehearsed with great protestation what favors he had shewed to all their citizens, whom hee had taken prisoners either at *Thrasymenus*, or at *Cannae*: and withall, after he had bitterly inveighed against the lordly and proud rule of the Romans, he commaunded every man to repaire home to his own house, and set his own name upon his doore: for that, so many houses as had not the name written upon them of the master thereof, he would presently upon sound of trumpet, commaund to be rifled. Over & besides, that if any one should happen to write his own name, and set it on the doore or lodging-house of a Romane (for he saw divers of their houses empty) he would take him for an enemy, and deale with him accordingly. After this speech ended, and the assembly dissolved, when the doores were marked with their titles and inscriptions aforesaid, wherby the houses of friends & enemies were known distinctly one from another: the signall was given by sound of trumpet: & then there was running every where from all parts, to ransake the lodgings of the Romans. And some pretie sprinkling of pillage they met withall. The next day after, he advanced against the castle to assault it, which after he saw imprenable & not possible to be won, either by forcible assault, or by artificiall devises of fabricks & engines, by reason that both the sea came to it, wherewith the greater part thereof was compassed, in maner of a demie Iland, and also fortified besides on another part with exceeding high and steepe rockes: and withall, fenced from the citie with a strong wall and deepe ditch: therefore, because hee would neither let nor hinder himselfe from atchieving greater affaires, whiles he was carefully busied onely about defending the Tarentines, nor yet leave them without a strong guard, for feare least the Romanes from out of the castle, might at their pleasure come upon them, hee determined to raise a rampier for a partition betwene the castle and the citie, for their defence against the said garrison. And he was not out of hope, but that when the Romans should offer to issue forth to hinder the said worke, they might also be fought withall: and in case they adventured rashly to run on, and engage themselves too far, they might be cut off in their heate, & the forces of the garrison might be so diminished and abated by some great slaughter & execution, that the Tarentines of themselves should be able with ease to defend their citie against them. The said worke was not so soone begun, but the Romanes all of a suddaine, set open the castle gate, sallied forth and charged upon the pioners as they were labouring about their bulwarke. The guard that attended for the defence of the workemen, and stood before their worke, fell off and suffered themselves to be put backe, to the end that the enemies upon their first successe, should be more adventurous: supposing that the further they gave ground, the more of the other would follow after and chase them. Which being perceived, the Carthaginians whom *Anniball* had kept close for this purpose, and had in readinesse very well appointed, rose out of all parts, and made head againe. Neither were the Romanes able to abide their forcible violence. And sic they could not in multitudes, by occasion that the straightnesse of the place would give no leave: and besides, many things lay in their way: partly the work that was begun, & partly other provision of stufte brought for the same, which mightily hindred and impeached them. Most of them fell headlong into the trench: and to be short, more perished in their flight, than were killed in the fight. After this, the fortification went in hand againe, and none durst venture to hinder it. So he cast a mightie deep ditch, and rayed an high rampier within it. Also behind it, a pretie distance off, he went in hand to build a mure or wall to it, in the very same quarter; that they might be able even without any guard at all, or strength of men, to defend themselves against the Romanes. Howbeit, he left them an indifferent band of souldiours, which might withall help out somewhat in making of the wall. Himselfe then departed with the rest of his armie as farre as the river *Galeus* (five miles off from the citie) and there encamped. From which standing camp, he came back once againe to survey the worke: and finding that it went better forward than he looked for, he began to conceive some good hope that the citadell also might be won by assault. For why, it was not defended surely by situation on high ground, as others are, but seated on a plaine, and divided from the citie, by a wall only and a ditch. Now when as it began to be assailed with fabricks, and ar-

tillerie devised of all sorts, there hapned a new supply to be sent from Metapontum to aid the garrison: whereby the Romanes tooke hart unto them, in so much as in the night time of a sodain, and before they were looked for, they set upon the fabricks and ordinance of the enemies planted thereupon: some they cast downe and overthrew, others they fired and consumed. And there an end of *Anniball* his assault of the castle from that side.

The onely hope behind now, was in continuall siege: and yet that hope promised no great effect, because they that held the castle, had the sea free at their command, all that side, whereas the said fort (standing as it were in an halfe Island) overlooketh the mouth of the haven: and the citie contrariwise, was wholly secluded from all entercourse of passage & commodities comming in by sea, and liker were they that besieged the fortresse, to feele the want and scarcitie of victuals, than those that were besieged within it. Then *Anniball*, after he had called together the principall citizens of Tarentum, laid open unto them all, the present difficulties, saying, That he neither saw any way to win by force the castle so strong and fortified as it was, nor had any hope at all to gaine it by siege, so long as the enemies were lords of the sea. But if they had ships once, whereby they might hinder and stay the comming in of their victuals and other commodities, the enemies immediately would either quit the peece, or yeeld themselves. The Tarentines held well with that, and approved the devise. But (say they) he that giveth us that counsell, must also affoord us meanes to effect the same. For the Carthaginian ships, if they were sent for, and set out of Sicilie, might well doe the feat: mary, as for our own which lie shut up as it were, within a litle creek and bay, considering, that the enemy keepeth the mouth and entrie of the haven, how is it possible that they should get out from their harbour into the open sea, and passe without daunger? Passe (quoth he?) Passe they shall, make no doubt of that. Many things, I tell you, considered in their owne nature are combersome and difficult, but by pollicie and wit of man are easily welded and wrought with a sleight. Yee have a cittie here seated upon a plaine and champaine ground, the waies answering to every side of it, are even, large, and broad ynough, yea, and open to all quarters. I will chuse that way which crosseth the midst of the cittie, and passeth along to the haven and the sea, and so will carrie and transport the ships upon waines, with no great adoe and trouble. And so, both the sea shall bee ours cleare, which now the enemies keepe, and also wee shall besiege the castle round, as well by sea as by land: nay, more than that, within short time wee shall either enter it, being abandoned of the enemies, or else bee maisters both of it and them together.

These words not onely put them in good hope, that the enterprife would be effected, but also set them in a wonderfull good conceit & admiration of the captain himselfe. Then out of hand, all the waines and carts were taken up from all places as many as could bee had, and were put together, and coupled one to another. Divers cranes and other instruments were set to, for to draw up the ships to land, the way made plaine and levell, that the carts might go more easily, & passe away with lesse trouble & more expedition. After this they got together draught oxen, cartjades and other labouring beasts, yea, and men also for to draw: and thus the worke was lustily begun, in so much, as within few daies, the fleet well rigged, appointed, and dressed, was brought about the castle, and rid at anker even in the avenue and entrie of the haven. In these tearmes stood Tarentum, when *Anniball* left it, and returned backe to his wintering harbours. But authours write diversly of this revolt of Tarentum, whither it happened the yeare past, or at this present. But the greater number of them, and those that lived neerer to that time, when the remembrance of these matters was fresh, affirme that it was this very yeare.

At Rome, the Consuls and Pretours both remained still, untill the *fifth day before the Calends of May, by occasion of the Latine holydaies, upon which day, when they had performed a solemne sacrifice, with all complements thereto belonging, on the Albane hill, they departed every one to his severall charge and province. After this, there crept into the minds of men a new scrupulositie of conscience upon certaine propheticall verses of one *Martius*, a noble & famous prophet in times past. Now, by reason that in the yeare before, there was diligent search and inquisition made, for such bookes of Fortune, according to a decree graunted out of the Senate, those verses came to light, and to the hands of *M. Aemilius* Pretour of the cittie, who sat upon that commission. And he immediately gave them to *Sulla* the new Pretour. Of two prophetes of *Martius*, the one, which afterwards caried the greater authoritie with it, by reason of the event that happened so right, and declared it so evidently, caused the other also, whereof the time was not

* 17 April.

A not yet come, to be of credite and beleevd. The former contained a Prediction of the overthrow at Cannæ, in these or such like words:

*From Trojane line, O Romane once descended,
Flie Cannæ river, neere to Cannæ towne:
Least strangers borne, who have thy death intended,
Force thee to fight on Diomedes his downe.
But warning mine, thou wilt not rest upon,
Yntill with blood thou first doe fill the plaine;
And then to sea from fruitfull land, anon
Thy men shall downe the streame by thousands slaine.
Thy flesh must bait the fish in Ocean deepe,
And lure the fowles that flie from high to pray,
And feed wild beasts, on earth below that keepe.
Marke well my words, love thus me taught to say.*

And they who had been souldiors, and served in those warres, knew as perfectly *Diomedes* his plaines, and the river *Cannæ, as they did the very defeiture it selfe, and losse at Cannæ. Then was the other prophesie likewise read, which was the darker of the twaine: not onely because future things are more uncertaine, than those which are past already; but also by reason of the kind of writing, which was more obscure and intricate, in these tearmes:

*If enemies yee would expell, if botch and plague fore
Sent from a farre, ye would drive forth, and vexed be no more.
To Phæbus (Romane) I advise, ye vow from yeare to yeare
To set forth plaies in solemne wise, with mirth and merrie cheare.
From publicke stocke, the people must part of the charge disburse:
The rest shall ye, for you and yours, defray with private purse.
The soveraine Pretour must procure these games to be perform'd,
Who sits in place, mens pleas to heare, and see all wrongs reform'd.
Then shall the ten Decemvirs hight, the Greekish rites observe,
In slaying beasts for sacrifice, and nothing from them swerve.
If all be done accordingly, your ioy shall aye increase,
Your State shall daily grow in wealth, and fruits of blessed peace.
For god Apollo will you save, he will your foes destroy.
Who at their pleasure wast your fields, and worke you much annoy.*

* The same that
Ansilus.

* Apollo is called
in Homer Iliad.
an Ochor, i. showing
a farre off.

For the explanation and expiation both, of this prophesie, they tooke one whole day. And the morrow after, there passed a decree from the Senate, That the Decemvirs should peruse and looke into the bookes of *Sibylla*, about the exhibiting of those said games, in the honour of *Apollo*, and celebrating likewise of the sacrifices. And when all was perused, and relation made before the Senate: the Lords made an Act, and set downe an order, First, to vow and set forth solemne pastimes accordingly, to the honour of *Apollo*. Item, After the Games were done and finished, to allow the Pretour twelve thousand Askes, toward the expenses of the divine service, and two greater beasts for sacrifice. There passed also another Act of the Senate, That the Decemvirs should celebrate divine service, and sacrifice after the observance and rites of the Grecians; and offer upon the altar these beasts, to wit, an Oxe with guilded hornes, and two white female goats, with guilded hornes likewise, for *Don Apollo*: and a cow with hornes, in like manner guilded, for *Dame Latona*. The Pretour, when hee was to represent the Games within the *Circus Maximus*, gave commaundement, and made proclamation, That the people, during the time of those solemnities, should contribute money, for an offering to *Apollo*, every man according to his abilitie, and as he might well spare. This is the beginning of the Apollinare Games & plaies, exhibited for to obtaine victorie, and not for to escape some plague or pestilence, as most men

* 37 lib. 10 sh.
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suppose. And when they were celebrated, the people stood to behold and look on, adorned with garlands upon their heads, and the dames and matrones of the citie went in procession, & made supplications. Every mans dore was set open, and they feasted and made good cheare generally through the citie in the open street; and a high holliday this was, solemnized with all kind of ceremonies that could be devised.

But to returne againe to *Anniball*, who was about Tarentum; and both Consuls remaining in Samnium, but readie, as it seemed, to besiege Capua: it fell out, that the Campanes already were distressed with hunger and famine, (a calamitie that usually followeth long and continuall siege), and the reason was, because the armies of the Romanes had impeached and hindred their feednesse. Therefore they dispatched Embassadors to *Anniball*, beseeching him, that he would take order for graine to be brought into Capua, from all parts neere adjoining, before that the Consuls were come abroad with their legions into their territorie, and all the waies beset, and passages stopped by the guards and companies of the enemies. Whereupon, *Anniball* gave direction to *Hanno*, that he should remove out of the countie of the Brutii, and passe over with his forces into Campania, and endeavour so, that the Campanes might bee provided of sufficient store of corne. Then *Hanno* dislodged anone, and departed with all his power out of the *Brutians countie, purposing to avoid the leaguer of his enemies, and namely the Consuls, who lay in Samnium: and when he approached neere to *Beneventum, hee pitched his tents three miles from the citie it selfe, upon a high ground. After which, he commaunded, that the corne should be brought to him into his campe, out of all the associate and confederate cities thereabout, into which it had been caried in the summer afore; & allowed a good guard for the safe convoy thereof. After this, he sent a messenger to Capua, to give them notice, upon what day they should attend, and be in readinesse to receive their corne; and against the time, provide out of the countie for the carriage, carts, waines, and draught-beasts, and packehorses of all sorts. But the Campanes, like as they caried themselves in all things else, idlie and negligently, so in this they were very slacke and retchlesse: for they sent little above fortie carres, and some few beasts for carriage besides. For which they had a checke given them, and were rebuked by *Hanno*; because that hunger, which causeth the very dumbe beast to bestire it selfe and make hard shifts, was not able to pricke them forward to be more carefull about their owne businesse. So there was a farther day appointed for to fetch their corne, and to come more furnished and better provided for carriage. All this being reported to the men of Beneventum, with the circumstances and particulars, as it was, they addressed with all speed ten Embassadors to the Romane Consuls, encamped then about Bovianum. Upon which intelligence given of the affaires at Capua, they tooke order, and agreed betweene themselves, that one of them should conduct an armie into Campania. And *Fulvius*, who undertooke that charge, marched by night to Beneventum, and put himselfe within the walls of the towne. And there he was advertised by them that dwelt neer hand, that *Hanno* was gone out with part of his forces, for to purvey corne; that there were 2000 carts come, with a rude and disorderly multitude besides of people, without armor; that all that they did was in hurie, in hast, and great feare; and finally, that the camp was out of forme and fashion, and all good militarie order cleane gone, by reason of a rable and multitude of countie clownes, come out of those quarters, and entermingled amongst them. The Consull, I say, being enformed for certain by credible persons, of these things, gave his souldiours warning to make readie against the next night ensuing, nothing but their ensignes & weapons, for that they were to charge upon the campe of the Carthaginians. And so they set forward at the releefe of the fourth watch, leaving their packes and trusses with all their bag and baggage behind them at Beneventum: and presenting themselves before the campe, somewhat before day, they put them into such a bodily feare, and so terrified them, that if it had beene pitched upon a plaine ground, no doubt, it had been woon at the first assault. But the height of the place, and their rampiers and fortifications besides, which could not possible bee entered upon, without climbing upon the steepe hill with much difficultie, were a defence unto it. By day light there was a lustie assault given, and a hot skirmish begun, but the Carthaginians not onely defended and kept their rampier, but also (as having the vantage of the ground) they chased and thrust the enemies backe, as they mounted up the hill. Howbeit, resolute hardinesse overcame all hardnesse and difficulties whatsoever. For in diverse places at once they advanced as farr as the banckes and trenches; but it cost bloudie blowes first, and the death of many a souldiour. The Consull therefore calling

* *Brutians** Beneventum, or
Concordia Calis-
ina.

A calling the Coronels and Marshals together, said, it were not amisse to give over that rash and headie attempt, and, as he thought, it were the safer course, for that day to retire the armie to Beneventum, and on the morrow to encampe themselves afront the enemy; to the end, that neither the Campanes might get forth, nor *Hanno* returne and enter into the towne againe. And that this might bee the sooner effected, and with a great deale more ease, hee would send for his Colleague also with his armie, and both of them jointly bend their forces that way. But these devises of the capitaine generall were soone dashed. For as he was about to found the retreat, the souldiers with a loud voyce cried out, that they could not away with such faint capitaines; they scorned to be commaunded in so cold and slothfull service; they would none of that: and so put the Consull out of his henn. It hapned, that next unto the gate entering into the enemies campe, there served a cohort or companie of the Peligni, led by Capitaine *Vibius*, who caught the banner out of the bearer his hand, and flung it over the rampier, and with that, fell to cursing himselfe and his companie both, wishing a plague light upon him and them to, if the enemies went away with that banner: and therewith led himselfe the way, and brake first through the trench, and over the pallisado into their campe. Now by this time the Peligni fought within the rampier: and then *Valerius Flaccus* a Coronell of the third legion, from another side fell to upbraid the Romanes, and hit him in the teeth with their beastly cowardise, for suffering their allies to have the honor of entering & taking the camp. Whereupon *T. Pedanius* (a centurion of the regiment called *Principes*, and serving in the first place thereof) took likewise an ensigne from him that caried it, and withall, Now shall, quoth he, this ensigne, and this Centinere (meaning himselfe) presently be within the rampier of the enemies: let me see who dare follow, and save it from being taken by the enemy. At first, his owne band and companie followed him hard at heeles, as he clambred to get over the rampier, and then the whole legion came after likewise. By this time, the Consull also seeing his souldiers climbing over the rampier, changed his purpose, & was of a cleane other mind: and from calling & reclaiming his souldiers back, fell to exhort and encourage them, shewing in how great hazard and danger a right hardie and valiant cohort of allies were, and the whole legion of citizens besides. They all therefore set to, and every man did his best: and notwithstanding there was many a dart driven and javelin launced, notwithstanding the enemies opposed their armour and bodies full against them, yet they never stinted to assay every place, as well high as low, untill they were broken through, and gotten in. Many a man was hurt (ye may be sure) but yet even they that bled untill they fainted, and were not able to fight any longer, caried this mind and strove withall, to dye yet within the rampier of their enemies. Thus in the turning of an hand the campe was woon, as easily as if it had been pitched upon a plaine and even ground, and not fortified at all with trench & rampier. From this time now, there was no more fighting, but killing on all hands in that medly and confusion of pell mell within the camp. Slaine there were of enemies more than sixe thousand, and above seven thousand taken prisoners, together with the Campanian purveyors for corne, and all the provision of waines, carts, and labouring beasts. Besides, another huge bootie was taken, which *Hanno* when he went a foraging all abroad, had raised out of the countie of the associates of the people of Rome. Then the Consull after he had cast downe all the fortifications of the campe, returned from thence to Beneventum. And there both the Consuls together (for *Ap. Claudius* also thither came after a few dayes) made sale of all the prises and pillage, and divided the same. *Vibius* the Pelignian, and *T. Pedanius* a principall centurion of the third legion, by whose forward and singular good service, the campe of the enemies was forced, were rewarded especially above the rest. *Hanno* then together with some few forragers whom by chance he had with him, returned from Cominium Ceritum (whether the newes came of the losse of the camp) into the Brutians countie, more like one that fled in rout, then marched in warlike order.

The Campanes also having heard, as well of their owne losses as of their allies, sent embassadors unto *Anniball*, to certifie him, That both the Consuls were at Beneventum, that the warre was within a dayes journey of Capua, and but a step from the very gates and walls of the citie: and unlesse he made good hast to succour and reskew them, Capua would sooner come under the obedience and subjection of the enemies, than Arpi did. And he was not to make such a reckning of all Tarentum (much lesse then of the castle alone) as in regard thereof to leave Capua undefended, and yeeld it to the people of Rome, Capua I say, which he was wont to compare and make equall with the citie of Rome. *Anniball* promised that he would take care for the

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good estate of the Campanes: and for the present he sent two thousand horsemen with the embassadors, as a guard to keepe the country and territorie from invasion and spoile.

The Romanes in this meane time, among other their affaires, neglected not the safetie of the castle of Tarentum, and the garison there besieged. For *C. Servilius*, Lieutenant, by order and authoritie of the Senate, was sent by *P. Cornelius* the Pretour into Hetruria, to purvey for come, and to buy store: who with certaine ships laden therewith, arrived in the haven of Tarentum, passing even through the guards of the enemies. At whose comming, they that before whiles they had but small hope, were oftentimes by way of parlie moved by the enemies to go to the contrary side, now themselves began to perswade and sollicite the enemies to come unto them. And the garison surely was strong enough, considering that the souldiours which lay at Metapontum, were drawne from thence to the defence and keeping of the castle of Tarentum. And therefore the Metapontines, so soone as they were delivered of the feare whereby they were kept and held in as with a bit, revolted unto *Anniball*. Semblably did the Thurines also, who inhabited the same tract by the sea side. They were moved and perswaded thereto, not so much by the rebellion of the Tarentines and Metapontines, with whom they were linked in kindred, and ioyned neere in bloud (over and besides that they were descended as well as they, out of *Achaia*) as with anger toward the Romanes for the hostages lately by them killed. Their friends therefore and kinsfolke dispatched letters and messengers unto *Hanno* and *Mago* (who were in the countrie of the Brutijneere at hand) offering to deliver the citie into their hands, if they brought their power and presented it before their walls. Now was there one *M. Atinius*, captaine there over a small garison, whom they supposed might bee easily drawne forth of the towne to make some rash and inconsiderate skirmish, presuming not so much upon his owne souldiours (who were but an handfull) as upon the youth and floure of the Thurians, whom he had of purpose enrolled into bands and companies, and furnished with armour against the like occasions of service. The Carthaginian captains afore named, had divided all their forces between them in two parts, and were entred into the territorie of Thuri: and *Hanno* with his regiment of footmen, advanced with banners displayed before the citie: *Mago* with the horsemen, staid behind close among the hills, over-against the towne, and there lay secretly in ambush. *Atinius* then, who by his espials was enforced only of the the squadrons of footmen, came forth with his forces into the field, ignorant (God wot) both of the falsehood and treason of the townsmen, and also of the covert traines and ambushment of the enemies. The skirmish of footmen was exceeding faint & cold, whiles the Romanes being but few, fought in the vanguard: and the Thurines looked rather when the skirmish should end, than made any hast to fight themselves and helpe: and withall, the squadrons of the Carthaginians gave ground for the nonce, to traine the enemye as farre as the side of the hill, under which, on the other side their horsemen lay in wait and were ambushed. And thither they were not so soone come, but the horsemen made hast to shew themselves, with a great outcrie, and presently put to flight the raw and disordered companie and multitude of the Thurines; who were not very fast and sound in heart to them on whose side they fought. The Romanes, albeit they were environned round, whiles the footmen lay still at them on the one side, and the horsemen charged them a fresh on the other side, yet they maintained fight, and held out a long while: but at last, they likewise turned their backe and fled to the citie. There the traitours and conspiratours being gathered together on heapes, so soone as they had let in at the gates standing wide open, the companies of their owne cittizens: when they saw once the Romanes running apace in disaray toward the citie, made a false alarme, crying aloud that the Carthaginians were at hand, and that both enemies and friends together intermingled, would enter the citie, unless they made better hast to shut the gates. So they excluded the Romanes out, and gave them as a prey to be hewne in peeces by their enemies. Howbeit, *Atinius* with some few, was received within the towne first. After this, there was some mutinie and dissention betweene the cittizens themselves, for a little while. Some were of mind to stand upon their guard, and defend the towne: others were of opinion, to yeeld unto fortune of the time, and deliver it up to the victors hands. But in conclusion, fortune & bad counsell together, (as for the most part it falleth out) prevailed. And so, after they had brought *Atinius* and his souldiours to the haven side, unto their ships for to be embarked, more upon good will that they bare to him for his mild & just government, and therefore were readie to save him, than for any regard at all they had of the Romanes, they received the Carthaginians into the citie.

The

- A The Consuls then led the legions from Beneventum into the territorie of Capua, not only to make spoile and mare the corne, that was laid up already in strong townes against winter, but also to assaile Capua: supposing they should make their Consulship renowned unto posteritie, by the destruction of so rich and wealthie a citie: and besides, do away that great dishonour and shamefull blemish of the Empire of Rome, in suffering a citie so neere unto them to continue now three yeres in rebellion, without revenge and condign punishment. But to the end that Beneventum should not be without a guard, and that against all suddaine accidents and occurrences of warre, in case *Anniball* should come to Capua, for to reskue and aid his allies, (which they made no doubt but he would do) there might be horsemen to withstand his violence: they commaunded *T. Cracchus* to come out of Lucania, with the cavallerie and light armed footmen: and to take order and leave some other to governe the legions and the standing campe, for the guard and defence of those parts there.

Cracchus before hee dislodged out of the Lucanes countrie, hapned to have a fearefull and prodigious token, as he offered sacrifice. For after the sacrifice was performed and accomplished, two snakes came gliding out of a blind hole, no man knew how, to the entrails of the beast, and fell to eat the liver: and so soon as they were espied, suddainly glid out of sight and were no more seene. Now, when as the bowel-priers had given advise to kill a new sacrifice, and so soone as the inwards were opened and laid forth, to tend and looke unto them more heedfully; the snakes came againe, as it is reported, the second & third time: and when they had once given as it were an assay, and tasted the liver, they went cleere away without hurt and untouched. And albeit the Soothsayers aforesaid, had given an Item, and foretold, that this prodigious sight pertained properly unto the chiefe captaine and Generall, and warned him to take heed of some close persons & secret practises: yet his fatal destinie of death that hung over his head, could by no forecast and providence be altered and avoided. Now there was one *Flavius* a Lucane, the principall head of that bend and side of the Lucanes, which when the other faction revolted unto *Anniball*, tooke the Romanes part; and having bene by them chosen the Pretour, had continued in that place of magistracie a yere already: this man all on a suddaine chaunged his mind and affection, and seeking to wind and enter into the favour of *Anniball*, could not be content to revolt himselfe, and to draw with him the Lucanes to rebellion; unless he made a league also and covenant with the enemies, and sealed it with the murder and bloud of his Generall: of him (I say) who being entereined and lodged in his house, he purposed villanously to betray. He entred therefore into secret speech and conference with *Mago*, governour over the Brutij, & having capitulated with him, under his faithfull word and promise, That if he delivered the Romanes Generall into his hands, the Lucanes might live in freedome under their owne lawes, in league & amitie with the Carthaginians; he told him of a place into which hee would bring *Cracchus*, with a small companie and guard about him: willing *Mago* to put his foot and horse in armes, and in such a place aforehand, wherein he might bestow closely and secretly a mightie number of men. When the place was well viewed and considered all about, they agreed upon a day, for putting this plot in practise. This done, *Flavius* commeth to the Romanes Generall *Cracchus*, and enformeth him that he had begun an enterprise of great consequence, for the accomplishment and full perfecting whereof, he needed the helping hand of *Cracchus* himselfe. Namely, he had perswaded with all the Pretours and Governours, who in that universall and generall trouble of all Italie, had revolted unto *Anniball*, for to returne againe into the league and friendship of the Romanes; seeing that the Romanes state and their dominion, which by the overthrow at Cannæ was come in a manner to the lowest ebb, and fallen into extreame despaire, flowed now againe, and grew every day more than other, greater and mightier; whereas contrariwise, the puissance of *Anniball* decayed much, and was wellneere come to nothing: besides, the Romanes were men that might be appeased and reconciled againe, especially the trespasses being so long ago done and past: for never was there nation vnder the sunne, more tractable, more exorable and readie to pardon a fault: and how often have they (to go no further for examples) forgiven the open rebellion even of their forefathers and auncestors? These (quoth he) were my words unto them, and in deed, but my words. Many they had liever heare *Cracchus* himselfe speake, and heare the same from out of his owne mouth: they would more gladly talke with him in person, & take hold of his right hand, which as the assured pawn of his faithfull promise, he carieth alwaies with him wheresoever he goeth, and they desire no more. I have therefore (saith he) appointed a convenient

nient place of interview and conference: lying out of the way and forth of sight, but yet not far from the Romanes campe. There the matter may be dispatched in few words, and all the name and nation of the Lucanes, reduced under the obedience and alliance of the people of Rome. *Gracchus* suspecting no fraud nor harme, neither in his words nor deeds, founding all to a great likelihood of simplicitie and truth in his conceit, departed out of the campe attended upon with his sergeants, and guarded onely with a comet of horsemen: and so by the guidance of his owne host, in whose house he lodged, was plunged headlong within the daunger of the ambush of his enemies. VVho suddainly arose: and *Flavius* because he would put it out of doubt that hee was a traitour, went to their side and joyned with them. Then they let flie arrowes, & shot darts against *Gracchus* and his horsemen on every side. Whereupon *Gracchus* alight from horseback, & commanded the rest to do the same, exhorting them, that the only thing which fortune now had left unto them, they would grace and honour with vertue. For what remaineth else for us, (a small handfull unto them) environned as we are with a multitude of them, within a valley compassed about with hills and woods, but present death? This onely we are to resolve upon, Whither in this present amazednesse and hardesse feare, we will as beasts suffer our throats to be cut without revenge againe; or turning wholly our timorous expectation and suffering of death, into choller and courage, fight adventurously and manfully, and bathing our hands in the blood of our enemies, loose our lives and fall down dead, upon the weapons and bodies of them, lying gaping themselves under us. Ah that *Lucane*, that fugitive rogue and rebell, that treacherous and false traitor, see ye all lay at him. VVhose hap it will be, ere he die, to bee his priest, to sacrifice and send him to the devill, hee shall win an honourable price, and find no small solace and comfort in his owne death.

Gracchus killed by his host, a Lucane.

With these words, he wrapped his rich coate of armes about his left arme (for they had not brought forth with them so much as their shields) & charged with exceeding force upon the enemies. The fight was farre greater on their part than for the proportion and number of the men. The bodies of the Romanes lay open most unto the shot. And thus overcharged on all sides, from the higher places: as being in the valey subject to the volley of their darts, they were soone perced through. VVhen *Gracchus* was left naked alone, and his guard dead at his feete, the Carthaginians did what they could to take him alive: but he having espied among the enemies his good host and friend, that *Lucane*, ran among the thickest preale: where he was so fully bent to mischiefe him, that they could not will nor choose but kill him outright, without they would have lost the lives of many other. He was not so soone dead, but *Mago* sent him straightwayes unto *Anniball*, and commaunded that his bodie together with the knitches of rods (belonging to his Magistracie) should be presented and shewed before the Tribunall seate of the Generall. And this is the true report of the end of *Gracchus*: to wit, that he let his life in the *Lucane* land, about the plaines which are called *Veteres Campi*. There bee some that tell it otherwise, how he being accompanied with his Serjeants, and three serving men his bondslaves, went out from the campe within the territorie of Beneventum, neere unto the river * *Calor*, for to wash himselfe: where there chaunced his enemies to lurke, and lye in wait among the willowes and salowes that grew by the banke side, and so being unarmed and naked too, he was assaulted, where he defended himself as well as he could with flinging at them pible stones such as the river afforded and caried downe with the streame, and so was slaine. Others write, that by advise of the *Bowell-priers*, he went out of the camp halfe a mile off, for to purge and expiate in some pure and cleane place, those prodigious tokens above rehersed: and there was beset and environed round about with two troupes of Numidian horsemen, who hapned there to lye in ambush. See how variable and uncertaine the same goeth, both in what place, and after what manner, this so noble and famous person came by his death. Nay the very funerall and sepulture also of *Gracchus*, is diversly delivered. Some say, he was entered by his owne souldiours within the *Romane* camp. Others give out and say (and that is the more common report) that by the appointment of *Anniball* he was buried in the very entrance of the Carthaginian leaguer; that there was a funerall fire made in solemne wise to burne his corps; that the whole armie justed and ran at tilt and toment in their compleat armor; that the Spanyards leaped and daunced Morrice; and each nation according to their guise and manner, performed sundry motions and exercises as well of their weapons, as of their bodies: yea, and that *Anniball* himselfe in proper person, with all honor of funerall pompe that might be devised, both in word and deed, solemnized the obsequies

A sequeis in the best manner. This say they that affirme the thing to have hapned in the *Lucanes* country. But if a man should beleeeve them, who record how hee was slaine at the river *Calor*, then the enemies gat nothing of him but only his head. VVhich being presented unto *Anniball*, he sent *Carthalo* immediately with it into the *Romane* campe, unto *Cn. Cornelius* the Treasuror or Questor: who there within the very camp performed the funeralls of the Generall, and both armie and citizens of Beneventum together solemnized the same right honourably.

The Consuls being entred into the territorie of Campane, as they forraied all abroad, straggling one from another, were by the townesmen of Capua which salied out, and by the horsemen of *Mago*, put in feare; whereupon in great fright and hast, they rallied the souldiours to their colours, that were raunged over the countrie: but before they could well embattaile them, and set them in array, they were discomfited, and lost above a thousand and five hundred men.

B Vpon which good successe, the enemies (as they are a nation by nature proud) began to be very lustie and exceeding audacious, inso much, as they offered to skirmish sundrie times with the Romanes, and ever challenged them to fight. But that one battaile, so unadvisedly and inconsiderately atchieved, made the Consuls more circumspect & warie afterward. Howbeit, one small occurrence happened, which, as it encouraged and animated them againe, so it abated the hearts, and daunted the boldnesse of the other. For in warre there is nothing (bee it never so litle) but one time or other, it is the occasion of some great consequence and importance. There was in the campe one *T. Quintius Crispinus*, lincked in speciall friendship and familiaritie with *Badius*, a citizen of Capua. Their acquaintance grew and encreased upon this occasion: This *Badius* upon a time, before the revolt of Capua, fell sicke at Rome, and lying in *Crispinus* his house, was liberally and kindly used, yea, and tenderly seene unto by him, during his sicknesse. This *Badius* having put himselfe forward before the standing guards, that ward at the gate of the *Romane* campe, willed, that *Crispinus* should be called out unto him. VVhich being told unto *Crispinus*, he supposed no otherwise of it, but that he would talke friendly and familiarly with him. For albeit both nations generally were at enmitie, in regard of the publicke state, yet the private right and band of hospitalitie, remained still in force, and was not forgotten, and therefore hee went out somewhat apart from the rest of his fellowes. Now, when they were come in fight and interview one of the other. I challenge thee, o *Crispine* (quoth *Badius*) to combat: let us mount on horsebacke, and trie it out betwene us two, without any other companion, whether of us is the

C better man at armes. To this *Crispinus* made answer againe and said, Wee want no enemies, neither you nor I, upon whom wee may make proofe of our manhood: as for mee, if I met and encountred you in the very battaile, yet I would decline, avoid, and shift from you, least I should defile and staine my hand in the murder and bloodshed of my guest and friend. And with this hee turned from him, and went his way. But the Campane contrariwise, upon these words, was the more eager with him, railing and rating at him for his effeminate cowardise and dastardinesse, letting flie at the hamelesse and innocent man, all spightfull teame and reprochfull language; which himselfe ywis (if he had his due) was well worthe of: calling him a friendly foe, and a kind enemy indeed, and finally charged him, that he made his excuse of sparing him, for friendship sake, whom he knew he was not able to match in manhood and valour. But if (qd. he) thou thinkest, that by the breach of publicke league and covenant, our private bands of amitie and hospitalitie, are not yet ynough broken in sunder, then here I pronounce openly, in the hearing of two armies, That I *Badius* a Campane, renounce all hospitalitie with thee *T. Quintius Crispinus* a *Romane*, and so farewell all friendship for ever: I will, I say, have no more to doe by way of acquaintance with thee, no societie, no alliance, no hospitalitie will the guest have with that host, who in hostile manner is come to invade his native countrie, and to make assault upon the publicke buildings and private houses thereof. And therefore, if thou bee a man, meet me in the field. *Crispinus* drew backe a long time, and was loth to enter into the action, but at last his fellow horsemen, serving in the same troupe and comet with him, forced and perswaded him, not to suffer that bragging Campane, thus to insult over him without revenge. VVherupon he made

F no more adoe, nor any longer delay, but whiles he went unto the *L. Generals*, to know their pleasure, whether they would permit and license him, out of his order and ranke, to fight with an enemy that challenged him, and gave him defiance. And having obtained leave, he buckled his armour about him, tooke his weapon, mounted on horseback, and calling upon *Badius* by name, bad him come forth if he durst to single fight. The Campane made no stay, and so with speare in rest,

rest, set spurres to, and they ran their horses full carriere one at the other. *Crispinus* with his lance pierced *Badus* above his shield, through the left shoulder, and therewith unhorsed him, & when he was fallen to the earth with the push, he alight himself from his horse, minding on foot to fall upon him as he lay along, and so to dispatch him outright. But *Badus*, before his enemy seized upon him, left his target behind and his horse, and by good footmanship recovered his own fellows. *Crispinus* then, all goodly to be seen with the spoils of his enemy, made shew of the horse and armour that he had won, and bearing up with all the bloudie point of his lance, was with much praise and great gratulation of the souldiours, brought honourably to the Consuls, and presented before them. At whose hands hee was both highly commended, and also liberally rewarded.

Anniball having dislodged out of the territorie of Beneventum, and removed into Capua, within three dayes after he was come thither, brought forth his forces into the field, making no doubt at all, but that, considering the Campanes in his absence, had but few dayes before fought fortunatly, the Romanes now would be so much lesse able to abide his royall armie so often used to victorie. And verily when the medley was once begun, the Roman battailons of the Infanterie were much troubled and distressed, especially with the fierce assault of the horsemen, who overcharged and pelted them mightily with their darts and Iavelins, untill the signall was given to their owne Cavallerie also, to set hard to, and charge the enemies with their horse. Now while the men of armes were busy in fight on both sides, it hapned that the regiment of *Sempronius* [*Gracchus* lately slain] were descried marching a far off, under the conduct of *Cn. Cornelius* the Treasurer, which put both parts in like feare, least they were some new and fresh enemies that advanced against them. So they founded the retreat on either side, as if they had bene agreed so to do, departed out of the field (as a man would say) on even hand, and retired themselves unto their severall holds: howbeit, the greater number was slain of Romanes, upon the first violent charge given by the horsemen. From thence, the Consuls intending to draw *Anniball* away from Capua, departed sundry wayes, *Fulvius* into the territorie of Cumes, and *Claudius* into the Lucanes country. The next day, when *Anniball* was advertised, that the Romanes had abandoned their camp, and that they were gone into divers parts with their severall armies, being at first uncertaine whom to pursue, resolved at length to make after *Appius*, and so began to do. But after he had once trained the enemy about to the place that he desired, he returned himselfe another way to Capua. And *Anniball* hapned also upon a new occasion presented, to have a good hand of his enemies in those parts.

There was one *M. Centenius*, surnamed *Penula*, one of the chiefe Centurions of the *Pilani*, a singular good captaine in that kind, as well in regard of his mightie and goodly body, as also of his brave mind, and valiant courage. This man having served out his ordinary time required by law, was by the meanes of *P. Cornelius Sulla* the Pretor, brought into the Senate house, and became a petitioner unto the LL. of the Counsell, that he might have the leading of five thousand footemen: promising that within short time, by reason he was so well acquainted with the nature and qualities of the enemy, and withall so much beaten in coasting those quarters, he would do some great deede, and atcheive a peece of notable service: and looke, by what cunning devises and stratagemes, both our leaders and our armies had bene untill that day, entrapped and over-raught, the very same would he use and practise against the enemy. He was not so vaine and unadvised in making this offer, but they were as fottish & foolish again in taking him at his word, and trusting him: as who would say, A good leader and commander, and a stout and hardie souldiour were all one. And so where as he demanded but five thousand, he had the charge given of eight thousand: whereof the one halfe were citizens, the other allies and confederates: and besides them, he himselfe also gathered together out of the country as he marched, a good companie of voluntaries: in so much as his power was doubled, by that time he came into the Lucanes country, where *Anniball* abode, after that he had followed *Claudius* in vaine, and to no effect. But a man that had but halfe an eye, might see what the sequele and event would be of the conflict betwene Generall *Anniball*, and Centinere *Centenius*: betwene both armies also, the one of old beaten souldiours used ever to victories, the other of raw novices and young beginners, yea many of them taken up sodainly in hast, and slenderly armed by the halves. For so soone as both hostes had confronted one another, and that on neither side they dallied and shifted off, but minded presently to go to it and fight; soone were they on both parts arranged in order

A order of battaile. And albeit the Romanes had many disadvantages, yet they maintained skirmish more than two houres: and that so hotely and couragiously, that they shrunke not one jot, so long as their leader stood on foote. But after that he once was stricken downe and slaine, who not only in regard and remembrance of the former name (that he had won) of valour and prowesse: but also for feare of future shame and dishonor, in case he should remaine alive after the defeature of his forces, whereof he was the onely cause through his foolle-hardie rashnesse, presented himselfe desperately upon the pikes of his enemies, where he might be sure of nothing but present death: & incontinently the Roman battailon was discomfited & put to flight. And so hard bested they were, in seeking waies and meanes to escape (all the avenues were so laid and beset with the horsemen) that of so great a multitude, there were hardly one thousand saved, all the rest miscaried here and there, and came by their death one way or other.

B In this meane time, Capua was streightly beleaguered by the Consuls; and they began to assault it in most forcible manner: great preparation there was of all things needfull unto such an exploit, and with great diligence every thing provided and brought accordingly. Corne was conveyed to Castilum, and laid up there for store: at the mouth of the river Voltumnus (where now the citie standeth) was the skonce and castle fortified (which *Fabius* before had built) and a strong garison therein planted, to the end that both the sea so neere, and the whole river also might be at their commaund. Into these two fortresses standing on the sea side, as well the corne which lately was sent out of Sardinia, as also that which *Mutius* the Pretor had bought out of Hetruria, was transported from the port of Ostia, whereby the army might be served plentifully all winter season. Over and besides that losse received in the Lucanes country, the armie likewise of the Volonies, i. voluntary souldiours (which during the life of *Craffus*, had served truly and faithfully) now abandoned their colours; as if by the death of their Captaine they had taken themselves fully discharged from warfare.

Anniball made no small account of Capua: for willing enough he was, that his allies & friends there, should not be forsaken & left in so great perill wherein they stood; and yet upon that fortunate succeffe which hapned unto him through the rashnesse of one Roman captaine, his singersitched to be doing with another of them, and hoped to find some good opportunitie and advantage to surprize and overthrow both captaine and armie. Whereas therefore certaine Apulian Embassadors advertised him, that *Cn. Fulvius* the Pretour, (who at the first in assaulting D of certaine cities in Apulia, which had revolted unto *Anniball*, bare himselfe like a wife & prudent captaine: now afterwards, upon his good fortune and happie speed in those affairs, whereby himselfe and his souldiours had made up their mouthes and filled their hands well with booties and pillage) both himselfe and his men were growen so idle and so dissolute, that no good government nor militarie discipline remained among them: hereupon *Anniball* having good experience, (as often heretofore, so in this late instance but few daies past) in how small steed an armie serveth, when it is directed by an unskillfull leader, removed his forces into Apulia. Now lay the Roman legions and *Fulvius* the Pretour, encamped about Herdonia. And when the newes came thither, that the enemies were on their journey comming toward them, hardly might the souldiours be reclaimed and staid, but they would in all hast plucke up standards and ensignes, E and straightwaies go into the field and bid them battaile, without commission and commaundement of their Pretour. And no one thing more held them backe, than the assured hope they had, to doo it at their pleasure whensoever they would. *Anniball* the night following, having certaine intelligence, that there was a tumult in the campe, & that most of the souldiours mightily importuned their Generall, to put forth unto them the signall of battaile, and called earnestly unto him for to lead them out into the field, made full account to meet with good opportunitie and occasion, to have a faire day of his enemies: and therefore he bestowed three thousand men lightly appointed, in divers villages thereabout, among the thicke groves and bushes, and within the woods: who at a signe given them, should all at once upon a suddaine, start up & leap forth of their lurking corners: and withall, he gave order to *Mago*, with two thousand horsemen F or therabout, to keep all the waies whereas he supposed they were most like to flee & make escape. Having thus ordred all things beforehand in the night time: at the breake of day he entred the field with his armie, & embattailed himself in warlike maner. *Fulvius* for his part, was not behind; not induced so much upon any hope or conceit he had of good speed, as drawne & haled thereto, through the rash enforcement and compulsion of his souldiours. And therefore as they came forth

forth to battaile upon a head and heat, inconsiderately, so they were set in array as disorderly, even at the pleasure of the fouldiours, according as they came forth and tooke up their ranks and files, as they list themselves: & then againe, as the toy tooke them in the head, left the same, either upon wilfulness or fear. The first legion together with the left wing or corner of horsemen, were first marshalled: and the squadrons drawne and stretched out in a great length: norwithstanding the Knight-marshals and Coronels cried out, that withinforth, there was no strength nor power at all; and that the enemies wheresoever they should happen to charge, would breake in upon them and go through. But no hole some counsell for their owne good, might be taken and considered upon: nay they would not so much as lend their eare, & give them the hearing. And by this time *Anniball* was in place, with another manner of armie (you may bee sure) and otherwise ordred and aranged. And therefore the Romanes were not able to abide so much as the first shout and thocke of the onser. The captaine himselfe (as foolish and headie as *Centenius*, but in courage and resolution farre short of him) seeing how the world went, the field like to be lost, his fouldiours in feare and great perplexitie; recovered his horse in great hast, and with some two hundred horsemen fled away and escaped: all the armie besides, beaten backe affront, beset behind, flanked on the sides, and environned round; were so killed and hewen in peeces, that of eightene thousand, there were not past two thousand saved. And the enemies besides were maisters of the campe.

When these losses one in the necke of another were reported at Rome, the cittie was set in a great fit of sorrow and feare for the while: but so long as the Consuls, in whom rested the maine chaunce, had hitherto prospered and sped well, they were the lesse troubled at these by-blows and crosse misfortunes. Whereupon they addrested *C. Leliorus* and *M. Milius* as messengers unto the Consuls, willing them to gather together with good care and diligence, those dispersed reliques and remainders of the two armies; also to have an eye & heedfull regard unto them, that upon feare and desperation they yeilded not themselves to the enemy (as it hapned after the Cannian overthrow;) and last of all, to make diligent search and seeke out those *Volones*, or voluntarie servitours, that had abandoned their ensignes and casted themselves. The like charge was laid upon *P. Cornelius*, who had commission besides to levie more men. And he made proclamation throughout all market townes, faires, & places of frequent resort, That those *Volones* should be found out and brought againe to their owne colours, to serve as aforetime. All these directions were executed and accomplished with exceeding great care and diligence.

Appius Claudius the Consul, after he had made *D. Iunius* captaine of the sconce erected upon the mouth of the river *Vulturnus*, and *M. Aurelius Cotta* Governor of *Puteoli*, with commission, That as any ships [with corne] from out of *Hetruria* or *Sardinia* arrived there, they should immediately send the corne to the campe; went backe himselfe to *Capua*: where hee found *Q. Fulvius* his Colleague, transporting thither all provision from *Casilinum*, and making preparation for the assault of *Capua*. Then both Coss. jointly together besieged the citie: and sent unto *Claudius Nero* the Pretor, for to come unto them from *Suessula*, out of the old camp of *Claudius*. Who likewise leaving a small garrison there to defend the peece, with all his power and forces, descended into the plaines before *Capua*. So there were three roiall pavillions pitched for three LL. generals about *Capua*: and three full armies in three sundrie places began to forisic, erecting bastilons and forts in places not farre distant: yea and to cast a trench and raise a rampiar round about the citie. And in divers quarters at once, they skirmished with the men of *Capua*, whensoever they came to hinder their fortifications, with so good successe, that the townsmen were driven at last to keepe within their gates and walls. But before that those rampiars and trenches above said were fully finished, and all ends brought together, there were Embassadours dispatched unto *Anniball*, to complaine in the name of the Capuans, as finding themselves grieved, that hee had forsaken *Capua*, and in a manner delivered it into the Romanes hands: and withall, to beseech him earnestly, that now or never, he would rescue and succor them, being not onely besieged, but also shut up and almost trenched about, as within a prison. *P. Cornelius* likewise the Pretour of the citie of Rome, sent his letters unto the Consuls, advising them before they had fully invetted *Capua* round about, to make offer unto the Capuans of this libertie, That as many as would, might depart with bag and baggage out of *Capua*: and whosoever went forth before the *Ides of March, should enjoy their freedome and all their goods and lands: but as many as after that day, either departed or tarried there still behind, should be reckoned no better than

*25 of March.

A than very enemies. These intimations were made known unto the Campanes, but so light they set by them, that they fell a railing, reviling, and menacing the Romanes, with most reproachfull taunts and spightfull tearmes. *Anniball* was departed from *Herdonia* with his legions unto *Tarentum*, hoping either by force or fraud to gaine the castle. And seeing he little prevailed, he turned from thence, and tooke his way to *Brundisium*, supposing that towne would bee betrayed into his hands. Whiles he lay there also and lost his time in doing nothing, the Embassadours of the Campanes arrived and came unto him, with complaints and humble requests both at once. Unto whom *Anniball* made this glorious and lordlike answer: with a majesticke Once alreadie have I raised the siege, and never will the Consuls, I trow, abide my second coming. The Embassadours having received their dispatch, departed with this hope: but much ado they had, to put themselves within *Capua*, so enclosed round was it (by this time) with a double trench and a rampiar.

It fortuned at the very same instant, when *Capua* was thus streightly beleaguerd, that the siege also & assault of *Saracose* came to an end: helped forward & hastned by intestine treacherie and treason withall, as well as by force of armie & valour of captaine abroad. For *Marcellus* in the beginning of the spring, doubtfull in himselfe and hanging in suspence, whither to bend his whole forces toward *Aggrigentum*; against *Himilco* & *Hippocrates*, or still proceed to besiege *Saracose*: albeit he saw the citie might not possibly be woon, either by forcible assault, (considering it was by situation both by sea and land invincible) or pining famine, by reason the passage in manner lay open to and fro betweene it and *Carthage*, for safe transporting of all sort of victuals: yet because hee would leave no stone unrolled, but trie all waies that could be devised; he commaunded certaine revolts from the *Saracosiens* (for there sided with the Romanes some of the noblest persons of the citie, who at the time of the first backsliding from the Romanes, because they misliked and abhorred all rebellion and change in the state, were driven out and banished the citie) to deal with their bend and faction by way of conference, to sound the harts (I say) of such as were their followers, and to sollicite them to their part: and withall to assure them (upon their warrant) that if by their meanes *Saracose* were betrayed, they should live in freedome, and enjoy their owne lawes as they would themselves. But no opportunitie could they espie for to parlie and talke with them. For by reason that there were many suspected to encline and draw that way, every man had a carefull eye and regard unto them, that there could be no treachery practised, but soone it would be found out and detected. Yet a bond-servant toward one of the banished persons above said, hapned to be let into the citie, pretending that he was run away from the adverse part unto them: who hapning to meet with some few, began to move and broch such a matter. After which, certaine others lying close hidden under the nets in a fisher bore, came about by water to the camp of the Romanes, and had conference and communication with those former fugitives and exiled men. And thus from time to time, this was practised in the same manner, by divers and sundry persons, untill at length they were a crew of fourescore in all. Now when all things were concluded for the betraying of the citie, neere upon the point of execution, it chanced that one *Attalus* (a false brother among them, who tooke snuffe that he was not specially trusted in the matter) disclosed the conspiracie unto *Epicides*, and appeached the parties: whereupon they were all put to extreame torture, and suffered death every one. When this plot would speed no better, they conceived hope another way, by a new occasion and occurrence that presently offered it selfe. There chanced one *Damasippus* a Lacedemonian, sent from *Syracusa*, as a messenger to king *Philip*, for to bee taken prisoner by the Roman armada. Now, both *Epicides* was very desirous & exceeding careful how to ransom him, & also *Marcellus* was not unwilling for his part to graunt the same. For even then; the Romans began to affect the friendship of the *Aetolians*, with which nation the Lacedemonians were confederate, and in league. So, when there should be commissioners and delegates sent on both sides, to parlie & treat about his redemption, the most indifferent place for them to meet in, was at the key or wharfe of *Trogili, fast by a turret which they call *Galeagra, as being just in the middle between, & most convenient for both parties. It happened now, that as they had recourte oftentimes thither about this businesse, one of the Romans well viewed the wall neere by, he counted the stones, that appeared in the forefront of the wal, and made estimate to himselfe of their quadrature & proportion; & withall, giving a guesse as neere as he could, of what height (by his reckoning) & measure, the wall might be: and supposing it was a good deale lower, than

C c c

either

*Stinfino.
*Scala Graca.

either he himselfe or others, had alwaies before taken it to be, and easie to be skaled with ladders, G even of a meane size and middle fort, hee relateth the matter, and his conceit of it to *Marcellus*. And in his opinion it was a thing not to be neglected, but to bee thought upon. But for as much as, there was no access unto that place, by reason, that for the lownesse thereof, it was the more carefully guarded and defended, it was thought good to wait for some opportunitie and advantage to helpe that difficultie. VVhich, as good hap was, offered it selfe presently unto them by means of a fugitive: who gave them intelligence, that they held a solemne feast of *Diana* at that time within the citie, and the same continued three daies together: also hee said, that for want of other things, during this siege to make good chere withall, they spared for no wine; but made merrie therewith in great plentie and abundance. For why? not only *Epicides* had bountifully bestowed wine upon the whole Commons, but also the great men of the citie had in every ward H and parish where they dwelt, allowed a proportion besides of their owne charges. When *Marcellus* heard this, he called unto him some few of his Colonels and knight Marshalls, and conferred with them: and when they had sorted out certaine choise and select Centurions and soldiers, fit and sufficient men to adventure and execute so great a peece of service, and withall provided ladders secretly; to all the rest he commaunded a watchword and warning to be given. That they should betimes take their refection of meat and repose of sleepe, for that in the night they were to be employed in an expedition and action of service. After this, when he thought it was about the time, that they (as having feasted all day long, and well filled their bellies with meat, and their heads with wine) were gone to rest, and newly fallen sound asleepe, he commaunded one ensigne I or companie of souldiours, to carie ladders; and besides them, there were upon a thousand well armed and appointed, marching with silence and in thin ranckes, brought thither to the place. When the foremost without any stirre or noise at all, had skaled the top of the wall, others followed in their course. For the forward and resolute boldnesse of the former, was able to animate and encourage the rest, if they had been falsehearted. By this time now, the thousand armed souldiours had seized that part, when the rest of the ladders were set to: and upon more ladders still, they gat up to the wall in diverse places, upon a signall given them from the gate *Hexapylus*. Vnto which places the Romanes were now come, and found no stirring at all, but exceeding silence and desolation, for as much as a great sort of them had made good chere within the turrets, and either were fast asleepe with drinking wine already, or else were bibbing still, notwithstanding their eyes were heavey, and their hearts asleepe. And yet, some few of them they tooke in K their beds, and killed. Neere unto *Hexapylus* there is a little wicket, which with great violence they began withall, to breake it open. So as now, both from the wall (as was before appointed) they gave signall by sound of trumpet: and also from all parts they went not to worke any more by stealth, but plainly and openly without dissimulation. For they were come already as far as *Epipolæ*, a place full of watchmen and warders. And the enemies were to be terrified now and stricken into feare, and no longer to be dealt withall by craft and guile. And it fell out so indeed, that they were mightily skared. For they heard not so soone the sounding of the trumpets, and the shouting and outcrie of them that were possessed of the walls and one part of the citie, but the warders, thinking all was gone, some ran along upon the wall, others leapt from the walls, or else were borne downe headlong, with the prease of others that were affrighted. And yet many there I were, who were not ware at all of this miserie and extremitie, both because generally they were all dead asleepe, and also by reason that the citie was so wide and large, that a thing felt and scene in some remote parts, reached not streightwaies throughout, to all the rest. The gate *Hexapylus* was broken downe somewhat before day, at which *Marcellus* with all his power entred the citie. He wakened them all, and set them to their businesse; he made them take weapon in hand, and to helpe (what they could) a citie in a manner wholly surprisid and taken. *Epicides* made hast from the Island (which they themselves call *Nalos*) with a companie of souldiours about him, making full account to drive them out againe: as supposing, that they were but some few, who through the negligence of the watchmen and warders were gotten over the wall: and ever as he met with any that were skared and in feare, hee said unto them estoones, that they themselves made more adoe, and every thing worse than there was cause, reporting all in greater measure and more fearful manner than need was in very truth. But when he saw all places about *Epipolæ* full of armed men, after some small volley of shot, and little skirmish with the enemy, (whereby hee provoked them, rather than did any good else) hee turned backe againe with his companies, and retired in M

* Some make it the fifth part of *Syracusa*.

A to *Acradina*, not fearing so much the violence and multitude of the enemies, as least some intestine mischeefe by this occasion might arise, and that he should find in this tumult and hurlyburly, the gates of *Acradina*, and the Island shut against him. *Marcellus* being entered within the walls, tooke his prospect from the higher places, and when hee beheld under his eyes the most goodly and beautifull citie of all others in those daies, (by report) he wept and shed teares abundantly, partly for joy that he had brought his purpose to so good a passe, and partly in compassion and remembrance of the auncient glorie and renowne of that citie. Hee called to mind the navies of the Atheniens by them sunke and drowned: hee thought upon the utter overthrow of two puissant armies, together with the losse of two most noble and famous captains of theirs: moreover, there came into his memorie so many wars fought against the Carthaginians, with B so great perill and hazard: so many and so mightie Tyrants and kings that reigned and kept their seat and roiall court there: & amongst the rest, he could not chuse but think of king *Hiero*, of fresh and famous memorie, a prince, who above all other gifts which his owne vertue and fortune had graced & endued him withall, was recommended especially for his many favors and good turnes done unto the people of Rome. When all these things presented themselves to his remembrance, with this cogitation besides, how all that beaute and glorie within one houres space was ready to burne on a light fire, and to be consumed into ashes: before that he advanced his ensignes against *Acradina*, hee sent before, those *Syracusians* who had converted (as is afore-said) amongst the guards and garrison of the Romanes, to perswade the enemies with mild & gentle speech, yet, to yeeld the citie. It so fell out, that the most part of them that warded the gates and C walls both, of *Acradina*, were certaine fugitive revolts fled from the Romanes, who had no hope at all, upon any condition whatsoever to be pardoned. These would suffer none, either to approach the walls, or to parte and speake with any. And therefore *Marcellus*, after hee saw that enterprife frustrate & disappointed, commaunded to retire with the ensignes unto *Euryalus*. This *Euryalus* is a little mount and fort, situate in the utmost quarter of the citie, remote far from sea, and commanding the high way that leadeth into the fields, & the middle parts and very hart of the whole Island; a place very commodious for the taking up & receipt of all victuals. The captain of this hold was *Philodemus* an Argive, placed there by *Epicides*. Vnto whom there was sent from *Marcellus*, *Sosis*, one of them that murdered the tyrant: and after long communication, *Sosis* with craftie words abused by him, & colourably put off until another time, made relation unto *Marcellus*, that D *Philodemus* had taken a farther day of respite & deliberation. But he put off still from day to day, trifling out the time of purpose, untill *Hippocrates* & *Himilco* might come with their forces and legions, making no doubt, but if he might receive them into his fortresse, the whole armie of the Romanes being now enclosed within the walls, should be overthrowne, and utterly defeated. *Marcellus* seeing that *Euryalus* was not delivered up, (and forced possibly it could not bee) encamped himselfe betwene *Neapolis* and *Tyche* (so are two parts of the citie named, and may for their bignesse go well enough for two entier cities of themselves:) for feare, least if he were once entered into the populous and most inhabited places of the citie, his souldiers greedie of pillage, would not bee kept together, but runne loosely up and downe to rife. Thither came unto him from *Tyche* and *Neapolis*, Embassadors and Oratours, with olive braunches adorned with sacred veiles and infules, humbly beseeching him to hold his hand from effusion of blood, & firing the citie. *Marcellus* calling his counsell about these their petitions, rather than demands, after mature deliberation, by generall consent of all, gave expresse and streight commaundement to the souldiours, that no man should offer abuse or violence to the bodie of any freeborne person whatsoever: as for all besides, his will and pleasure was it should bee their bootie. Now was the campe of *Marcellus* defended on both sides with housing in steed of a wall, and hee bestowed a good corps de guard at the gates thereof, lying open over against the streets: least when the souldiours ran to and fro in the citie, the campe in the meane while might be assailed. Then upon the sound of trumpet the souldiours fell to their businesse, ran into all parts, brake open dores, set all on a fearefull hurrey, but spilled no blood: and they never gave over ransacking and rising, untill E they had cast out and carried away all the riches and goods, that had beene a gathering a long time, during their wealthie and prosperous estate. Amid these stirres, *Philodemus* also seeing no hope of succours and rescue, after he had covenanted for his securitie, to return safe and without harme to *Epicides*, withdrew his garrison away with him out of the fort, and rendred it up to the Romanes.

Now whiles every man was turned another way, and busied in that part of the citie which was forced, *Bomilcar* taking the advantage of one night, wherein the Romane fleet by reason of a violent tempest could not ride at anchor in the maine sea, gat forth of the haven of Saracofe with 35 ships, and having sea-roume, halfed up sailes, and away he went with a mery gale of wind, leaving 55 behind for *Epicides* and the Saracofians: and after he had informed the Carthaginians in what danger the state of Saracofe stood, returned within few dayes with a fleet of a hundred saile, rewarded for his labor (as the report went) by *Epicides*, with many rich gifts, which the treasure of king *Hiero* paid for. *Marcellus* possessed now of the fortresse *Euryalus*, and having planted there a garison, was well rid of one care yet: for he doubted, least if a new power of enemies had bene received behind his back into that fort, they would greatly have annoyed his men, enclosed now as they were, and encombred within the walls.

After this he besieged *Acradina*, and invested it round about, and fortified three severall campes (in meet and convenient places) against it, hoping to shut them up into such streights, that they should be driven to extreame scarcitie & want of all things. Now when as for certaine daies, the guards of the one side & the other had rested quiet; sodainly upon the arrivall of *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, they within began from all parts to set freshly upon the Romans. For, first *Hippocrates* (after he had encamped and well fortified himselfe fast by the great Key, and given a signall to them that kept *Acradina*) assaulted the old campe of the Romanes, where *Crispinus* lay with his guard for the defence thereof: then *Epicides* also sallied forth, and brake upon the Corps de guard of *Marcellus*: and withall, the Carthaginian fleet approached close to the strand that lieth betwene the citie and the Romane camp, to hinder that *Crispinus* might have no aid sent unto him from *Marcellus*. And yet for all this ado, the enemies made a greater stirre and tumultuous alarme, than any skirmish to speake of: for *Crispinus* not only gave *Hippocrates* the repulse, and drave him from the defenses of his owne campe, but also followed him in chase, as he fled fearefully in hast away: and *Marcellus* forced *Epicides* to take the citie againe, and get it over his head. So as now they seemed very sufficiently provided and appointed against all dangers from thence forth, of their sodaine sallies and irruptions.

Over and besides all these troubles, there hapned a common calamitie unto both, the plague and pestilence: in such manner, as it might soone have withdrawne the minds, as well of the one part as of the other, from thinking any more of warre. For, besides that it fell out to be the Autumne or harvest season of the yeare, the place it selfe by nature unholsome, stinking and corrupt (but much more without the citie than within) the extreame and intollerable heate of the weather mightily distempered all their bodies generally, in the camps both the one & the other. At the first, by occasion of the distemperature of the season, and corruption of the place, they both fell sick and died: but afterward by visiting and tending one another that were infected, the disease grew catching and contagious, and so spread and increased more and more: in such manner, as either they that were fallen sick perished for want of looking to and diligent attendance; or if any came about them, to keepe them and minister unto them, they were infected and endangered also as deeply as the other: so as every day a man could go no where, but either death, or corpes caried forth to their graves, were presented to his eies: night and day in all places there was nothing heard but weeping, wailing, and piteous lamentation. In the end their hearts were so hardened and made savage againe, by continuall usage to this miserie, that not only they gave over to weepe over the dead, and to accompanie them unto their sepulchres with due mourning and dolefull plaints, but also to cary them forth and to interre them: so that the breathlesse bodies lay scattered all abroad on the ground in the sight of them, that looked every houre for the like miserable death themselves. The dead killed the sick: the sick infected the sound, partly with feare, and partly with the corruption and pestiferous stench that came from their bodies. And because they would dye rather upon the sword's point, than of this maladie, some of them made offer to go alone among the armed guards of their very enemies, to be killed out of hand, and rid out of their miserie. Howbeit, the plague was hotter by farre in the Carthaginian camp, than among the Romanes, by reason of the corrupt water, and much slaughter committed there, & so long siege about Saracofe. For of the enemies armie, the Sicilians at the first, so soone as they saw the sickness to spread commonly, and increase by reason of the corruption of the place, got themselves away, and stole every man home to the cities neere adjoining. But the Carthaginians were faine to stick by it still, as having no place to retire themselves unto, and

A and so, they together with their Generals themselves *Hippocrates* & *Himilco*, died all of them, and not one escaped. *Marcellus* when he saw this mortalitie grow thus hote, brought his people into the citie, where the houses & shadowie places yeilded some good refreshing to the sick & weake bodies: howbeit, many also of the Romane armie went of it, and turned up their heeles. Thus when the land-souldiours of the Carthaginians were all gone and consumed of the plague, the Sicilians who had served under *Hippocrates*, withdrew themselves into certaine townes, which were not great, yet sure and strong, both by naturall situation, and also by strength of walls and other defenses; the one of them three miles from Saracofe, the other fiftene miles distant from the haven mouth: and thither they conveyed from out of their own cities adjoining, all manner of victuals, and sent abroad for aids of men.

B In the meane while *Bomilcar* set saile once againe with his fleet for Carthage, where he made relation of the state of their confederates in such termes, that still he fed them with some hope, That not only by their help they might be saved, but also that the Romans (notwithstanding they had in some sort forced and taken the citie) might be surprisid and taken there themselves: and in conclusion persuaded and prevailed so with them, that they granted not only to send with him a great number of hulks & caricks, laden with store of all things, but also to furnish him with more ships of warre; to encrease his Armada. Whereupon he departed from Carthage with 130 galleies, and 70 ships of burden, and had forewinds good enough to set him over into Sicilie. But those winds kept him from doubling the point of the cape *Pachynus*.

C The same and rumor first of *Bomilcar* his coming, and then his delay above mens expectation, that checked it againe, wrought diversly in the minds of the Romanes and Syracusians, ministring one while feare, another while joy unto them both. Whereupon *Epicides* fearing least if the same Easterly winds which then held, and were settled in that corner, should continue many dayes more, the Carthaginian navie would returne againe into Affricke, leaving the guard of *Acradina* to the captaines of the waged and mercenarie souldiours, sailed to *Bomilcar*, riding still with his fleet in the rode that looketh toward Affricke, and fearing a conflict at sea, not so much because he was inferiour to the enemies either in force or number of ships (for he had many more than the Romanes) but for that the winds stood more favourably to help the Roman Armada than his: howbeit, in the end he persuaded him to try the fortune of a battaile at sea. And *Marcellus* for his part, seeing both the Sicilian forces gather and assemble together from all parts of the Island, and understanding that the Carthaginian fleet was coming with great store of victuals: for feare least at any time whiles hee was shut up within the enemies citie, hee should be assailed both by sea and land: albeit he was short of them in number of ships, yet determined to hinder *Bomilcar* for arriving at Saracofe. Thus rid two armadaes of enemies affronting one another, about the head of *Pachynus*, readie to joyne battaile, so soone as the calmnesse of the weather would give them leave to advance into the maine and open sea. Therefore when the East wind began to lie, which for certeine daies had blustred and raged, first *Bomilcar* weighed anchor: and the vanguard of his armada seemed to gather still into the deepe, only because hee might more easilie gaine the Cape and promontarie aforesaid. But so soone as he saw the Romanes ships make way toward him, (I wot not what suddaine accident it was that afrigh-
E red him) he set up all his sailes and fell off, into the maine sea: and after he had sent certain messengers to *Heraclea*, willing them for to set againe their hulkes home into Affricke, himselfe coasted all along Sicilie, and shaped his course for Tarentum. *Epicides* disappointed thus on a suddaine, of so great hopes that he had, because he would not returne againe to the siege of a citie, whereof a great part was lost already, saileth to Agrigentum, there to abide & expect the event and finall issue, rather than to stirre himselfe and trie any more, how to helpe them with any succour from thence.

F These things being reported in the campe of the Sicilians, to wit, that *Epicides* had quitted Saracofe; that the Carthaginians had abandoned the whole lland of Sicilie, and in manner yeilded it againe into the hands of the Romanes: after they had sounded first their minds who were besieged, by talke and conference with them, they sent Embassadors unto *Marcellus*, to treat about conditions of surrendring the citie. When they were growne in a maner to this point, without any squaring or difference at all, That the Romanes should have the signorie all and wholly which belonged unto the kings: and that, all the rest the Sicilians should enjoy, with libertie & their own proper lawes; the Embassadors aforesaid called forth to a parley, those unto whom

whom *Epicides* at his departure had committed the government of the affaires, and declared unto them, that as they were addrested Oratours unto *Marcellus*, so they were from him sent unto the annie of the Sicilians: that generally all, as well the besieged, as those who were without the daunger of the siege, should be comprised within the treatie, and abide one and the same fortune: and that neither the one side nor the other, should capitulate or enter into any covenant for themselves apart, without all the rest. Who being received and admitted, for to salute and speake unto their kinsfolke & friends, made them acquainted with the agreement and composition betwene *Marcellus* and them: and so after they had presented unto them some good hope of their safetie, they perswaded with them so farre forth, as to joyne with them, and all together, for to set upon & assault the bodies of the captains deputed by *Epicides*, namely *Polyetes*, *Philistio*, and one *Epicides* surnamed *Sydus*. When they were once made away and killed, they called the multitude together unto a generall assembly: where they complained greatly of their povertie, and penurie of all things (for which they were wont to murmure secretly among themselves:)

And albeit yee are distressed (say they) with so many miseries and calamities, yet are yee not to blame fortune therefore, so long as it was in your owne power and choise, either to be delivered from them, or to endure them longer. As for the Romans (said they) it was not hatred, but meere love and charitie, that moved them to come against Saracofe for to assault it. For when they heard that the government of the state was usurped by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* (the ministers first belonging to *Anniball*, and after to *Hieronymus*) then they began to lay siege unto it, intending not the overthrow and destruction of the cittie it selfe, but to put downe and depose the cruell tyrant that ruled the state. Seeing then, that now *Hippocrates* is dead, *Epicides* excluded from Saracofe, his deputies and captaines killed, and the Carthaginians driven out of all their hold and possession of Sicilie, both by land and sea, what reason have the Romanes, but to bee willing and well content, that Saracofe should continue in safetie now, as well as if *Hiero* himselfe were living, the onely maintainer & observant upholder of the Romane amitie? And therefore, if ought but well should happen, either to the cittie, or to the citizens, yee may thanke yourselves, and none else, for letting slip opportunitie now offered, of reconciliation & attonement with the Romanes. Never looke to have the like occasion hereafter, to that, which at this instant is presented: if yee had the grace to see what a doore is opened for you, to be delivered from the yoke of most insolent & proud tyrants. This speech they gave eare unto with exceeding accord and generall applause. But before that any Embassadours were nominated to bee sent unto *Marcellus*, it was thought good that new Pretors should be created. Out of the number of which Pretours, there were Oratours addrested unto *Marcellus*. And the principal man among them, spake in this wise. Neither we Syracusians (quoth hee) o *Marcellus*, at the first revolted from you Romanes, but *Hieronymus*, impious and wicked Prince as he was; yet nothing so much hurtfull to you as to us: nor afterwards, when peace was knit again upon the murder of the tyrant, was it any citizen of Saracofe, but *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* (the kings right hands and ministers, who oppressed and kept us under, with fear of one side, & with deceivable sleights on another side) that made the brack, & were the troublers & disturbers of this peace. Ne yet can any man come forth and say truly, that ever we were at our owne libertie, and entertained not peace and amitie with you. And now also I assure you, so soone as by the massacre of these, that held Saracofe in such oppression and bondage, we began againe to be our owne men, and to have the law in our owne hands; the first thing you see that we do, is this, to come & present ourselves unto you, to deliver up our armour and weapons, to yeeld our bodies, our cittie, the walls, and all the strength thereof, and to refuse no condition, that it shall please you Romanes to impose upon us. As to your self, o noble *Marcellus*, the gods have given you the honour of conquest, over the most noble & beautifullest cittie of all other in Greece. Behold, how, what memorable acts soever that we have at any time achieved, either by land or sea, all makes to the advancement of the glorious title & dignity of your triumph. See you then, that another day it be not known by bare hear-say & the trumpet of fame, how great and mightie a cittie you have won, but rather that it may stand still and remaine for all posteritie, for a marke and worthie spectacle to behold: to the end, that whosoever hereafter, shall resort thither by land, whosoever shall arrive there by sea, it may present unto them, both our Trophees and worthie victories over the Atheniens & Carthaginians; and also this of yours over us, the bravest conquest of all the rest. See I say that you leave for your house and familie, the cittie of Saracofe whole and sound, to do homage and fealtie ever hereafter, to the

- A the name and linage of the *Marcelli*, and to hold of them as of their soveraigne LL. in chiefe and in villenage. That all the world may see, that the late remembrance of *Hieronymus*, beareth no greater stroke with the Romanes, than the ancient name of king *Hiero*, a noble Prince of famous memorie. Much longer was he a friend, than the other an enemy. His good deeds and many favours yee have tasted and felt with great contentment: the follie and madnesse of *Hieronymus*, hurt none of you, but wrought his owne confusion and overthrow. There was nothing but they might have obtained at the Romanes hands: all was cleere there, and no daunger from thence. But among their owne selves they were at more warre: there was the perill, there was all the mischief. For the Romane rebels, who were runne from them, doubting that they should be delivered over into their hands, and not comprised within the termes of the composition and protection, drave the auxiliaries also that were waged souldiours into the same scruple and feare. They hastilie therefore tooke armes, and first killed the Pretours: and afterwards, ran all about to massacre the Saracofians. Looke whom they hapned to meet, them they murdered in this furious fit of choller. Whatsoever came next to their hands, and lay handsome for them, they rifled. And because forthwith, they would not be without their leaders, they created fixe provosts or captaines, that three should governe Acradina, and other three Nasos. At the last, after the uprore was appeased, the mercenarie souldiours aforesaid, followed the matter thoroughly by search and diligent inquirie, what were the capitulations in deed agreed upon with the Romans; and then began the very truth to appeare, namely that their condition and the fugitives were far different.
- C These Embassadours in very good time returned from *Marcellus*, and certified them that they were caried away with a wrong surmise and false suspicion, and the Romanes had no just cause to punish them. Now there was one of those three Provosts of Acradina, a Spaniard, named *Mericius*. Unto him there was sent for the nones among those of the retinue and traine of the Embassadours aforesaid, one of the Spaniards, who were auxiliarie souldiours, serving under the Romanes: who finding *Mericius* alone without other companie, gave him to understand especially above all things, in what tearmes he had left Spaine (& from thence he was newly come) namely how the Romanes there were grown mightie, and held a great hand over them with their forces. And that himselfe, in case he had a mind to doe some worthie deed, might soone rise, and be a great man in his countrey: chuse whether he list to serve under the Romanes, or returne againe unto his owne home. Contrariwise, if he went on stil in this course he had begun, and minded still to be besieged, what long abiding place could he have there, shut up as he was from sea & land? *Mericius* pondered well these reasons: and when it was agreed, that there should bee addrested new Embassadours unto *Marcellus*, sent his owne brother with them, who by the selfesame Spaniard was brought apart from all the rest unto *Marcellus*: and after he had a protection granted, he laid the plot, and ordered all the matter how it should be done, and so returned to Acradina. Then *Mericius* because he would withdraw mens minds from all suspicion of treason, and that he intended nothing lesse, than to betray Acradina, gave it out, That he liked not, and would no more of this recourse, ever & anone, of Embassadours betwene; and therefore as he would admit of none to come from *Marcellus*, so he would send no more to him. And to the end, that all the guards should bee kept more diligently, hee thought it good to divide conveniently among the Provosts, the quarters of the cittie, and assigne to every one his ward by himselfe, and that each one should be bound to answer for the safe keeping of his own division, and for no more. Then all gave their consent to part accordingly, and to himselfe befell the charge of that quarter which reacheth from the fountain or wel *Arethusa*, unto the mouth or entrie of the great key or haven. And hereof he gave notice and intelligence to the Romanes. Whereupon *Marcellus* caused a great hulke, laden with armed souldiours, to be fastened by an haling rope unto a gallic of foure course of oares, and so in the night by strength of oares to bee towed and drawne up after it into Acradina, and landeth the souldiours over against the gate that is neer to the fountain *Arethusa*. This being done about the releefe of the fourth watch, *Mericius* received the souldiours that were set ashore at the gate, according as before it was agreed. And *Marcellus* by the dawning of the day, with all his forces gave a Camisado upon the walls of Acradina, in such manner, that not onely he turned thither unto his assault all those that kept Acradina, but also from Nasos there came running whole squadrons and companies of armed men (leaving their owne wards) for to repell and put backe the violence and assault of the Romanes. In this tumult and trouble, certie

taine barges appointed and furnished thereto aforehand, were brought about to Nafos, & there set other souldiours aland: who comming at unwares upon the *corps de guards* that were left halfe naked and very weake, by reason of the departure of their fellowes, and finding the gates wide open, at which erewhile the souldiours ran out, with small adoe were maisters of Nafos, left, as it was, forlorne of warders, who in feare made haft to run away and escape. And none of them all had lesse meanes to defend themselves, or smaller mind to carrie still, than the fugitive rebels, for they durst not well trust their owne fellowes, and so in the hottest of the skirmish made an escape. *Marcellus* so soone as hee understood, that Nafos was woon, and likewise that one quarter of *Acradina* was held and kept for him, and that *Mericius* with his guard had joined to his souldiours, founded the retreat: for feare, that the kings treasure, which was more in name than in deed, should be rifled and spoiled.

Thus by suppressing the violence of the souldiours, both the rebell fugitives that were in *Acradina*, had good time and place to shift for themselves and get away, and also the *Syracusians* delivered now at last from feare, opened the gates of *Acradina*, and sent *Oratours* unto *Marcellus*, craving nothing but life for themselves and their children. *Marcellus* called his counsell together, and those *Syracusians* likewise, who in the time of civile dissention, were driven to forsake their houses, and remained among the garisons of the Romanes: and then hee made the *Embassadours* this answer. There have not been (quoth he) more benefites and good turnes for the space of fiftie yeares received at king *Hiero* his hands by the people of Rome, than detriments and mischeefes intended against them within these few yeares, by them that have seized and possessed the citie of *Syracusa*. But most of those mischeefes in the end, have lighted upon their heads right justly, who duly deserved the same: and for the breach of league and covenants, they themselves have suffered at their owne hands more greivous punishment by farre, than the people of Rome would willingly ever have required. As for mee, this is the third yeere that I lie in siege before *Syracusa*; not, I assure you, with this intent, that the citie should not be reserved safe, and found for the naturall people thereof to keepe and inhabite, but that the captaines & ring-leaders of fugitives and rebels might not seize of it, and so hold it in captivitee and oppression. How much the *Syracusians* might have done with me at first, may be easily seen by the example either of those *Syracusians* who conversed among the guards of the Romanes, or of the Spanish captaine *Mericius*, who yeelded up his garrison. Yea, and the hardie and resolute course in the end taken (although it were with the latest) by the *Syracusians* themselves, may sufficiently testify the same. Whereby also it may appeare, that for all my travell and paine which I have undergone, for all the perils which I have adventured and passed through, about the walls of *Syracusa*, both by land and water, thus long; I have gathered no fruit so sweet and pleasant as this, that it may be said, how I was able, yet at last, to win and conquere *Syracusa*.

Syracusa was won
and *Acradina* held.

Archimedes
killed.

Then the Questour was sent, attended with a guard, unto Nafos, for to enter upon the kings treasure there, and to keepe the same in safetie. The pillage of the citie was given to the souldiours: but there were appointed certaine warders over every house of theirs, who were among the garisons of the Romanes, for to save the same. Amids many cruell, spitefull, and foule examples of anger, mallice, and covetousnesse, which happened to bee committed during the time of this saccage, it is reported, That in so great hurlyburly as possible might bee, when a citie is newly taken, and hungrie souldiours runne to rifling, *Archimedes* was busily occupied, and studying upon certaine Geometrical figures that hee had drawne out in the dust, and happened to be slaine by a souldiour, that knew not who he was. Whereat *Marcellus* was much offended and displeased: and thereupon gave especiall order, that he should be honorably entere: yea and caused his kinsfolkes to be sought out: and all they in remembrance of him, & for his name sake, were not onely saved, but also well accounted of, and had in good reputation. Thus you see in what sort, and by what meanes especially, *Saracose* was woon. A citie wherein was found such store of wealth and riches, as hardly would have bene gotten in *Carthage*, if it had bene forced then: notwithstanding it was able to hold out with Rome, and mainteine warre with equall force and power.

Some few dayes before the winning of *Saracose*, *T. Octavius* with fourescore Gallies, of five ranks of oares, crossed the seas from *Lilybaeum* to *Vtica*, and being entred the gate before day light, chanced to take by the way certaine Caricks charged with corne. After he was disembarked and set a land, he wasted grievously part of the territorie about *Vtica*, and returned to the citie

with

A with bootie and prizes of all forts. And the third day after he went from *Lilybaeum* he returned thither againe with 130 caricks full of corne and other bootie: and that corne he sent forthwith to *Saracose*: which if it had not come as it did in good time to help the present necessitie, the conquerours as well as the conquered had felt the smart of most extreame and grievous famine.

In the same sommer, the Roman Generals in Spaine (who almost for two yeares had done no memorable act there, but warred by pollicie and stratagemes, more than by force of armes) dislodged from their forts and winter harbours, and joyned their armies together. Then they called a counsell, where they jumped with one generall accord in this opinion, That considering all this while they had effected this much only, as to empeach and stay *Asdruball* from all meanes of passing over into *Italie*, it was now high time to make an end at once of the warre in Spaine. And to effect and bring this to passe, they supposed verily that their strength was well amended and sufficient, by reason that in the winter time they had levied and put in armes thirtie thousand Celtiberians. Now the Carthaginians had in Spaine then, no fewer than three armies. *Asdruball* the sonne of *Gisco*, and *Mago*, were encamped with all their forces together, distant from the Romanes almost five dayes journey: *Asdruball* the sonne of *Amilcar*, an auncient warrior, and an old Captaine in Spaine, was somewhat neerer with his whole power, before a citie named *Anitorgis*. Him the Roman Generals were desirous to diffeate and vanquish first: and in good hope they were, that they had strength enough and to spare, for to accomplish that: mary, this was their only doubt and feare, least upon the discomfiture of him, the other *Asdruball* and *Mago* would for feare retire themselves into the unpassable woods, and take the wilds and mountaines, and so mainteine a long war. They supposed therefore it was the best course to divide their power betwene them in two parts, and at once to compasse the whole warre of Spaine. And thus they agreed to part their forces, namely, That *P. Cornelius* should lead two third parts of the armie, consisting of Romanes and allies, against *Mago* and *Asdruball*: and that *Cn. Cornelius* with the other third part of that old armie should joine with the Celtiberians, and warre against *Asdruball* the Barchine. [sonne of *Amilcar* above said.] Both these captains with their hosts set out together in their journee, putting the Celtiberians before in the vanguard, & encamped neere the citie *Anatorgis* in the fight of their enemies, having but the river running betwene. And there *Cn. Scipio* staid behind, and made his abode with the power afore said: but *P. Scipio* went onward to performe that part of the warre which he purposed and intended. *Asdruball* after he perceived that there lay in camp but a small power of Romanes, and that their whole hope relied upon the aids of the Celtiberians; as one that could well skill of the falshood and trecherie of the barbarous people, but especially of all those nations, among whom he had been so long a souldiour: by reason that both camps, as well his owne as the other of the Romanes, were full of Spaniards, hee used by the meanes of reciprocall commerce of their language, for to have secret speech and conference with the principall heads of the Celtiberians, and to treated with them, that in consideration of a great summe of money, they were perswaded and yeelded in the end to withdraw all their forces from thence, and give the Romanes the slip. And this they supposed was not so heinous & odious a fact. For why? they were not dealt withall to turn their swords upon the Romanes, and to warre against them: againe, they were to have as good pay and wages to sit still, and not to serve, as was sufficient to bind them for to beare armes and fight: and last of all, rest it selfe, and sleeping in a whole skin, together with their returne home to their owne, and the joy and pleasure of visiting their friends, and seeing their goods and lands, were plausible and pleasing inducements to every man. And therefore the captaines themselves were no sooner drawne thereto, than the very multitude. Over and besides, to strike it dead sure, they stood in no feare of the Romanes (being so few as they were) that they could possible keepe them perforce. And surely, this might well serve, to be a Caveat for Roman captaines ever hereafter, and such precedent examples and instances as this, may stand in steed of good lessons indeed, to teach them how they trust again the aids of foreiners; & never to relie themselves so much upon them, but that they alwaies have in their campe the greater part of their owne forces, and the more number of their naturall souldiours. All on a suddaine therefore the Celtiberians dislodged, plucked up standers, and departed from them, and never bad them farwell. And when the Romanes demaunded the cause of this change, yea, & besought and importuned them to carrie, they made them no other answer but this, That they were called and sent for home, by occasion of warres in their owne cuntry. *Scipio* seeing, that these Allies of his were so slipperie, and could neither

be

be intreated nor enforced to stay: and that himselfe alone without them was not able to make his part good with the enemy: and to joyne againe with his brother, was a thing impossible: for want of all other good meanes, for the present, when he saw no remedie els, determined to retire himselfe as farre backward as he could: having this especiall care above all things, not to encounter and joyne battaile with the enemy in plaine field, without some advantage, who now was passed over the river, and traced him hard at heeles in his dismarch.

About the same time *P. Scipio* stood in the like termes of feare, but in more danger by the comming of a new enemy, and that was *Masaniissa* the young Prince, who then was a friend and pensionarie fouldier of the Carthaginians: but afterwards mightie and renowned for his amitie with the Romanes. He with his Numidian horsemen first encountred *P. Scipio*, as he marched on his journey, and afterwards both day and night molested and troubled him very shrewdly: in such sort, that not only he would intercept and catch up those that were gone out wandering and straggling farre from the camp, a fuelling or foraging, and send them short of home; but also ride braving even before the camp. Many a time would he venture, yea and enter upon the thickest of the standing *corps de guard*, and make foule worke and trouble among them. By night also he used oft to make many starts upon a sodaine, and assaile the gates of the camp and the rampier, and put them in exceeding great frights. So as the Romanes at no time, nor in no place could be at rest and quiet for him, but ever in feare and doubt of some shrewd turne or other by him: so as they were driven to keepe within their rampier, cut off from the use of all commodities abroad, and in a manner as good as besieged: and more straightly yet were they like to be beleaguered, in case *Indibilis*, who was comming (as the rumor went) with 7500 Suesethanes, were once joyned with the Carthaginians. Whereupon *Scipio* a warie warrior and prudent Captaine otherwise, driven to these hard extremities, and forced to make shifts, entred into a rash and inconsiderate designement, even to go on and meete (forsooth) *Indibilis* in the night, and in what place soever it should be his hap to encounter him, there to bid him battaile, and fight with him. Leaving therefore a meane guard to keepe the camp, and *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant, as Provost and Captaine, he set out at midnight, and meeting with his enemies, joyned battaile with them: but they skirmished rather by loose companies in their march, than with their united forces in set and pight field. Howbeit, the Romanes had the better hand so much as it was, considering what a confused and disorderly medley there might be. But the Numidian Cavallerie, whom *Scipio* thought he was secured of, and that they were not aware of him, all on a sodaine flanked the sides of the Romanes, and mightily terrified them. Against these Numidians, whiles *Scipio* made head againe afresh, behold a third sort of enemies also charged upon his back, even the Carthaginian captaines, who by this time while the other were in fight, had overtaken their allies and were come thither. So as the Romanes were to maintaine battaile on all hands, and were at a stand, and in doubt with themselves against which enemy to turne first, or what way with a close couched squadron to give the venture for to breake through. As the Generall was thus manfully fighting, and encouraging his souldiours, presenting and opposing himselfe forward, where was most need and danger, his chance was to be run through the right side of his bodie with a Lance: and that massive band of the enemies which had charged upon the thicke battailon, which environed their captaine, seeing *Scipio* falling from his horse readie to dye, in great joy and mirth set up a cheerefull shout, and ran all over the armie, and caried glad tidings that the Romane generall was slaine. This voyce being once spread all abroad, caused both the enemies to take themselves undoubtably for victours, and the Romanes to make no other accompt but they were vanquished. Whereupon they having lost their leader, began forthwith to flye out of the field. But as it was no hard matter for them to make a lane and breake through among the Numidians, and other auxiliarie souldiours lightly armed; so to escape and go cleere away from so many horse, and footmen also, who were as swift on foote as the horsemen, it was almost impossible. Thus they were more in maner slain in their flight now, then in their fight before. And there had not one remained alive, but that the day being far spent already, and toward evening, the night came on apace and overtook them. The Carthaginian captaines, and those also of Affrick, taking the full benefit of this their good fortune, slept not their businesse, nor made delay: but presently after the battaile, scarcely allowing their souldiours so much sleepe as would content nature, marched in great hast toward *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*: making accompt assuredly, that when they had joyned their power with his, they should breake the neck of

P. Scipio
slaine.

A of this warre, and end it once for all. When they were come to him, great joy and gratulation there was betwene the captaines & the hoasts of both sides, for this fresh victorie newly achieved: and seeing they had already defeated so brave a warrior and great commander, together with his whole armie, they made no doubt but expected certainly to have another hand as good as this.

The newes verily of this so great a foile and overthrow, was not yet come unto the Romanes: but yet they were stricken into a sad dump and deepe silence; and more than that, into a secret presage & fore-determining of some unluckie ridings: as commonly mens minds use to fore-give & tell beforehand, when there is some mischiefe and ill toward them. The Generall himselfe besides that he saw he was abandoned and forsaken of his associates, and knew the forces of the enemies so mightily re-enforced by good conjunctures and guesses, yea and by very reason, was induced to suspect some loss and calamitie received already, rather than inclined to hope after any good successe and happy speed. For thus he discoursed with himselfe: How is it possible that *Asdrubal* and *Mago* should bring their armies together without conflict, unlesse my brother be slaine in fight, or have forgotten to be a warrior? how cometh it that he withstood them not, or how hapneth it that my brother followed not hard after them fast upon their backs? At leastwise, if he had not bene able to keepe them asunder, but that both captaines and armies must needs meete and joyne in one, yet he himselfe me thinks, at leastwise would have come by this time to his brother, and brought his owne power to him. In this perplexitie and anguish of spirit, he thought yet, for the present time, that the only good course he could take, was to withdraw himselfe backe from thence as far as he could: and so all that one night unwares to his enemies (who so long only were quiet) he marched a great way, and wone much ground of them. The next morning, so soone as the enemies perceived that the Romanes were dislodged and gone, they sent out the Numidian light horsemen, and began to follow after them apace, and pursued them as fast as possibly they could: and before night the Numidian Cavallerie had overtaken them, and skirmished one while with the taile of their march; another while at their sides and flanks, and gave them no rest: whereat the Romanes made as it were a stand, and began to defend and save their armie as well as they could: yet with great warinesse and regard of securitie, *Scipio* encouraged them so to fight, as they might march on still and gaine ground, before the Infanterie overtook them. But as one while the armie was on foote, and another while stood still, in long time they rid but a little ground. And *Scipio* seeing the night draw on apace, reclaimed his souldiours from farther skirmishes: and after he had rallied them together, he retired with them up to a little mount, no sufficient place (God wot) of safe retreat for an armie, especially so troubled & affrighted already, yet higher than any other place all about. There the first thing that he did, was to bestow the baggage and cavallerie in the mids withinforth: and at first the infanterie ranged round about in a ring, made no difficult matter of it to put by the violent charge of the Numidian horsemen. But afterwards when the three Generals marching with three full armies approached, their Captaine *Scipio* perceiving that he was never able to keepe the place without some fortification, began to cast his eye about, and to bethinke with himselfe, by what meanes possible he might empale himselfe round about as it were with a rampier: but the hill was so naked of wood, and the foile of the ground besides so stonie and craggie, that he could neither finde any underwood fit to cut out stakes for a pallisad, nor earth meete to make turfes for a banke, or minable for a trench: and in one word, all things untoward and unhandsonie for a mound, and to fortifie withall. Neither was there any place there, to speake of, so sleepe and upright, but the enemy might at ease mount up and climbe it. All the hill on every side, had a gentle rising and ascent up to the top. Howbeit, to represent some shew and resemblance yet of a rampier, they were forced to take their packe saddles, with their packes tied fast unto them, and so round about to pile them and raise them to the usuall height of a mure: And where there wanted packe saddles to make up the worke, there they were faine to heape together, all sorts of fardels, trusses, and other carriages, and to put them betwene the enemies and them. The Carthaginian armies when they were come, marched very easily up against the hill. But the new fashion and manner of their defences and fortifications, was very straunge unto them, so as at the first the souldiours marvelled much and were astonished thereat, and stood still. But their captaines on all sides cried out upon them. And why stand yee gaping (say they) so; and do not pull in peeces and plucke away that foolish bable there, good to make sport with?

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A very toy, that women & children would scarce stand about thus long: Why? the enemy is taken already in a pincfold, and lieth lurking and hiding himselfe behind the tuffes & other cariages. After this manner (I say) the leaders rated at the souldiours. But it was not so easie a matter, either to get over that barricado of the packes, or to remove and rid them out of the way, as they lay piled close against them; ne yet to unfold and unwrap the packe-saddles, lying overwhelmed as they did, under the packes, and entangled together with them. Thus they were hindered and staied a long time: and when at length they had put this bag and baggage aside that was set in their way, and made passage and entrance for the armed men, and that in divers places; the campe and tents were soone taken on all sides, ere a man could turne about: and so being few to many, and frighted men to late conquerours, no marvell if they were killed & hewne in peeces in every place. Howbeit, many of the souldiours having fled for refuge into the Forrests neere by, escaped into the camp of *P. Scipio*, whereof *T. Fonteius* his lieutenant had the charge. As for *Cn. Scipio*, some write that he was slaine upon that mount, at the first onfet & assault made by the enemies: others report, that with a few others he fled into a towre hard by the campe: and that there was a fire made round about it, and so when the gates thereof were burned, which by no violent meanes otherwise they could breake open, the enemies entred and tooke it, and they within were killed every one, captaine and all.

Thus *Cn. Scipio* came to his end, in the seventh yeare after that he went into Spaine, and on the nine and twentieth day after that his brother lost his life. Their death was bewailed and lamented no lesse over all Spaine, than at Rome. For among the citizens at home, one part of their sorrow they tooke for the losse of the armies, another part went for the distraction & alienation of the province, and a third againe was spent in the cogitation of the publicke calamitie: but Spaine from one end to the other, mourned onely for their governours and captaines, and had a great misse of them. And *Cneius* of the twaine, was more bewailed, because he had bene longer time their ruler, and had won the favour and affection of men, and possessed their hearts before the other: and was the first that ever gave them in those parts a prooffe & tast of the Romans just and temperate government.

When the armie was thus defeated and brought to nothing, so as Spaine seemed utterly lost, there arose one man yet, that recovered all againe, and brought the decayed state to the former perfection. There was in the armie one *L. Martius*, the son of *Septimius*, a gentleman & knight of Rome, a forward young man, for courage and wit, farre above the degree & condition wherein he was borne. Besides this excellent & most toward disposition of his by nature, he had great helpees by the discipline and instruction of *Cn. Scipio*: under whom, for so many yeares hee was trained & had learned all militarie knowledge & skill meet for a souldiour. This *Martius*, what by rallying the dispersed souldiours who were fled, and what by drawing others out of sundrie garisons, had raised and assembled together a reasonable good power, and joyned with *T. Fonteius*, the Lieutenant afore said of *P. Scipio*. But the Romane knight, above all others, grew to so great credit and reputation among all the souldiours, that when they had fortified their campe within the river Iberus, & were determined among themselves, to chuse one Generall over the armies, in a solemne assembly of souldiours, even by their owne militarie election: they went one by one in course one after another, unto the maine *Corps de guard* that defended the rampiar, and to the other wards belonging unto the campe, untill they had all given their voices: and so by generall consent created him their Generall. All the time which they had after, (and that was but small) they employed in fortifying their hold, and conveying thither come and victuals: and what charge soever was imposed by him upon the souldiours, the same they executed readily and willingly, and without any shew that their hearts were dismayed and cast downe any jot at all. But after that newes was brought, that *Asdruball* the sonne of *Gisco*, was comming against them, to dispatch cleane the reliques of the warre; that he had passed over Iberus and approached neere: and the soldiers saw once the signall of battell put forth unto them by this new Generall; calling to mind, what noble warriours they had served under but a while before; what worthe leaders they were wont to have, and with how puissant armies they used heretofore to go to the field: they fell a weeping every one, shaking and beating their heads: some lift up and stretched out their hands to heaven, blaming & accusing the gods: others lay along upon the ground, calling everie one upon his owne captaine by speciall name. Neither could their pittious mones & plaints be staied, notwithstanding the Centurions encouraged what they could, the souldiours of their companies

A companies: notwithstanding (I say) that *Martius* himselfe sometimes spake them faire, sometimes rebuked them, for giving themselves to such foolish and vaine puling, like women: & not rather resolve to raise up their hearts, and with him to quicken and whet their stomaches in defence of themselves and of the common-weale, and not to suffer their former captaines and leaders to lie dead and unrevenged. By this time now all on a suddain, the shout of the enemies was deferred, and the sound of the trumpets were within hearing, being come close under the rampiar. Whereupon all at once, turning their sorrow and weeping into anger & indignation, they ranne every man to his armour and weapon: and as if they had bene horne mad, they hastned from all parts to the gates and entrees of the campe, & charged upon the enemies as they came carelessly and without order and array. Immediately this unexpected and suddaine object, strooke an exceeding feare into the Carthaginians: as wondring from whence so many enemies should start up so soone, considering the armies were so lately cleane in manner destroyed; and how it came to passe, that being newly vanquished and put to flight, they should be so stout, so bold and confident of their own selves; who a gods name, should be their Generall, after the two *Scipios* were slaine; what captaine and governour had they over the campe; and who gave out the signal of battaile: mervelling (I say) at these premiffes, and so many particulars, that they once imagined not afore, at first hand they wist not what to doe, but as amazed men, began to give ground and recule; but afterwards, being still fiercely followed upon with a violent charge, they were plainly beaten backe and put to flight. And verily, either there had bene a foule havocke and slaughter of them that fled, or a rash and dangerous enterprise for them who would have followed the chase: but that *Martius* hastened to found the retreat, and opposing himselfe against the foremost ensignes of the vanguard, yea and taking hold of some of them himselfe, staied the maine battaile & repressed their violence, who were upon the point already to pursue them with heat. And so he reduced them back againe into the campe, as greedie as they were still of murder, & thirstie of bloodshed. The Carthaginians, who at the first were driven from the rampiar, and for feare hastned away; after that they saw none to follow them, supposed they had bene afraid, and therefore staied still: whereupon they departed to their camp again in reckless manner, faire and softly. And as carelesse as they were in their retire thither, so negligent were they in guarding the same: for although their enemies were neere, yet they remembered and thought againe, that they were but the taile and reliques of two armies, vanquished & defeated a few daies before. Vpon this resolute perswasion of theirs, and base conceit of the enemies, they were very negligent every way within their campe: whereof *Martius* having by his espiall, certaine intelligence, resolved upon a designment, which at the first sight seemed more like a project of hazard, than an enterprise of hardinesse; and it was no more, but even upon a braverie to set upon the enemy in his owne campe, and give him a camifado. For as he thought it an easier enterprise, to force the hold and pavilions of *Asdruball*, being but one, than to defend and keep his owne, in case three armies and three captaines should joyne againe together: so hee considered withall, that either if he sped well in this exploit, he should restore and set upright againe unto the Romanes, the decayed and prostrate state of Spaine: or if he were discomfited and put backe, yet by giving the adventure first upon the enemies, he should not be altogether contemned, and of no reputation. But least this attempt so suddaine, and the terror and error which may fall out in the night-time, should happen to trouble this his designed plot, & the course of his good fortune; he thought it not amisse, to make a speech unto his soldiers, and to exhort & encourage them alone hand. And therefore calling them together to a generall audience, in this manner hee discoursed unto them of his intent and purpose.

My valourous and loiall souldiours, either the reverence and affectionate love of mine, toward our cheefe captaines during their life; and after their death; or the very present condition and state wherein we all now stand; may be a sufficient testimonie and prooffe to any man who so ever, that this charge and government of mine, as it is in regard of your judgement of me right honourable, so it is in truth, and in very deed, to me most weightie, and full of care and trouble. For at what time as (but that feare tooke away all sence of sorrow) I was not so much maister of myselfe, as to seeke out and find some comfort and solace for mine owne pensive soule and heavie spirit; I was forced being but one, (which is a most hard matter for a man to doe in time of greefe) to minister consolation unto the common misfortune and calamitie of you all. And surely I have no list at all (the harder is my case) to avert my mind from continuall greefe of heart,

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The Orat[i]on of
Martius to his
souldiours.

not so much as even then, when as I am to studie and devise, by what means I may be able to preserve (for the behoofe of my countrie) these small remnants of two armies. For why? the grievous and bitter remembrance of calamities past, is ever before me. The two *Scipions* trouble mee all the day time with carefull thoughts, they disquiet me in the night season with fearfull dreams, they make mee oftentimes to start out of my sleepe, willing and charging mee, to suffer neither them nor their souldiours (who were your fellows and companions, and for the space of eight yeeres in those parts where they served, never received foile) ne yet the Commonwealth, to continue unrevenge; warning me withall, to follow their discipline, their precepts, rules, and good instructions. And like as, whiles they lived here among us, there was no man more obedient than my selfe to their directions and commaundements; even so after their decease, whatsoever in my conceit, I judge they would have had especially done in all occurrences, the same my desire is, that you also (my souldiours) would like of and approve for the very best. I would not have you to weepe, waile, and lament still for them, as if they were extinct and gone for ever, (for they live still, and shall, so long as the world endureth, and continue immortall in renowne and fame of their worthie and noble acts) but rather so often as you remember and thinke of them, to go like hardie and valiant men to a field, even as if you heard them speaking unto you, or saw them giving out the signall of battell. Neither was it (I assure you) any other object but that, presented yesterday unto your eies and minds, which effected so memorable a peece of service as it was: by which ye have made good proofe unto your enemies, and given them to understand, that the Roman name died not together with the *Scipios*; and that the vigour and vertue of that people which was not extinct and buried, by the overthrow at Cannæ, will ever rise againe (ye may be sure) out of all adversities, let cruell fortune storme and rage as much as ever she can. And now, since yee have shewed such valour and hardinesse alreadie of your owne accord, I have a mind, and would gladly see, how bravely yee will beare your selves upon the direction and commaundement of your capitaine. For yesterday, when I sounded the retreat unto you, at what time as you followed so freely upon the enemy, being troubled and disarraid; my desire and meaning was not, to repress and abate your bold courage, but to deferre and reserve it against some greater opportunitie of advantage, and for a more honourable and glorious exploit: that anon upon the first occasion, you being prepared and provided, might surprise them at unwares, & not standing upon their guard; armed and well appointed, assaile them disarmed and naked; & that which more is, whiles they are in their beds fast and sound asleepe. And the hope that I conceive of this good opportunitie and effect thereof (my souldiours) ariseth not upon some fantasticall imagination of mine owne braine, by hap-hazard and upon vain presumption, but grounded upon good reason and present experience. For verily, if a man should demaund even of you your own selves, What the reason was, that being but few in number, & lately discomfited, ye were able to defend your campe, against many more than your selves, and those heartened with fresh victories; yee would make no other answer but this, That you, fearing that which followed, had both fortified your campe in every respect with strong munitions, and were your selves well appointed and furnished, yea, & readie to receive them whensoever they came. And certes, so it is, & we find it true by experience. Men are least sure and secured against that which fortune saith is fearelesse, and need not to be prevented, because that which wee neglect, is evermore open and exposed to all dangers. Now the enemies doubt nothing lesse at this time, than that we, who were so lately our selves besieged and assailed by them, will now come to give an assault upon them in their hold. Let us adventure to doe that which no man would beleieve that ever wee durst enterprise, and the selfsame cause which seemeth to make the thing most difficult, shall effect it sone of all others. At the change of the third watch I will lead you forth without any noise at all in great silence. Well informed and assured I am, that in their campe the Sentinels are not relieved in due course & order, neither yet the ordinarie *corps de guard* kept as they ought to be. Your shout and outcrie shall not so soone be heard at the gates, nor your first charge and assault given, but yee shall surely be maisters of the campe. Then let me see you performe that carnage and execution among them heave and dead asleepe, affrighted with an unexpected arme, and taken on a suddain unarmed, and in their beds; from which yesterday ye thought much, that ye were called away and reclaimed, I wote well, that this seemeth unto you an audacious enterprise, and full of hazard, but when things go crosse & stand in doubtfull termes, & when other means faile, the hardiest attempts, yea, & the most venterous and desperat courses, are ever safest and speed best.

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A For if a man stay never so little at the very instant when a thing is to be done (whereof the opportunitie passeth and flieth away ere one would thinke) immediatly when it is once gone, he may fling his cap after well enough, and complaine thereof and say, had I wist, but never the neerer. One armie they have hard at hand, and two more are not farre off: now if we venture of them here, our opportunitie and advantage is as good as theirs. And once alreadie ye have made triall of their forces and your owne: put we it off another day, contenting our selves with the bare name of yesterdaies fallie, and give over so, it will be great doubt and danger, least all the Generals with all their armies be rallied and re-united. And shall we then be able to hold our owne against three Generals and three hostes, whom *Cn. Scipio* having about him his whole puissance, fresh and in good plight, could not withstand nor abide? Our Capitaines by dividing their forces, and dismembriing one complete armie, were defeated and overthrowne: semblable may our enemies, parted while they be, & severed asunder, be discomfited & brought to nought. Lo, this is the only way for us to warre, and none other. And therefore let us wait no longer than the commodious opportunitie of the next night. Goe ye then a gods blessing, make much of your selves, take your repast and repose, that yee may be fresh and lustie, to breake into your enemies hold with the same resolute courage, wherewith erewhile yee defended your owne. The souldiours, as they gladly gave eare to this new counsell, of their new capitaine, so, the more audacious and adventurous that it was, the better it pleased them. The rest of the day behind, they spent in froishing and making readie their harnes and weapons, and in cherishing their bodies, yea, and the better part of the night they slept quietly. And so at the releefe of the fourth watch they set forward.

Now were there other companies also of Carthaginians, beyond this next camp above said, about sixe miles distant from thence. A hollow way and valey there lay betwene, standing thick of trees. In the midst of this wood, for a furlong space well neere, he bestowed closely a cohort of footmen, yea, and certaine horsemen of Romanes: but by his leave, this was but a craftie and slye trick, borrowed of the Carthaginians. Thus the mid way being intercepted and taken up, the rest of the forces were conducted in a still march toward the enemies in the next campe. And finding no guards before the gates, no Sentinels upon the rampier, they entered in as it had been into their owne hold, and no man made resistance: then they sounded trumpets, & gave the alarme. Some fell to killing of the enemies halfe asleepe, others sling drie litter & straw for to kindle fire, upon their hailes & pavillions; other some again keep the gates, that none should issue forth. So the fire, the outcrie, and massacre all together, put them out of their right wits, & made them, as it were, besides themselves; that neither hear they could, nor yet make any shift for themselves. Unarmed and naked men fell among the bands of armed souldiours. Some run in haft to the gates, others finding the waies and passages beset, run up to the rampier: and looke as any escaped and gat away from thence by that means, hee flieth streightwaies directly toward the other campe. Where they were caught up by the cohort of footmen, and the cornet of horsemen, which rose up suddainly out of their Ambuscado: & being enclosed on every side, were killed to the last man. And yet, if it had been any ones good hap to have escaped from thence with life, so swiftly and with so great expedition, the Romans after they had gotten the neerer campe, sped themselves to the other, that he could not have recovered it before them, to bring newes of the desicure. And even there likewise, the farther they were off from their enemy, the more negligent they were: and because some also a little before day were slipt away a foraging, fuelling, and boot-haling, the Romanes found every thing more loose and out of order, than in the other campe. Their weapons onely stood reared up in their *corps de guard*, the souldiours themselves were unarmed, either sitting and lying all along on the ground, or walking up and downe before the gates, and under the rampier. With these souldiours so secure, so retchlesse, so disarmed and disordered (the Romanes being yet in their hote blood, and not cooled upon their fresh massacre, and more than that, lustie and brag for their new victorie) began to make a fray, and to skirmish. But the Carthaginians were not able to keepe them out of the gates. And so within the campe there was a hote and cruell fight: for, from all parts thereof, they ran together upon the first alarme that arose in the very beginning of the tumult and skuffling. And long had that skirmish continued, but that the Romanes bucklers and targuets scene all bloudie, were a sample unto the Carthaginians of a former execution; and thereupon drave them into a mightie feare. This fearefull sight, caused them all to turne backe and take their heeles: and thus as many of

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them as escaped killing, gat out by heapes wherefoever they could make shift to finde way, and were cleane turned out of their campe and all that they had. So in the compasse of one day and night, by the conduct and direction of *L. Marius*, there were two encamped houlds forced and woon from the enemies: in which there were 37000 of the enemies slaine, saith *Claudius*, who translated the Annales of *Acilius* out of the Greeke tongue into the Latin, and 1830 taken prisoners, besides the gaine of a mightie rich bootie. In which pillage, there was found a shield of silver weighing 138 pound, with the image and portraiture of *Asdrubal* the Barchine. *Valerius Antias* recordeth, that the campe only of *Mago* was taken, and seven thousand men slaine: and that in another battaile with *Asdrubal* upon a fally forth, there died ten thousand, and 4330 were taken prisoners. *Piso* writeth, that when *Mago* followed after our men in an hore and disorderly chase (for they seemed to give back and recule) there were five thousand men killed by the traine of an ambush. But all writers do blazon the great honor and fame of Duke *Marius*. And besides the very truth of his glorious name, they make mention also and speake of some miracles: namely, that as he made the oration unto his souldiours, there was seene a flaming fire burning from his head, without any sense and feeling of his, to the great wonder and feare of the souldiours that stood about him: and that in memoriall of this brave victorie over the Carthaginians, there remained in the temple of *Iup.* untill the Capitoll was burned, that foresaid sheeld, with the image of *Asdrubal*, and it was called *Marius* his sheeld. After this, Spaine was quiet for a long time, whiles both sides after so many overthrowes given and taken betwene them, were loth to hazard the maine chaunce in one battaile.

In the time that these affaires passed in Spaine, *Marcellus* upon the winning of Syracusa, having set all other things in order throughout Sicilie, with such faithfulness and upright integrity, that not only he greatly augmented his owne glorie, but also enlarged the majestie of the people of Rome, brought over to Rome all the goodly and beautifull ornaments of that cite, their graven and molten images, their pictures and painted tables, whereof there was great store in Syracose. These braveries (no doubt) at the first were no more but the spoiles of enemies, and lawfully acquired in right of warre and conquest. But from thence began our great love and liking to the cunning workmanship of Grecian Artificians: and from hence came afterwards our licentiousnesse and outrage in spoiling and robbing, so commonly and ordinarily, all sacred and profane places, where these things were to be had: which staid not so, but proceeded and turned at length to the spoiling of the Romaine gods themselves, and to that very first temple which by *Marcellus* was beautified and adorned principally above the rest. For strangers and forcin travellers used in pilgrimage to visit the temples which were dedicated by *Marcellus* at the gate Capena, in regard only of the most rare and singular workmanship of the ornaments in that kind, of which at this day there is very little or nothing to be seene.

Now from all cities wellneere of Sicilie, there resorted Embassies unto him: as their causes were divers and unlike, so their conditions were not all one. As many as before the winning of Syracuse, had either not rebelled at all, or became reconciled and in favour againe, they were accepted in the qualitie of faithfull allies, and made much of: those who for feare after the losse of Saracose, yielded, were reputed as conquered, and received lawes and conditions at the wil and pleasure of the conquerour. There remained yet no small reliques of warre about Agrigentum for the Romanes to dispatch, namely *Epicides* and *Hanno*, the captaines of the former war: and a third, sent new from *Annibal* in the roume of *Hippocrates*, a citizen of Hippon (his countrymen name him *Mutines*) defended from the Libyphenices, a man of Action, and one who under *Annibal* had bene brought up, and taught all seates of armes, and skill of warfare. Vnto his charge were committed by *Epicides* and *Hanno* the Numidian Auxiliaries, with whom he overran all the countries belonging to the enemies: he went unto all the confederates, and so wrought with them to continue fast in their allegiance, and to send aides to every one in due time accordingly: in such sort, that within short time he got himselfe a great name throughout all Sicilie, so as the favorites and faction of the Carthaginians had no greater hope in any, than in him. And therefore both Captaines, as well *Hanno* the Carthaginian, as *Epicides* the Syracusan, who for a time had bene pent up within the walls of Agrigentum, bearing themselves as well upon the fidelitie as policie of *Mutines*, boldly adventured to come forth of the walls of Agrigentum, and upon the river Himera encamped themselves. Whereof *Marcellus* having intelligence, forthwith removed with all his power, and sat him downe encamped, almost foure miles

A miles from the enimie, minding to wait and expect, what they did or went about. But *Mutines* gave him neither opportunitie of place to rest him long, nor respite of time to take counsell in, but crossed the river, and with exceeding terror, and tumultuous noyse assailed the standing guards of his enemies: yea and the morrow after gave them battaile as it were in a pight field, and drave them within their holds and fortifications. But being called from thence by occasion of a mutinie of Numidians within the campe (who to the number almost of three hundred, were departed to Heraclea Minoa) he went to appease their moods, and to reclaime them to due obedience: but he gave the rest of the captaines (by report) a great charge and expresse warning, not to fight with the enimie, howsoever they did, in his absence. But both the captaines were greatly offended thereat, and *Hanno* especially, who was already mal-content, and repined at his glory: What? saith he, thinketh *Mutines*, a base Affricane, and not of the right stamp neither, to gage and rule me a Carthaginian General, sent with Commission from the Senate and people? He perswaded therefore *Epicides* effectually to passe over the river, and to strike a battaile: for, quoth he, if we should stay for him, and then happen to have a fortunate day of it and win the victorie, all the honor no doubt shall redound to *Mutines*.

Be yee sure, *Marcellus* thought this a great indignitie, that hee who had repulsed at Nola *Annibal*, even when he bare himselfe so brauely upon his fresh victorie at Cannæ, should give one foot to these pettie enemies, vanquished already by him both by sea and land: whereupon hee commaunded his souldiours to arme in all hast, and to bring forth the standards and ensignes. But as he was arranging his men in battel aray, there came riding unto him all on the spur, with bridle on the horse necke, ten Numidians from out of the armie of the enemies, with these tidings & intelligences, assuring them, That their countriemen, who first were offended and discontented by occasion of that mutinie aforesaid, wherein three hundred of their companie departed and went away to Heraclea: and then afterwards, because they saw their owne head and leader, by the practise of those other captaines, who maligned and envied his glorie, sent farre enough out of the way, even against the very day when the battaile should bee fought; were not disposed at all to fight, but would sit still and not stirre. A kind of people these were, deceitfull otherwise, & used to break promise; howbeit now, they were just & true of their word. Vpon this, as the Romanes tooke better heart unto them, (for there was a speedie pursuivant or courier sent throughout the battalions, from companie to companie, for to signifie unto them, that the enimie was disappointed and abandoned of his cavallerie, whom they feared most of all other) so the enemies were mightily dismaied and put in feare: for over and besides, that they had no helpe from them who were the greatest strength of their armie, they were in a deepe feare least their owne horsemen would set upon them. By which occasion, the conflict was not great, for at the first shout and shooke given, well it was seene which way the game would go, and the matter was soone determined. The Numidians, who at the first encounter and during the conflict, had stood quiet in both points of the battaile, seeing their owne fellowes turne backe and flie, bare them onely companie for a while as they fled: but after that they perceived them all, to make hast for feare, to Agrigentum: feareing also themselves, there to be besieged among them, slip away every one to their owne citties. Many thousands were there slaine and taken prisoners: and eight elephants besides taken alive. This was the last field fought by *Marcellus* in Sicilie: upon this victorie he returned to Syracuse. By this time now, was the yeare almost come about and growing to an end. And therefore at Rome the Senate decreed, that *P. Cornelius* the Pretour, should send letters to the Consuls, lying before Capua, purporting this tenor: That for as much as *Annibal* was farre from them, and no great matter of consequence like to bee performed the while at Capua; the one of them (if they thought so good) should repaire to Rome, for to create new magistrates in the roume of the old. The Consuls having received the letters, agreed betwene themselves and tooke order, that *Claudius* should go to hold and accomplish the soleme election of magistrates: and *Fulvius* remaine still at Capua. So *Claudius* created new Coss. *Cn. Fulvius Centimalus*, and *P. Sulpitius Galba* the sonne of *Servius*: a man that had not borne any curule office of state before. After these, were Pretours chosen, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, *C. Sulpitius*, *C. Calpurnius Piso*. Vnto *Piso* befall the jurisdiction within the cite. *Sulpitius* had the government of the province Sicilie. *Cethegus*, of Apulia: and *Lentulus*, of Sardinia. The Consuls had the government of their provinces prorogued for to continue one yeare longer.



THE XXVI. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the fixe and twentieth Booke.



ANNIBALL encamped himselfe at three myles end from Rome east upon the river Anio. Himselfe in person accompanied with two thousand men of armes, rode to the gate Capua, for to view the site of the cittie. And notwithstanding that for three daies space, the armies of both sides were come into the field ready embattailed, yet they never joyned in conflict, by reason of the tempestuous and stormie weather: But ever as they were returned again into their campe, presently it proved faire. Capua was won by Q. Fulvius, and Appius Claudius the pro-Consuls. The Nobles & principall citizens of Capua poisoned themselves. When as their Senators stood bound to stakes (for to be whipped) and then to lose their heads, there came letters from the Senate of Rome unto the pro-Consull Q. Fulvius, with direction to spare their lives: but before that he would read them, he put them up into his bysome, and willed the ministers or executioners, to let the law have the course, and to do their office, and so he went through with the execution. It happened that in a solemn assembly of the people, there was much debate and question, who should governe as L. Deputie the province of Spaine: and when no man was willing to undertake that charge, P. Scipio, the sonne of that Publius who was slaine in Spaine, made offer to go that voyage, and by the voices generally of the people, and with one accord of all, he was thither sent. In one day hee assaulted and also forced New Carthage, being a young man, not fully 24. yeare old. And there went an opinion of him, that hee was descended of some heavenly race: both for that himselfe, after he was come to severenteen yeares of age, and bad put on his manly robe, conversed within the Capitull, and also because there was a snake or serpent sene oftentimes in his mothers bedchamber. This booke containeth besides the affaires in Sicilie: the amitie concluded with the Aetolians: and the war against the Acenonians and Philip king of the Macedonians.



CNEWS Fulvius Centimalus and P. Sulpitius Galba the Consuls, when they had entred into their magistracie upon the Ides of March, assembled the Senators into the Capitoll, where they consulted with the LL. about the state of the common-weale, concerning the administration of the warres, and attending the provinces and the armies. Q. Fulvius and Ap. Claudius, the Consuls of the former yeare, continued still their rule and full command, with the charge of the same forces which they had before under their hands. And over and besides, they were expressly commanded, not to depart from Capua (before which they lay at siege) until they had forced and won the cittie. For at that time, the Romanes among all their other affairs, were most amused upon it: not so much for anger and malice, (whereof they had never against any one citie greater and juster cause) as in this regard, that being a state so noble and mightie, like as by revolting first it had drawne and induced certaine other cities to do the same: so if it were recovered & regained, like it was to reduce their affections againe, to looke backe and returne unto their old allegiance and obedience to their wonted ignorance of Rome. The Pretours also of the former yeare, M. Junius in Tuskane, and P. Sempronius in Gaule, continued in their places of regiment, with two legions a peece under their conduct, the same which they had before. And so M. Marcellus remained as pro-Consull behind in Sicilie, for to finish & dispatch the reliques of the warre there, with the power of that armie which he had alreadie: and had commission (if need were of new supplie) to make up the number of his companies, out of those legions which were commaunded by P. Cornelius the Viz-pretour in Sicilie: provided alwaies, that he chose no souldiour

A souldiour out of those bands, unto whom the Senate had flatly denied, either licence to bee discharged, or passport to returne home into their countrie, before the warre was fully ended. Unto C. Sulpitius, whose lot it was to governe the province of Sicilie, were assigned those two legions, which P. Cornelius had before: with a fresh supplie out of the armie of Cneus Fulvius, which the last yeare was shamefully defeated, beaten, and put to flight in Apulia. These souldiours, all the sort of them, had the same limitation of service and no other, appointed and set downe by the Senate, as those former who remained after the overthrow at Cannæ. And this disgrace they had besides, as well the one companie as the other, That they might not winter within any towne, nor build them any standing campe for wintering harbours, within tenne miles of a citie. L. Cornelius the lord Deputie in Sardinia, was allowed to have the conduct of those two legions, which were under the leading of Q. Mutius. And order was given unto the Consuls, to levie and enroll a new supplie thereto, if need required. T. Octavius and M. Valerius were appointed to guard and defend all the sea coasts of Sicilie and Greece, with the helpe of those Legions and Armadoes which they had alreadie. The Greekes had fiftie saile in their fleet, and were manned with one Legion. The Sicilians had one hundred ships, and two legions to furnish them. So that in this yeere the Romanes mainteined three and twentie legions, to wage war both by sea and land.

In the beginning of the yeere, when the letters of L. Martius were read and scanned in the Senat house, the LL. there assembled, liked well of the contents, and spake highly in the praise of his worthie acts: but many of them were offended at the superscription, because hee tooke upon him the honourable title of a Propretour in his stile, and wrote thus [L. Martius the Propretour, to the Senate:] considering, that his commaund was neither graunted by the people, nor allowed and confirmed by the Senate. An ill precedent (say they) it is, and of bad consequence, that Generals of the field should be chosen by armies, and that the solemnitie of Elections, so devoutly begun in the name of the gods, and with the religious observation of the Bird-flight, should now be transferred into the campees and provinces farre from lawes and magistrates, and committed to the inconsiderate wils of rash affectionate souldiours. And when some there in place, were of opinion, that the matter should be put in question at the counsell table, it was thought better to deferre that consultation, until those gentlemen of service, that brought the letters from Martius, were gone and departed. As concerning come and appaerell for the armie, they agreed to write backe unto him, that the Senat would take order and provide for both: but they would not allow in any cause to give him this addition, and to write [To Martius the Propretour] least that they might seeme to approve the very same thing by their prejudice and dome aforehand, which they had left for to be decided and determined afterwards. When the Gentlemen afore said had their dispatch, and were dismissed, the first thing that the Consuls propounded, was it, and no other: and generally they jumped in this one point, for to deale with the Tribunes of the people, that with all speed possible they would move the Commons, and propound unto them, for to know, who their will and pleasure was, should be sent L. Deputie into Spaine, for to have the government of that armie, whereof Cn. Scipio, L. Generall, had the conduct.

This matter, I say, was treated of with the Tribunes, & a bill preferred thereof unto the Commons: but there was another greater contention in teames, that had possessed their minds alreadie. For C. Sempronius Blesus, had commensed a criminall action against Cn. Fulvius, accusing him for the losse of the armie in Apulia, and ceased not in all the assemblies of the people, to make invectives against him, charging him, That being captain General, through his much folie, ignorance & rashnes, he had brought his armie into a place of danger: reproving him moreover, and saying, That never any capitaine but Cn. Fulvius, had corrupted, marred, and infected his legions with all kind of vices, before that he betrayed them to the enemies: in such wise, that it might be well and truly said, that they were altogether spoiled and defeated, before they had a fight of their enemies: and were not vanquished by Anniball, but by their owne Colonell and Commaunder. See (quoth he) the disorder that is in Elections, and how no man, when hee is to give his voice, doth wel weigh and consider, who it is that he chuseth a Generall, and unto whom hee committeth the charge of an armie. Behold the difference betwene Cneus Fulvius, and T. Sempronius. This man having the leading of an armie of bondslaves, by discipline, good order and government, within short time brought his souldiours to that good passe, that there was not one of them all throughout the armie, remembered and regarded how basely he was borne, and

The Oration of
T. Sempronius
Blesus against
Cn. Fulvius.

and of what parentage descended, but all in generall bare themselves so, that they were to their friends a sure defence, & to their enemies a fearefull terror: and after that he had recovered them at Beneventum, and other cities, (as it were, out of the chaws of *Anniball*) he restored and delivered them safe & sound to the people of Rome. Whereas contrariwise, *Cn. Fulvius* having received an armie of Roman citizens, well and worshipfully borne, liberally and honestly brought up, had taught them servile vices fit for slaves, and so trained them, that with their friends and allies they were stout, proud, and unruly; and among their enemies were cowards & very dastards: & so far short they were to bear off the violence of the Carthaginians, that they were not able to abide so much as their first crie and shout. And no mervaille I assure you, that the soldiers could not stick to it in the battaile, and hold out manfully; when the Generall himselfe was the first that ran away beastly. I rather wonder at it, that any of them stood to it and died in the field, and were not all of them as fearefull as *Cn. Fulvius*, and tooke not his heeles with him for companie. Yet, *C. Flaminius*, *L. Paulus*, *L. Posthumus*, both *Scipions*, as well *Cn. as Pub.* chose rather to loose their lives in battaile, than to forsake their armies when they were environned round with enemies. But *Cn. Fulvius*, hee was in manner the onely man that returned to Rome with newes of the armie defeated and overthrowen. Now verily, a great indignitie it is, and a shamefull manner of proceeding, that the residue of the armie, after the overthrow at Cannæ, because they fled out of the field, were confined & transported over into Sicilie, with expresse condition, not to returne againe from thence, before that the enemy were clean gone and departed out of Italie; & that the very same rigorous and heavey decree passed likewise, and was executed against the Legions of *Cn. Fulvius*; and *Cn. Fulvius* himselfe, who fled out of that battell, which was through his owne folly and rashnesse begun, should goe away cleare, and escape without all punishment: that himselfe, I say, should lead his old age in taverns, stews, & brothel-houses, where alredie he hath spent his youth; full daies; while his poore fouldiours (who have faulted in nothing, but that they were like unto their captaine) be sent far ynough off, and packed away (as it were) into exile, and endure shamefull and ignominious fouldierie. Lo, how unequally at Rome the freedome of the citie is parted betwene the rich and the poore; betwene men of nobilitie and high calling, and those that are of mean parentage and low decree.

The first of
Cn. Fulvius

Thus much spake the plaintife *C. Sempronius Blasus*. The defendant on the other side, shifted all the blame from himselfe, and laid the whole fault upon his fouldiours, alleadging & pleading thus, That when they called upon him hastily, and with great wilfulness for to give battaile, hee brought them forth into the field, not on that day which they would themselves (for it was late in the evening) but the morrow after, when both time and place were meet and convenient for the purpose: and notwithstanding they were well appointed and orderly embattaile, yet were they not able to sustaine, either the fame, or the furie of the enemies, I know not whether. And when they all fled away amaine, he also was carried away in the throng of the rout: like as *Varro* the Consul, at the battell before Cannæ, and as many other Generals elsewhere. And what good could hee have done to the Commonweale, in case hee had staid behind alone? unless peradventure his death might have cured and remedied the publicke sores and maladies, or made amends for the common losses. Neither was it for want of victuals, nor for that hee light at unwares upon places of disadvantage and daunger; ne yet, because hee was entrapped within the traines of an ambush, marching on end forward, without sending his espials before, that hee was overcome; but even by fine force, by dint of sword, in open field, and in a pight battell. And it was not he could doe withall, if his owne men were fearefull and timorous, & the enemies hardie and venturous, he had not the rule of their hearts. It is long of every one his owne nature to be either bold or heartlesse.

Two severall daies was he judicially accused, & at both times a fine of monie only set upon his head, in case the matter should go against him. At the third Session the witnesses were produced forth, to be deposed and give evidence: and after that he had bene shamefully reviled, and charged with all manner of reproches, there were very many upon their oth restified, That the first beginning of the fright and flight both, was occasioned by the Pretour himselfe: and that the fouldiours seeing themselves forsaken by him, and supposing verily that their captaine and leader was not afraid of his owne shadow, but had great reason to feare, they likewise turned their backs and fled. Vpon which evidence, the whole Court was so incensed against him with anger, that they cried all with one voice, to commense a capitall action, for that he was worthie to dye.

Whereupon

Whereupon arose a new debate and controversie: for whereas the Tribune had twise before laid a penall action upon him of monie, and now at the third time said that he would have a jurie of life and death go upon him: then he called upon the other Tribunes for their helping hand to mitigate this rigor of the Tribune. But when those his colleagues made answer againe and said, that they would not oppose themselves nor hinder his course, but that hee might proceed in the suite at his owne good pleasure, *more maiorum*, i. [according to the auncient manner used by their forefathers,] either by order of law, or rule of custome, and bring him being but a private person, to the triall either of a capitall crime, or penall trespass: then *Sempronius* spake and said flatly, that he laid upon him a criminall action of treason against the State; and requested of *C. Calpurnius* the L. chiefe Iustice of the citie, for to have a day of hearing and judiciall triall by the people. Then the defendant cast about to help himselfe by another remedie, namely, in case he could compasse that *Q. Fulvius* his brother, might possibly be present at the Session when he should be judged: who at that time was a man of great credit and reputation, in regard both of the name that went on him for his noble acts, and of that great hope which men had of him, that he was like presently to be maister of Capua. But when this said *Q. Fulvius* had requested so much by his letters, ended to that purpose as effectually as he could devise, and to move commiseration and pitie in behalfe of the life of his brother, the LL. of the Senate returned this answer unto him againe, That it was not for the good of the State that he should depart from Capua: thereupon, before the Sessions day was come, *Cn. Fulvius* departed of his owne accord into exile to Tarquinij, and the Commons made an act and confirmed that banishment of his to be a just, due, and sufficient punishment for his offence.

During these busineses at Rome, the whole strength and force of warre was bent against Capua, and yet the citie was rather streightly beleaguered, than forcibly assaulted; in so much as neither the servants or bondmen, nor the common people were able to endure the famine any longer: and send unto *Anniball* any messengers, they possibly could not, by reason of the streight watch and ward that the Romans kept, so neere one unto the other. At length there was a certaine Numidian offered to go and to escape cleere away, who having taken letters unto *Anniball* to put him in mind to be as good as his promise, departed in the night, and passed through the mids of the Romane camp, and put the Campanes in very good hope, to issue forth at all the gates, and to make a sally upon the enemy, whiles their power and strength served them. And verily in many scufflings and skirmishes which they made, they got the better for the most part in horsfright: but lightly their footmen had ever the worse. The Romans for their parts were nothing so much pleased when they had the upperhand at any time, as they were discontented and ill apaid, to receive a foile in any kind of service of them; who were not onely besieged, but in manner overcome already and conquered. So they devised a means in the end, to make up and supply by industrie and policie the defect they had in strength and force. They chose out of all the Legions certaine lustie young men, such as for cleane strength of bodie, and lightnes withall, were most nimble and swift. These had every one of them, a light buckler or target, shorter than commonly horsemen have, and seven javelins or darts apeece, foure foot long, with yron heads at one end, like as those javelins have, which they use to launce that are lightly armed, and begin skirmishes. And every horseman took up one of these behind him on horsebacke, & used them, both to sit the horse and ride, and also to leape downe on foot, with great delivernesse and agilitie, at the signall and token given them. Now, when as, after daily practise and exercise, they were able to doe it nimble ynough, and without feare, they advanced forth into the plaine, lying betwene their campe, and the wall of the citie, & affronted the horsemen of the Campanes as they stood arraunged in battell array: and so soone as they were come within a darts cast, the light javelottiers afore said, dismounted from their horses, at a signe given them: and behold, all of a suddaine, out of the Cavallerie there was a battaillon of footmen arraunged, who charged the men of armes of the enemies, and let flie their shot with great force, dart after dart, which they launced so thicke, that they gauled many a horse, and wounded also many horsemen. Howbeit, their feare was much greater, by reason of the strange and unexpected manner of fight. The Romane horsemen seeing their enemies thus affrighted, set too hard, and charged upon them lustily, chased them and beat them downe even to the citie gates. After this, the Romans were the better in horse-service also. And hereupon began the manner from thenceforth, to entertaine such light armed javelottiers called *Velites*, even among the Legions. The first deviser of this mingling

mingling of footemen among the horsemen they say was one *Q. Navius* a Centurion, and that G he was highly honored by the Generall for his invention.

Whiles things stood thus at Capua, *Anniball* was greatly distracted in mind, and possessed with two contrary cogitations, whether he should go to gaine the Castle of Tarentum, or to reskue and save the citie of Capua. At last the regard of Capua prevailed with him: for he saw that as well friends as enemies depended thereupon, and had their mind and eye wholly bent that way; as being a citie like to give the very triall and prooffe, what would the issue be generally of all the revolt and rebellion from the Romanes. Leaving therefore behind him a great part of his cariage in the Brutians country, and all his souldiours heavily armed, he made hast into Campania, with an elect power of foote and horse, such as he supposed most meet and best appointed for expedition and riddance of way: yet as fast as he marched, there followed after him three and thirtie Elephants, and so he sat him downe closely in a secret valley behind the mountaine Tiffata, which overlooketh the citie Capua. At his first comming he forced the fort called Galatia, and compelled the garison there to quit the place, and then he turned & opposed himselfe against the enemies who besieged Capua. But he dispatched certaine courriers afore unto Capua, to signifie unto them, at what time he minded to set upon the camp of the Romanes: that they also at the very instant might be ready to issue forth at every gate of the citie to do the like. The Romanes having no foreknowledge by their espials of this occurrence, were mightily terrified: for *Anniball* himselfe assailed them one way, and all the Campanes as well foote as horsemen (together with the garison souldiours of the Carthaginians under the leading of *Boflar* and *Hanno* their captaines) sallied out another way. The Romanes therefore being driven to their shifts, as well as they might in so sodain and fearefull a case, had an eye to this, not to make head all together one way, and so to leave the rest quite without defence; therefore they divided their forces in this manner among themselves: *Appius Claudius* opposed himselfe against the Campanes: and *Fulvius* against *Anniball*. *Claudius Nero* the Viz-Pretour, with the horsemen belonging to the sixth legion, quartered upon the way that leadeth to Sueffula: and *C. Fulvius Flaccus* the Lieutenant, with the horsemen of Allies, tooke up his standing, and planted himselfe over-against the river Vultumus. The battaile began not after the usuall manner, only with shouts and outcries, but besides all other clamours of men, neighing of horses, and rustling of armour, there was a multitude of Campanes good for no other service of war, placed upon the walls, who together with ringing and sounding of basons and vessels of brasse (as the manner is in the still dead time of the night, when the moone is in the eclipse) made such an hideous noyse, that it caused even them that were in fight to be amused thereupon, and to listen after it. *Appius* with small ado repulsed the Campanes from the trench and rampiar. But *Fulvius* on the other part had more trouble to deale with *Anniball* and the Carthaginians, who charged so fiercely upon him, that the sixth legion there, gave ground and recoiled: which being once beaten back, a squadron of Spaniards and three Elephants passed forwards as far as to the rampiar, and had already broken through the maine battaile of the Romanes: but they were in suspence betweene doubtfull hope and present danger, thinking one while to breake through and passe into the camp; and doubting another while to be excluded from the rest of their companies. *Fulvius* seeing this feare of the legion, and peril wherein the camp stood, encouraged and exhorted *Q. Navius* and other principall Centurions, to assaile valiantly, to kill and hew in peeces that one companie of the enemies which were fighting under the counter-scarp. For all now lieth a bleeding, quoth he, and in extreame hazard: for either you must give the enemies way, and then wil they more easily enter into the camp, then they had already perced through the thick squadrons of the battaile; or els ye must disscate and slay them in the place, even under the trench. And that (quoth he) were no difficult peece of service, considering they are but few in number, severed and shut out cleane from the succour of their fellows: and the same Romane battailon which seemeth now disbanded and open, whiles it is affrighted, if so be it would make head and turne both sides upon the enemy, were able to compasse round and environ them, and put them to a doubtfull hazard, yea and cut them in peeces within the mids. *Navius* had no sooner heard the Generall speake these words, but he caught the ensigne of the second band of *Hastati* from the ensigne-bearer, and desplayed it in the faces of the enemies, threatening to sling it among the mids of them, unless his souldiers made the better hast to follow him, and settle themselves to fight. He was a goodly tall and personable man of bodie, his brave

A brave annour besides set him out and beautified his person: and withall, the advancing of his ensigne on high, drew every mans eyes upon him, as well enemies as friends. But when he was approached once to the banners of the Spaniards, then from all hands they spared him not, but launced at him their barbed javelins, and the whole battaile in manner was bent only against him. But neither the multitude of enemies, nor the voley of their shot, was able to repressle and rebut the violence of that one man. Likewise *M. Atilius* a Lieutenant, caused the ensigne-bearer of the first band of the *Principes* belonging to the same legion, to enter with his ensigne upon the cohort and troupe of the Spaniards. The Lieutenants also *L. Porcius Licinius* and *T. Popilius*, who had the garding of the camp, fought valiantly upon the rampier in defence thereof, and killed the Elephants upon the very countrescarp, as they were passing over and entering the camp.

B And by occasion that their bodies filled up the ditch, the enemies had a passage made them into the camp, as it were over a causey or bridge raised of purpose to give them way: and there, over the very carcases of the slaine Elephants, there was a cruell carnage committed. But on the other side of the camp, the Campanes and the garison of the Carthaginians had the repulse already: and under the very gate of Capua which openeth upon the river Vultumus, there was another skirmish, where the Romanes striving to enter the towne, were not so much put back and withstood by force of armed men, as by brakes, scorpions, and other engins of ordinance, which being mounted and planted upon the very gate, discharged shot so violently, that they drave the enemies farther off. Over and besides, the forcible and furious assault of the Romanes was daunted and suppressed, by reason that their Generall himselfe *Ap. Claudius*, was hurt; who as

C he was encouraging his men to fight in the very forefront of the vaward, hapned to be wounded with a dart above in his brest under the left shoulder: yet there were an exceeding number of enemies there slaine before the gate, and the rest were driven for feare to make hast and get the citie over their heads. *Anniball* also perceiving the Cohort of the Spaniards lying along dead, and the camp of the enemies so manfully defended even to the utterance: gave over farther assault, and began to retire his ensignes, and to turne backward all his fooremens, interposing his horsemen behinde them, for feare the enemy should charge them on the taile. The legions were exceeding egre to pursue after the enemies: but *Flaccus* commaunded to sound the retreat, supposing they had done well enough already, and effectuated two things, to wit, that both the Campanes saw in how little steed *Anniball* served them; and also *Anniball* himselfe knew and

D perceived no lesse. Some writers that have recorded this battaile, set downe, that of *Anniball* his armie there were slaine that day eight thousand men, and of Campanes three thousand: that the Carthaginians lost fiftene ensignes, and the Campanes eightene. But in others, I find that the conflict was not so great, and that the fright was much more than the skirmish: for when as the Numidians and Spaniards together with the Elephants brake at unware into the Romanes camp, those Elephants as they passed through the mids thereof, overthrew and laid along many of the tents and pavilions; and the Sumpter-horses and other beasts there for carriage, with great noyse brake their halters, and collars, fled for feare, and bare downe all afore them as they went. And that besides this tumultuous fright and confusion, *Anniball* dealt fraudulently, by sending in among the rest certaine that could speake the Latin tongue (for some such he had about him) who in the Consuls name gave commaundement (since that the camp was lost) that every souldier should make shift for himselfe, and flye to the next mountaines. But this deceit was soone espied and prevented with the losse and slaughter of a number of enemies: and the Elephants were coursed out of the camp with fire. But howsoever this battaile was either begun or ended, the last it was fought there, before that Capua was yielded up and surrendered.

The Medjastuticus (for so they call the head magistrate and governour of the citie of Capua) for that year, was one *Seppius Lesius*, a man of base parentage & mean calling. The report goeth, that his mother upon a time as she made satisfaction in the name of him (being then fatherlesse and under age) by a purgatorie sacrifice, for a prodigious domestical portent, that hapned in her house, was told by the Soothsaier out of his learning, that one day the chiefe government of Capua should befall to that child: whereat, she seeing no likelyhood nor hope at all of any such matter, said thus againe, You talke of a poore citie of Capua, when that day comes; and God save all, when my sonne shall he advanced to the highest place and government thereof. But these words spoken at randon and in jest, proved afterwards good earnest, and true in deed. For when

when as the cittizens were driven to great freights, through sword and famine, and were past all hope of recoverie: in such sort, as they that were of qualitie and borne for honour, refused to be in place of authoritie, this *Lesus* complaining that Capua was forlome, betrayed, and abandoned by her owne nobilitie, tooke upon him the chiefe magistracie, and was the last of all the Campanes that bare soveraigne rule in that cittie.

Anniball perceiving, that neither his enemies would be drawne forth any more to fight: nor possibly hee could breake through their campe for to come unto Capua: for feare least that the new Consuls should stop all the passages, and intercept his purveiance of victuals, determined to dislodge without effecting his purpose, and to remove from Capua. And as he cast and tossed too & fro in his mind, what course to take, and whither to go; it came into his head to make no more ado, but to march directly to Rome, the very head and seat-cittie of the whole warre. This was the upshot of all, and the empresse that he most desired. Howbeit as all others much grieved and greatly blamed him, that he had over-slipt the opportunitie when it was, even presently upon the battaile at Cannæ: so himselfe acknowledged no lesse, that he was mightily overseene. And yet the thing was not so farre past (he thought) that he should despaire, but upon some suddaine fright and unexpected tumult, he might seize of some quarter of the cittie or other. And if Rome were once in that hazard, then either both the Romane Generals, or one at the least, would immediately leave the siege of Capua. Who, if they had once divided their forces, both of them would be the weaker, and minister either unto him, or to the Campanes, some occasion of good fortune. The onely thing that troubled his mind was this, for feare least that as soone as his back were turned, the Campanes would yeeld themselves unto the Romanes. He therefore with large and liberall rewards, induceth a certaine Numidian (an audacious and adventurous fellow, one that cared not what dangers he undertooke) to be the carrier of certaine letters, and to enter into the campe of the Romanes, counterfeiting himselfe, to be a fugitive, from the adverse part unto them: and so when he espied his time, to slip secretly from the other side of the campe, to Capua. The letters were very comfortable, importing unto them, That his remove and departure from thence, was for their good and safetie, wherby he meant to withdraw the Romane captains and their forces from Capua, to the defence of their owne cittie of Rome: willing them not to let fall their hearts and be discouraged; for by patient abiding some few daies, they should be wholly freed and delivered of the siege. Then he made stay of all the shipping and vessels that he could find upon the river Vulturinus, & commanded them to be brought to Castilinum, which he had fortified aforetime with a pile or castle to guard & keep the place with a garison. And having intelligence that there was such store of barges and botomes upon the river, as would serve to transport in one night his whole armie: he made provision of victuals for ten daies, brought downe his armie by night to the river side, and crossed the water with all his power, before the next day light. But this was not carried so secretly, but before that it was effected, intelligence was given thereof by certaine rennegate fugitives: whereupon *Fulvius Flaccus* addressed his letters unto the Senate of Rome, and gave notice thereof. At which tidings, men according to their sundrie fancies and humours, were diversly affected: and as so fearfull an occurrence required, incontinently the Senate assembled.

P. Cornelius surnamed *Asina*, was of opinion, that all the captaines and armies whatsoever, should be called home out of all parts of Italie, without regard of Capua or any other exploit besides, save onely the defence of the cittie. *Fabius Maximus* thought it was a dishonest, lewd, and shamefull part, to depart from the siege of Capua, and to be skared to turne here and there, and to be carried away with every copie of *Anniball*'s countenance, and with his vaine threats and menaces. Hee that woon a victorie at Cannæ, and durst not then go forward to the cittie, hath hee conceived any hope now to win Rome, being also lately repulld from Capua? No, he marcheth toward Rome, not minding to besiege it, but hoping to raise the siege from Capua. And how ever it be, I am assured (quoth hee) that *Jupiter* (the witnesse of covenants broken by *Anniball*) and other gods besides, will defend us with the helpe of that armie which we shall find at home in the cittie. Betweene these two opinions, *P. Valerius Flaccus* held the meane, and prevailed: for he having a regard and due consideration, both of the one and the other; thought good to write unto the Colonels that lay before Capua, & to certifye them, what strength they had of able men to defend the cittie: as for the forces of *Anniball*, and what power was needfull to mainteine the siege at Capua, they themselves knew best. Therefore in case that one of the pro-Consuls

A pro-Consuls there, and part of the armie might be spared from thence and sent to Rome, & nevertheless, the siege continue with the conduct of the other pro-Consull, and the rest of the armie: then *Claudius* and *Fulvius* should so order the matter betweene themselves, that the one of them might remaine still before Capua at siege, and the other repaire to Rome, for to defend and keepe their native countrie from the same danger. Hereupon the Senate agreed, and made an Act: which being brought unto Capua, *Q. Fulvius* the Viz-Consull who was to go to Rome, by reason that his colleague was sicke of his hurt, chose out of the three armies certaine companies of souldiours, and so with fiftene thousand footmen, and one thousand horsemen, passed over the river Vulturinus. Then having certaine intelligence, that *Anniball* minded to march along the Latin street way: he tooke his journey through the townes and burroughs situate upon the way Appia, & sent his courriers before unto Setia, Sorã, and Lavinium, which are seated neere unto it, not only for to lay provision of victuals redie for him in their citties and townes, but also from the countrie villages farther out of the way; to bring their provision to that port through-fare: and to draw forces into their townes for their own defence, and every one to stand upon their good guard, and to looke unto their state, as well publike as private.

Anniball the same day that he had crossed Vulturinus, encamped not farre from the river. And the morrow after, entered into the territorie of the Sidicines, and led his host neere unto Cales. There, after he had staid one day, forraying and spoiling the countrie, he marched by Sueffula, into the territories of Allifas and Casinum, by the way of the Latine street. Under the town Casinum he abode in campe two daies, and raised booties here & there in every place. From thence leaving Interramna and Aquinum, he came into the countrie about Fregellæ, as farre as to the river Liris: where he found the bridge cut downe by the Fregellanes, for to impeach and let his journey. *Fulvius* likewise was staid at the river Vulturinus, by reason that the barges & botomis were burnt by *Anniball*: and much ado he had, for the great scarcitie of timber & wood, to make punts and boats for to set over his armie. But *Fulvius*, after hee had once transported his men in such boats and planks as hee made shift withall, had afterwards no hinderance in his journey; but found not onely store of victuals in the townes and citties as hee travailed, but also plentie thereof brought readie for him to the waies side right courteously. Then the souldiours as they marched on foote cheered and encouraged one another to mend their pace and make speede, considering they went to the defence of their naturall countrie. D Now there was a post sent from Fregellæ, who rode night and day and never made stay, and he put the cittie in exceeding feare. The running together besides of the people, that ceased not to make every thing more than it was, and to invent somewhat of their owne fingers ends, and put it to the newes that they heard, made a greater hurree than the messenger himselfe, and set the cittie in an uprore. And not onely the women were heard to weepe and wale in their owne private houses: but also from all parts, the Dames of the cittie came flocking into the streets, running about to all the churches and chappels of their gods and goddesses, sweeping the altars with the tresses of their haire hanging downe, kneeling upon the bare ground, and stretching out their hands up toward heaven unto the gods, pouring out their praies and supplications, That they would vouchsafe to preserve the cittie of Rome out of the hands of the enemies, and to save the Romane wives and their little children from harme and all abuse. The bodie of the Senate gave attendance upon the magistrâtes in the common place, readie to give them their advyse and counsell. Some receive of them direction, and departed every man to execute his charge: others offer themselves to the magistrâtes, to be employed in any service whatsoever. Sundrie guards were bestowed in the castle, in the Capitoll, and upon the wallies: all places about the citie were wel manned. The Albane mountain also & the castle of Thufculum were furnished with good garrisons. Amids this alarme tidings came, that *Q. Fulvius* the pro-Consull, was departed from Capua, and onward on his journey to Rome with an armie. And because he should not be abridged of his power and authoritie, after he was come into the cittie, there was a decree graunted out of the Senatehouse, that *Q. Fulvius* should have as large a commision of rule and commaund as the Consuls themselves. *Anniball*, after he had made fouler worke & havocke in the territorie of Fregellæ; than in other places, for anger that they had cut downe the bridges against his coming, led his armie through the Frusinate, Ferentinare, and Anagnine countries, and came forwards into the territorie of Lavicos: and so by Algidum hee marched toward Thufculum. And when he could not be let in there within the wals, he descended beneath

E c c

Thufculum,

Tusculum, on the right hand to Gabii: from whence he conducted his armie into Pupinia, and eight miles from Rome encamped. The neerer the enemie approached to the citie, the greater slaughter was made of the paissants that fled from him, by his vauntcurriers, the Numidian light horsemen, whom he feared afore to make riddance. And many there were of all conditions and ages that were taken captive.

In this tumultuous trouble, *Fulvius Flaccus* with his armie, entred Rome at the gate Capena: from whence he went through the midst of the citie, along the street Carinae into the *Exquilie*, and from thence he went forth, and betweene the gates *Exquilina* and *Collina* pitched his tents. Thither the *Adiles* of the Commons brought victuals: the *Consull* and the Senate resorted to him into the campe, where they sat in counsell about the State of the Commonweale. And agreed it was, That the *Consulls* should lie encamped likewise about the gates *Collina* and *Exquilina*: that *C. Calpurnius* Pretour of the citie, should have the keeping of the Capitoll and the castle with a guard, and that the *Senatours* keepe residence continually in good number within the compasse of the *Forum*, what need so ever there should be of their counsell and advice, against all suddaine accidents. By this time *Anniball* was come forward, as farre as to the river *Anio*, & within three miles of the citie lay encamped, where he kept a standing leaguer. But himselfe in person with 2000 horsemen, advanced forward toward the gate *Collina*, even as farre as to *Heracles* his temple, and rode all about as neere as he well could, to view the walls, and the situation of the citie. *Flaccus* tooke foule disdaine thereat, and thought it a shamefull indignitie, that he should brave it at his pleasure so scornfully without revenge, whereupon he sent out certaine of his owne Cavallerie, and gave commaundement, That they should set the enemies horsemen farther off, and chase them backe into their campe. Whiles they were in skirmish together, the *Consulls* gave order, that the Numidian horsemen, such as were fled from the enemie, and turned to the Romanes (who were at that time to the number of twelve hundred upon the *Aventine hill*) should passe through the midst of the citie to the *Exquilie*: supposing that there were none more meet than they, for to fight among the valleyes, the garden houses, the sepulchres and hollow waies on every side. Whom, when some from the castle and the Capitoll, espied riding downe the descent of the hill, called *Clivus Publicus*, they ran crying about the citie, The *Aventine* is taken, The *Aventine* is taken. Which alarme caused a tumult, & gave such an occasion of fear, and running away, that if the campe of *Anniball* had not been without the walls, the fearefull multitude doubtlesse would have abandoned and quit the citie. But they tooke their houses, and gat every man up to the terrasses and leads thereof: from whence they pelled with stones and others shot their own friends in steed of enemies, as they rode scattering one from another in the streets. This tumult could not be repressed, nor the error appeare, by reason that the waies were so pestered with a number of the countrie peasants, and of cattell besides, whom suddaine feare had driven into the citie. Howbeit, the horsemen fought fortunately, and the enemies were removed and set backe. And because it was necessarie to stay all disorders and uprores that chanced upon small occasions to arise, it was thought good and agreed upon, that all those who had been either *Dictatours*, or borne the office of *Censors*, should have their full power & authoritie, untill such time as the enemie was cleane departed from about the walls. And that was to good purpose: for all the rest of that day, and the night following, there were divers and sundrie garboiles, without any cause or occasion raised, and the same stilled & appeased by that meanes.

The next day *Anniball* passed over *Anio*, and brought forth all his whole power into the field. Neither were *Flaccus* and the *Consulls* behind hand for their parts, but readie for battell. When both armies stood arraigned in order on both sides, amused upon the issue and event of that one fight, which was for no lesse a prize and reward to the victorious part, than the very citie of Rome: there fell such a mightie storme of raine and haile together, and so troubled both hostes, that they could scarce hold their weapons in hand, but were driven to retire themselves for safetie into their severall campees, fearing nothing lesse than their own enemies. The morrow after likewise, when they stood in the same place in battell array, the like tempest parted them asunder. And they were not so soone retired into their campe, but the day was wonderfull faire, and the weather calme againe.

The Carthaginians tooke this for an ominous presage to them of ill lucke. And *Anniball* was heard (by report) to say, That one while his mind, another while his fortune, would not give him leave

A leave to win the citie of Rome. There were other occurrences besides, as well small as great, that discouraged him and abated his hope. Of more importance was this, that whiles he lay with his host in arms before the walls of Rome, he understood, there were certaine companies with banners displayed sent into Spaine for to supplie the armies there. Of lesse reckoning was this, that hee was advertised by a certaine captive, how the very same plot of ground whereon hee was encamped, happened at the same time to be sold: not underfoot, but at the full price, and nothing abated. This he tooke to be so presumptuous a part, and such a scornfull indignitie, namely, that there should bee a chapman found at Rome, to make purchase of that peece of land, which hee was possessed of and held in right of armes, that presently he called for a publicke crier & trumpet, and gave commaundement unto him, to proclaim port sale of all the shops of Bankers and money chaungers at that time about the *Forum* in Rome. Nevertheless, hereupon hee was moved to dislodge, and retired his campe backwards from the citie to the river *Turia*, fixe myles from Rome. From whence hee tooke his way to the grove of *Feronia*, where stood a temple, in those daies much renowned for wealth and riches. The inhabitants thereof were certaine Capenates, who used to bring thither the first fruits of their corne and revenues, yea, and many other oblations besides, according to their store: by meanes whereof they had adorned & garnished it with much gold and silver. Of all those gifts and offerings was this temple then, robbed and spoiled. But after the departure of *Anniball* from thence, there were found great heapes of brasse, by reason that the souldiours upon touch and remorse of conscience, had cast in many brazen peeces. The sacking and pillage of this temple, all writers doe agree upon, and make no doubt thereof. *Caelius* saith, That *Anniball* as hee went toward Rome from *Ereum*, turned thither, and hee setteth downe the beginning of his journey from *Reate*, *Cutilia*, and from *Amitemum*. And that out of *Campania*, he came into *Samnium*, and from thence into the countrie of *Peligni*, and so passed beside the citie *Sulmo*, to the *Marucines*, and then by the territorie of the *Albenses* into the *Marfians* land, and from thence hee marched to *Amitemum*, and so forward to the towne *Foruli*. Neither is there any error or doubt in all this, because the markes and tokens of the voiage of so great an armie, could not within the memorie and compasse of so small an age, be confounded and worne out. For certaine it is, that he passed that way. The only difference lieth herein, whether hee came to the citie of Rome, or returned from thence into *Campania*, by that way aforesaid.

D Now was not *Anniball* so resolute to defend *Capua*, but the Romanes were as fully bent, and more eager to continue the siege and assault thereof. For he sped himselfe so fast another way in his voiage back, first out of the *Lucanes* countrie to the *Brutians*, and so, on stil to the streight of *Sicilie* and to *Rhegium*, that with his suddaine comming thither, he surprized them at unwares, even before they heard of his arrivall. As for *Capua*, albeit in the time of *Fulvius* his absence, it was no lesse streightly beleaguered, yet it felt the comming againe of *Flaccus*: and besides, there was much marvell there, why *Anniball* returned not backe as well as he. Afterwards, they understood, by conference with some that were without, how they were forsaken and forlorne of *Anniball*, and that the Carthaginians were past all hope, to keepe and hold *Capua* still to their owne use. There was an *Edict* moreover of the *Pro-consull*, passed by order from the Senate, and the same published and devulged among the enemies, That what citizen soever of *Capua*, would turne to the Romanes before such a certaine day, hee should have a generall pardon. But there was no conning in, nor raunging to the Romanes side; for feare of punishment at the Romans hands, more than for any regard of their alleageance to the Carthaginians: because their transgression and trespass in their former revolt was so great, that it might not be pardoned. And as no one man at all, privately on his owne head came over to the campe of the Romanes, so there was no good order taken by publicke counsell, for the benefit and safetie of the whole citie. The noblemen had given over managing of state-matters, and could not be brought by any means to assemble in Senate. And in cheefe place of government was hee, who had not wooon to himselfe any honour thereby, but his unworthinesse was derogatorie to the authoritie and power of that Magistracie which he bare. For now there was not one of the cheefe citizens and noblemen that would be so much as scene in the market place or common hall of assemblies: but shutting themselves within dores in their private houses, they expected every day for the destruction of their countrey, together with their owne undoing and overthrow. The whole charge & care lay upon *Bostar* and *Hanno*, captaines of the garrison in the fort there of the Carthaginians, and

more carefull were they of their owne welfare, than fearefull for the jeopardie of their friends and allies. These two wrote letters unto *Anniball*, endited not onely in plaine teauues & frankly, but also sharply and bitterly: wherein they laid unto his charge, That he had not onely betraied Capua into the hands of the enemies, but also delivered and exposed them and the garison to the cruell clutches of the Romanes to be massacred and executed. That hee was gone his waies, and departed into the country of the Brutij, as one that turned away his face of purpose, because he would not see with his owne eyes the losse of Capua. But ywis the Romanes contrarywise could not be withdrawn from the siege of Capua, no, not by the assaulding of the citie of Rome: so much more were the Romanes resolute enemies, than the Carthaginians constant friends. But if he would returne againe to Capua, and bend the full force of his warre thither, both they and the citizens also of Capua, would be ready to fall forth and encounter the enemies. For why, they passed not over the Alpes with intent to war with the Rhexines and Tarentines; no, but where the Romane legions were, there ought the armies of the Carthaginians to be. Thus at Cannæ, thus at Thrasymenus were the victories atchieved, by affronting and meeting the enemy, by joyning camp to camp, and by hazarding the fortune of battaile. To this effect were the letters penned, and given to certain Numidians; who for a good reward, had offered their service before, for the safe carriage and delivery of them. These fellows presented themselves before *Flaccus* in the camp, in habit and qualitie of fugitives, unto his side: hoping to spie out some convenient time when they might give him the slip and be gone. Now by occasion of the famine which had continued long in Capua, there was none but might pretend a good and reasonable cause to depart from thence to the aduerser part. But behold, there hapned anon a Capuan wench to come into the leaguer (a naughtie-pack and an harlot, that one of the supposed counterfeiter fugitives aforesaid kept.) She enformed the Generall of the Romanes, that those Numidians, fraudulently and by covin, pretended to flye unto his part, and had letters about them unto *Anniball*. This would she stand to, and be ready to averre to the very face of one of them, who bewrayed and disclosed the plot unto her. At first, when he was brought forth before her, he set a jolly countenance of the matter, and made it very strange, and pretending stoutly that he knew not the woman: but by little and little he was convicted by manifest truthe, and especially when he saw that they called for the rack, & that he was upon the point to be put to torture: & so in the end confessed that all was true, and therewith brought forth the letters. Over and besides, another thing was now revealed, which before was kept close and secret: to wit, that there were other Numidians besides, who under the colour of fugitives, had gone up and downe in the Romane camp: of these there were apprehended not so few as threescore and ten, and they together with the new, were whipped with rods, had their hands cut off, and sent back againe to Capua. This piteous spectacle & sight of so feareful execution, killed the courage, & brake the very hart of the Campanes. Whereupon, the people ran together unto the Counsell house, & compelled *Leſius* to assemble a Senat, and openly threatned the Nobles (who a long time had absented themselves from publick consultations) that unless they would now repaire into the Senate, they would go home to their very houses, and pluck them out by the eares into the street. For feare hereof, the chiefe magistrate had a frequent and full assembly of Senatours. Whiles all the rest were of opinion to send embassadors to the Romane Generals, *Vibius Virius* (who had bene the chiefe cause and principall author of their first revolt from the Romanes) being demaunded his advise, spake to the point in this manner.

The Creation of
Fabius Pictus in
the Senate of
Capua.

They that talke of embassadors, of peace, and of yeelding, little consider and remember either what they would have done, in case the Romanes had bene at their devotion and mercie, or what themselves must endure and suffer. For what thinke ye wil become (quoth he) of this present surrender of ours, in comparison of that whereby in times past we freely gave unto the Romanes our selves, and all that we had, for to obtaine their aid and succour against the Samnites? And have we so soone forgotten, at what time, and in what condition and state we were when we forsooke and abandoned the people of Rome? Also, after our revolt, how we most cruelly and shamefully killed their garison, whom we might have dismissed and sent away with their lives? Moreover, how often we have issued forth against them lying at siege, and how mischeivously minded we were unto them, yea and how we have sallied upon them in their camp? Over and besides, call ye not to remembrance, how we called for *Anniball* to surpris and defeat them? and (that which of all other is most fresh in memorie) how we sent him from hence to give the assault

A assault to Rome? On the contrary side, marke well and call to mind, how maliciously they have attempted and practised all hostilitie against us: by which ye may well know what account to make of them, and what ye are to trust unto. For when they had a stranger and forain enemy within Italie, nay when they had *Anniball* their enemy: when the warres were so hote, that all was on a light fire: they passed by all other affaires, yea they let *Anniball* himselfe alone, and sent both their Consuls with two complet consular armies to besiege and force Capua. This is the second year that they keepe us entrenched round about, pinning us up, and pinning us with extreme famine and hunger: during which time, they themselves as well as we, have endured the utmost extremities and dangers that are, and sustained most grievous and infinite travailes: oftentimes being killed and cut in peeces about their rampiers, trenches, and ditches, and finally driven almost out of their camp and hold. But to let passe and speake no more of these ordinary matters, seeing it is an old and usuall case, for them to abide painefull toyle, and incur many perils, who besiege and assault any cities or townes of their enemies: See a manifest signe of their deadly feud, and execrable hatred against vs. *Anniball* with a puissant power of foote and horsemen both, assailed their camp, yea and in some part was maister of it. Thinke ye that in so great danger of theirs, they were one jot withdrawn from the siege? He passed over the river *Vulturnus*, and burnt the territorie of Cales: yet for all that calamitie and losse, which their allies received, stirred not they one whit, nor gave over their enterprife. He commaunded to march forward with banner displayed against the very citie of Rome: they made as little account of that dangerous tempest toward, as of all the rest. After he had passed over the river *Anio*, he pitched his tents within three miles of the citie; nay, he approached at length the walls, and made a brave vado even under the gates; to be short, he presented unto their eye his resolution, and menaced to make Rome too hote for them unless they levied the siege before Capua: and yet they gave not over but beleaguered us still. The very wild and savage beasts be they never so fell, be they maddened never so much with blind rage and woodnesse against one, yet if another go to their denes, and offer to take away their whelps, they will turne again to succour and help their yong ones: but the Romanes, notwithstanding Rome was besieged, their wives and children in danger, whose piteous cries and lamentable plaints, were heard almost even hither; notwithstanding their alters, their sacred fires, the temples of their gods, the monuments and sepulchres of their Ancestours, were profaned, abused, and polluted, could not be drawne away from Capua. So eager, so hungrie are they to be revenged of us, so thirsty are they, to drinke our blood. And good reason, haply, they have so to do. For would not we also have done the semblable, if fortune had given us the opportunitee? But seeing the will of the immortall gods is otherwise: and considering that I owe nature a death; in my power it is (whiles I am at libertie, whiles I am mine owne man, and maister of my selfe) to avoid torments, to shun shamefull ignominies and reproches (whereof the enemy hopeth I shall feele the smart) and that by one kind of death, which as it is honest, so it is also easy and gentle? Never will I endure to see *Ap. Claudius* and *Q. Fulvius*, proudly and insolently bearing them selves upon their conquest over us: never will I be led and haled bound with cheines, through the citie of Rome, to make a shew, and to serve for a spectacle and gazing stock in their Triumph: and afterwards either in darke prison, or tied openly to a stake, yeeld my back and side to be rewed, whipped, and mangled: and then lay my neck upon the block, to have my head chopt off with the bloody axe of the Romanes. Never will I behold my native country sacked, spoiled, and put to fire and sword, nor the chaste married dames of Capua, to be forcibly ravished, the faire & beautifull maidens shamefully deflowered, and the wel-favoured yong boyes & freeborne, unnaturally abused. They raised Alba in times past from the top to the very foundation, and left neither stick nor stone thereof, Alba I say, from whence they had their offspring, and were first descended: to the end that there might remaine no memorie at all of their stock and first originall. And shal I ever beleve they will spare Capua, & receive it to mercy, against which they are more hatefully and mortally bent, than against Carthage? Therefore, my maisters and friends, as many of you as are minded and resolved to dye before ye see these so many miseries and wofull calamities, I have at home a supper this night well furnished and provided for you all: and when ye have eate meate your fill, and drunke wine to it liberally, the same wassail cup that first will be presented unto me, shall go round about to you all: and that one draught, shall deliver your bodies from torments, preserve your spirits from anguish and contumelious disgrace, keepe your eyes from beholding all cruell acts, your eares from hearing

ring all shamefull indignities which follow and attend upon conquered persons. There shall be also in readinesse, cerreine servitours of purpose, to make a mightie great fire within the base court-yard of mine house, and to cast our dead bodies thereinto. This is the onely honest way to death, and becoming us who are free borne & gentlemen in deed. In which doing, our enemies will wonder at our vertue and valour: yea and *Annibals* himselfe shall well know, that he hath forsaken and betrayed his trustie and magnanimious allies.

This Oration of *Virius*, there were more men present, that heard with applause and good liking, than could find in their hearts to put that in execution which they so well allowed & approved. The greater part of the Senat, not despairing, but that the clemencie of the people of Rome, which had bene tried and seene oftentimes in many warres, might be gained and extended also unto them; concluded, to send Embassadors with commission to yeeld Capua into the Romans hands. Some seven and twentie Senatours there were, that accompanied *Vibius Virius* home to his house, and supped with him: and after they had done what they could to drinke themselves drunke, and to intoxicate their braines with freely taking in their wine, (therby to withdraw their minds from the fence and apprehension of their imminent harme and miserie) drunke all of the poisoned cup above said. This done, and the banquet ended, they rose from the table, tooke one another by the hand, embraced each other, taking their last leave, bidding a finall adieu & farewell, & bewailing together with plenteous teares, their owne misfortune, and the miserable state of their countrie; some staid behind to be burned in one and the same fire for fellowship, others brake companie and departed to their owne houses. Now, by reason that their veines were filled with full feeding and drinking wine so liberally, the poyson was not so quicke of operation, nor so effectually as to hasten their death. And therefore most of them languished all night long, yea and continued drawing on a peece of the next day, before they let their last breath: but yet they all had yeelded up their ghost, before that the gates were set open for the enemies.

The day following, the gate of *Iupiter* which stood next over against the Roman campe, was by the commaundement of the pro-Consull opened. Thereat entred one legion & two cornets of horsemen, under the leading of *C. Fulvius* the Lieutenant: who after he had first above all other things, given expresse order, that all armor of defence, & weapons of offence (which was to be found in Capua) should be brought forth and presented unto him; placed & disposed at all the gates, warders sufficient to see that no person might possibly go forth, or be let out: then he laid hold upon the garison of the Carthaginians, & commaunded the Senators of Capua to repair into the camp, before the Roman captain Generals themselves. So soon as they were thither come, straightwaies they had yrons clapped upon them, and were commaunded to make tender unto the treasurers of all the gold and silver they had. The gold amounted to 70 pound weight: the silver rose to the weight of three thousand and two hundred pound. Five and twentie of the Senatours were sent to Cales, eight and twentie to Theanum, to be kept safe in ward. Eventhose who were knowne for certaine, to have principally moved and perswaded the revolt from the Romanes. Concerning the punishment of the Senatours of Capua, *Fulvius* and *Claudius* could not agree. *Claudius* was more tractable and exorable, and might soone have bene intreated for a pardon. *Fulvius* was more rigorous, and proceeded to a harder course. Whereupon *Appius* put over the whole deciding and determination thereof unto the Senate of Rome. Alleading, that it was meet and requisite, that the LL. of the Counsell should have the examination of the cause, and namely upon these points. *Imprimis*, whether they had complotted and combined in this action, with any of the free boroughes and cities belonging to the state of the Latines. *Item*, whether they had any help & reliefe from thence in the time of the war, or from any other towns whatsoever? But *Fulvius* in no case would condescend thereto, nor suffer that the minds of faithfull & loyall allies, should be disquieted with doubtfull surmises & suspicions of any crimes; and called in question upon the appeachment and delatorie information of those, that never yet, made reckning or conscience, either what they did, or what they said. And therefore he protested to suppress that manner of proceeding, and crush that inquisition for ever. After this communication they departed asunder: and *Appius* made no doubt, but that howsoever his Colleague fared and tooke on, giving out so shrewd and bitter words, he would yet take pause and stay for the letters from Rome, concerning so weightie a businesse as this was. But *Fulvius*, because of his designement, brake up his keeping of state in his royall pavilion, and sent his officers and ordinarie traine out of the way, because he would not be hindered and empeached by them,

A them, in the course of his designement: and commaunded the Colonels and captaines of the allies, to give warning unto two thousand chosen men of armes, for to be in readinesse and present themselves at the third sound of the trumpeter. With this power of horsemen hee set forward by night, and marched to Theanum: and by breake of day entred the gate, and kept his way on into the market place. At the first entrance of the horsemen, the people ran together from all parts: then he caused the chiefe magistrate (a Sidicine) to be called: and charged him to produce his prisoners the Capuans, whom he had in custodie. When they were all brought forth, they were first whipped with rods, and then beheaded. From thence hee rode upon the spur to Cales: where so soone as he was set on the Tribunall seat, in place of judgement, and the Capuan prisoners likewise presented in place and bound to the stake; there came a horseman in post from Rome, and when he had delivered letters from *C. Calpurnius* the Consull, and the people of Rome, unto *Fulvius*; there ran a rumout from the Tribunall through all the assembly, that the whole processe against the Campanes was to be put off and reserved entire to the censure and doome of the LL. of the Senate. And *Fulvius* supposing it to be no lesse indeed, after he tooke the letters, never brake them up, but bestowed them in his bosome, and gave commaundement to the Crier, to charge the Licitor or executioner to do his office, according to law. Thus they also that were at Cales were executed and suffered death. Then he read the letters, and the order set downe by the Senate: but it was too late now, to stay that which was done already and past, and which indeed was hastned with all speed that might be, for feare it might have bene crossed and prevented.

C Now as *Fulvius* was arising from the bench, *Taurea Tubellius* a Campan, passing amidst the throng, called by name alowd upon *Fulvius*. Whereat *Flaccus* wondring what the man meant, sat him downe againe upon his seat, and demanded what he would? Mary (quoth he) command me also to be killed, that thou maist boast and glorie another day, that thou hast done to death, a better man by farre, and much more valiant than thy selfe. Surely (quoth *Flaccus*) this fellow is lunaticke and not well in his wits: and againe, were I minded to take his life from him, I am inhibited by vertue of the act of the Senate. Then (quoth *Tubellius*) since that my countrie is forced and lost, my kinsfolke & friends made away: seeing also that I have with mine own hand murdered my wife and children, because they should suffer no villanous indignitie; and may not my selfe so much as die this death which my countriemen here have suffered before my face, I will seeke by vertue & manhood to ease my self of this life, so tedious, so irksome, and odious unto me: and with that, he drew forth the skeine which he had hidden under his garment, & stabbed himselfe in the brest quite through his bodie, & there at the feet of the L. General, fell downe redie to die in the place. For as much as both the execution of the Campanes, & also the most part of other matters were performed according to the will of *Flaccus* alone: some there be, that write how *Appius Claudius* died about the time that Capua was yeelded. And that this very same *Taurea*, neither came to Cales of his owne accord, nor killed himselfe: but that as he was a binding to the stake, because the words which hee uttered, could not bee heard for the confused noise of the people, therefore *Flaccus* commanded silence, & then *Taurea* spake those words before rehearsed, namely,

E That himselfe a right valiant & hardy man, was put to death by a meaner person than himselfe, and much inferiour to him in valour and vertue. Whereat by the commaundement of the Proconsul, the crier pronounced & said: Go to Sergeant, let this brave & valiant man have the more store of rods bestowed upon him, let him have good scourging, lay on load, & let the lashes surely on, & let him be the first that you proceed against, let him have the law to the full. Some there be that have written, how the act of the Senat was read before he proceeded to the beheading: but because there was this branch or clause within the act, That if he thought so good, he should reserve the whole deciding of the matter unto the Senate: he construed it thus, that it was put to his discretion, for to weigh and consider what was more profitable to the Common-weale. This done, he returned from Cales to Capua. Atella & Calatia were both surrendered into his hands; where they also who were the chief heads of those states, suffered the like punishment. Thus there were upon a fourescore of the Senatours put to death: and to the number well neere of three hundred Capuans (borne of noble blood) committed to prison. Others of them were bestowed in safe custodie within divers cities of the Latines, and came to sundrie unhappie ends. The multitude besides of the Campanie citizens, were sold outright.

It remained now to put to question and debate, what was to be done with the cittie and the territorie

Vibius Virius, and drunke Senators of Capua poisoned themselves.

Caput Virii traditum in ignem.

The Senators of Capua executed.

Tubellius killed himselfe.

territorie theretobelonging. And some were of mind, that a citie so exceeding mightie, so neer G
a neighbour, and so dangerous to Rome, should be utterly rased and destroyed. But the con-
sideration of a present commoditie and gaine, tooke place and prevailed. For in regard of the
territorie and land lying about it (which was well knowne to be the most fertile soile in all Italie,
and yeelded all maner of fruit) the citie was saved: whereinto those husbandmen that tilled
the grounds, might retire themselves and dwell. And for the peopling and inhabiting thereof,
there was a multitude reserved of the inhabitants which were there already, namely, of liber-
tines and enfranchised bondslaves, merchants factours, retailers, artificers, and craftsmen, who
kept there still and remained. But the whole territorie, and all the publick edifices were seized to
the use of the people of Rome. Moreover, order was taken, that Capua should be inhabited on-
ly, and replenished with people like a citie; but no forme of Commonweale, no corporation, no H
Senate, no assemblee of Commons, nor magistrate of their owne should be allowed there. For
without a common counsell of State, without magistracie and government, without intelligen-
ces and reciprocall commerce, as in the bodie of a Communitie, they supposed, that they
would never agree together in any complot, but bee farre unmeet to contrive a conspiracie and
compasse alteration. As for a Provost or Governour to minister law, and execute justice among
them, they purposed to send them one yearly from Rome. Thus were the affaires ordered and
composed at Capua, by a good policie and commendable course every way. For those that were
most in fault and guiltie, were punished with rigour, and that speedily. The number of cittizens
were scattered and dispersed sundrie waies, without all hope to returne againe. The bare houses
and walls that had not offended, they were spared, and neither burned nor pulled down. And be-
sides the commoditie and gain that accrewed unto the Romans by this manner of proceeding,
they woun some name of clemencie and mercie among their Confederates and Allies: in that
they saved a most noble and wealthie citie, at the ruines whereof, all Campanie, and as many
States as bordered about Campanie, would have grieved much, and groned againe. By this
meanes also the enemie was constrained now to confesse, and could not otherwise chuse, how
powerfull and mightie the Romanes were to chastice and punish their faithlesse associates, yea,
and how feeble *Annibal* was, and not able to defend and maintaine those, whom he had received
into his protection.

The Romane Pro-consuls, after they had finished and performed their charge at Capua, af-
signed unto *Claudius Nero* fixe thousand footmen out of those two legions which he had before K
Capua, and three hundred horsemen which he had chosen himselfe: also of Latine Allies as ma-
ny foot in number, and 800 horse besides. This armie *Nero* embarked at Puteoli, and transpor-
ted into Spaine. When he was arrived at Taracon, after he had there landed his souldiours, and
laid up his ships in docke, and armed withall his mariners, (to make the greater number) he march-
ed to the river Iberus, where he received the forces of *T. Fonteius*, and *L. Martius*, and from
thence advanced toward the enemies.

Asdruball the sonne of *Amilcar*, lay encamped at a place called the Black-stones, in the Aufe-
tanes country: it lieth betwene the townes Illyturgis and Mentissa. Now *Nero* kept the narrow
streights of the Forrest there. *Asdruball* because he would not be pent up in so streight a route,
sent an herald or messenger of peace to him, who should make promise in his name, that if *Nero* L
would permit him to passe peaceably from thence, hee would withdrawall his forces out of
Spaine. The Romane captaine tooke this message joyfully: and *Asdruball* requested, That they
might empare the next day, and devise together how the Romanes would set downe conditions
and articles in writing, as touching the rendrie and deliverie of the fortresses in every citie, and
likewise of prefixing some day, by which time the garrisons should bee removed and displaced,
and the Carthaginians have away all their bag and baggage without fraud and covin. *Asdruball*
having obtained his request, presently commaunded, that in the very evening, and all night long
the heaviest and most comberfome part of his whole armie, should escape what way soever they
could, out of the gullet of the Forrest. But hee gave especiall direction, that they should not over M
many of them, that night goe forth, because their small number was not onely fitter to deceive
the enemie, and not so soone to bee discovered, but also might more easly passe through those
narrow and difficult passages. So the morrow they came to an interview & parle: where the time
was spent of purpose in much needlesse talke, and drawing of bookes, more than cause was: where-
upon the day being farre gone, the businesse was put off unto the next day. And the night ensu-
ing

A ing betwene, ministred *Asdruball* more time to send others away. And yet could not they make
an end that day neither. Thus there passed certaine daies, employed in open shew about dispute
and reasoning of the articles and conditions of agreement, and the nights were bestowed in let-
ting out the Carthaginians closely out of their campe. Now, after that the greater part of his
hoast was gone away cleare, then he began to wrangle and frapple, yea, and to go from some of-
fers that he had voluntarie made, & ever they were further and further off from agreement. For
Asdruball, the lesse that he feared, the lesse also was to be trusted. And by this time in manner all
his Infanterie were gotten out of the Forrest, and the next morning, not onely the Forrest, but all
the plaines about were overcast, and covered with a thicke and foggie mist. Which *Asdruball* per-
ceiving, he sent a messenger to *Nero*, requesting to deferre their farther conference and commu-
nication to the morrow; pretending, that the present day was a festivall holyday among the Car-
thaginians, and therefore they made scruple, upon it, to follow any other businesse, but serve God. B
All this while there was no fraud so much as once suspected. *Asdruball* had no sooner obtained
respite for that day, but forthwith he and all his Cavallerie, together with his Elephants, dislod-
ged, and without any noise or stir recovered without any harme, a place of securitie. By the fourth
houre of the day the sunne had dispatched and scattered the mist, and cleared the skie, and then
the Romanes might discover the campe of their enemies emptie, and no creature left therein.
Then at length, *Claudius* perceiving that *Asdruball* had shewed him a Carthaginian trick, and
that he was at length thus over-raught by his falshood and cunning practise, began to make out
after him, minding to bid him battaile. But the enemie would none of that, and fell off. How-
beit, there passed some dribbling skirmishes betwene the rereward of the Carthaginians, and C
the forlorne hope and vaunt-courriers of the Romanes. Amid these affaires (the States of Spain)
neither they, who revolted after the overthrow of the Romanes, returned againe unto them; nor
any new fell away, more than before.

At Rome, the Senate and people after the recoverie of Capua, tooke as great care for Spaine
now, as for Italie it selfe. And agreed they were in general, that the armie there should be streng-
thened with new forces, and a Generall thither sent: but who should be the man, was not yet don-
cluded. For as much as, they were to take some extraordinarie care in the chusing of one to bee
sent thither, where two singular and renowned warriors were slain within the compasse of thirtie
daies, and to succeed in the route of those twain. Whiles some nominated one, and some ano-
ther, at length they grew to this point, that the people should hold a solemne assemblee (as it
D were, purchased) for election of a Pro-consull to goe over into Spaine. And the Consuls accord-
ingly proclaimed a set day for the said assemblee. At first, there was great expectation, that
those persons, who tooke themselves worthie of so great command, should put forth them-
selves, and preferre their owne names beforehand. But when this expectation failed and came to
nothing, every man began afresh to reficcate and renew the former greefe, and mourne againe
for the losses received, and to find the want and misse of so valourous captaines whome they had
lost. Whereupon the whole citie being sad and pensive, & in manner destitute of all good coun-
sell, and not resolved what to doe in this hard case, came yet down, into *Mars* field upon the day
appointed for the election. Every mans eie was upon the Magistrates, and beheld the counte-
E nances of their great men and rulers, how they looked one upon another, greiving and grum-
bling, that the State was at so low an ebbe, and the Commonweale growne to so desperat a case,
that no man durst be seene to take upon him the government and province of Spaine. Then all
of a suddaine, *P. Corneli* (his sonne that was slaine in Spaine, a young gentleman, not fully foure
and twentie yeeres old) shewed himselfe, and said, That hee would undertake that charge upon
him: and therewith stepped up into an higher place, from whence hee might be seene, and there
he stood. Vpon whom, when all men had cast their eies, and avised him wel, in a generall accord
and favourable affection unto the man, they offed unto him streightwaies, a happie and for-
tunate government. And when the assemblee was willed to give their suffrages, and goe to a scru-
tutio, there was not one Centurie from the first to the last, nor one person from the highest to
F the lowest, but gave their voice with *P. Stipio*, for to take a voiage as *L. Deputie* into Spaine. But
after the thing was passed, and their passionate heat of affection once callied, they were on a sud-
daine driven into a still silence and deepe dumpe, to thinke what a straunge and new deed they
had done. And that which they bethought themselves most of, was this, that favour had carried
them away in this action, more than the due consideration and regard of his age. Some there
were

were that had in dread and horror the ominous fortune also of that familie; and the name of him that out of two mournfull houses was to go into those provinces, where he must fight amongst the Sepulchres both of father and uncle. When *Scipio* perceived, that presently upon the election passed in so hasty a fit, the people grew to be heave and pensive; he called them to an open audience, and there before them all, discoursed of his young age, of the government committed unto him, and of the future warre that he was to manage: and that with so noble courage and haucie spirit, that he renewed afresh and kindled againe the former zeale and heate that was so cooled: and possessed mens minds with more assured hope, than usually mans faithfull promise, or reason grounded upon the confidence of precedents past, or any earthly thing is wont to affoord and warrant. For *Scipio* was a rare and wonderfull man, not only in regard of those true vertues inherent in him: but also for that he had framed himselfe even from his yong and tender years, by artificiall meanes, to the better setting out of those in-bred parts and qualities of his owne: making shew and semblant before the multitude, that the most things which he did, were either represented unto him by night-visions and apparitions, or els suggested, as it were, by revelation from the gods above; were it that he was superstitiously given, and his mind wholly possessed therewith, or that by his pollicie he might effect his designements, and have his commaundements performed with more expedition, as if they were directions delivered from the oracles and the very mouth of the gods. Over and besides that, he made this overture to credit and reputation, and prepared mens minds in this sort from his very first beginning. From the very time that he once put on his mans gowne, there was no day went over his head, but before he began his owne private businesse, or enterprised any publick affaires, he would go into the Capitoll: and so soone as he was entred into the temple, there sit him downe, & alone by himselfe bestow a good time in some secret ylle and corner thereof. This ordinarie manner of his, which he continued all his life long, (were it of purpose considerately, or by chance unadvisedly) made divers men beleve verily, that it was a truth in deede, which was commonly supposed and reported, That the man had a god to his father. Which deepe and settled imagination of the people, relembed and renewed againe the like fame (in all the world) to that which went before and was bruited abroad of *Alexander* the great, and for the vanitie and fabulous speech of folke, was the very same and all one in every respect: namely, that his mother conceived him by a mightie great serpent: for that very often in his bed-chamber there was scene some such prodigious and wonderfull thing, and ever as any bodie came in, it would wind away of a sodaine, and vanish out of sight. These strange and miraculous conceits he would never himselfe elevate and discredit as toyes and vanities, but rather cherish and encrease the opinion thereof, by a certain cunning cast of his own, in that he would neither denie and disavow any such matter, nor yet affirme plainly and verifie the same. Many other devises he had of like sort, partly true indeed, partly feigned and counterfet, which caused men beyond all measure to have this yong man in wonderfull admiration. Vpon the strong and grounded presumption whereof, the citie at that time conferred upon him (far unmeet ywis, in regard of his unripe yeares) so great a government, and a world withall of weightie and important affaires.

Besides the forces which remained in Spaine of the old armie, and those which were transported over from Puteoli with *Claudius Nero*, he had a supplement also of ten thousand foote, and one thousand horsemen: and to assist him in the conduct of his warres; he had as coadjutor appointed unto him *A. Iunius Syllanus* the Pro-pretor. Thus with a flecte of thirtie ships, (and Gallies they were all of five banks of oares) he tooke the seas and set sayle from the mouth of Tybre, and coasting along the Tuscan seas under the Alps; and through the gulfes of Gallia, he doubled at length the point and cape of Pyrene; and disbarked at Emporiz a citie of Greeces: (for descended they are also from Phocæa) and there he set his people a land. From thence, having taken order that his ships should follow after, he marched by land to Taracon, which he appointed for the Rendez-vous, where all his allies and confederates, (for at the rumor and fame of his landing, there flocked ambassadors unto him from all parts of the province) should meete together at a generall Diet. There he commaunded that the ships should be bestowed in their docks, save only three gallies (of three ranks) which came from Massiles, and upon courtrefie and kindnesse accompanied him from home, and those were sent back againe. Then he gave audience to the ambassadors, who hung in doubtfull suspence by reason of the varietie and of sundry changes and chances that lately had hapned, and to them he began to returne answer, and give them

A them their severall dispatches: but with such a spirit and boldnesse (upon confidence that he had in his owne rare vertues) that he let not fall in all his speech one word that might move quarrell, and favored of rigor, and yet whatsoever he spake, it caried an exceeding majestie with it, and a singular credit. Being departed from Taracon, he visited both the States of the Allies, and also the standing wintering camps of the armie: where he highly commended the souldiours, for that notwithstanding they had received two shrewd blowes, upon two so great diffeatures one in the neck of another, yet they held the province still, and kept the field; and not suffering the enemies to reape and tast the fruit of their fortunate victories, had kept them out of all the countreys lying within Iberus, and defended faithfully all their confederates according to the trust reposed in them. *Martius* he had in his train alwaies about him; whom he so highly honored, that it was very well scene, he feared nothing lesse than that any other man should eclipse, or shadow his glorie. B Then *Syllanus* succeeded in place of *Nero*, and the new souldiers were brought into the standing winter leaguers, and *Scipio* having reviewed all the cities and the States that he was to survey, and performed all other affaires that were then to be done, retired and withdrew himselfe to Taracon. The same of *Scipio* was no lesse bruited among the enemies, than it was rise with his owne citizens and loving allies: and a certaine preface went withall of the future event, which caried (as good hap was) the greater feare and dread with it; as there was lesse reason that could be rendred and given thereof. They had betaken themselves into their wintering harbours far distant and remote asunder. *Asdruball* the sonne of *Gisco* even as far as to the Ocean sea side, unto Gades: *Mago* into the midland parts, and especially above the forest and chafe of Castulo. And *Asdruball* the sonne of *Amilcar* wintered neere unto Iberus about Saguntum.

In the very end of that summer, when Capua was woon, and *Scipio* come into Spaine, the Carthaginian Armada which was sent for out of Sicilie to Tarentum, for to intercept the victuals, and empeach the same for comming to the Romane garison that held the castle of Tarentum, had verily stopped all the passages from the sea to the said castle: but by their long abode in those parts, and keeping the seas so straightly, they had caused a greater dearth and scarcitie of victuals among their owne friends than their enemies: for there could not by the help of those Carthaginian ships so much come bee along the river that was possessed by friends; nor from the open ports, for to furnish the townsmen of Tarentum, as the navie it selfe consumed and spent in maintenance of that rabble of sea-men, sailors, and mariners, mingled of all sorts of people. So as the garison of the castle being but few in number there, was able to be sustained by the provision they had aforehand, without the help of any new brought in unto them; whereas the Tarentines and the navie, could not have sufficient conveyed unto them: by reason whereof, at length the Armada had leave to depart thence with more thanks of the citie, than they had for their first *ben-venu* thither. And yet victuals were not much cheaper, because when the help by sea was gone, there could no come at all be brought from other parts abroad.

At the end of the very same summer, when *M. Marcellus* was come to the citie out of Sicilie, his owne province, *C. Calpurnius* the Pretour assembled the Senate for his sake in the temple of *Bellona*. Where, after he had discoursed of the acts by him atchieved, and complained after a mild and modest sort, laying open his griefes, not so much in the behalfe of himselfe, as of his souldiours: in that when he had performed and accomplished his charge and commission in his province, hee could not have licence to bring home his armie with him; hee demaunded that hee might be allowed to ride in triumph into the citie: but hee could not obtaine it. This matter was much canvased and debated, *pro & contra*, Whether it were lesse meet and convenient, to denie him triumph being now present, in whose name whiles he was absent, for the fortunate successe & good speed of all affaires under his conduct and government, there was a solemn procession decreed, and sacrifices done to the honour of the immortall gods, for to graunt him triumph (as if the warre were fully finished) whom the Senate had commaunded to wake over his armie to his successe; which surely they would never have deceeved, but that the war remained still within the province: and especially seeing the armie it selfe was away, the best witness supply, whether he had deserved a triumph or no. At length, a middle and indifferent course between both, was agreed upon, namely that he should enter the citie ovant a petie triumph. And the Tribunes of the commons, by the approbation first of the Senat proposed unto the people, that *M. Marcellus* should the same day that he came ovant into the citie, retaine still his subauthoritie and government. The day before he entred the citie, he rode in triumph upon the mount Albanus; and

After this
the Consul.

and from thence, in ovant wife he sent a rich bootie before him into the citie. There was carried in this poimpe, the counterfeit of the citie Syracuse woon, crosbowes, brakes, standing slings, and all other warlike instruments: besides, the ornaments testifying long and continuall peace, and the great wealth & treasure of the kings: as divers vessels of silver & brasse curiously wrought; other houlhold furniture also, rich hangings of tapistrie, and garments of great price; many goodly images and right noble statues, wherewith Syracuse was adorned and beautified, even with the best and principall cities of Greece. In token also of a victorie over the Carthaginians, there were eight Elephants brought in a shew. And that which was not the least sight & spectacle to behold, *Sosis* the Syracusian, and *Mericius* the Spaniard went afore with crownes of gold upon their heads. The one of them was the guide when Saracuse was entred in the night season: and the other betrayed Nasos, and the garrison there. Both these were enfranchised citizens of Rome, and had fiftie akres of land a peece graunted unto them for ever. *Sosis* had his land set out in the territorie of Syracuse, which either belonged to the kings, or to the enemies of the people of Rome, and a dwelling house (chuse where he would in Syracuse of all those that were seized upon by right of conquest.) As for *Mericius* and the Spaniards that with him fled from the enemies, & sided unto the Romans, they had assigned unto them, a citie to inhabit, & land to occupie in Sicilie, which sometime belonged to them that had revolted from the people of Rome. And order was given to *M. Cornelius*, for to appoint them the said citie and land, wherefoever he thought good. And in the same territorie, there were allotted and set out, foure hundred acres of land unto *Belligenes*, by whose meanes *Mericius* was allured and induced to leave the adverse part and turne to the Romanes.

After that *Marcellus* was departed out of Sicilie, the navie of the Carthaginians disbarked eight thousand footmen, & three thousand Numidian horsemen. Vnto them revolted the Murgentine land, and Hybla, together with Magella; and other small piles of base account, tooke example by them and followed after. The Numidians with their capitaine *Mutines*, raunged over all Sicilie, and fired the townes and villages belonging to the associates of the people of Rome. Over and besides all this, the Romane armie there, being discontented and angrie, partly for that together with their Generall, they were not licenced to go out of the province: and partly, for that they were forbidden and debarred, for wintering in any good townes; demeaned themselves slackly and lazily in their militarie service: in such sort, as if there had bene a head to lead them, as they had a heart to move them, they would have mutined and rebelled. Among these troubles and difficulties, *M. Cornelius* the Pretour, both appeased and mitigated the stomakes of the souldiours, as well by comfortable words, as by rebukes and checkes: and also brought under his obedience and subjection, all those cities which had revolted. Of which he according to the former act of the Senate, allotted Murgantia to the Spaniards, unto whom both a citie and land to it was by order aforesaid due. Both the Consuls who had the government of the province Apulia, seeing there was lesse cause of feare and terror now from the Carthaginians and *Anniball*, were commaunded to cast lots betweene them, for the provinces of Apulia and Macedonia. So Macedonia befell unto *Sulpitius*, and he succeeded there in stead of *Levinus*. *Fulvius* was sent for home to Rome, about the election of the Consuls. And when he held the solemne assembly of the people, for the choise and creation of the Coss. The Centurie of the younger citizens, which had the prerogative to give their first voice, declared *T. Manlius Torquatus*, & *T. Otacilius* for Consuls. *Manlius* being there present in place, when the multitude came about him, to congratulate, with, God give you joy, &c. (for that there was no doubt, but the whole bodie of the people would approve this choise of the first centurie) came with a great companie about him, to the tribunall seat of estate where the Consull sat: and made request unto him, that hee would give him the hearing of some few words, and commaund that prerogative centurie which had given their voices to be called back again to a new scrutinie. And when every man was attentive, and expected what hee would demaund, hee alleadged for his excuse a paire of ill eies. For a shamelesse Pilot of a ship is he, and as impudent a Generall of an armie (quoth he) who having, to doe all by other mens eies, would require to have the goods and lives of other men to be put into their hands. And therefore may it please your honour, to commaund this centurie of the younger sort to give their voices a new, and in creating Consuls, to remember the war that is in Italie, to consider of the troublesome state of the Common-weale, and to thinke of this, That scarcely yet, mens cares have had any rest, since they resounded and rung againe, with the noises

The Oration of
T. Manlius to
the Consul.

A noises and alarmes, that the enemies raised within those few months, when they lay in siege neere unto the wals of Rome. But after these words, when the said centurie cried with one accord, that they were of the same mind still, and would nominate the same Consuls againe, and none other; then *Torquatus*, Neither (qd. he) shall I be able, if I were Consull to beare with your fashions and conditions, nor you againe, endure my rule and commaundement. To the scrutinie therefore once againe, and thinke how the Carthaginians warre within Italie, and *Anniball* is the Generall of the enemies. Then the centurie moved as well by the authoritie & reverence of the mans person, as by the applause and admiration of the people, who wondered at his vertue, besought the Consull, to call forth and cite a centurie of the elder bands: for that they would willingly confer with more auricient men than themselves, and by their sage advise & good direction nominate the Consuls. When those elders were called to this centurie, there was some time allowed for to commune apart secretly with them, within the place railed in, called *Ovile*. These auncients said unto them; that they were to consult of three persons, whereof two already were full of honourable dignities, which they had borne, to wit, *Q. Fabius* and *M. Marcellus*. But verily, (say they) in case ye would have some new Coss. to be chosen, for to be opposed against the Carthaginians, ye have *M. Valerius Levinus*, a notable man, one who hath performed singular good service, & achieved many noble deeds, both by sea & land against king *Philip*. So when they had three propounded unto them, the elder were dismissed, and the younger entered into a second scrutinie; and declared for Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus* (glittering then in the prime of his glorie for the late subduing and conquest of Sicilie) and *M. Valerius*, who was absent. This fore-dome & choise of the prerogative centurie, all the rest followed after, and by their suffrages confirmed. Let them mocke on now and scoffe hereat, all they, that have nothing in admiration, but antiquitie and things done in alder time. For mine owne part, if there be any such citie and commonwealth at all, consisting of wise men and Philosophers, as some great Clerks have rather imagined in their fantasies, than found in effect; I dare be bold to thinke and say, that in it there could not possibly be, either rulers and magistrates more grave and temperate in their desire of dignitie & government, or a people better mannered, nurtured, and instructed. But that it should bee thought an unlikely matter and scarce credible, that a centurie of younger persons, were willing to consult with the elder, & be advised by them, to whom they should give their voices, for to be created the chiefe magistrates; it is the corruption of this our age, that is the cause: wherein we see how small reverence and authoritie, even parents themselves have, and of how slender & base account they be amongst their owne naturall children.

After this, followed the Election of Pretours, wherein were created *P. Manlius Volsus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, *C. Leclorius*, & *L. Cincius Alimentus*. When this Election was finished, it fortuned, that newes came, how *T. Otacilius* (whom the people, as it seemed, would have chosen in his absence, to match *T. Manlius* in the Consulship, but that the ordinarie course of the election was disturbed and stopped) departed this life in Sicilie. The Apollinare games in the former yeare had been exhibited: and when *Calpurnius* the Pretour put up a bill, and moved the Senate, that they might be celebrated againe that year also, there passed a decree, That they should be vowed to continue from time to time for ever.

The same yeare certaine prodigious tokens were seene and reported. In the temple of *Concordia* the Image of Victorie, which stood upon the lanterne and top thereof, was smitten with lightning, and being shaken and driven from the owne place, rested fast upon those other Images of Victorie, that were fixed in the forefront of the said temple, and fell not downe from thence. Word also was brought, That in Anagnia and Fregellæ, the wall and the gates were likewise blasted and stricken with fire from heaven: and that in the market place of Sudertum, there ranne streames of bloud a whole day together: That in Eretum it rained stones; and that in Reate a female mule brought forth a sole. These straunge and wonderfull signes were purged and expiate with greater sacrifices: and a solemne supplication proclaimed; wherein for one day the people should wholly attend their devotions, and pray unto the gods: and likewise a Novendiall sacrifice. In that yeare died certaine publicke Priests of State, and new were chosen in their stead. *Caius Levinus* in the rounne of *M. Pomponius Mitho* the High priest: and *M. Servilius*, to supplie the place of *Sp. Carvilius Maximus*, the Arch-Angur. And for as much as *T. Otacilius Maximus*, the Prelat or Bishop, died when the yeare was expired, there was none nominated for to succeed him. *C. Claudius* the Arch-flamine of *Jupiter*, lost his Flamineship, and was deprived of that Sa-

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cerdotal dignitie, because hee had committed an error in sacrificing, when hee should minister and distribute the inwards of the beast.

About the same time, *M. Aemilius Levinus* (after hee had by secret conferences sounded aforehand and solicited the minds of the *Ætolian* Princes and great *LL*) came with a small fleet of ships lightly appointed, to their generall Diet or councell, summoned before for that purpose onely. In which solemne assemblée, after hee had made declaration, That *Syracusa* and *Capua* were woon, and under the protection of the people of *Rome*, and what good successe they had in the affaires and warres of *Italic* and discoures besides, That the *Romanes*, according to their ancient custome, received by tradition from their forefathers, used to respect and make much of their Allies: and namely, That either they received them into the cite of *Rome*, and endued them with the same franchises that they themselves enjoyed, or els dealt so liberally with them otherwise, that they liked of their condition so wel, as they chose rather to be allies than citizens; he protested and said, That the *Ætolians* should be much more honoured amongst them, than all others, for that they were the first, that of all forraigne nations beyond sea, entertained league and amitie with them. As for king *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, their heauie friends, & dangerous neighbors, he had so daunted their courages, abated their forces, and driven them to that passe, that not onely they were forced to abandon those townes, which by violence they had taken wrongfully from the *Ætolians*, but also had much adoe themselves to keepe *Macedonie* it selfe quiet, and without perill of hostilitie: promising withall, That he would bring and reduce the *Acarmanians* (for whom the *Ætolians* were so discontented & greeued, that they were dismembred from the bodie of their State) under their ancient form of iurisdiction & seignorie againe. These relations & promises made by the *Roman* Generall, were confirmed & assured unto them by the authoritie and countenance of *Scopas* (who for the time was the Pretor or head Magistrat of that State) and of *Dorimachus* a prince of the *Ætolians*, who with lesse modestie & greater asseveration and confidencie, extolled and magnified the greatnesse, power, and maiestie of the people of *Rome*. The principall matter that induced and moved them, was the hope of recovering & keeping *Acarmania*. Whereupon, there were conditions drawne and engrossed, under which they should ioin in league and friendship with the people of *Rome*. And this branch was added to the rest of the defazances, That if they were so pleased, and liked well of it, there should be comprised in the same league and privileges, the *Eleans* and *Lacedemonians*, together with *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdilius* of which three, *Attalus* was king of *Asia* the lesse, the other were Princes and Potentates of *Illyricum*. The articles ran in this forme. *Imprimis*, That the *Ætolians* should immediatly make war by land with king *Philip*. *Item*, That the *Romanes* at sea should helpe with 20 galiaces at the least, bearing 5 ranks of oares. *Item*, As touching all the cities that should be conquered (beginning from *Ætolia*, so far as to *Corcyra*) that the ground whereon the cities were seated, the edifices, the walls, and the lands thereto belonging, should bee seized to the use of the *Ætolians*: all other goods and chattels els, should be a prize for the people of *Rome*. *Item*, That if the *Ætolians* happened to make peace with *Philip*, it must passe with this clause & proviso, that the peace should stand good upon this condition, That *Philip* abstaine to make warre upon the *Romanes* and their Allies, and all those that lived under their dominions. *Item*, In case the people of *Rome* fortun'd to peece againe, and be confederate with the king, they should put in a caveat and proviso, that he might have no libertie to warre upon the *Ætolians*, or their associates. These were the covenants agreed upon: and being faire engrossed two yeares after into a paire of indentures, the one of them remained for the *Ætolians* in *Olympia*, the other for the *Romanes* in their Capitoll, among other sacred records and monuments, for a perpetuall memoriall to all posteritie. The occasion of so great delay, was because the Embassadors of the *Ætolians*, were staied and kept very long at *Rome*. But that was no let nor hinderance at all to the proceedings in the warres. For the *Ætolians* presently made warre upon *Philip*: and *Levinus* conquered *Zacynthus* (a little Iland near to *Ætolia*, having a cite within it of the same name, which he forced by assault, all save the castle) likewise *Oeniadæ* and *Naxus*, which he woon from the *Acarmanians* before: and all these hee gave to the *Ætolians*. And supposing that *Philip* having his hands full of the warre upon his owne frontiers, had no time to thinke upon *Italic*, and the *Carthaginians*, and to mind the covenants that passed betwene *Anniball* and him, he retired himselfe into *Corcyra*.

Philip lying in winter harbor within *Pella*, was advertised of the *Ætolians* revolt. Therefore because

A because he minded at the prime of the Spring to conduct an armie into *Greece*, to the end that *Macedonie* and the cities bordering thereupon, should not be molested by the *Illyrians*, whom he supposed would be at quiet and not stir, if they were once frighted with the harmes of others, he made a sodaine rode and expedition into the marches of the *Oricines* and *Apolloniates*: and when the *Apolloniates* issued forth against him, he repelled them, and with great feare and terror drave them within their walls. After he had wasted the confines next to the *Illyrians*, he turned his forces with like celeritie and speede into *Pelagonia*: and then woon by assault a cite of the *Dardanians*, situate in the frontiers of *Macedonia*, through which the *Dardanians* ment to have their passage. And when he had performed these exploits in great hast, not forgetting how the *Ætolians* & *Romanes* both maintained war against him jointly, he defended through

B *Pelagonia*, *Nymphæum*, and *Bolea*, into *Thessalie*: supposing verily that the people of those countries might be incited to wage war together with him against the *Ætolians*. And leaving there behind him (at the streight of *Thessalie*) *Perseus* foure thousand strong, for to debar the *Ætolians* entrance that way: himselfe in person, before that he should be occupied in greater affaires, led forth his armie into *Macedonie*, and from thence into *Thracia*, and so forward against the *Medians*. That nation was wont to make incursions, and to invade *Macedonie*, whensoever they could perceive that the king was either busied in other warres, or his realme disunished and slenderly provided of good gard and strong garisons. He began therefore to foray and spoile the territories about *Phragandæ*, and to assault *Lamphorina*, the principall cite and chiefe strength of that region *Medica*.

C *Scopas* having intelligence that the king was gone into *Thracia*, and kept there occupied in the warres, put all the serviceable young men of *Ætolia* in armes, and prepared warre against *Acarmania*. The nation of the *Acarmanians*, albeit they were both in strength unequal, and also saw already, that they had lost the walled cite of the *Oniades*, & *Naxus*: & knowing well, that the *Roman* forces would come upon them besides: rather upon anger, than any good counsell and aduicement, made preparation for warre, and resolved to meet them. Their wives and children, and elder persons, such as were above fortie yeares of age, they sent away into *Epirus*, adjoining neare unto them. Of all that were fiftene yeares old and upward unto threescore, they tooke a solemne oth, that they would never returne backe without victorie. They laid also a heauie curse and criell malediction upon all those of their owne nation: and framed a most humble request, in as effectually tearmes as they could devise, unto all their friends, that none of them should entertaine within their cities, their dores & houses, nor admit to their table, any one of them that were vanquished, & fled out of the field: yea, & besought withall the *Epirones*, to gather together the dead bodies of as many of them as should chaunce to be slaine in battell, and to enterre them all in one grave, and erect a tombe and monument over them, with an Epitaph and inscription to this effect. *Here lie buried and entombed the Acarnanians, who fighting in defence of their country, against the violence and injuries of the Ætolians, lost their lives manfully in the field.* By this means, when their courages were enkindled and incensed, they encamped themselves in their utmost frontiers, abiding the coming of their enemies. And having dispatched messengers to *Philip*, to give notice unto him in what jeopardie they stood, they constrained him to give over that warre which he had in hand, considering, that *Lamphorina* was surrendered up into his hands, and that he had sped well otherwise in the rest of his affaires. The *Ætolians*, upon the first fame that was blowne abroad of that solemne oth, taken by the *Acarmanians*, were well cooled, and not so hasty to set forward: but hearing once of *Philip* his coming, they were driven to retire againe as farre as possible they could within their owne confines. Neither *Philip* for his part marched on further than to *Cline* (notwithstanding, that hee made great speed afore, and tooke long journeys; for feare that the *Acarmanians* should bee surprised, before hee could reach unto them) for so soone as hee heard, that the *Ætolians* were retired, hee himselfe also returned into *Pella*.

F *Levinus* in the beginning of the spring, tooke the sea, and losed from *Corcyra*, and having doubled the point of *Leucates*, and sailed as farre as *Naupactum*, there hee published and gave knowledge, That hee would shape his course from thence for *Anticyra*: and that *Scopas* and the *Ætolians* should there meet him, and be in readinesse. This *Anticyra* is situate in *Locris*, on the left hand, as yee enter into the gulf of *Corinth*. By land it is a small journey thither from *Naupactum*, and as short a cut by sea. So within three daies after they began to assault the citie on

F f f j both

* Sicily.

* Corfu.

* Zacynthus.
* Phragandæ.
* Oeniadæ.

* Fenice. Sardinia, or, Zaira.
* Zaira.

both sides. The fiercer assault was from the sea side, both because they had in their ships engines of batterie, and other ordinance and artillerie of all sorts; and also, for that the assailants from that part, were Romanes. So within few daies the citie was yeelded up, and delivered againe unto the Ætolians, the pillage thereof fell to the Romanes share, according to covenant. There *Levinus* received letters from Rome, specifying thus much, That he was declared Consull in his absence, and *P. Sulpitius* was comming to succcede him in the province: but by occasion that he lay there sick of a long disease, he came to Rome later than all men expected.

M. Marcellus entring his Consulship upon the Ides of March, assembled the Senate that day, only for forme and order sake: for he made open profession there, that during the absence of his Colleague, he would treat of no matters, either concerning the state of the citie, or the provinces. But this protestation he uttered withall and said: That he knew full well that there were many Sicilians in the townes and villages neere unto the citie, backbiters and slanderers of him, whom for his owne part he was so far off from hindering, but that they might freely for all him, divulgate and publish abroad in Rome, all those crimes which were devised and spoken against him by his adversaries, that were it not that they pretended some feare forsooth, to charge the Consull with any matters, in the absence of his colleague, he would straightwaies give them audience in the Senate: but so soone verily as my brother Consull is come home, I will not quoth he, I assure you, suffer any one matter to be debated here, before that those Sicilians besent for into the Senate house. And I understand that *M. Cornelius* hath taken generall search like a muster over all Sicilie, to the end there might come a number to Rome with complaints of me: he also with letters full of untruths, hath buzzed into all mens eares, and borne the whole citie in hand, that the warre continueth still in Sicilie, and all to diminish and abridge my glory. The Consull having that day woon the commendation and name of one, that knew how to rule and governe his affections, dismissed the Senate: and it seemed that there would be a generall vacation not of law matters only, but of all other things, and as it were holiday still, untill the other Consull came unto the citie. This rest and ydleness (as the wonted manner is) set the commons having nothing els to do, a talking: and now their tongues walked apace, ceasing not to spread rumors, That by this long and continuall warre, not only the lands and territorie about the citie of Rome (especially where *Annibal* had marched with his cruell armie) were wasted, but also Italie was in maner dispeopled and laid desolat, by reason of so many musters and levies: complaining, that whole armies were diseased and put to the sword at Cannæ in defence of the Common wealth: and that there were two Consuls created, both martiall men, and warriours, over-fierce and eager of fight, such as in time of peace and quietnesse, were able to find occasions of warre: so little was it to be looked for at their hands, that in time of war, they would seeke for peace, and suffer the citie to have any breathing time and intermission. These speeches rumoured among the common people, were interrupted and stayed by occasion of a Scare-fire, that began in sundrie places together about the Forum, in the night of that day, which was immediatly before the festivall daies of *Minerva*, called *Quinquatrus*. At one and the selfesame time, the seven merchants shops and ware-houses, which afterwards were turned into five, and the shops of the Bankers and mony changers which now are called *Nove* (or the new shops) were on fire. Divers private mens houses also the fire caught, for as then there were no stately halles and palaces of the citie there built. Likewise the fire tooke hold of the common prison called *Latina*, the Fish-market hall likewise, and the royall gallerie or walking place: Hardly could the chappell of *Vesta* be saved, & that by the good help & paines taking especially of 13 bondslaves; whose bondage was bought out at the cities charges, and they made freemen. The fire continued one night and a day: and no man made doubt, but it came by mans hand, and was the practise of some lewd persons; for that the fires began in many places at once, and those far distant asunder. Whereupon the Consull by the advice and direction of the Senate, made proclamation in a solemne assembly of the people, that whosoever would come forth and give notice, by whose means that fire was procured, he should be well rewarded: if he were a free-man with a peece of money; if bond, with freedome. In hope of which recompense, certaine slave belonging to the *Calavij* the Campanes, (his name was *Mannus*) was induced to bewray the maisters whom he served, and five other yong gentlemen of Capua, whose fathers had lost their heads by the commaundement of *Q. Fulvius*. Those he appeached to have made the sayd fires: and he gave them a warning besides, that they intended to do more mischief about

A about the citie, if they were let alone, and not apprehended: so they were attached, and their household servants. At the first, these persons made light account both of the informer, and the information they made, and elevated the credit that was given thereto: alledging, that the day before, the partie himselfe being chastised and skourged by his maisters, ran away, and so upon an anger and giddie fit, devised (by occasion of this misfortune which was meere casual) to frame an accusation against his maisters. But when the matter was averred to their teeth in open place, and that they, by whose ministerie the feate was done, were in the mids of the Forum put to the rack, for to utter a truth, then they all made confession of the fact. So as well the maisters that were the setters thereof, as the servants that were privie and accessarie thereto, had their deserts, and suffered for it. The informer who disclosed the villanie, was made free, and had 200000 asses for his labor.

B As the Consull *Levinus* passed by Capua, in his journey [homeward,] there flocked about him a number of Campanes, and besought him with teares, that they might have leave to go to Rome, and present themselves before the Senate, there to make suite (if happily there were any pitie & commiseration in them) not to destroy them utterly, nor suffer *Q. Flaccus* to consume the name & generation of the Campanes from off the face of the earth. Now *Flaccus* for his part, denied flatly that he bare them any private grudge by malice: but only hated the Campanes as the common enemies to the state, and so he would do ever, so long as he knew them so ill affected as they were to the people of Rome: for there was not a nation upon earth, nor a people under heaven more spightfully & deadly bent against the Roman name than they were. And that was the cause (saith he) that he penned them up within their walls. For who soever of them chanced any way to make an escape, they ranged about the country like brute and savage beasts, renting, tearing and killing whosoever came in their way. Some of them are fled to the adverse side unto *Annibal*: other are gone to Rome to set fire on the citie, and there (quoth he) shal the Consull find the market place halfe burned, and the very prints and tokens remaining fresh of the Campanes mischievous practises. There should he see that they minded to have done violence upon the chappell of *Vesta*, and to have put out those eternall fires, and utterly defaced the farall pledge of the Roman empire, bestowed and laid up sure in the most secret place of the chappell. Neither thought he it was safe for the citie, to permit the Campanes to come within the walls thereof. Then *Levinus* having caused the Capuans to take a corporall oath, and sweare unto *Q. Flaccus*, that they would make returne to Capua before five dayes were expired, after they had their answer and dispatch from the Senate; commaunded them to come after him to Rome. Attended thus as he was with this companie, he encountred the Sicilians also, who came forth to meete him: and with this multitude he entred the citie, accompanied (I say) with the Campanes and Sicilians, both vanquished and subdued by warre, as accusers of two most famous persons, *Marcellus*, and *Fulvius*, who had conquered two most noble and renowned Cities, *Saracose*, and *Capua*.

But both the Coss. treated and consulted first with the Senat, about the state of the common-wealth, and the government of the provinces. There *Levinus* related, in what rearmes stood Macedonia and Greece: the Ætolians also, with the Acarnanians and Locrians: likewise what acts he had achieved in those parts both by sea and land; and how he had repulsed *Philip* backe into Macedonia, when hee beganne to make warre upon the Ætolians, who now was retired and gone into the utmost parts of his kingdome: so as the legion might be withdrawne from thence, for that the armada was sufficient to keepe the king forth of Italie. Thus much spake hee of himselfe, and of the province whereof he had bene governour. Then both Consuls in common, proposed unto the Senate, concerning the province. And the LL. decreed that one of the Consuls should take the charge of Italie, and of the war with *Annibal*: and the other should have under his hand the armada, whereof *T. Octavius* was the Admirall; & together with *L. Cincius* the Pretour, governe the province of Sicilie. They were allowed the two armies which were in Tuskane and in France, consisting of foure legions: whereof two of the former yeare, that were of citizens, should be sent into Tuskane, and those two which the Consull *Sulpitius* had conducted, should be led into France. Moreover, that he should have the government of France, and the leading of the legions there, whom that Cof. would appoint, whose lot it was to have Italie for his province. Into Tuskane was *C. Calpurnius* sent, with commission after the teame of the Pretourship expired, to have his full jurisdiction to continue for a yeare. Likewise to *Q. Fulvius* was assigned

the keeping of Capua, and his rule proroged for another year. The armies, as well of citizens as of allies, were by commandment of the Senat abridged and made lesse: so that for two legions ther should be but one, & that, consisting of five thousand footmen, & three hundred horsemen: that they should be discharged of foulderie, who had served longest: that of allies there should be left seven thousand foote, and three hundred horse: with the same respect and consideration of service, in dismissing the old fouldiours. As for *Cn. Fulvius* the Consull of the former year, he ruled the same province of Apulia still, without any alteration of his forces: only his government was continued unto him another year. And *P. Sulpitius* his Colleague, was commaunded to send away all his armie, only the mariners and sailers excepted. Likewise order was given, that so soone as the new Consull was arrived and landed in the province of Sicilie, the armie there, which was commaunded by *M. Cornelius*, should be sent out of Sicilie. Vnto *L. Cincius* the Pretour, were assigned the fouldiours that remained after the defeature at Cannæ, for to keepe Sicilie in order; and those arose to two legions. And as many legions were appointed for *P. Manlius Volsus* the Pretour, for to go into Sardinia, even those whereof *L. Cornelius* had the leading in the same province the former year. As for the legions of citizens, the Consuls were enjoined to levie and enroll them so, as they entertained no fouldiour of all those who had served in the armie, either of *M. Claudius* or *M. Valerius*, or *Fulvius*: nor exceeded the number that yeare of one and twentie legions of Romans. When these Acts were passed in the Senate-house, the Consuls cast lots for their severall provinces. Sicilie and the armada fell to *Marcellus*: Italie and the warre against *Anniball* to *Levinus*.

This lot that fell to *Marcellus*, so stricke the Sicilians dead, (who stood in the presence of the Consuls, looking for the event of the lotterie) as if Saracose had bene lost againe: in such sort, as their pittifull lamentations, and their wofull plaints, for the present turned all mens eyes upon them, and anone after, ministred cause of much speech and talke. For they went about to all the Senatours from one to another, in poore and vile aray, protesting that if *Marcellus* came amongst them againe as *L. deputie*, they would not onely forsake every man his owne countrie where he was borne, but also abandon the whole Iland of Sicilie: complaining, that without any desert of their parts, heretofore he had bene cruelly bent against them, and his hatred was irreconcilable: and what would hee now do in his choller, and knowing that the Sicilians came to Rome of purpose to make complaints of him? The Iland were better (say they) to bee on a light fire to burne with *Aetna*; or to be all a very sea, than thus to be exposed as a prey unto a mortall enemie, for to be devoured. These grievous mones and pitteous complaints of the Sicilians, first carried to the houses of the Nobes and great men of the citie, and there taken up & much talked of by many, whiles some pittied the Sicilians, others envied *Marcellus*, spread abroad at length to farre, untill they came to the Counsel-table. And the Consuls were dealt withall, to propose unto the Senat, that they might exchange their provinces one for another. Then *Marcellus* stood up and said, That in case audience had bene given to the Sicilians already in the Senate house, peradventure hee would deliver his opinion to another purpose: but now least any man might say, that they were bridled for feare, & durst not speake their minds freely, nor complain as they would of him, at whose command, & under whose obedience, they were to be with in a while: he was for his part, readie to make change of his province, if his colleague were as well content, & made no greater scruple of the matter. Only he requested that the Senat would not prejudice his cause. For if at the first (quoth he) it had bene hard and uniuersall, extraordinarily and without casting lots, to give my colleague the free choise of his owne province, how much greater wrong then should I have, nay what disgrace were offered unto me, if my lot should be taken from me and transferred upon him. So for that time, the Senat having made an overture unto *Marcellus*, what they would have done, rather than by any decree prejudiced the matter, brake up. And the Consuls betwene themselves privatly made exchange one with the other. See the fortune and fatal destinie of *Marcellus*, that haied him, as it were, to be matched with *Anniball*, and to fall into his hands: to the end that the same man, who of all the Romanes, was the first that vanquished *Anniball* in fight, and wan the honor from him: should now in the mids of prosperitie & happie successe of warre, be the last Roman Generall that was laine by *Anniball*, and yielded the glorie of giving him the overthrow. After the provinces were thus interchaungeably shifted, the Sicilians were brought into the Senat. Where they made a long speech as touching the perpetual & constant faithfulness unto the end, of *K. Hiero*, towards the people of Rome; & all

The complaints
of the Sicilians
against Marcellus.

A to currie favour & gaine thanks unto the whole nation of Sicilie. Recounting, that *Hieronymus* first, and after him *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, as, for other things, so especially for their revolting from the Romanes, and turning to *Anniball*, were odious and hatefull unto them. For which cause and nothing else, *Hieronymus* was by the hands of the chieftaines of their young gallants, as it were by a publike decree of the state, made away and killed, and the noblest of their young gentlemen, to the number of seventie, conspired to murder *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*: who being disappointed and put by the effecting of their designment, through the delay of *Marcellus* (who as at that time before appointed, came notwithstanding his power to Saracose) were appeached, their intended plot revealed, and they all by those tyrants put to death. And yet, to speake a truth, *Marcellus* himselfe was he that gave the first occasion of the tyrannizing of *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, in that most cruelly he sacked and rifled the Leontines. But from that time forward, the Nobles of Saracose never ceased to come in unto *Marcellus*, and promised to deliver the citie into his hands, whensoever he pleased. But he, forsooth, at first, stood upon these tearms, that he would rather force it by assault: but afterwards, seeing he could not effect that his purpose, notwithstanding that he had wrought all the devises he could, both by sea & land, he made choise of one *Josis* accorder, smith, & *Meritus* a Spaniard, to have them to work & contrive the betraying of the citie, rather than of the principal of the Syracusan nobilitie, who had so often offered that service, & never yet would it be accepted: & alway, because he might pretend some colorable cause of justice, to proceed in all rigor against the most ancient allies of the people of Rome, for to massacre them, and make spoile of all that they had. Set case that *Hieronymus* had not revolted and gone to *Anniball*, but the whole people and Senate of Syracusa: Suppose, that the Syracusians in general, by publike consent had shut the gates against *Marcellus*, and not their Tyrants *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, when they had the Syracusians sure ynough under their owne hands: Say they had warred against the people of Rome with as spitefull & cankered malice as the Carthaginians doe, and ever did: what greater hostilitie could *Marcellus* possibly have exercised against them more than he hath, unless he would destroy & rase the citie to the very ground? Surely hee hath left nothing in Syracusa but the bare walls, the naked & empie houses of the citie, the temples & chapels of the gods defaced & broke open, for the gods themselves, with all the rich & gorgeous ornaments are caried away. Many a man is spoiled & robbed of his goods, in such sort, as having nothing left him but the bare soile, they are not able when all is gone, with his leavings to maintein themselves, and sustaine their wives and children. They were humble petitioners therefore, & suppliant suiters unto the LL. of the Senate, to take order, that restitution might be made unto the rightful owners, if not of all (for that is impossible) yet of so much at least, as was to bee found, and might be truly owned againe.

After these and such like complaints, *Levinus* the Consull commaunded them to goe forth of the counsell house, to the end, that the LL. might bee consulted with, and deliver their opinions concerning their demands. Nay marrie (quoth *Marcellus*) let them stay still rather, that I may answer to their very faces: seeing, my LL. our case and condition is so hard, who warre and fight for you, that we must have those to enforce against us, and be our accusers, whom wee have conquered and subdued by martiall armes. Let it even bee so, that two cities, to wit, Capua and Syracusa, woon this yeare, may convent judicially both their conquerours, the one *Fulvius*, the other *Marcellus*. When the Embassadors were brought back againe into the Senat house, then began *Marcellus* the Consull, and spake in this wise.

I am not so farre overseene, and forgetfull, my Lords, either of the majestie of the people of Rome, or of this place of command which I now hold, that I would plead mine owne cause, Consull as I am, against these Grecians, my accusers, in case the question were of any crime or fault of mine owne. But all the controversie to be discussed, standeth not upon these tearmes, to examine what I have done, whom the right of warre will justifie and beare out, howsoever I have proceeded against enemies: but what these men have deserved to suffer. If they were not enemies, nor so to bee reputed, then it mattered not, and it had ben all one, either now or in the life time of king *Hiero*, to have forced Syracusa. But if it appeare, that they have revolted, that they have evill intreated our Embassadors, threatened to lay violent hands, & to run upon them with sword and force of armes; that they have manned their walls, and shut their gates upon us; that they have maintained the armie of the Carthaginians against us: who can bee grieved and offended, if they have suffered as enemies, who stucke not first to offer all hostilitie whatsoever? Rejected

Rejected

Rejected I the Nobles of Syracusa when they would have delivered the citie into my hands: And made I more account of *Sosis*, and *Mericus* the Spaniard, and thought them worthie to be trusted in so important a matter: Yee are not, I am sure, the meanest of the Syracusians, that thus reproch others with baseness of estate. Who was it of all you here, that promised to open mee the gates: that undertooke to receive my armed souldiours into the citie? Nay, nay, ye hate and curse them in your heart, who have so done; and even in this place cannot forbear to give them hard tearmes, & reyle them: so unlike it is, that you your selves ever meant to have done any such thing. Even this abject condition and base calling of theirs, my LL. which these men twit them with, is a manifest token, and a most evident argument, that I refused none, that was willing to do good service unto our state and Commonweale. At the very first, before I laid siege unto Syracusa, I assailed by all means to have peace; one while sending Embassadors unto them, other whiles going in person to parle with them. Afterwards, seeing that without all reverence of Embassadors, they shamed not to offer them abuse; without regard of my selfe, they deigned me no answer when I came to the gates, and conferred with their cheefe Nobilitie: after much travell, toile, and infinite paines, sustained both by land and sea, at length by fine force and hote assault, I became maister and Lord of Syracusa. Now as touching that which hath befallen unto them, since they were overcome, and lost their citie; I would suppose they had more reason, and juster cause to make their mone, and complaine unto *Anniball* and the Carthaginians, those that are likewise conquered, than before the Senate of the people of Rome their conquerour. For mine owne part, my LL. if I had ever meant to denie and disavow the spoiling and sacking of Syracusa, and not to stand to it when I had done, I would never have ben so ill advised, as to beautifie and adorn the citie of Rome with the spoils therof. And what I have given or forgiven unto any particular person, I am assured that I may well justifie and avow the same, both by the law of war, and also by the desert of every one. Now, my LL. whether yee will approve and ratifie my doings, or no; it concerneth and toucheth the Commonweale rather than my selfe. My part I have done, and discharged my dutie faithfully. It much importeth now the State, that by reverting (as it were) and disannulling mine actions, yee make not your other Generals from henceforth, to be more slacke and backward in the like employment. To conclude my LL. since that ye have heard both my selfe and the Sicilians speake our minds face to face, we will all together goe out of this temple, that in my absence the Senat may more frankly speake to the point, and deliver their opinions. Thus the Sicilians were dismissed, and he himselfe went forth also to the Capitoll, for to take a levie of souldiours.

The other Consull in the meane time, put to question the demands of the Sicilians before the LL. Much canvassing a long while, and discussing there was of the matter, and divers opinions passed. Many of the Senatours following *T. Manlius Torquatus* the head and principall man, that maintained a side, were of this mind, That they should have made warre against the tyrants, the common enemies as well to the Syracusians, as to the State of Rome. And as for the citie, it was (say they) rather recovered and received, than wonn by force: and being so received, it was to be re-established in her owne auncient lawes and freedome, and not after it was so wearied with miserable servitude, to be scourged and afflicted with warre upon it. But between the warring of the tyrants of the one side, and the Romane Generall of the other, a most beautifull and noble citie, standing in the midst (as a prise and reward for the winner) is undone by the means; even that citie which sometime had been the garner (as it were) & the treasure-houise of the people of Rome: by the munificent liberalitie and bountie whereof, by whose rich presents and goodly gifts our citie many a time and oft, yea & but of late daies in this Punick war, hath ben relieved & adorned. Liking *Hiero* should arise again from the dead & come among us, *Hiero* (I say) the most faithful maintainer of the Roman state, with what face could we shew unto him, either Saracose or Rome? When he should see of one side, his own native cuntry, halfe rased and wholly spoiled: and on the other side, comming to Rome, in the very entring of the citie, and hard at the gate, should behold the spoiles of his own citie? Notwithstanding these & such like speeches cast out among them, to procure ill will and hatred to the Consull, and to move pittie and compassion to the Sicilians, yet the LL. of the Senate in favour of *Marcellus*, agreed upon a milder decree, and enacted, That whatsoever he had done, either during the warre, or after conquest, should be ratified and allowed for good: *Item*, for the time to come, the Senate would take order and provide for the good of the Syracusians, and give the Consull *Levinus* a speciall charge, to have regard

A gard of the welfare of that cittie, so far forth, as might not be prejudiciall to the state of Rome. Then were two Senatours sent into the capitoll to the Consull, to request him to repaire againe unto the assembly of the Senate: and after the Sicilians also were admitted into the place, their act and decree aforesaid was openly read. The Embassadors had good words given them, and were dismissed: whereupon they fell downe prostrate at the feet of *Marcellus* the Consull, beseeching him to pardon that which they had spoken, either to bewaile, or to ease their calamitie; and to receive both them in particular, and the cittie of Saracose in generall, unto his mercifull protection. After this, the Consull with gracious words licenced them to depart.

When the Sicilians had their dispatch, the Campanes had audience given them in the Senate: and as their speech was more lamentable, so the cause was heavier, and harder to be digested: for neither could they themselves denie, but that they deserved condign punishment: nor Tyrants had they any, upon whom they might lay the blame. But they thought they had suffered enough for their finnes already, in that so many of their Senatours died by poison, and so many lost their heads. Some few of their nobilitie and but a few remained yet alive, who as they were not touched in conscience, nor so faultie, as to lay violent hands upon themselves, so the Consull in his furious wrath, adjudged them not worthy of death: they therefore made humble suite for themselves, their wives and children, to obtaine freedome, and to enjoy some part of their owne goods, being, as they were, mere citizens of Rome, and most of them by affinitie and neere kinned, upon mutuall and crosse mariages, linked in alliance and bloud to the Romanes. After that they also were willed to void out of the Senat house: for a while, there grew some question and doubt, whether *Q. Fulvius* should be sent for from Capua (for presently upon the taking of the citie, *Claudius* the Consull died) that this matter might be argued and discussed in presence of the Generall himselfe, like as the other had bene reasoned of and debated betweene *Marcellus* and the Sicilians. But afterwards when they saw in the Senat house *M. Attilius*, and *C. Fulvius*, the brother of *Flaccus*, both his Lieutenants: likewise *Q. Minutius*, and *L. Velutius Philo*, Lieutenants unto *Claudius*, who had bene present in all actions, and were eye-witnesses of every thing: and besides, were unwilling that either *Fulvius* should be called away from Capua, or the Campanes longer delayed: *M. Attilius Regulus*, who of all them that had bene at the service of Capua, was of greatest authoritie and reputation, being demanded his opinion, spake in this wise.

I take it (quoth hee) when Capua was newly woon, I was one of counsell with the Consuls there, when question was asked, and enquire made, Whether any one Campane had deserved well of us and our Commonweale. And found it was, that two women onely, to wit, *Vetia Oppia*, come in Atellae, but dwelling then at Capua, & *Faucula Cluvia*, sometime a common strumpet and curtizane, were well willers unto us. The former of these twain daily sacrificed for the welfare, life, and victorie of the Romanes: the other, secretly sustained the poore and needie Romane captives with food and victuals. As for all other Campanes, from the highest to the lowest, they were no better affected unto us, than the Carthaginians. And even those, who were beheaded by *Quintus Fulvius*, suffered death, not because they were more faultie than others, but for that they were of greater marke and calling than the rest. Now, that the Senate should decide the cause of any Campanes, who are enfranchised denisons of Rome, without a graunt from the people, I see not how it can bee. For in our forefathers time the like case was of the Saticanes that rebelled: and then *M. Anisilius*, a Tribune of the Commons, first put up a bill, & the Commons afterwards passed it, namely, That the Senate might have power and auctoritie, to give their opinion, and determine of the Saticanes. Therefore I am of mind, that we deale with the Tribunes of the Commons, that one or more of them, preferre a bill unto the Commons, by virtue whereof wee may bee authorized to set downe some order for the Campanes. Then *L. Attilius*, a Tribune of the Commons, by leave and advise of the Senate, propofed unto the Commons a bill in this forme and manner. WHEREAS THE CAMPANES, ATELLANES, CALATINES, AND SABATINES, WHO HAVE YEELDED THEMSELVES UNTO *FULVIUS* THE PRO-CONSULL, TO BE AT THE PLEASURE AND DEVOTION OF THE PEOPLE; OR ROME: ALL THAT ALSO, VVHICH THEY HAVE SURRENDERED TOGETHER WITH THEMSELVES, AS WELL THEIR TERRITORIE AS THEIR CITIE, AS ALL UTENSILS, BOTH SACRED AND PROFANE, THEIR NECESSARIE IMPLEMENTS, AND AL OTHER THINGS WHATSOEVER, I DEMAND YOUR VVIL AND PLEASURE, O QUIRITES, WHAT SHALL

BE DONE VVITH THE PREMISES? The Commons after deliberation, gave their voyces to the said bill in this forme. OUR VVIL AND PLEASURE IS, THAT VVHATSOEVER YE THE SENATOIRS, VVHO NOVW ARE SET IN COUNSELL, OR THE MOST PART OF YOU THINKE GOOD AND DETERMINE, SHAL STAND FOR IUST AND LAWFULL. Vpon this graunt or Act of the Commons, the Senate by a decree awarded unto *Oppia* and *Cheria*, first their owne goods and libertie: and moreover if they were desirous to crave farther reward at the Senates hand, they were best to repaire unto Rome. For every familie and severall house of the Campanes, there were speciall acts and decrees made, all which to repeate and rehearse, would not quit the labour. Some had their goods confiscate: themselves, their children and wives were to be sold, excepting those their daughters which were wedded, before that they came under the subjection of the people of Rome. Others were to be clapt up in prison, untill farther order were taken for them hereafter. Moreover, of some Campanes they made distinction by valuation of their wealth, whether their goods were to be confiscate or no. All their beafts and cartails which were taken, save horses; all their bondslaves, but males fourteene yeres of age and upward, all moveable goods also which were not annexed and fastned to the soyle, they awarded for to be restored to the true owners. All Campanes, *Atellanes*, *Calatines*, *Sabellanes*, excepting those, who either themselves, or whose parents tooke part and sided with the enemies, they judged to be free: provided always, that none of them were either Free-denizens of Rome, or of Latium. Item it was enacted, that none of all them who had bene at Capua whiles the gates were shut, should remaine either in the citie or territorie of Capua, within a certaine day prefixed: but should have a place set out unto them for to dwell in, on the farther side of Tyberis, so it were not upon the very banke close unto Tyber. As for those that during the time of warre had bene neither at Capua nor in any other citie of Campanie, which revolted from the people of Rome, they should be removed to inhabit on this side the river Liris betweene it and Rome: but such as were turned and passed to the Romanes side, before that *Anniball* came unto Capua, they should be transplanted on the hither side of Vulturinus the river: provided, that none of them should possesse either house or land within fiftene miles of the sea. As concerning them who were displaced and confined to inhabit beyond the Tybre, neither they nor their heires and successors for ever, should purchase and hold house or land in any place, but in the territorie either of *Veij*, *Sutrium*, or *Nepefium*: but so, as they exceeded not the stint of five hundred Acres of ground. As touching the goods and charrels of all the Senatoirs, or such as had borne Magistracie in Capua, *Atella*, or *Calatia*, they awarded that sale should be made thereof in Capua. As for those that were free borne, and whose bodies were to be sold, they should be sent to Rome, and there set a sale. Finally, the Images and Statues of brasse, which were said to have bene woon and taken from the enemies, whether they were sacred or profane, they referred to the Colledge of the Priests and Prelates, to determine thereof at their discretion. Thus they gave the Campanes their dispatch, and sent them away much worse apaid for these decrees, than they were when they came first to Rome. And now they complained no more of the cruell proceedings of *Q. Fulvius* against them, but blamed the iniquitie and unjust dealing of the very gods, and their owne cursed fortune together.

After the Sicilians and Campanes were dismissed, there was a muster taken: and when an armie was levied and enrolled, there began some question and reasoning about the mariners and rowers to furnish the gallees. For the accomplishment whereof, when the Consuls could neither raise men enow, nor yet find monie at that time in the chamber of the citie, for to presse and hire them, and pay their wages withall: they published an edict, that private men according to the rate and proportion in the Subsidie booke, out of all orders, degrees, and companies, should as aforetime find rowers at their owne charges, and mainteine them with meate and money for thirtie dayes. Vpon which edict and proclamation, all men so grumbled and muttered, and were so highly discontented and angry, that they wanted an head and captain; rather then matter and occasion of a mutinie and insurrection: geving out, That the Consuls had taken a course, and were in the very traine to plague, undo, and destroy the Commons of Rome, like as they had alreadye the Sicilians and the Campanes. For thus many yeares they have bene pilled, polled, cleane spent and consumed with exaction of tributes, and had nothing left them but the bare ground, and the same lying wast and untilld. As for their houses upon their lands, the enemies had burned: their servants and hines, such as should husband and till their

A their grounds, the commonwealth had bereaved them of: one whiles buying them up to the warre, for some small peece of money: otherwhiles levying and pressing them to the seas to be gallic-slaves, for a thing of nothing. A man could not so soone get one brasse farthing, or single silver denere before hand, but it went by and by either for gallic-pay, or for yeerely tribute. And to give that now which they had not, they might never be brought by any force or for any mans commaundement whatsoever. Let them sell and make an hand of their goods, imptison and punish their bodies too, when all is gone besides; seeing there is nothing left them to ransom and redeeme, the same againe. These and such like words were not only muttered in huggermugger, but uttered also and geven out in broad termes even in the market place and before the Consuls, by the multitude that flocked and gathered together in exceeding great numbers: in such sort, as the Consuls were not able with all that ever they could do, to appease the mutinie, neither by sharp rebukes, nor faire words and comfortable speeches: Then they said, that they would give and allow them three dayes respite for to thinke and consider of these matters: which they themselves bestowed wholly and employed in taking a view and survey of their goods, and making dispatch and riddance thereof out of the way. The next day the Consuls called the Senate together to consult about the supplie of rowers, and gallic-slaves: where, after much debating and arguing, that the Commons had good reason to make deniall; at length the drift of all their speech was this, That whether it were right or wrong, the burden must lye on private mens shoulders, there was no remedie: for seeing therewas no monie in the common chest, how should mariners and rowers els be gotten and levied? And without Armadaes, how possibly should either Sicilie be held still in possession, or *Philip* be kept out of Italie? or the sea coasts of Italie remaine in safetie and securitie? In these distresses and difficulties the Counsell being perplexed, and to seeke for remedie; and whiles every mans wits were in the waine and so confused, as if they were benumbed and stone cold: Then *Levinus* the Consul, As the Magistrate (qd. he) goeth before the Senat in place of honor, and the Senate likewise before the common people in worth & dignitie: so they ought in all difficulties & hard occurrences to undergo the weightiest burdens first, and be the foremen and leaders in all dangerous adventures whatsoever. For if a man would enjoyne his inferiors to beare some grievous and heave load, let him first take it up himselfe, yea and impose the same upon his owne traine and companie: all the rest then, will be more willing and obedient to follow after, and do the semblable. And never will they grutch at any cost or charges, when they see their leaders and rulers take more upon themselves, than they are well able to weeld and susteine. To the end therefore that the people of Rome may be provided and furnished of a fleet rigged and trimmed, as our desire is, and that private persons may not thinke much, nor refuse to find rowers thereunto; let us first that are heere commaund our owne selves: let us, I say, that be Senatoirs, bring abroad in common all the gold, all the silver, all the brasse coine that we have, so as every man reserve rings only for himselfe, his wife and children: and a little tablet or lewell for his sonne, as a pendant to hang about his neck. Also let all them that have wives or daughters, receive still one ounce weight of * gold, and * one pound of silver: And as many as have borne office of State, and sitten in the yvorie chaire, keepe still the trappings and caparison of their horses, and two pound weight a peece, the one of gold, the other of silver; for to have a saltellar, and a little boll or cup, to sacrifice & offer unto the gods withall. As for the rest of the Senatoirs, let us leave them but one pound weight of silver, and no gold at all, and five thousand * Asses in coine, to every housholder a peece. All other gold, silver, and brasse money besides, let us forthwith bring abroad and present unto the Triumvirs or publicke bankers, before that we make or enact any decree of Senate: to the end, that our good example in this voluntarie benevolence and contribution, and our earnest endeavour to helpe the Common-weale, may stirre up and provoke the hearts and affections, first of those that are by calling gentle men and knights of Rome, and then forward the rest of the commons, to imitate and follow us with some emulation. This is the onely meanes which we that are Consuls have thought upon and devised, after much talke and conference together. Set to therefore, my masters, in the name of God, and lead the way: God will blesse your good beginnings. So long as the cittie standeth on foot, and holdeth up the head, no man need to feare his private state; but it shall do well enough. Go the weale publike to wrecke once, and decay, let no man ever thinke to save his owne. All the whole house liked so well of these motions, that not onely they gave their accord

the speech of
Levinus the
Consul.

* 3 pound sterl.
* 3 poun sterl.
and two shill.
over, if it be
be centenaria.

* 15 pound,
12 shill. 6 pence
sterl.

accord and consent thereto, but over and besides, yielded heartie thanks unto the Consuls for their good advice and counsell. When the Senate was dismissed, every man for himself brought forth his gold, his silver, and brasse money, and laid all together in commune; & that with such speed, striving a vie who could go before another, and have his name entred first in the publicke rolles and registers: as neither the foresaid Triumvirs were able to receive it fast enough, as it was tendred unto them; nor the ordinarie Clerkes and Notaries to set it downe in writing, & take note thereof accordingly. This consent and agreement of the Senatours, the knights & gentlemen of Rome in their place and calling seconded; and the commons for their parts were not behind. So without any constraint of law, without edict, without any exhortation made by the magistrate, the common-weale wanted neither rowers for to furnish the armadaes, nor money to pay the rowers. And thus when all things were provided necessarie for the warres, the Consuls went forth to their severall provinces. H

Never was there any time of this warre, wherein Carthaginians and Romanes together, had more triall of the alternative & variable change of fortune: never hung they more in equall balance, betwene faire hope and fearefull daunger. The Romanes, in their provinces tasted both of sweet and soure. In Spaine on the one side, they sped ill and lost: in Sicilie on the other side, they sped well and woon: so as their sorrow was interlaced still and medled with joy. Also in Italie, the losse of Tarentum turned to their woe and damage: but the keeping of the castle there with the garrison, beyond all their hope and expectation, brought them meed and comfort for their sorrow. Also, their suddaine fright and feare, for the siege and assault of the citie of Rome, was salved and cured againe within a few daies after, by the forcing and winning of Capua: and all that heaviness and mourning turned into mirth and gladnesse. The affaires also beyond sea, were checked with interchangeable turnes and courses. *Philp* became their enemy in an ill time, and when they had little need thereof. Contrariwise, the *Ætolians* and *Attalus* the king of Asia the lesse, proved to be their new friends and loving allies: whereby even then fortune, seemed to smile on the Romanes, and by that overture, promised as it were, unto them the Empire of the East. Semblably the Carthaginians, as they lost Capua, so they woon Tarentum, and made a saving game of it. In like manner, as they tooke no small pride and glorie, in coming to the wals of Rome without resistance; so they were daunted & dismayed againe, that this their enterprise tooke no better effect in the end: and held themselves much disgraced and dishonoured, that whiles they sat themselves before one gate of Rome, there was an armie of Romanes led forth at another, and sent into Spaine. And even in Spaine also, the greater hopemen had there, that upon the death of two so noble and valiant Generals, and the defeature of two as puissant armies, the war was come to a finall end, and the Romanes driven from thence for ever: the more spight it was, and the greater griefe and vexation they conceived againe, when by the valour of *L. Martius* a tumultuarie captaine, chosen in hast they knew not how, those former victories turned to vanities, and came to just nothing. Thus fortune was indifferent, & all things doubtfull & wavering in suspence, both on the one side and the other. Their hope all one as it was at first: their feare, the same still, neither more nor lesse. So as betwene hope and feare, they fared, as it the warre at this time were new to begin.

Anniball above all other things, was vexed to the heart, that Capua being more hotely and eagerly assaulted by the Romanes, than manfully and faithfully defended by him, had divered & turned away the harts of many States of Italie from him. For neither was he able to hold them all with sufficient garrisons, unlesse he would dismember into many small portions, and mangle by peece-meal his armie; which to do then, was no good policie: nor he thought it safe & good, to withdraw his garrisons from thence, & leave the fidelitie of his allies at libertie, either to depend upon fickle hope, or to sway with suddaine feare. And (as he was by nature covetous and cruelly minded) he resolved at length upon this course, to make spoile of those cities which hee was not able to keepe, and so to leave them wast and emptie for the enemy. This designement was not so dishonest and shamefull in the first enterprise, but it proved as bad & hurtfull to himselfe in the effect and conclusion. For he lost the hearts cleane, not onely of those that were the parties grieved, and suffered these indignities, but also of all others besides. The present calamitie and losse touched but some few: but the precedent and example reached to many more. Neither was the Romane Consull behind hand for his part, to sollicite and sound those cities, from whence he saw some light appeare, and any hope to gaine them unto him.

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A There were in Salapia two noble men above the rest, *Dasius* and *Blasius*. *Dasius* was friend to *Anniball*, *Blasius* (so farre as he might with safetie) affected and favoured the Romanes. And by entercourse of secret messengers, had put *Marcellus* in some good hope of betraying the citie; but without the helpe of *Dasius* the plot could not be compassed and effected. Wherefore, after much musing and long deliberation, after many staies & delaies, at length he resolved (for want rather of better counsell, than upon any hope to speed) to addresse himselfe to *Dasius*, & acquaint him with the matter. But *Dasius* not onely misliking utterly & abhorring the thing, but also carrying a secret enmitie to the partie himselfe, the onely eye-sore and concurrent that he had, striving to be greater than he, disclosed all to *Anniball*. Whereupon, both were sent for, and convenient peremptorily before him. As *Anniball* was sitting upon the Tribunal seat, giving audience and dispatch to certaine other matters; and that hee might anone the better attend unto *Blasius* and the action intended against him: whiles the plaintife & defendant stood apart by themselves from the rest of the people a good way, *Blasius* went in hand again with *Dasius*, and sollicit-ed him for to deliver the citie to the Romanes. With that, *Dasius* (as if the matter had beene too too apparant) cried out and said, That he bashed not to breake unto him and move him, even in the presence and sight of *Anniball*, for to practise treason & betray the citie. *Anniball* and all they that were there present, gave little credite unto *Dasius*: and the more audacious the thing it selfe was, the lesse likelyhood it caried with it of a truth. Every man supposed verily, it was nothing but emulation, envie, and cancred malice, that caused *Dasius* to charge upon him that crime, which because there was no witnesse to the contrarie, he might untruly devile and more freely enforce against him. And so for that time, they were both discharged the court. But *Blasius* never gave over to follow still this bold enterprise, but beat still upon this one point, shewing how good and commodious the thing would bee, both to themselves in private, and to their countrie in common, untill hee had wrought him so, and woon him to graunt, that the Carthaginian garrison, (& those were Numidians) together with the citie Salapia, should be rendred unto *Marcellus*. But without much bloudshed they could not possibly be thus betrayed & delivered: for they were the most hardy and valiant horsemen by farre, of all the Carthaginian armie. Wherefore, albeit they were taken on a suddaine unprovided, and had no use of horses within the citie, yet with such weapons, as in such a suddaine tumult and uprore they could catch and come by, first they assaied and gave the venture to breake through and escape away: and when they saw that they could by no meanes save themselves and get forth, they fought it out to the last manfully, even unto death: so as there were not of them above fiftie left alive, and came into the hands of the enemies. And surely, the losse of this cornet of horsemen, was a greater damage unto *Anniball*, than the forgoing of Salapia: for never from that day forward, had *Anniball* the upper hand in cavaleric, which was the onely service whereby ever before he most prevailed.

Much about the same time the castle of Tarentum was streightly distressed for want of victuals, and hardly could endure and hold out any longer. The only hope that the Romane garrison had, which lay there, and the captaine thereof *M. Livius* the Constable of the castle, was in the provision sent out of Sicilie. For the safe convoy whereof, along the coast of Italie, there rid at anker a fleet whereof of twentie saile before Rhegium. The Admirall of this fleet appointed to waite these victuals from time to time, was one *Decius Quintius*, a man of obscure birth and base parentage, howbeit, for many worthie acts and feats of armes, much renowned in martiall glorie.

At the first he had the charge but of five ships, whereof two of the greatest, which were three banked gallies, were allowed him by *Marcellus*: afterwards, upon his good service, when hee had born himselfe bravely in many conflicts, he had three more committed unto him, & those were of five banks of oares, untill at last himselfe, by calling upon the confederat cities, as Rhegium, Velia, and Pastum, for the ships due by covenant unto the people of Rome, he had made a pretie Armada, as is above said, of twentie saile. As this fleet had disankered and was gone from Rhegium, *Democrates* with the like Armada for number of Tarentine ships, encountered almost five leagues from the citie of Tarentum, at a port called *Sacriportus*. It fortuned at that time, that the Roman Admirall, litle looking for any battell, came forth under saile onely, but about Crotone and Sibaris, he had furnished his shippes with rowers also, and so his fleet for the bignesse & talnesse of the vessels, was well appointed, and sufficiently armed & manned. And even then it happened at one time, that both the boisterous wind lay, and the enemies also were withip kenning,

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so as they had scarce time ynough to fit their tackling, to make readie their rowers, and to set in order their fighting men, against a skirmish that was so neere toward. There was not lightly scene a greater conflict, fought more hotely and fiercely betwene two roiall Armadaes that affronted one another, than between these small fleets. For why, the battell was for a greater matter, than all their ships came to. The Tarentines mainteined the fight more eagly, because they were desirous to recover their castle out of the Romans hands, as they had done their citie, after one 100 yeares almost, during which time, they had been out of the possession thereof: hoping thereby, if they could be maisters of the sea once by some fortunate and victorious battell, to cut off and intercept all hope of victuals from the enemies. The Romanes on the other side bestirred themselves as lustily, that by keeping the possession of the castle, all the world might see, that Tarentum was not lost by force, cleane strength and valour, but betrayed by stealth and trecherie. H So they sounded the battell from both parts, and ran affront one at another, with the beakes and stemmes of their prowes, and neither staid rowing amaine forward, nor suffered their enemy to part or goe aside from them, untill they closed and grappled their ships together, by the meanes of yron hookes like hands. And so neere they buckled, in hote and furious medley, that not only they discharged shot aloofe one against another, but also they coped together (as it were) foot to foot, at hand strokes with sword fight. Their prowes and for-ships stucke grappled together, while the pousps and hin-deckes were driven about with contrarie oares of the aduerse part. So neere and so thicke withall stood the ships, and within so narrow a rounge, that scarce one dart light into the water in vaine, and did no harme. With their beake-heads they assailed one another, as it had been on land fight, and so close they were, that the souldiours might passe out of one ship into another, as they fought. Howbeit, two ships there were above all the rest, that mainteined a notable fight, and in the vauntguard and forefront of the battell, invetted one another most furiously. In that of the Romanes was *Quintius* himselfe in person, & in the other of the Tarentines, was one *Nico*, surnamed *Peco*, a man not only odious unto the Romans, for the publick quarrell betwene both states, but also maliciously bent, upon a private spight and rancour, as banding with that faction, which had betrayed Tarentum to *Anniball*. This *Nico* espying *Quintius* both fighting & also encouraging his men withall, charged him at unwares; & ran him quite through with a partiufane: who was not so soone fallen forward headlong upon the fore-deck, armour and all, but the Tarentine following the traine of his victorie, and seeing the ship disordered & troubled for the losse of their leader, lustily came forward, and borded her; laid about him manfully, K and put by the enemies out of his way, untill the Tarentines were maisters of the prow and fore-castle. Whiles the Romanes had much adoe (so thrumbed they were and thrust together disorderly) to defend and keepe the poupe and hind-decke; with that, another gallie of the enemies appeared on a suddaine, and charged the hind-part. So the Roman ship in the midst between both, was boarded on every side, and taken. Whereupon all the rest were greatly terrified, seeing the Admirall-ship was woon by the enemy: and they fled on all hands. Some were sunck in the deepe sea, some made hast with their oares, and skudded to the land, but anon were a prize and prey to the Thurines and Metapontines. But of the hulkes and Carickes, which were fraught with victuall, and followed after, very few there were that fell into the hands of the enemies: the rest shifting and turning their sailes crosse, this waies and that waies, according to the inconstancie of the wind, recovered the maine sea. L

But about Tarentum at the same time, their fortune was nothing so good. For whereas there went out of the towne upon a foure thousand men a foure foraging, for to purvey corne, *Livius*, Constable of the castle and captaine of the garison, spying his time (as hee waited ever for all opportunities) made out of the said castle 2000 armed souldiours, under the leading of *C. Persius* a valourous and industrious man: who set upon the Tarentines straggling out of order, and dispersed in wandering wise over the fields; and after he had followed a long time the execution, killing them here and there as he encountered them; the rest, which were but few left of so many, he chased to the towne: for they made hast in great feare thither, & were let in at the gates standing halfe shut, for feare least at the same randon the towne should have been lost. So the Tarentines and Romans, when they had made the reckoning, put up all on even hand. For the Romans were winners by land, the Tarentines at sea: and both of them disappointed alike of their hope of corne, which was presented to their eyes, but they never tasted thereof.

At the same time *Levinus* the Confull, after a good part of the yeer was gone about, arrived in

A in Sicilie, greatly expected and looked for, as well by the old allies as the new: and the first thing of all other and most important, he supposed, was together with this new peace, to settle & compose the State of Syracuse, so much disordered and out of frame. After that, hee led his legions to Agrigentum, where only there remained the reliques of warre; which cittie was kept by a strong garrison of Carthaginians. There fortune favoured his first designs, *Hanno* chaunced to be the generall over the Carthaginians, but he wholly relied and reposed all his hope in *Mutines* and the Numidians. This *Mutines* had raunged all over Sicilie at his pleasure, and raised booties out of the territories and lands of the Romanes associates, & by no force or policie could he be intercepted of his passage backe to Agrigentum, nor yet bee pinned within the cittie, but that he would issue forth whensoever hee listed. This glorie of his, because now it checked (as it were) the same and honour of the Generall, turned the man at length to displeasure and danger: so as, what good service soever was atchieved, it was never well taken by *Hanno*, nor joyously accepted, in regard of the person, who was a pricke alwaies in his eie. Whereupon in the end hee gave away the captainship of *Mutines* from himselfe, and bestowed it upon his owne son: thinking, that together with his government and command, hee should loose all his authoritie and reputation also among the Numidians. But it fell out farre otherwise. For the more that hee was in disgrace and disfavovr with *Hanno*, the greater grew the old favor and love of the Numidians toward him. Neither could hee himselfe endure any longer the unworthie wrong and indignitie offered unto him: and therefore in revenge he presently dispatched certain secret messengers unto *Levinus*, with credence, that hee would betray and deliver Agrigentum into his hands. By the mediation of these intercouriers, there passed sufficient securitie and assurance between them: and the matter being concluded, the manner also of contriving the plot, was agreed upon. Whereas therefore the Numidians were possessed, and had the guard of that gate that openeth toward the sea: after they had either driven out the old warders from thence, or killed them, they let in the Romans at the same gate into the citie, who were sent of purpose, according to the former agreement. And when they marched up into the midst of the citie, even to the market place, with banner displayed, & with great tumult and noise, *Hanno* supposing it was nothing els, but a seditious uprising of the Numidians (like as they had done sometimes before) came forth as to appease and stay a mutinie and commotion. But discovering a greater multitude a far off, than the Numidians were: and hearing withall the Romans to shout, with the manner wherof his ears had D been well acquainted beforetime, heeooke him to his heeles ere hee came within the dart-shot. And being let out at a backe poslerne gate, taking with him *Epicides*, hee recovered with some few other the sea side, where, as good hap was, they light upon a small barke or pinnace: and so leaving Sicilie to the enemies, for which there had been much strife so many yeares together, they passed over into Africk. The multitude besides both of Carthaginians and Sicilians, without any skirmish either begun or intended, fled like blind men they will not whether: and finding all waies made up, and no passage forth, they were miserably slaine: and hewen apieces about the gates. *Levinus* being possessed of the towne, caused all the cheefe men and rulers of the citie, to be beaten with rods, and to lose their heads: all the rest together with the pillage hee sold in port-sale, and the monie that was reised thereof, hee sent to Rome.

E When the newes of this misfortune of the Agrigentines was blowen over Sicilie, all at once turned Romanes, and *Anniball* lost all. For in short space there were 20 townes betrayed and yeelled, sixe forced by assault, and to the number of 40 voluntarily surrendered to the devotion and protection of the Romanes. The principall noble men of which States, after that the Consuls had either rewarded or punished according to their severall demerits, and compelled the Sicilians generally to lay by armes and weapons, and to take themselves to the plough, for to eare, till, and sow their grounds; to the end that the lland might bring forth fruite, not only to susteine and mainteine the naturall inhabitants thereof, but also to ease the price of corne and victuals in the citie of Rome, and throughout all Italie, like as it had done many times before: hee transported over with him into Italie a rable and damned crew of unruly people from Agatirna. Some foure thousand there were of them, a confused multitude of all sorts, a very mish mash and sinke of vile and wretched persons, most of them Outlawes, Bankrupts, and notorious malefactors, in danger of death by the lawes of their cities where they lived. And being fled their countries, some for one fact, some for another, they chaunced all upon like fortune to fort themselves (as commonly birds of a feather will flye together,) and at Agatirna, they made choise like out-lawes,

lawes, to live by robbing and spoiling: and this was their only profession and trade. *Levinus* G thought it no good policie to leave behind him these good fellows in an Iland, which began but now upon new peace to knit and unite againe; for feare least they would minister matter of innovation and change; and besides, there was some good use of them among the Regines, for to foray and rove about the Brutians countrie: for such they stood in need of, and had laid for a companie which were acquainted with theeving and stealing. And so this yeare made an end of the war in Sicilie.

The old man
of the
prophets
prophets.

P. Scipio L. Deputie and Generall in Spaine, having in the prime and beginning of Spring put his ships to sea and set them afloat, and by an edict summoned all the aides of the allies to repaire to the *Rendezvous* at Taracon; gave order and commandement, that as well the ships of warre as of charge and burden, should from thence set forward, and shew themselves at the mouth of the river Iberus. And after he had given direction and charge, that the legions from out of their winter harboroughs, should there meete together, himselfe accompanied with five thousand of his allies put himselfe on his journey to his maine armie. Being thither come, he thought it good to make some speech to the old souldiours especially, as many as remained alive after so great diffitures and overthrowes, and when he had assembled them all together to an audience, in this wise he spake unto them. Never was there new Generall before my selfe, that could by good right, and in regard of desert, render thanks unto his souldiours, before he had employed them, and made triall of their good service. But as for me, before I ever came within sight of this province, before I entered my government and saw the camp, fortune hath obliged me, and made me beholden unto you. First, for your kinnesse and zealous affection to my father and to mine unkle, both while they lived, and when they were dead. Secondly, in that when the possession of this province was lost; after so great foyles and overthrowes, ye have by your vertue and valour recovered the same againe, and kept it entire to the behoofe of the people of Rome, and my selfe, the next successor in place of soveraigne rule and command. But for as much as our full purpose and present resolution is, by the leave, favour, and power of the gods, not so much to hold the possession our selves and abide in Spaine, but to dispossesse the Carthaginians that they may have no footing nor abode at all there: and since the thing that we go about, is not to stand keeping the banke of Iberus, for to stop the passage of the enemy; but to geve the attempt to passe over our selves by force: yea and therewithall to transport the warre over with us into his owne country, and to come home unto him. I feare me greatly, least this will seeme unto some of you a greater designement, and more audacious enterprise of mine, than may either suite and sort with the fresh remembrance of those late defeataures, or stand well with my young and unripe age. The foyles and unfortunate foughten fields in Spaine, can be of no man in the world forgotten later than of my selfe, whose father, whose unkle, were within the space of 30 dayes there slaine, to the end that sorrow upon sorrow, funerall upon funerall, one mournfull death after another, should unfortunately be heaped upon our house & familie. But as this desolate estate and defect almost of all my house and name (wherein I onely, in manner, am left alive of my race) woundeth my heart and make it bleed, as often as I thinke of it: so the publike fortune and vertue of the Commonweale, reviveth my spirit againe, and will not suffer me to dispaire totally of the state of this Empire: considering the destinie and providence of the gods, whereby it is a thing given unto us, and our lucke hath ever bene, that howsoever we have received overthrowes in all great warres and dangerous battailes, yet in the end, we have gone away with the victorie. I omit to speake of old examples, of *Porfena*, of the Gauls, & *Samnites*: and I will begin at the Punicke warres. How many armadaes and fleetes, how many brave captains, how many valiant and puissant armies were there lost & miscarried, during the former? And what should I say of this in our daies? In all the defeataures and overthrowes, I was either present myselfe in person; or if I were not in any of them, yet I am sure, I was hee that felt the smart of them, more than any man else whatsoever. The river Trebia, the mere Thrasymenus, the towne Cannæ, what are they else, but the very sepulchres and tombes of the Romane armies there hewne in peeces, and of their Consuls slaine. And thereto, the generall revolt of Italie, the rebellion of Sicilie, the falling away of the greater part of Sardinia. Moreover and besides, this last affright and terror, namely the Carthaginians campe pitched betwene Anio and the walles of Rome, and *Anniball* scene well neere, as conquerour at the very gates of our cittie. In these so great ruines and adverse distresses of our state; yet the vertue alone and valour of the people

A of Rome hath stood upright, sound, and immutable: yea and hath raised up againe and set on foot, all that which lay along on the ground. You onely, my valorous souldiours, were the first, that after the discomfiture of Cannæ, under the leading & good fortune of my father, withstood *Aidruball* in his journey and expedition toward the Alpes, purposing to go downe into Italie; who if hee had joyned with his brother *Anniball*, certainly by this day, there had remained no memorie of the Romane name. And in very truth, these affaires falling out so prosperously, made a mends and recompence for all the former losses. But now through the goodnes of the gods, all things prosper and go well forward: and the affaires of Italie and Sicilie both, mend daily, & are every day better than other. In Sicilie, *Saracose* & *Agrirentum* are wonne and wholly ours: the enemies be driven out of all the Iland, & the state is reduced into the forme of a province, subject to the people of Rome, & under their obeisance. In Italie, the towne of Arpi is recovered by surrender, the cite of Capua is forced by assault. *Anniball* himselfe, having measured all the way, (but in fearefull hast and in manner of a flight) as long as it is from Rome to the Brutians countrie (in high Calabria), is there driven up into the furthest angle and corner thereof, nothing more wishing and praying for at gods hands now, than to be able to retire and get away safe out of his enemies land. What thing then were lesse becomming, my hardie souldiours, than this, If you who have sustained and upheld the decaying and down-falling estate of the Romane Empire in this province, you (I say) together with my two parents (whom for the reverence that I owe to them, give mee leave to make equall, and to honour with that name) at what time as calamities and losses, happened huddle one in the necke of another, and the gods themselves seemed to take part and stand with *Anniball*; should now let fall your courages and be fainthearted, because in those provinces afore said, all things go well to our hearts desire and great contentment. As for the late misfortunes & adversities which have hapned here, would to God they had passed over without sorrow, as wel of my part, as of yours. But for the present, the immortal gods, protectors and governors of the Romane Empire, who inspired into the minds & hearts of all the Centuries, to wish and chuse me to this place of soveraigne honor, even the same gods by auguries and auspices, by all tokens of the birds either by flight or sight, yea and by visions also in the night season, do portend, signifie and promise unto me, all good speed and happie successe: yea and mine owne mind giveth me, (which ever hitherto, hath bene to me the truest prophet, and never deceived me) that all Spaine is ours: and that within short time, the whole Punicke name and nation, being expelled & driven out from hence, shall fill all seas & lands with their shamefull and dishonorable flight. That which my spirit and soule of it selfe prefageth, the same doth reason also conclude by most certaine and infallible demonstration. The allies and subjects here of the Carthaginians, oppressed and wronged by them, have humbly by their embassadors craved our aid and succour. The captaines Generall of their forces, being at difference and oddes all three among themselves, inso much as they had like to have departed and revolted one from the other, have distracted and dismembred their forces into three parts, and bestowed them in three severall countries, most removed and distant asunder. And no doubt, the like fortune is readie to fall upon their heads, which lately was our undoing and overthrow, upon the same occasion. For even as we before were forsaken of the Celtiberians, so are they now abandoned of their allies. Besides, they parted & divided their armies asunder: which was the only cause, that brought the utter ruine and destruction upon my father and unkle. And be yee sure, that their intestine discord and dissention, will never suffer them to joyne friendly and unite againe in one. And thus singled as they are, they cannot possibly withstand our puissance. Now my souldiours, for your part, do but favour the name of the *Scipions*: do but affect and love me, the issue and offspring of your noble Generals, budding forth againe (as it were) out of the old stocke, cut downe to the roots. Go to, old souldiours, & redouted servitors, with bon-courage set over the river Iberus a new armie and a new captaine: passe over with them into those lands, which ye have often conquered, and wherein yee have atchieved, many valiant and memorable acts. And for my selfe, I will so endeavour and effect, that as yee now agnize in me, the resemblance of my fathers and uncles visage and countenance, the same feature, proportion, and lineaments of the bodie: so I will shew and represent unto you, the true patterne and portraiture of their spirit, wit, faithfulness, & vertue, even as the expresse and lively image taken and drawn from their owne selves: in such sort, as every man may say, That captaine *Scipio* is either risen from the dead, or new borne againe. Having by this oration, incensed and inflamed the courages of his souldiours, and left *Syllanus*

with a guard of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, for the defence of that coast; hee transported over the river Iberus, all the rest of his forces, amounting to the number of five and twentie thousand foot, and 25 hundred horsemen. There he was advised by some about him, seeing the Punicke armies were departed into three countries so farre remote and diffie asunder, to let upon and assaile that which was next: but he doubting and fearing least by that means he should draw them altogether, and knowing that he was not able alone, to match & make his part good with so many hosts at once, determined in the mean while, to be doing with new Carthage, and to besiege and assault it. This citie, as it was rich and wealthie in it selfe, so it was full of all the enemies furniture and provision for warre. There was their armour kept, there was their money laid up, there remained the hostages of all Spaine. Besides, as it was feared commodiously, to crosse over from thence into Affricke: so it stood upon a convenient and large haven, able to receive and harbour the greatest navie at sea, and the onely haven (if I bee not deceived) of all that coast and tract of Spaine, which boundeth next upon our sea. But no man was made privie to his determination, nor knew whither they should take their journey, save onely *Lalius*. Hee being sent about with the armada, had direction so to temporise & guide his course by saile and ore, that at one and the selfe same instant, both *Scipio* might present his land forces in the view of Carthage, and the fleet enter the haven. So they departed from Iberus, and within seven daies came before the citie of Carthage, both by sea and land. His campe hee pitched on the north side of the citie: which he entrenched and fortified on that outward back-part, that stood farthest from the citie: as for the forefront, it was by naturall situation of the ground, defended surely enough. For the site of Carthage is in this sort. There is a gulf or creake of the sea, in the middle coast and river well neere of Spaine, opposite most to the South-west wind, running and retiring in length within the land halfe a mile, but lying out in breedth somewhat more. In the very mouth of this creeke, there is a little Iland from the open sea; which saveth, sheltereth, and defendeth the haven from all other winds, but onely the South-west. From the inmost nooke of this bay, there beareth out a promontorie like a demie Iland, which is the very hill or cape whereupon the citie is built. The same on the East side and the South, is compassed with the sea: from the West, it is enclosed with a lake or standing mere, which also spreadeth somewhat toward the North, of an uncerteine depth; which altereth according to the tide, and as the sea either ebbereth or floweth. Now, there is an elbow or banke of firme ground, somewhat lesse than a quarter of a mile over, that joyneth the citie with the maine or continent. To that side (notwithstanding it had been no great peece of worke there to fortifie) the Roman General cast no trench, nor raised any rampier: either upon a brave & haucie mind, to shew the enemy how confidently he trusted in his owne strength; or because, whensoever he advanced to the walls of the citie (as oftentimes hee tooke occasion so to doe) hee might have open recourse and regresse againe into the campe. But when the utter side, which required fortifications, was finished, he set the ships in order within the haven, making a shew, as if hee would besiege them also on the water side. And when he had gone through all his armada, and given the captaines of the ships in charge, to looke wel to their centinels and watches in the night (for that commonly enemies at their first besieging, make what attempts and adventures they can in every place) hee returned into his campe. And because hee would not onely yeeld his souldiours good reason of this his designement, in that he began warre first and principally with the besieging of that citie; but also encourage them, and put them in good hope of the winning and conquest thereof, hee assembled them together, and discoursed before them in this manner.

The Oration of
Scipio to his souldiours.

My valiant souldiours and trustie friends, If any man here thinketh, that yee are brought hither to assaile a citie onely, and there an end: he rather maketh reckoning of your present pain and travell, than casteth the profit and commoditie thereof ensuing. For yee shall in very truth give the assault to the walls but of one citie: but in that one citie yee shall be maisters and conquerors of all Spaine. Here lie the hostages of all their Nobles, their Princes, and States. And no sooner shall yee be lords of them, and have them in your rule and custodie, but presently, all that now is under the hands of the Carthaginians in Spaine, will be surrendered unto you, and at your devotion. Here is all the money that the enemies have: without which, like as they are not able to maintaine warre, (as who wage and entertaine all their armies for pay) so it will mightily speed us (if we light upon it) in gaining the hearts of the barbarous people. Here are their engines and attillerie, here is their armour, here is their tackling and provision for their navie, and all other

A other munition and furniture for warre: wherewith we shall both furnish our selves, and disfigure the enemy. Gaine we shall over and besides, not onely right faire and beautifull, but also a most rich and wealthie citie: yea, and more than that, of right great importance and consequence, in regard of a goodly and surpassing commodious haven: by means whereof, we may be provided both from sea and land, of all things needfull and requisite for the warres. Which, as they will be of great moment to us that shall have them, so they will be the greater losse to the enemies that shall forgoe them. This is their castle for strength, their garner for come, their treasure for monie, their armourie, their arsenal: and in one word, their very store-house of all things whatsoever. Hither is the direct passage and streight cut out of Affricke, here is the onely port & harbour for shipping, betweene the Islands of Gades, or Gebraltar, and the mountaines Pyrenaei: from whence all Spaine overlooketh (as it were) and commaundeth Affricke. But knowing that you are well appointed already, and prepared to the service, I will say no more but this: Now for the honour of the Romanes, let us goe courageously to it, and with all our might and maine assault new Carthage. And when they all with one accord cried unto him, so to doe indeed, and that no other thing was first to be done; then he advanced before Carthage, then hee gave commaundement to assaile it at once, by land and sea. *Mago* the captaine of the Carthaginians on the other side, when he saw preparation made by water and land to give the assault for his part ordered his forces and disposed them in this manner. To make head against the Romans on that side where they lay encamped, hee opposed two thousand townesmen: with a guard of five hundred souldiours he kept the citadell: other five hundred he placed upon a little hill belonging to the citie which looketh to the East: all the other multitude whatsoever, hee appointed to make resistance in other places, where any outcries, shouts, or suddaine alarmes should be given. Then having set open a gate, he sendeth those forth, whom he had arraigned in that street which leadeth directly to the camp of the enemies. The Romanes (according as they were commaunded by their leader himselfe) in the beginning gave ground a little & reculed, to the end, that during the time of skirmish & confict, they might be neerer to the supplie of succors, which were to be sent to second them from behind. And verily at the first they stood to it stoutly on both parts, & there was no ods perceived. But afterwards, the Romanes being still freshly re-enforced from out of the campe, not only discomfited the enemies, & put them to flight, but pressed on them so hard, as they fled disordered and out of array, that if *Scipio* had not founded the retreat, it seemed, that they would have entermingled themselves pell-mell with those that ran away, and rushed into the citie with them. Within the citie throughout there was no lesse feare than in the battell. Many courts of guard and other places were abandoned, the courtein of the wals was left naked, & every man made what shift he could to leape downe & escape. Which when *Scipio* perceived (who now was turned to a mount which they call *Mercurius Tentates*) and namely, that the walls were void of all the defendants, he commaunded all his souldiours to issue forth of the camp, to set forward to the assault, and to bring ladders to skale. Himselfe in person, defended with the shields of 3 tall lustie yong men going before him (for by this time they let flie afresh from the walls a mightie voley of shot of all sorts) approached the citie. There he exhorted, encouraged, & commaunded them to do what was requisite in this service. And that which made most to enkindle the courages of the souldiours, he was there personally as an eye-witnesse and beholder of each mans valour or cowardise. Whereupon, they stuck not to run upon the very shot, and to receive many a wound: and now nothing could keepe them back; neither the strength of the walls, nor the armed men that stood thereupon, but they scaled avie, who could mount upon the walls first. At the same time, that part of the citie also which the sea beat upon, began to be assailed by the ships. But from thence, it should seeme, they made more ado with houting and hurrying, than effected ought by any forcible assault. For whiles they came close to the walls with their ships; whiles they put forth their ladders and their souldiours; whiles every man laboured to gaine the land, the neere way he could: what with their striving and hast-making, they hindred one another. And by that time *Mago* had filled the walls full of armed men, who let flie arrowes, javelines, darts, and all kind of shot, whereof they had gathered together exceeding great store. But neither men, nor arrowes and darts, nor any things els defended the wall so much as the very wall it selfe. For few ladders they had that could reach up to the top: and the longer any of them were, the more weaker also they were. Whereupon, by reason that they who were climbed up to the highest rounds, could not gain the parapet and discharge the ladder, & yet some

or

or other still clambred up after, the ladders being overcharged with the weight, brake in peeces. G Some againe there were, that notwithstanding the ladders under them held still and stood unbroken, yet when they looked downe from on high, their eyes so dazeled, and were overcast with a mist, that they lost their sight, and fell from the top to the ground. Thus when ladders here, and men there, came tumbling down, and the enemies upon their good speed grew to be more hartie and hardie, the retreat was founded: which gave to the besieged within the towne not hope onely of present rest and intermission of so great labour and toyle, but also assured them in manner, for the time to come, that the citie was tenable against all skalades, although it were invested therewith round about. And as for fabricks and mounts to be raised and planted against it, they were not only difficult and hard to be performed, but also would aske some long time: and minister in the meane while, space sufficient for the other Generals of their owne to come to the H rescue. But scarce was the first assault fully ceased, when *Scipio* commaunded other fresh and unfoiled souldiours, to take the ladders of them that were wearied alreadie and wounded, and with greater violence to give a new Camisado. Himselfe, so soone as he understood that it was ebb and low water, having bene advertised by certaine fishermen of *Taracon* (who sometimes with light boates used to rowe, and otherwhiles when their vessels touched the ground, to wade all over the lake upon firme ground) that men might easily passe to the walls on foot: thither to that place he brought all his souldiours to the assault. It was now almost noonetide of the day; and besides that the water of it selfe naturally fell with the ebb into the sea, there was a good round northren wind arose, which drave the water out of the lake (which now was well fallen) I after the tide, and discovered such shallows, that whereas in some places thereof they went up to the navell, in some againe they waded scarce knee deepe. Which albeit *Scipio* knew well to be an ordinarie thing in naturall reason, and therefore with good forecast had made provision accordingly to take that advantage, yet he turned it to a miraculous and prodigious accident, attributing all to the immediat handie-worke of the gods: as who to give passage and footing to the Romanes, had turned back the course and current of the sea, discharged lakes of their water, and opened wayes unto them, that never before were troden with the sole of mans foot: and therewith he willed his souldiers to follow *Neptune*, the guide and leader of the way, and to passe boldly through the mids of the lake close to the very walls. On the land side the assailants had exceeding trouble in standing under the walls: for not only they were hindered by reason that the curtine was so high; but also as they went, they lay open and under their shot, and were K wounded both wayes, so as their flanks and sides were more annoyed as they approached under, than their faces and forefront of their bodies. But on the other part, as they went quietly and easily through the mere to the wall, so they climed forward as securely to the very top thereof. For neither was it strongly fortified with bulwarkes, nor raised to any height by industrie and art of man, as being suppoled by naturall situation of the place, and the standing lake besides, strong enough and sufficiently defended: nor any gard of armed men were there in watch and ward, opposed against the assailants: whiles every man was busie, and wholly intended to helpe there, from whence some daunger was seene. The Romanes being thus entred the cittie over the walls without any skirmish, marched from thence with what speed they could, unto that gate, about which all the fight and hote medley was alreadie begun: for there not only all their minds were L bent and amused, but also their eyes and eares were occupied and possessed; whiles some fought, others looked on & encouraged the fighters: in such sort, that there was none of them all once perceived or knew, that the citie was taken & surprised behind them, before the darts flew about their eares & light upon their back parts, and untill they had the enemies both before & behind. Then not onely the walls were taken (when the defendants upon a twofold feare, were driven to abandon them) but also the gate from withinforth and without, began to be broken downe: and anone, after continuall running and beating against it, the leaves thereof perforce flew apieces, because there might bee nothing to impeach or let them in their entrance: then the armed souldiours brake in most furiously. Many alreadie had skaled the walls, and gotten over, but they turned and betooke themselves every where to massacre and make havock of the townemen. M But the maine battoll, which entred in at the gate with their captains, orderly by companies and rankes in their array, marched forward through the middest of the citie to the market place. From whence *Scipio* might see the enemies flee two waies, some to the forresse upon the hill aforesaid, which standeth to the East, and was kept with a guard of five hundred souldiours: others into

New Carthage
forced by Scipio.

A into the citadell, into which *Mago* himselfe, with all the armed men in a manner, who were driven from the walls, had retired and fled for to save himselfe. Whereupon he sent a part of his forces to win the said hill, and himselfe in person led the rest to the castle. And as the fort upon the hill was taken at the first assault and onser given, so *Mago*, after he had a while made some means to defend the castle, seeing all places full of enemies, swarming every where, & no other hope, yielded himselfe, the citadell, and the garison. Vntill the castle was surrendred and given up, there was nothing but murdering and killing all over the citie, and not one spared that seemed to be fourteen yeares old and upward, if they came in their way. But then, upon the sound of trumpet the execution ceased, and the Conquerours fell to saccage and pillage, which of all forts rose to a mightie thing. Of free borne, such as were of male sexe, there were taken prisoners upon 10000. B Then, so many of them as he found to be naturall citizens of Carthage, he dismissed and let goe free, and restored unto them not onely the citie, but also their owne goods, which the first furie and rage of warriours had left untouched. There were of Artificers and handicraftsmen, some two thousand: those by an edict he pronounced to be bond, and adjudged them as confiscate, to serve the Commonweale of the people of Rome: yet with some hope, that shortly they might obtaine their freedome againe, in case they performed good service, and shewed themselves diligent in all ministries and offices of warre. The rest of the multitude of inhabitants, such as were able and young lustie men, as also the stout and sturdie bondmen, he awarded them to the shippes, for to furnish up the number of gally-slaves and rowers, and with the eight shippes of warre, which hee tooke captive in the haven, hee encreased his owne Armada. Besides all this C multitude, there were also the hostages of the Spaniards above writte, of whome hee tooke as great care, and as good regard, as if they had bene the children of Allies and associates. A mightie deale of warlike artillerie and ordinance was there found and seized one. Of Catapults of the greatest size 120, of a lesser sort 281. Balists some greater, some small; of them 33, of these 52. Of Scorpions and Cros-bowes to shoot quarrels as well great as small, and likewise of defensive armour, and offensive weapons, a huge deale, and a marvellous quantitie. Militarie ensignes 74. Of gold and silver there was a mightie masse brought unto the Generall. Golden cups or bolles there were 276, every one weighing almost one pound. Of silver tried, wrought, and coined, 18300 pound weight: and much plate and vessell of silver. All this *C. Flaminius* the Treasurer, received either by weight or tall. Of wheat there was 40000 Modij, of barley D 270000. Of barks and shippes of burden, there were in the haven woon by force, and taken, 113. Some were fraught with corne, armour, brasse besides, and yron, saile-cloth, and hempe; or spart for cables and ropes, also with timber for shipwrights. Carthage the towne it selfe, in so great store of wealth and warlike provision, was the least of all other. That day *Scipio*, having committed the charge of guarding and keeping the citie, unto *Laelius* and the mariners, brought back the legions into the camp, & commaunded the soldiours to refresh their bodies with food and rest, wearied as they were, and over-laboured in one day with all manner of toile and work that belongeth to war-service: as who, had both fought a battell in the field, and also taken so great paines, and undergone so much hazard and danger, in assaulting and forcing the citie; yea and after it was woon, had fought with disadvantage of ground, with those that were fled into the castle. E The next day, after he had called both souldiours and mariners together, first he rendered laud and praise, yea, and thanks unto the immortall gods, who in one day had not only made him lord of the most mightie and wealthie citie in all Spaine, but also had laid up for him there against his coming, all the riches wellneere of Africk and Spaine: whereby as the enemies now had nothing left them, so he & his had all things plentiful. Then he commended the vertue and valour of his souldiours, whom neither the falyng out of the enemies could fright, nor the mightie height of the walls skare, nor the blind and untried foulds of the lake could once dismay, nor the situation of the castle seated upon an high cliffe terrifie, ne yet the castle it selfe most strongly built and fortified, was able to daunt and make afraid, but that they would passe F over all and breake through all. And therefore albeit every one of them deserved at his hands all rewards, yet the principall honour of a murall crowne and garland, belonged properly unto him that first skaled and mounted over the wall. Come he forth therefore (quoth hee) and shew himselfe, who taketh himselfe worthie of that gift, and let him claime his due. Whereupon there were two that put in for it, and demanded the same, *Q. Trebellius*, a Centurion of the fourth Legion, and

and *Sex. Digitus*, a servitor at the sea. Neither strived these parties themselves so hotely about the matter, as the love and favour of them set all the whole armie divided into legionarie fouldiours, and servitors at sea, in an heat of contention, to labour for him that belonged to their side, and was a member as it were of their bodie. *C. Lelius* Admirall of the fleet, went with the failers and sea men. *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* was altogether for the legionarie land-fouldiours. This debate was like to breede a skab, and to raise a very mutinie in the host. Whereupon *Scipio* pronounced that he would appoint as Delegates three Commissioners, to sit upon the cause who should take the depositions of witnesses, and give their verduict accordingly, whether of these two persons entred over the wall first into the towne. Now because *C. Lelius* and *M. Sempronius* were advocates to the one partie and the other, he therefore adjoynd unto them a third person, one *P. Cornelius Caudinus*, to go as an indifferent mediatur between them two: and gave order and commaundement, that those other three commissioners abovesaid should sit together, and heare and determine the controversie. When as the matter grew to a greater heate of contention, by reason that men of such marke and worth, were acquainted with the action, and had their hand in it, who were not so much advocates to plead, but moderatours and judges to beate downe a side; *C. Lelius*, rising out from the court, came to the tribunall seat unto *Scipio*: and informed him that the manner of proceeding in this matter in question, was without all good order, modestie and reverence; and so handled, that they were like to go together by the eares, and try it out by knocks. But, be it quoth he, that no blowes be dealt, yet it is a most shameful example and detestable precedent, that the honor & guerdon due to vertue, should be caried by fraudulent coven and ungodly perjurie. For quoth he, the legionarie fouldiours stand of the one hand, the sea servitors on the other, and readie they be to sweare on both sides all the othes of God, and to that rather which their will and affection carieth them to, than which in their conscience they know to be true. By which guilt of forswearing and perjurie, they will not only bring a curse and vengeance upon themselves and their owne lives, but also upon the ensignes, standards, and very *Aegles*, yea and their religious militarie oth and sacrament. Thus much I thought good to give you advertisement of afore-hand, & that by the advise of *P. Cornelius*; and *M. Sempronius*. *Scipio* after he had highly praised *Lelius*, called the fouldiours to an assemblie, and there with a loud voyce pronounced and sayd thus; I am sufficiently enforced upon certaine relation, that *Q. Trebellius*, and *Sex. Digitus* scaled the wall both together, and therefore I award as well to the one as to the other a murall garland, in token and testimonie of their singular vertue. Then he rewarded the rest also, according to every mans desert and valorous service. But above all other, he honoured *C. Lelius* Admirall of the fleet, not only in matching him equally with himselfe in all commendable parts and qualities, but also in presenting him with a coroner of beaten gold, and thirtie oxen. Then he gave commaundement that the hostages of the cities and States of Spaine should be called forth. What a number were of them, I am abashed and loth to set downe in writing: for as much as I find in some Chronicles, that they were upon some three hundred; in others 725. The like varietie there is of other matters, amongst fundry writers. One writeth that the Punick garison were ten thousand: another 7000: and a third comes with his two thousand, and no more. I meet with one record which reporteth, that there were 10000 taken prisoners: and another, that there were above 25000. Of Scorpions or Crosbowes, great and small, I should say there were gained some 60; if I would take for mine author *Silenus*, a greeke writer: but if I follow *Valerius Antias* and go by him, I should tell you a tale of sixe thousand of the greater sort, and thirteene thousand of the smaller. See how little rule they had of their tongues to over-reach, or stay of their pens to set downe so lowd lyes upon record. Nay, they are not well agreed so much as upon this point, who were the great Capitaines and commaunders. Most of them say that *Lelius* was L. Admirall: there be againe that would have *M. Iunius Syllanus* to be the man. And *Armeis* was capitaine of the Punick garison; and yielded to the Romanes, if ye list to beleve *Valerius Antias*: but by the testimonie and credit of others, it was *Mago*. Moreover, the records accord not about the number of ships that were taken, nor of the weight of gold and silver, neytr of the summe of money that was raised of the pillage. To conclude, if we must needs beleve some one or other, the meane betwene is the best, and carieth most likelihood of the truth.

But to retorne againe to *Scipio*: When he had called forth the hostages into his presence, first he bad them all in generall to be of good cheere: for why? they were now in the hands of the people

A people of Rome, who ever desired to bind men unto them by favours and good turnes, more than to awe them with feare and dread: and to have forain nations knit and joyned in faithfull amitie, rather than held in subjection by heavie servitude. Then after he had taken the names in writing of their severall cities, he also reviewed the number of the prisoners, and counted just how many belonged to every State. Which done, he dispatched messengers home into their countries, willing their parents & friends to come and receive every man their owne. If haply any embassadours of their cities were present, he restored unto them their owne hostages without delay: for all the rest, he gave expresse charge to *C. Flaminius* the Treasourer, to see unto them in all kind, courteous, and liberall usage. Whiles he was busy in taking this order, there hapned to come from among the hostages, even out of the mids of the companie, an aged gentlewoman, the wife of *Mandonius*, brother to *Indibilis*, a Prince and great lord of the Ilergetes. Shee shed teares, and fell downe prostrate at the feete of the L. Generall: and withall began to beseech him most instantly, to give a more speciall charge, concerning the custodie of the women-fex: and to recommend them to their keepers, for to be regarded with a carefull eye, and to be kept and attended on more tenderly. Why? quoth *Scipio*, I warrant thee good woman, they shall want for nothing that is meet for them. Then replieth this Dame again, We stand not so much (quod she) upon these termes; for a little thing God wot may serve and content them in this poore estate and low condition: my care is for another matter, when I consider and behold the young and tender age of these maidens here. As for my selfe, I am now past date, and without danger of that injurie, which our sexe is subject and exposed unto. Now there stood about her, the daughters of *Indibilis*, virgins in the fresh prime and floure of their age, and passing faire and beautifull withall; besides some other ladies as nobly borne as they: who all, honored her as their naturall mother that bare them. Then *Scipio*, I would (quoth he) in the ordinarie course as well of mine owne discipline, as of that which is established by the people of Rome, have a respective consideration, that no one thing among us should suffer abuse, which elsewhere in any place of the world is held inviolable: this would I do, I say, for mine own credit, and for the honor of Rome: but to have a more speciall eye that way, your owne vertue also & worthineffe bindeth me: who in the mids of these your calamities and miseries, have not forgotten your womanly cariage & the honour of your sexe. And therupon he delivered them over to the custodie of a man of approved honestie & integritie, commanding him to gard them with no lesse reverence, modestie, & continencie, than if they were the wives or mothers of their neere friends that gave them entertainment.

After this, there was presented unto him by his soldiours, a damofell & virgin of ripe years, taken also prisoner: but so well favored & surpassing in beautie, that wheresoever she went, every mans eye was upon her, in admiration of so rare and perfect a creature. *Scipio* having enquired of her countrie where shee was borne, and likewise of what parents shee was descended; among other things learned, that shee was espoused & affianced to a yong Prince of the Celtiberians, whose name was *Allucius*. Forthwith he sent home to her parents and foresaid spouse, for to repaire unto him: and in the meane time, he understood that her husband that should be, was wonderfully enamoured of her, and readie to die for her love. So soon as the yong gentleman was come, *Scipio* entred into more familiar speech with him, than he did either with the father or mother of the maiden, and in these tearmes he entertained him. I am a young man (quoth he) as well as your selfe. Come on therefore, let us yong men both, devise and common together more freely, and not be too nice, coy, and bashfull one to the other. After that your espoused wife taken captive by our fouldiours, was brought unto me, and that I heard of the exceeding fanfic and affection that you cast unto her, I beleevd it full wel: for her singular beautie deserveth no lesse. Now, for as much as my selfe, if I might be allowed to use the pastimes of youth (I meane no otherwise than in honest & lawful love) & were not called away by the common-weal, & employed wholly in other affairs of state, I would think to be pardoned and held excused, if I had an extraordinarie liking to a spouse of mine owne, and loved her extreemly. I must therefore needs favour and tender your love, which is the thing I can, considering that I may not the other in any wise. Your sweet-heart and best beloved I have entertained, as well, and as respectfully, as she should have bene with your father and mother in law, who are her owne kind and naturall parents. Reserved she hath bene & kept for you alone, that you might receive her at my hands, unspotted and untouched, and a present becoming me and you both. In lieu and recompence therefore, of this boone and gift which I now bestow upon you, I require at your hands againe this onely promise

The rare continence and civility of Scipio

11 wife and faithfull covenant, that you will bee a friend and well-willer to the state of Rome. And if
 12 you take me in deed to bee a good and honest man, such, as these nations and people here, have
 13 knowne my father and uncle to have bene before me: know you thus much, that in the citie of
 14 Rome there are many more like unto us: and that there cannot at this day, a nation in the world
 15 be named, which you would wish lesse to bee an enemy to you and yours, or desire more to en-
 16 tertaine as your friend. The young gentleman being abashed for very modestie, and yet right
 17 glad and joyfull withall, held *Scipio* by the hand, called upon all the gods, and besought them in
 18 his behalfe, to thanke and recompence him therefore, since it lay not in his owne proper power,
 19 in any proportion or measure to be thankfull and make requital, either as himselfe could wish, or
 20 as *Scipio* had deserved. Then were the parents & kinsfolke of the maid called for: who seeing the
 21 damosell freely rendred and given them againe, for whose raunsome and redemption they had
 22 brought with them a sufficient summe of gold: fell to intreating and requesting *Scipio*, to vouch-
 23 safe for to accept the same at their hands, as a gift and token of their good will: assuring him, that
 24 in so doing, they should take themselves no lesse bound and beholden unto him, than for the re-
 25 storing and delivering of the virgine untouched and undefiled. *Scipio* seeing them so earnest and
 26 importunate, promised for to receive it, and withall, commaunded that it should be laid downe
 27 at his feet: and calling *Allucius* unto him, Here (quoth he) over and besides all your other dow-
 28 rie which your father in law must pay you, have from me thus much more money to mend your
 29 marriage with, take this gold therefore to your selfe, and keepe it for your owne use. And so after
 30 this rich reward given, and great honour done unto him, hee was dismissed, and departed home
 31 with much joy and hearts content: where he made report unto his countreymen and people, of
 32 the praise-worthie vertues of *Scipio*, and the favours from him received. Saying moreover, there
 33 was come into Spaine, a young man resembling the immortall gods in all respects; who as well
 34 by bountie, liberallitie, and bestowing benefits, as by martiall prowes and force of arms, is in the
 35 very way to win and conquer all. So when he had assembled and mustred all his vassails and ten-
 36 nants, he returned within few daies, accompanied with a traine of foure teene hundred of the best
 37 and most choise horsemen of his countrie.

Scipio keeping *Laelius* still with him, untill by his advise and counsell, hee had disposed of the
 captives, hostages, and other prizes and pillage: after hee had settled all in good order, appoint-
 ed a Galeace of five bankes of oares, wherein he embarked the prisoners, with *Mago* and some
 fifteen Senators besides, who together with him were taken, & sent them to Rome with a messen-
 38 ger, to carrie tidings of this victorie. Himselfe determined to sojourne a few daies in Carthage,
 39 which time he spent in training and exercising his souldiours, as well of land service as at sea. The
 40 first day, he caused the legions to runne too and fro in their armour, foure mile out in length. The
 41 second day, he commaunded them to scoure and furbush their harnessse & weapons before their
 42 tents. Upon the third day, they joined & encountered in battell wise, & practised to fight with blunt
 43 wasters and bastons; yea and launced one at another darts & javelens, rounded at the point end
 44 with bals, in maner of foiles. The fourth day they rested and reposed themselves. On the fift day,
 45 againe they ran at turnement, as before, armed. This order they kept, exercising, laboring, and
 46 resting by turnes, so long as they abode at Carthage. And thus much for the Legionarie souldi-
 47 ours. The sea servitours and mariners used in calme water and still weather, to row up into the
 48 sea, and there to make triall of the nimblenesse and agilitie of their ships, representing shewes of
 49 sea-fight and skirmish. Thus without the citie, they enured their bodies, & quickened their spi-
 50 rits and courages, both on land and water. Within the towne, there was nothing heard but pre-
 51 paration of warre furniture. All the publicke shops and worke houses, full of smithes, engineers,
 52 and all other artificers for the purpose, plying their worke, and never going from it. The Gene-
 53 rall himselfe, as supervisor, with equall and indifferent care oversaw all. One while he would bee
 54 with the armada in the harbour: another while, he conversed among the legions, and turnoid
 55 with them. A time he would set by, for to visit the workes about the walles, & see how they went
 56 forward. Otherwile he would be in the shops aforesaid, among the multitude of the carpenters
 57 and smithes, and other artificers, viewing what they did there; and in the arsenal and ship-docks,
 58 observing and marking how much they went forward, day by day, striving a vie as they did, who
 59 could do most and quit himselfe best. Having thus set them a worke, repaired the wals which he
 60 had battered and shaken, and placed certaine guards there, for the defence of the citie; he tooke
 61 his journey to Taracon: and all the way he was visited and plied with fundrie embassages. Some
 62 of

A of them hee answered and dispatched as hee was in his journey: others he put off, to give their
 attendance at Taracon: for thither he had summoned all the allies and confederates, both new
 and old, to meet him. And in manner, all the cities and States on this side Iberus, and many
 also of the farther province of Spaine there assembled.

The Carthaginian captaines and commanders at the first for the nonce, suppressed & stop-
 ped the rumour of the winning of Carthage. But when the thing was too too apparent, & could
 not be hidden and smothered, they used all the words they could to elevate it, and make the mat-
 ter lesse than it was. To wit, that by a suddaine invasion and expedition of the Romans in one day
 (as it were) by stealth, it chanced that one of the cities of Spaine was surprisid, that the insolent
 and foolish yong man bearing himselfe prodigally proud, & jocound beyond all measure, would
 B seeme to make up the measure of so small a catch that he hath gotten, with a great shew of a brave
 victorie: but when he shall heare once, that there are three Generals comming toward him, and
 three victorious armies of enemies, he will soone pull in his hornes: he will then tell us another
 tale, when presently he shall call to remembrance with greefe of every vain in his heart, the death
 of father, of uncle, and other progenitors. These and such like speeches, they gave out among
 the people and common sort, knowing in their own conscience what a blow they had caught, and
 how much their strength was decayed by the losse of new Carthage.



THE XXVII. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIVS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Citie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the seven and twentieth Booke.



1 *Numerius Fulvius* the Proconsull was slaine, and with his armie utterly defeated by *Annibal* at
 2 *Herdona*. But *Cl. M. arcellus* the Consull had better fortune in a battell against him, before *Nu-*
 3 *mistro*. From whence *Annibal* dislodged and departed by night. *M. arcellus* pursued after him, and
 4 ever as he fell off followed him hard still, untill he gave him battaile. In the former fight *Annibal*
 5 had the better, but *M. arcellus* in the latter. *Fabius M. maximus* the father being Consull, had the
 6 *Tarentines* yeelded up unto him by treason. In Spaine, *Scipio* fought a battaile with *Asdruball*
 7 the sonne of *Annibal*, at *Betula*, and was the field. Among others there was a boy taken prisoner
 8 of triall blood, and of incomparable beautie: whom he sent with rich gifts unto *M. arcellus* his uncle by the mother. *Clau-*
 9 *M. arcellus*, and *T. Quintinus Crispinus* the Consuls, who chanced to goe out of their campe, to discover as espials the
 10 countie, were forelaid by an ambusc of *Annibal*, and entrapped. Where *M. arcellus* was slaine: *Crispinus* fled. In this booke
 11 containeth also the wars and exploits atchieved by *P. Sulpitius* the Pretor, against *Philip* and the *Acheans*. The Cen-
 12 sor held a solemn survey and numbring of citizens, and purged the citie. In which survey there were found of Romanes ci-
 13 zens 337108. By which account it was seen, how many the people of Rome had lost, by the adverse fortune of so many
 14 battailes. *Asdruball*, who with an armie had passed over the Alpes for to joine with *Annibal*, was slaine, and with him
 15 56000 men besides, by the conduct of *M. Livius* the Consull, but not without the equall good service of *Cl. Nero* the other
 16 Consull: who being appointed to make head against *Annibal*, left the campe so, as the enemy was not ware thereof, and
 17 with an elect power of battie men, environed and enclosed *Asdruball* about, and so defeated him.

H h h

Thus



Hus stood the affaires in Spaine. In Italie the Consull *Marcellus* having recovered Salapia by composition, wan by force two towns from the Samnites, Maronea and Meles. Where there were slaine three thousand of *Anniball* his souldiours, who had bene left there in garrison. Some good portion of the pillage was shared amongst the souldiours. Of wheat betides, there was found there 240000 measures called Modij, & of barley 110000. But the joy from hence was not so great, as the losse and dammage received within few daies after, not far from the citie Herdonea. *Cn. Fulvius* the Pro-consull lay there encamped upon hope to regainethat citie, which after the defeature at Cannæ, had revolted from the Romanes: a towne neither seated in a place of suretie, nor yet well furnished and manned for defence. The captaine thereof (*Cn. Fulvius* aforesaid) was by nature ever negligent, but growne much more retchlesse now, presuming upon a vaine hope that he had of them within, in that he perceived how the townsmen alreadie began to faile in their devotion & faithfull allegiance to the Carthaginians, especially after they heard, that upon the losse of Salapia, *Anniball* was departed out of those parts into the Brutians country. *Anniball* had intelligence of all this brought unto him from Herdonea by secret messengers, which, as it caused him to have a carefull eie to the saving and keeping of a friend citie, so it ministred good hope unto him for to surpris his enemye at unwares and unprovided. Whereupon with his armie lightly appointed, hee tooke long journeys, and made hast to Herdonea, so as hee prevented almost the fame and bruite of his coming. And to strike the more terrour into his enemye, hee thither marched in battaile array. The Romane Generall, as adventurous and bold as he every way, but nothing at all so polliticke nor so strong, brought his forces forth in more hast than good speed, and gave him battaile. His fifth legion, and the left wing or cornet of Cavallerie, began the skirmish, & charged hotely. But *Anniball* had given his horsemen direction, that when the Infanterie was in the midst of skirmish, with mind and eie wholly occupied that way, they should wheele about and fetch a compasse, and whiles some of them assailed the camp, the rest should play upon the back of their enemyes: himselfe iterating estoones unto his men the name of *Cn. Fulvius*, for likenes sake, because two years before in the very same quarters, he had vanquished another *Cn. Fulvius* who was Pretour also, assured them of the like successe now in this conflict. And verily this conceit and hope of his, proved not vaine and frustrate. For when as in close fight and skirmish of the footmen, many of the Romanes were fallen downe and slaine, but so, as yet the ranckes stood unbroken, and the ensignes upright, behold, a suddaine fresh charge of the horsemen on their backe, and a great shout of the enemyes withall descried and heard from the campe, first discomfited the sixth legion, which being marshalled in the second battailon, had bene put in disarray before by the Numidians, and then the fifth, and so consequently, even those that fought in the forefront of the vaward before the ensignes. Some fled amaine, others were killed in the midst betwene, where *Cn. Fulvius* himselfe with twelve Tribunes or knight marshals were left dead in the place. Of Romanes and Allies how many died in that medley, who is able to set downe for certaine; seeing in some records I find the number fiftene thousand, and in others not above seven thousand.

The conqueror *Anniball*, was maister likewise of the camp and all the pillage there. As for the towne Herdonea, because he understood for truth, that it minded to have revolted unto the Romanes, and would not continue fast in their fidelitie, if his backe were once turned: after hee had conveyed away the multitude of the inhabitants to Metapontum & the Thurians, he set it on fire and burnt it quite. The nobles and principall citizens, who were known to have had secret talke and conference with *Fulvius*, he put to death. The Romanes, who out of so great an overthrow escaped, made shift by divers and sundrie waies to flic, halfe naked as they were, to *Marcellus* the Col. into Samnium. But *Marcellus* nothing dispaied and affrighted at this so great defeature, addresseth his letters to the Senate at Rome, with advertisement of the losse of the captaine generall, and the armie at Herdonea: giving them yet to understand, how himselfe, even hee who after the Cannian field had tamed and daunted *Anniball*, as lustie and proud as he was upon that victorie, was minded presently to encounter him, and make him take no long joy and pleasure, wherein now he so vaunted and exalted himselfe.

And at Rome verilie, as they mourned much for the losse past, so they feared as greatly the future

A future daungers. The Consull having passed out of Samnium into the Lucanes countrie, sate down before Numistro, in the very sight of *Anniball*, & there in a plaine encamped himselfe, notwithstanding the enemye was possessed before of the hill, and had the vantage of the ground. And for to make more shew of his owne confidence, and how little he feared, hee first brought forth his men, and marshalled them in order readie to bid battaile. *Anniball* so soone as he saw the ensignes advanced forth of the gates, staied not behind. And they arranged their battailes in such manner, as that the Carthaginians with the right wing tooke up part of the hill, & the Romanes displayed their left wing in length, to the very walls of the towne. After they had continued fight from the third hower of the day unto night, and that the vaunguards on both sides were wearie with maintaining of skirmish so long; then the first legion of the Romanes, with the right wing of their horsemen, the Spanish soldiours also of *Anniball* his part, the Balearian slingers likewise, together with the Elephants, began to fight, whiles the rest were alreadie in hote conflict, and close together. For a long time the medley thrunk not of any hand. The first legion of the Romanes was seconded with the coming in of the third: & among the enemyes likewise, there came in new souldiours that were lustie, in place of the foiled and wearied. Whereby, of a lingring and long skirmish, there began all on a suddaine, a new, hote, and cruell battaile, by reason that their courages were fresh, and their bodies in heart. But the night parted the fray, and left the victorie doubtfull in the midst. The morrow after, the Romanes from sun-rising stood arraunged in the field until it was fare day: and seeing none of the enemyes appeare and shew themselves, they fell to gather up the spoiles by leaseure, & heaped up in one place all the bodies of their own men that were slaine, and made one great fire, and burnt them to ashes. The night ensuing, *Anniball* dislodged secretly without any noise, and departed into Apulia. And *Marcellus*, so soone as daylight discovered the flight of his enemye (leaving his hurt & wounded people at Numistro with a small guard, and *L. Furius Purpurio* a Colonell to be their captaine) followed him by his steps, and at Venusia overtooke him. There for certaine daies, passed some sallies from the guards of both armies, whiles both horse and foot one with another, rather made slight skirmishes, than any set battailes; and lightly the Romanes had alwaies the better hand. From thence the armies were conducted through Apulia, without any memorable fight at all, by reason that *Anniball* in the night season ever set forward, seeking some opportunitie of forelaying & entrapping his enemye; and *Marcellus* never followed but in broad daylight, and sent out his espials before to cleere the coasts.

In this meane while *Flaccus* spending the time at Capua, in making port-sale of the noble mens goods, and in setting and letting out to ferme, the land which was confiscate and forfeit to the common wealth of Rome (and all for a rent of corne) there hapned a new complot and practise which lay hidden for the time, to be detected and come to light, to the end that he might never want one matter or other to take occasion for to plague and torment the Campanes. He had taken order that his souldiours should remove out of the houses within the town, partly for that as well the tenements of the said towne within as the lands without, should be rented forth: and partly for fear least the exceeding pleasantnes and delectable seat of that citie should effeminate his armie, as it had done the host of *Anniball* before time: and commaunded

E them to bu. ld themselves about the gates and along the walls, cottages and sheds in warlike fashion, and only to serve for souldiours. These were most of them made of hurdles and boards, some watted and wound with reedes, and all of them thatched with straw and stubble, as it were of purpose to minister fuell for fire. Now there were some hundred and seventie Campanes had conspired at one certaine houre of the night to set all a fire: and the principall heads and chieftaines were certaine brethren of the *Blosij*: and it fortuneth that by some of the same house and familie the conspiracie was disclosed. Whereupon at once the gates were made fast by the commaundement of the Proconsull: and the alarme being stricken up and sounded, all the souldiers ran together. All those that were partie or privie to the intended treason, were apprehended, and after rigorous examination had by torture, they were condemned and executed: the informers were made free, and had each one a reward of 10000 pecces of brasse called Ases.

When the Nucernines and Acerranes made mone that they wanted place of habitation, for as much as Acerræ was in part burnt, and Nuceria utterly rased and destroyed: *Marcellus* referred them over to the Senate of Rome, and sent them thither. The men of Acerræ had leave graunted to re-edifie againe their owne edifices which were burned: But they of Nuceria, according

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ding to their owne desire, were translated to Atella, and the Atellanes commanded to remove unto Calatia, there to dwell.

Amids the managing of many and weightie affaires, which falling out variably one while well, another while ill, builed and amused the minds of men; yet the Romanes forgot not the castle of Tarentum: for *M. Ogulnius* and *P. Aquilius*, went as embassadors into * *Ætolia*, for to buy up corne, to be conveighed and brought to Tarentum: and a thousand souldiours out of the citie armie, wherof the number of Romanes and Allies was all one, were sent with the sayd corne thither to lye in garison.

Now was the summer at an end, and the time drew neere of the Consuls election. But the letters of *Marcellus* unto the Senate (wherein he signified that it was not for the good of the Commonwealth to depart one foote from *Anniball*, whom he himselfe pursued still at heeles, and so much the more hotely, because he fell off and forbare to fight :) set the LL. of the Senate into a great perplexitie, for feare either to call away the Consull from the warres, especially now in the mids of his best service, or to be without Consuls the next yeare. But it was thought in the end the best course, that *Valerius* the Consull, although he were not in Italie, but beyond sea, should rather be sent for, and called forth of Sicilie. So by order from the Senate, there were letters dispatched unto him, from *L. Manlius* the Pretour of the citie, together with those other letters of *M. Marcellus* the Consull: to geve him to understand, what the reason was, why the LL. called him rather out of his Province, than his colleague and companion in government.

At the same time there fortunied Embassadors to come unto Rome from King *Syphax*, recounting what prosperous warres their king had fought with the Carthaginians, assuring the Senate, that their lord and maister, as he was not a greater ennemie to any nation than to the Carthaginians, so he was not more readie to friend any state than the Romanes: saying moreover, that he had sent aforetime his Embassadors into Spaine unto the Romane Generals *Cn.* and *P. Scipions*, and now was most willing to seeke for the amitie and friendship of the Romanes even at the very fountaine and well head. The Senate not only returned answer to those embassadors in most gracious & courteous termes, but also addrest embassadors of their owne with rich gifts unto the king, and by name, *L. Genutius*, *P. Petellius*, and *P. Popilius*. The presents which they caried, were a side robe, and a kirtle of purple, an yvorie chaire, a boll or cup of beaten gold, weighing five pound. These Embassadors had in commission and charge, presently after they had dispatched with the king, to visit other princes and great lords of Affrick: and for to bestow on them also, they caried robes purpled and embrodred with purple, and golden bowles of three pound weight. Likewise there were sent as farre as Alexandria (in Egypt) unto *K. Ptolomeus* and *Cleopatra* the queene, *M. Atilius*, and *M. Ailius* as embassadors, for to call to remembrance, and renew the old friendship: and to them also they presented gifts, namely unto the king a long robe and a kirtle of purple, with an yvorie chaire: unto the queene a rich mantle of Baudkin, wrought with sundrie colours, with a vaile of purple.

In this summer time, whiles these foresaid matters passed, there were from out of the cities and countrie townes adjoyning, many prodigious sights, and fearefull tokens reported. At Tuscullum, there fell a lambe, having an udder yeelding milke: the louver or lantern of the temple of *Jupiter* was stricken with lightning, and in manner all the rouse uncovered. And much about those daies at Anagnia, the very soyle and ground before the gate thereof, caught fire with lightning, and for one day and night burned so, without any matter of fuell: and the foules and birds of the aire forsooke their nests which they had built in trees of the grove consecrated to *Diana*, neere unto the carrefour or crosse waie of Anagnia. Neere unto Tarracina there were scene in the sea not farre from the haven, serpents of an huge and wonderfull bignesse, to leap up above the water, and to disport and play like fishes. At Tarquinij, a swine farrowed a pig with a mans face. Also in the territorie of Capena, about the grove and temple of *Feronia*, there were foure statues sweat much bloud a day and a night. These fearefull tokens were by a decree of the Prelats purged and expiate, by greater sacrifices. And a solemne Supplication proclaimed one day at Rome in every church and chappell before all the shrines of the gods: and another day in the territorie of Capena, at the said grove and chappell of *Feronia*.

M. Valerius the Consull, called by the foresaid letters of the Senate, after he had recommended the charge of the province and the armie, unto *Cincius* the Pretour; and sent *M. Valerius Messala* the Admirall of the navie, with a certaine number of ships into Affrick, as well to fetch

A in prizes, as to espie and learne what the people of Carthage did and went about: himselfe with ten saile tooke the seas, and having a prosperous fore-wind arrived at Rome. And being come, presently he assembled the Senate, where he declared what acts and deeds he had performed in his province, namely, Whereas for the space almost of threescore yeares there had bene warre in Sicilie both by land and sea, and the same oftentimes fought with great losse and many defeats; that he now had brought those troubles to an happie end, and set the province in quiet. That there was not in all Sicilie one Carthaginian left; nor one Sicilian, of all them that for feare had bene chased and driven out from thence, but was returned and there replanted; that they were all brought home againe to their owne cities to inhabit, to their own lands, to plough and sow; that now at last, the fore-let and wast ground was husbanded againe, and made fruitfull, not only for the profit and commoditie of the occupiers and tenants thereof, but also for the most assured reliefe and sustentation of the people of Rome, both in warre and peace. After this, *Mutines*, and the rest who had deserved any thing well of the citie of Rome, were brought into the Senat: unto whom, both all and some (for the credit of the Consull, and to discharge him of his promise unto them) there were rendred all sorts of honorable recompense. *Mutines* also was enfranchised citizen of Rome, and a Bill was preferred in that behalte to the people, by the Tribune of the Commons, and with the graunt and auctoritie of the Senate.

During these affaires at Rome, *M. Valerius Messala* arrived in Affrick with a flecte of 50 sayle, and being landed one morning before day, sodainly and unwares to the people of the countrie, made a roade into the territorie about Vtica: and having forraid it farre and neere, taken many men and women prisoners, and raised a great bootie of all sorts of things besides, returned to the Armada, and crossed the seas back for Sicilie, and arrived againe at Lilybæum upon the thirtieth day after he loosed from thence, and tooke the seas first. Of the captives (after streight examination) he learned thus much (which also he set downe orderly in writing, and sent unto the Consull *Levinus*, that he might be acquainted likewise with the state of the affaires in Affrick) namely, that there were in Carthage five thousand Numidians, under the conduct of *Masaniissa* the sonne of *Gala*, a most forward young man, and a right valiant warriour; that there were other souldiers also throughout all Affrick waged and levied for money, readie to be transported and sent over into Spaine unto *Asdraball*, to the end that he with a most puissant power, might with all speed passe over into Italie, and joyne his forces with *Anniball*: that in the effecting of this designement, the Carthaginians were assuredly persuaded of the victorie. Moreover that there was a mightie navie a rigging and decking for to recover Sicilie againe, and as they verily thought, it should passe the seas very shortly.

These newes being red by the Consull, so troubled and disquieted the Senate, that they thought there was no tarying for the ordinarie election of Magistrates, summoned and called by the Consull, but that they should nominate a Dictatour of purpose to assemble that solemne Session, and the Consull immediately to returne againe into his province. But hereupon grew some debate and question for a time, while the Consull said, that he would nominate and create Dictatour *M. Valerius Messala*, who was then in Sicilie, and Admirall of the flecte: but the LL. replied againe and said, that a Dictatour might not be elected or declared without the territories of Rome, and those were all within the limits and marches of Italie. But after that *M. Lucretius* (a Tribune of the Commons) had put this controversie to question before the Senate for to be cast and decided by their opinions; then the Senate graunted out a decree, That the Consull before he departed from the citie, should put up a bill or supplication unto the bodie of the people, that it would please them to elect a Dictatour: and whom soever they by their suffrages chose, him should he pronounce and declare for the Dictatour: and in case the Consull refused so to do, then the Pretour of the citie should propose the same unto the people: and if not he neither, then the Tribunes should propound it unto the Commons. But when the Consull denied flatly to put it unto the people, being a thing merely belonging to his authoritie and place, and likewise expressly forbad the Pretour to do it: then the Tribunes of the Commons took the matter upon them, whereupon the commons graunted, that *L. Fulvius* who then was in Capua, should be nominated Dictatour. But the night before that very day that this assemblie of the commons was to be holden, the Consull departed privily, and tooke his journey toward Sicilie. The Nobles thus being disappointed and destitute, thought good to send letters unto *Marcellus*, for to lend his helping hand now unto the Common-weale, thus forsaken and abandoned

done by his colleague, and to declare him for Dictatour, whom the people had by their voices elected. So *Q. Fulvius* was pronounced Dictatour by *Marcellus* the Consull: & by vertue of the said act of the commons, *P. Licinius Crassus* the Arch-prelat, was by *Q. Fulvius* nominated Generall of the Cavallerie.

The Dictatour after he was come to Rome, sent *Cn. Sempronius Blaesus* his Lieutenant, whom he had at Capua, to the armie into the province of Hetruria, in stead of *G. Calpurnius* the Pretour: whom by his letters he moved to take the government of Capua, and his armie there. And himself sent out precepts for the solemne elections of Consuls, against the first Comitial day that hee might by law. But by reason of a contention that grew betweene the Tribunes of the Commons & the Dictatour, it could not passe & be performed. For the centurie *Galeria* of the younger sort, which by lot had the prerogative of giving their first voices, elected for Consuls *Q. Fulvius*, and *Q. Fabius*: unto whose election no doubt, the rest of the Tribes called forth in right course and lawfull order would have inclined, but that *C.* and *L. Arianus*, the Trib. of the Com, came betweene with their negative voice: who said, it stood not well with civillie, that one man should continue ever still in magistracie, and besides, that it was a more shamefull example and foule precedent, that himselfe should be created Consull, who assembled the election: & therefore, if the Dictatour would admit of his owne name, and allow himselfe eligible, they would not suffer the assembly to continue any longer: but if there might be some other propounded besides him, they would not hinder the proceedings thereof, untill all was finished. The Dictatour leaded in the behalfe of the election, & maintained the cause by the authoritie of the Senate, by the graunt and act of the Commons, and by sundrie examples of former times. For when *Cn. Servilius* was Consull, at what time as *Flaminius* the other Consull, was slaine at Thrasymentus; by order graunted out of the Senate, there was a bill preferred to the Commons, and the same passed by their voices, That so long as the warre continued in Italie, it might bee lawfull for the people to chuse and create Consuls againe, as often as they pleased, whom soever they would, out of the number of them that had bene Consuls. And as for examples (quoth he) in this case, I can alleadge both old and new: to wit, long ago *L. Posthumius Megillus* being Interrex, was even in that very election which he called and held, created Consull himselfe, with *Cn. Iun. Bruleus*: and of later daies *Q. Fabius* likewise, who verily would never have accepted of the Consullship, and suffered it to be hung upon him so continually, if he had deemed it to be against the good of the common-weale. After much debate and long alteration, interteined with sundrie like speeches, at length the Dictatour and the Tribunes agreed to this point, and agreed of this issue, That they would stand to the award & judgement of the Senat. The LL. of the Senat were all of this mind, that the present condition of the common-weale, required no lesse, but that the state and the affaires therof, should be managed by old & experienced captains and Generals, and such as were skilfull in feates of armes. And therefore they utterly misliked, that the election should be hindered and disturbed. Thus the Tribunes relented, and the election went forward and was finished. So there were declared Consuls, *Q. Fabius Max.* the fift time, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third time. Then were created Pretours, *L. Veturius Philo*, *T. Quintius Crispinus*, *C. Hostilius Tubulus*, and *C. Aurunculeius*. When the magistrats were once elected for the year, *Q. Fulvius* resigned up his Dictatours roume.

In the very end of this summer, a Carthagian fleet of fortie saile, under the conduct of *Amilcar* the Admiral, passed over into Sardinia, and at first invaded and wasted the territorie of Olbia: then, after that *P. Manlius Volsus* the Pretour there, shewed himselfe with an armie, they set a compass about, and failed to the other side of the Iland, and forsook the lands about Caralita: and so returned againe into Affricke, enriched with prizes and booties of all sorts.

In that year, divers priests died at Rome, and new substituted in their roumes. *C. Servilius* the Prelate or Pontifex, was invested and enstalled in stead of *T. Otilius Crassus*. In like manner *T. Sempronius Longus*, the son of *Caius*, was chosen Decemvir, deputed for holy ceremonies, in place of *T. Sempronius Longus*, the sonne of *Titus*. *M. Martius* the K. of Sacrificers departed this life: and *M. Aemilius Pappus* likewise the grand-Curio or Priest of the Curia: but to succede them, were no priests deputed that year. In this year also were Censors created, to wit, *L. Veturius Philo*, & *P. Licinius Crassus*, the High-priest. As for *Crassus Licinius*, had neither bene Consull nor Pretour, before hee was made Censor, but stepped straight from his Aediles roume, into the place of Censor. But these Censors neither made choise of new Senatours, nor yet did any publicke

A publicke act: the reason was, because *L. Veturius* died, wherupon *Licinius* also gave over the Censureship. The Aediles of the chaire *L. Veturius*, & *P. Licinius Varus*, exhibited the Roman games, and renewed them againe one daie more than ordinarie. The Aediles of the Commons, *Q. Catinus*, and *L. Porcius Licinius*, set up in the temple of *Ceres*, the molten images of brasse, which were made of the money taken for fines and amercements; and represented the plaies and pastimes to their office belonging, right stately and with great furniture and preparation, as the wealth and plentie of those times would afford.

In the end of this year, *C. Laelius* the Lieutenant of *Scipio*, arrived at Rome, the foure and thirtieth day after that hee lofed and tooke sea at Taracom. And as hee entred the citie with a mightie traine of captives, he set the people on running out of all parts, to see that sight. The morrow after, he was admitted into the Senate-house: where he related, that new Carthage the head citie of Spaine, was forced and woon in one day; that divers cities which had revolted, were received upon surrenders, and other new entred into societie & friendship with the people of Rome. And by enquire of the captives, they found their intelligences to agree in manner with the advertisements & tidings contained in the letters of *M. Valerius Messala*. But the thing that troubled the lords most, was the voiage of *Asdruball* into Italie, which hardly was able to withstand the forces of him and *Annibal* together, *Laelius* being brought into the generall assembly of the people, discoursed of the same points which hee had related in the Senate-house. And the Senate, in regard of the happie successe of *P. Scipio*, graunted by a decree, a solemne procession for one day; and gave order that *C. Laelius* with all convenient speed should make hast againe, & repaire C into Spaine with the very same ships that he brought from thence.

The winning of Carthage I have set downe in this year, having the warrant of many writers: and yet I am not ignorant, that some there bee, who have affirmed that it hapned the next year following. But me seemes, it was an unlikely matter, that *Scipio* should spend one whole year in Spaine, in doing just nothing.

Now when *Q. Fabius Max.* was Consull the fift time, & *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third time, on that very day upon which they entred their office (which was in the Ides of March) both of them by decree of the Senate, had the government of the province Italie: but so, as their jurisdiction was set out by the countries: so as *Fabius* should war about Tarentum, and *Fulvius* in the Lucanes and Brutiens countries, *M. Claudius* continued still in government one year longer. The D Pretours had their provinces parted betweene them by lot: unto *Caius Hostilius Tubulus*, fell the jurisdiction over the citizens, but to *L. Veturius Philo*, over foreigners, together with Gallia. *Titus Quintius Crispinus* ruled Capua, and *C. Aurunculeius* governed Sardinia. The armies were divided among the provinces in this wise: Vnto *Fulvius* were assigned the two legions which *M. Valerius Levinus* had in Sicilie: Vnto *Q. Fabius*, those in Hetruria, which were commaunded by *C. Calpurnius*. The citie armie was appointed to succed those legions in Hetruria: & *C. Calpurnius* was ordained to sit in the government of that province, & to have the leading of that armie which *Q. Fulvius* had. It was agreed moreover, that *T. Quintius* should be lord President of Capua, and have the charge of the armie there. And that *C. Hostilius* should receive the jurisdiction of *C. Lectorius* the Pro-pretour, over the province at Ariminum, and likewise his armie. Vnto *M. Marcellus* the same legions were allowed, wherewith he had warred so fortunatly when hee was Consull. Vnto *M. Valerius* and *L. Cincius* (for they also continued one year more, governors in Sicilie) was the armie remaining after the battaile at Cannæ, graunted: and they were commaunded to supply and make up all the companies thereof, out of those souldiours that were left of the legions of *Cn. Fulvius*. For the Consuls caused them to be fought out and gathered together, and sent them into Sicilie: and disgraced them with the very same kind of ignominious soulderie, in which the Cannians served: as also those, who remaining of the armie of *Cn. Fulvius* the Pretour, had bene thither sent by order from the Senate, for anger and despite that they fled like as the other. Vnto *C. Aurunculeius*, the same legions were given by decree in Sardinia, wherewith *P. Manlius Volsus* had ruled & governed that province. And *P. Sulpitius* having his government proroged for one year longer, was commaunded to rule Macedonia with the same legion and armada still. Thirtie Galleaces of five bankes of oars, were appointed to bee sent out of Sicilie unto Tarentum, to *Q. Fabius* the Consull. With the rest of the navie, it was agreed and order set downe, that *M. Valerius Levinus*, should either himselfe passe over into Affricke, for to forey & spoile the countie, or send *L. Cincius*, or *M. Valerius Messala*, whither of them he would.

For

For the government of Spaine there was no alteration, save only this, that *Scipio* and *Syllanus* had their commission continued, not for a yeare as the rest, but untill such time as they should be called from thence by order from the Senate. Thus were the provinces divided, and thus were the forces bestowed for this yeare.

Among other affaires of greater importance, the Election of the high Curio, or chiefe parish preist, who was to be elected in the room of *M. Aemilius* late deceased, renewed & set on foot again an old contention [betweene Commons and Nobles.] For the *Patritij* denied, That *C. Manilius* *Attilius* (who was the onely man of the Commons that stood for it) was eligible, and therefore not to be pricked; for as much as never any before him, obtained that sacerdotall dignitie, but one of Senatours calling. The Tribunes being called unto for their assistance, referred the matter to the Senate. And the Senate put it unto the people, for to be decided by them. So *C. Manilius* *Attilius* was the first Commoner that ever was created *Maximus Curio*, [i. the Grand-superintendent over all the Curiae in matters of religion.] And *P. Licinius* the Arch-bishop, constrained *C. Valerius Flaccus* to bee installed and inaugurate the flame of *Jupiter*, against his will. And *C. Licinius* was created Decemvir for holie rites and ceremonies, and for sacrifices, in steed of *Q. Mutius Scaevola* late deceased. The cause and occasion of inaugurating that Flamin by constraint and compulsion, I would willingly have concealed and smothered in silence, but that the ill name, wherein he was, turned afterwards to good fame and reputation. This *Flaccus* for his carelesse, loose, and riotous demeanure in his youth, in regard of which vicious course of life, he was odious to his owne naturall brother *L. Flaccus*, and other his kinsfolke, was for the same cause chosen Flamin, by *P. Licinius* the said Arch-bishop. This man, so soon as his mind was employed about church-matters and religious ceremonies, so suddainly all at once altered his life, and cast off his old behaviur, that there was not one of all the young men in Rome in more account and credite, nor better liked of the cheefe of the Nobilitie and LL. of the Senate, as well those of his owne house and linage, as others that were straungers unto him. And when hee saw himselfe grown generally into this good opinion and reputation among men, he began to have a very great conceit of his owne partes and worthinesse, in so much, as hee brought up an old custome againe, and was so bold as to take his place in the Senate house (a thing, that for many yeares space had been intermitted and discontinued, in regard of the base unworthinesse and insufficiencie of the former Flamines.) When he was entred into the Senate chamber, *C. Licinius* the Pretour willed him to goe forth, as being no place for him, and therewith drew him out: whereupon the Flamine called for helpe of the Tribunes of the Commons, pleading the ancient right and preheminance of that priestly dignitie, and alleading, that *C. Flaminius* in times past enjoyed that place, together with the pall, or embroidered rich robe, and the yvorie chaire. The Pretour on the other side came upon him againe and said, That right was not grounded upon old examples past all date, set out of Chronicles time out of mind: but he would needs have it to be carried by the most fresh practise of the newest and latest custome, affirming, That by prescription of the time, either of our fathers or grandfathers daies, there was no Flamine of *Jupiter* usurped that priviledge. The Tribunes, who were to moderate this question, gave their judgement thus, That if a thing were forelet, and discontinued through the supine negligence of some Flamines, it was worst for themselves; & they deemed it no reason, that it should hurt or prejudice the whole Priesthood. Whereupon, the Pretor himselfe forced not greatly upon the point, nor stood much with him, and so they admitted the Flamine into the house, with great consent of the Nobles, as well as of the Commons. And all men thus conceived of it, That the Flamine had obtained the thing, rather in regard of his sanctimonie and holinesse of life, than in the right of his sacerdotall dignitie.

The Consuls before that they went into their provinces, enrolled two legions of citizens, for to supplie and make up sufficiently the defect of all the other forces. The old citie armie, *Fulvius* the Consull committed unto *C. Fulvius Flaccus* his Lieutenant, (and brother he was besides to the Consull) for to be led into *Hetruria*; with direction, that the Legions already in *Hetruria* should be brought to Rome. And *Fabius* the Consull caused the residue of the armie of *Fulvius* to be sought up and rallied, which arose to the number of 3336: and commaunded his sonne *Q. Maximus* to lead them into Sicilie, unto *M. Valerius* the Pro-consull, and of him to receive the charge of two Legions, and the thirtie galliaces aforesaid, bearing five ranckes of oares. The withdrawing of these Legions out of the Island, nothing diminished nor abridged the garisons of

A of that province, either in strength or shew. For besides the two old legions, well and sufficiently fulfilled and furnished, he had a great power as well horse as foot, of Numidians, such as were fled from the adverse part unto the Romanes: and tooke up and levied besides for new souldiours, even those Sicilians also, who had ben of the armie of *Epicides* and the Carthaginians, men of approved valour, and skillfull Warriours. These foraine aids, when hee had put to each of the Romane legions, hee kept still the forme of two complete armies. With the one he gave order to *L. Cinquus* to defend that part of the island, which had been the realme of king *Hierax*; with the other, he maintained the rest of the Island, divided sometimes by the confines of the Romane and Punick dominions. There was a fleet also rigged and trimmed, consisting of severie ships, for to guard and defend all the maritime coasts, along the tract of the sea side. Himselfe in person, with the horsemen of *Mutines*, rode about all the province, for to visit the lands and grounds, and to take note which were tilled & well husbanded, which lay forelet and untilled, and to commend or chastise and rebuke the landlords and owners thereof accordingly. The care and regard of corne, thus farre forth did good, that the province was able both to send good store to Rome, and also to convey unto Catana sufficient to maintaine the armie, that was to lie in standing campe that summer about Tarentum.

But the souldiours who were transported over into Sicilie (and for the better part they were Latines and other Associates) were like to cause a great rising and commotion: whereby we may see, that of small occasions and beginnings oftentimes, arise great matters of important consequence. For the Latines and Allies in all their Diets and counsels at home, began to mutter and grumble, That now for tenne yeares space they were with continuall musters and payments of souldiours wages consumed and spent, that there was not a year in manner went over their heads, but it cost them some great losse and overthrow in battaile. Many were slaine in the warres, other died of diseases. So that a citizen of theirs, if he were taken and prest ones by the Romanes, for to be a souldiour, was more sure to perish, than if he were taken prisoner by the Carthaginians: for the enemie sent their captives backe againe gratis and without ranfome, home into their countrey; the Romanes posted and packed them away out of Italie, as confined to a place of banishment (to speake truly) rather than appointed to serve in warfare. For, see how the souldiours, remaining after the field of Cannæ, have continued there, and waxen old these eight yeares alreadie, and no doubt, there were they like to lay their bones, before that the enemie (who never so flourished, nor was so strong as now) would depart from thence. In case then that old souldiours returne not into their countrey, and new still be chosen, within a while there would be none left behind. And therefore best it were for them, before they were come to extreame povertie & desolation, presently to denie the people of Rome that, whiles somewhat is left, which shortly they must be driven to doe of very necessitie when all is gone. And if the Romanes see their Allies once agree together, and take this course, they will then verily bethinke themselves, and grow to some teames of making peace with the Carthaginians. For otherwise, be sure as long as *Anni-ball* hath a day to live, Italie will never be cleare of warres. These and such like speeches passed in their Diets aforesaid. There were at that time thirtie Colonies of the people of Rome: and whiles the Embassages from them all were at Rome, twelve of them denied the Consuls flatly, and said they were not able any longer to find either men or money. And those were these, *Ardea*, *Nepes*, *Sutrium*, *Circeij*, *Alba*, *Caracoli*, *Suessa*, *Sora*, *Seria*, *Cales*, *Narnia*, *Interamna*. The Consuls amazed at this strange and unexpected accident, being desirous to drive them out of that mind, and to skare them from so detestable a resolution, supposed they should prevaile more by chastising and rebuking, than by faire and gentle dealing: and therefore told them againe, That they had presumed to speake that unto the Consuls, which they againe were abashed and could not find in their hearts, to deliver and relate in the Senate house. For surely (say they) this is not a refusal of souldierie and ware service, but a very meere revolting from the people of Rome, and no better than an open rebellion. Therefore, they were best to return againe speedily into their severall Colonies, & to consult with their neighbors and countymen, while the matter remained yet all whole, as men who had rather let fall some words rashly at adventure, than resolved indeed to attempt & commit so heinous an act: yea, and to tell them, and put them in mind, that they themselves were neither Campanes nor Tarentines, but meere Romanes, from them descended, and of their race; from thence sent as Colonies, into the lands that were woen by conquest, for to breed increase and multiplie; and to admonish them, That whatsoever duties

duties children owe to their parents, the same they owed unto the Romans, if there remained in them any kind and naturall affection, any remembrance of their aunient native country: and to exhort them to consider better of the matter, & to lay their heads together anew. For as much as those designements of theirs, tended to betray the State and Empire of Rome, and to deliver the victorie of all unto *Anniball*. When the Consuls one after another had delt and bene in hand with them a long time in this manner: and the embassadors nothing moved with their words, made answer againe, That neither they knew what other message to bring home; nor their Senate what new counsell to take: since that they had not any more men to be mustred for fouldiours, nor money to be payed for wages: the Consuls seeing them so stiffely and obstinately bent, made relation thereof before the Senate, whereupon every man was stricken into so great feare and trouble of mind, that many of them gave out, that the empire of Rome was come to an end. The like, say they, will the rest of the Colonies do, and surely all our confederates and allies are combined and agreed to betray the citie of Rome unto *Anniball*. But the Consuls comforted the Senate, and bad them be of good cheere, saying, That all the other Colonies besides, would continue loyall and fast in their dutie and allegiance: and even those also which had failed in their obedience, if there might be embassadours sent amongst them, to rebuke and chastise them, and not to speake them faire and intreat them by way of prayer, would no doubt have a respective reverence of the majestie of the Romane empire. Now when the LL. of the Senate had committed the ording of this matter wholly unto them for to manage and handle, according as they should thinke good for the weale publick: after they had thoroughly sounded the hearts and minds of all the rest of the Colonies, they called and cited all the embassadors, and demaunded of them whither their fouldiers were in readinesse, according to the capitulations of the covenant. Then *M. Sextilius* of Fregellæ, made answer in the behalfe of eightene of them, That not only their fouldiers were readie according to the forme of the covenant, but also if more were needfull, more they would allow, and whatsoever els the people of Rome imposed upon them, and wished them to performe, the same would they streine themselves to do, to the utmost: for, as yet they had people store, and a purse good enough: and as for their heart, it was much better than their abilitie. The Consuls after they had made a short speech unto them by way of a preamble, saying that they thought it not sufficient for their desert to be commended from their mouth only, unlesse all the LL. generally in the Senate house, gave them condigne thanks with one voyce and common accord, willed them to follow after them thither. The Senate having thanked them, in as honorable termes as they could possibly devise, and entertained them with most gracious words, gave order to the Consuls, to bring them forth also in the face of the whole people of the citie: and before them, among other singular favours and kindnesse which they had shewed both unto them and also unto their auncestors, to make reherfall of this late good desert of others, which they affourded unto the Common-wealth: to the end, that now also, after so many ages and lives of men past they should not be forgotten and buried in silence, nor defrauded of their just prayse and due commendation. And these were they that remained true hearted and fast unto the citie of Rome: The Signines, Nolanes, and Norbanes; the Satriculanes, Brundusines, and Fregellanes; the Lucerines, Venusines, and Adrians; the Firmanes, and inhabitants of Ariminum. And from the other sea side the Pontianes, Pestanes, and Costanes: and of midlanders, the Beneventines, Efferlines, Spoletines, Placentines, and the inhabitants of Cremona. Vpon the aid and succour of these Colonies, the Romane state at this time rested and stood maintained: and these all were highly thanked both in the Senate, and in the assemblie of the people. As for the other twelve Colonies, which had refused to do their obedience, the LL. of the Senate gave expresse commaundement that they should not be so much as once minded or named: and that the Consuls should neither geve them their dispatch, nor reteine them still, nor so much as speake unto them. This silent kind of rebuke without word giving, seemed to stand most with the majestie and grandeur of the people of Rome.

Whiles the Consuls were diligent in providing and making readie all other things requisite and meete for the warres, it was thought good to bring abroad the *vicefmarie* gold [to wit, the twentieth part of all their tributes and revenewes] which had bene laid up and reserved apart in a more secret closet of the citie-chamber, against an hard winter (as they say) to serve for what need soever the common-wealth should stand in. So there was taken forth foure thousand pound weight

A weight of gold, whereof three hundred pound was geven to the two Consuls apiece, and so likewise to *M. Marcellus*, and *P. Sulpitius* the Proconsuls: and to *L. Veturius* the Pretour, unto whose lot the province of Fraunce befell. And *Fabius* the Consull had an addition besides himselfe above the rest of one hundred pound weight of gold, for to be caried into the castle of Tarantum. The rest of the gold they disbursed for to make readie payment downe upon the naile, unto them that undertooke to provide apparell for the armie in Spaine, which to their owne fame and the honor of their Generall, served there in the warres.

Moreover it was thought good that before the Consuls departed unto their Provinces, the prodigious tokens should be purged and expiate. On the Albane mount there were smitten with fire from heaven the image of *Jupiter*, and a tree standing neere unto the temple: likewise the lake at Hostia, the well at Capua, and the church of *Fortune*: and at Sinuessæ, the wall and gate of the towne. These I say were blasted with lightning, and smitten with thunderbolts. There were some also brought word, that the water at Alba ran bloud. And at Rome within the sanctuarie of the chappell of *Fors Fortuna*, a little image that stood upon her coronet, fell of it owne accord from the head of the goddesse into her hands. And at Privernum, it was for certaine reported and known of a truth, that an Oxe spake, and that a Vulture or Gripe flew into a shop in the market place, when it was full of people. And at Sinuessæ there was an infant borne of doubtful sexe, betweene male and female, (which the common sort call *Androgynoi*, as for the most part greeke names, admit more easy composition of two words than the latine) and there it rained milke, and a man child was borne with an Eliphants head. These strange and fearful signes

were expiate, and satisfaction made for them with greater sacrifices: and a solemne procession in all the churches and chappels, with prayers and supplications, was proclaimed for one day. Besides, a decree was graunted, that *C. Hostilius* the Pretour should vow and set out the games and playes of *Apollo*, in such manner as of late yeeres they had bene vowed and set forth.

About the same time *Q. Fulvius* the Consull held an assemblie for the creation of Censors, and elected Censors were *M. Cornel. Cethegus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, who neither of them had ever bene Coss. And by a graunt or commission from the Senate, there was a bill preferred unto the Commons, and the same passed, that these Censors should set and to ferme let the territorie of Capua. The revew of the Senate and choise of new Senatours was hindered and stayed, by reason of a contention betweene the two Censors, who should be the president of the Senat.

Now the choosing of him lay in *Sempronius* his hand. Howbeit *Cornelius* alleadged, that the custome and tradition of forefathers should be followed, namely, to elect him for President, who of all them that were now living, had borne first the office of Censor. And that was *T. Manlius Torquatus*. *Sempronius* replied againe and said, that as the gods had geven him by lot the first place, so they had graunted him free libertie to choose whom he would. And therefore he would elect *Q. Fabius Max.* whom at that time he was able to prove to be the principall man of all the citie, without exception, and take *Anniball* himselfe for the judge. After much variance and contesting of words, at length *Sempronius* by relenting and permission of his colleague, elected *Q. Fabius Max.* the chiefe Senatour. Then the Senate was changed, and new Senatours chosen, and eight were overpassed and left out, among whom was *L. Caelius Metellus*, he that

gave the infamous and shamefull counsell, to abandon Italie after the defeature at Cannæ. In noting likewise and disgracing the knights and gentlemen, the same cause was considered of, and tooke effect, but very few there were of them, that were touched with that infamie: but all those horsemen belonging to the Cannian legions who were in Sicilie (and no small number there was of them) had their horses taken from them: And to aggravate this sharp punishment and note of disgrace, they were plagued also with time of long warfare: for so many of them as had served with horse allowed by the citie, should not reckon upon the yeeres passed already, but were to follow warfare 10 yeere forward, and find themselves horses. Moreover these Censors after diligent search & survey, found out and met with a great number of those that ought to have served on horseback: and looke how many of them were fixteene yeeres old & upward at the beginning of the war, and had not bin employed in the warres, those all they disfranchised, & made *Ararii*, or contributaries. After this they bargained by the great, for the repairing and reedifying againe of those edifices which had bene consumed by fire about the Forum, [or market place] namely, the seven shops, the [fish] shambles, and the kings hall, or royall gallerie.

Thus when all things were finished which were to be done at Rome, the Consuls set forward to

to the warres. And first *Fulvius* went before to Capua: and some few daies after, *Fabius* followed: G who befought both his owne colleague by word of mouth most earnestly, and also *Marcellus* by effectual letters, to make sharpe warre upon *Anniball*, and to keepe him occupied, while hee failed Tarentum: which citie, if it were once taken from the enemy, he were then driven out of all, and having no place to put his head in, nor which he might make account to stand fast & truste unto him, he should have no reason at all, once to stay in Italie. Hee dispatched also a messenger to Rhegium unto the capitaine of the fort and garison, which by *Launus* the Consull was there placed against the Brutij: and those were eight thousand men. The greatest part of them, was of those good fellows, and that damned crew, whereof we spake before, who used to live by robbing & stealing, & were broght thither from Agaturna out of Sicilie. Vnto whom there were adjoynd many of the Brutij also fugitives from thence, and as good as themselves every way, H both for audaciouesnesse, & also, for needinesse, to set upon any bold adventure whatsoever. This power of men he commaunded should be lead to wast and spoile the Brutiens countrie first, and then to lie against the citie Caulonia, and to assault it. They having performed this service, not onely willingly and chearfully, but also with greedinesse; having also chased away and risted the husbandmen and peasants of the countrie, assailed the citie with all forcible means. *Marcellus* stirred up and provoked by those letters of the Consull: and having a good opinion of his own, that of all the Romane capitaines, there was not one so able to match *Anniball* as himselfe, left his wintering standing campe, so soone as ever there was forage and grasse in the countrie, tooke the field, and encountered *Anniball* at Cannusium. Now was *Anniball* in hand with the Cannusines, and solicited them to revolt. But hearing once that *Marcellus* approached, hee dislodged from thence. The countrie thereabout was plaine and open, without any covert places to bellow an ambush, and to lay traines in, therefore he began to retire himselfe from thence, into the wood-land parts. *Marcellus* tracked him still, and followed him hard at heeles, and encamped close unto him: and ever as hee had fortified and entrenched himselfe, he brought forth his men into the field, readie for battaile. *Anniball* entertaining small skirmishes, with certaine comes and troupes of horsemen, and with light appointed footmen, that launced darts and javelines, thought it not necessarie yet, to come unto a pight set battaile, and venture all upon one throw. Howbeit he was drawne to a fight, maugre his head, howsoever he labored to avoid it. For being gone afore one night, *Marcellus* overtooke him upon a plaine and open ground: and as hee was pitching his tents, he kept him from fortifying, by charging his pioners and labourers on every side. VVherupon they came to a very battel, & fought with all the forces they had on both sides: and when it grew toward night, they departed asunder on even hand: but before it was darke they had encamped not farre one from another, and in great hast made shift to fortifie themselves. The next morning by day light, *Marcellus* came forth into the field with all his power: neither refused *Anniball* the challenge, having with many words comforted and encouraged his soldiers, to remember Thrasymenus & Cannæ, to cut the comb & beate down & tame this fell stomacke and lustie courage of the enemy: who preaseth still (qd. he) and seeketh upon us, not suffering us to march on quietly in our journey, nor to pitch our tents: giving us no leave to breath ourselves, nor time to looke about us. There is not a morning, but so soone as the sunne is up in the horizon to give light to the world, the Romane armie is out in the field, to give us battaile. If we could draw bloud of him once, and set him out of the field with bloud about his eares, he would for ever after, fight more quietly, and take better leisure with him. With these and such like comfortable words and effectual remonstrances, they were well animated; as also provoked seeing themselves thus molested by the enemy, who day by day, never ceased to challenge, and brave them still: whereupon they began a fierce and cruell battaile. They had now continued fight above two houres; and then began the Romane Cavallerie from the right wing, and the extraordinarie souldiours that flanked the maine battaile, to give ground and dismarch. Which *Marcellus* perceiving, he brought forward the eighteenth legion in the vaward. And whiles some recule backe fearfully, others come forward but slowly, the whole battaile was put out of order, and disarayd; and so at length it was discomfited: and for that feare surmounted shame, they turned their backs and fled away agood. Slaine there were in the conflict and in the rowt together, some 2700 citizens and allies one with another: among whome, there were foure Romane Centurians, and two Colonels, *Marcus Licinius*, & *Marcus Fulvius*. Of militarie ensignes, there were foure lost of that right wing which first shrunke & lost ground; and two others of that legion

A legion which came to succour their fellows that gave backe and reculed. *Marcellus* after that he was returned into the campe, welcommed his souldiours with such a bitter & sharpe Oration, that the very words of the Generall in his anger and wrath, were more heave & grievous unto them, than the medley it selfe, which they had unfortunately endured all the day long before. I yceld praise yet, and render thanks to the immortal gods, (quoth he) as I may in such a case, that our enemies having vanquished & conquered you in the field, and driven you in so great feare to run headlong within your trenches & gates, came not with all at once to assaile the camp. For surely in the same fearful fright that you forooke battel, you would likewise have abandoned your tents & pavilions. VVhat fearfulness is this? Whence commeth this terror? VVhat means this oblivion of yours? How commeth it to passe, that ye should so forger al on a sodain, both your own selves, & them with whom ye have to fight? VVhy surely, they are the same enemies and no other, whom the summer past, you did nothing but either vanquish & overcome, or else pursue and follow in chase: whom for these certain daies past, ye have bene redie to tread on their heels as they fled and ran away before you both by day & night; whom in light skirmishes ye have discomfited; whom no longer ago than yesterday, you suffred neither to march forward, nor to pitch their campe. I forbear to speak, & I passe in silence those things which in good right ye may stand upon and make your boast. I say nothing of that wherof ye ought to be ashamed and displeased with your selves, namely, how but even yesterday, ye brake off the fight on even hand, and retired out of the field, when the enemy had gotten no advantage? VVhat hath this one night, or what hath one day cut you off? Aye either your forces in this mean time abridged & diminished, or your enemies augmented & encreased? Now surely, me thinks, I speak not to mine own armie, nor to Roman souldiers. Only yee carrie about you the same bodies and armor, that ye were wont. For if ye had borne the same minds and hearts with you, should the enemies ever have seene your backs? Should they have taken either banner from any companie, or ensigne from cohort and squadron? As yet the enemy never vaunted and made boast of the defeature of our Romane legions. You are the very first, that this day have given him the honour of discomfiting and putting to flight our armie. Then they all cried out, and besought him to pardon that daies default, and to make triall once againe of his souldiours courages, when and wheresoever hee would. Mary and that I will (quoth he) my souldiours: I will put you to it: even to morrow I will bring you abroad into the field, and after yee have gotten the victorie, yee shall obtaine that pardon which now yee crave. D So he gave order that those cohorts which had lost their ensignes, should have their allowance of barley in stead of wheat: and as for those Centurions of the bands or companies, whose banners were lost, them he degraded in this manner: Hee caused them to bee disarmed, and their skaines to be drawne naked and taken from them, and so let them go & shake their eares. And withall, he made proclamation, that the next day they should all present themselves in readines, as well footmen as horsemen. Which done, hee dismissed the audience, and they all confessed and acknowledged, that they were justly and worthily thus checked and rebuked: and that there was not that day one man in the Romane armie, setting aside the Generall himselfe onely, but he was bound to make amends and satisfaction, either with spending heart-bloud, or atchieving a noble victorie. The morrow after, they all shewed themselves unto him in their armor, & well appointed, according to his commaundement. The Generall commended them for their forwardnes: and gave them to understand, that he would set those in the forefront of the vaward, which the day before began to run away, as also those cohorts likewise that lost their ensignes. And now he gave them warning, & charged them all to fight it out lustily, to win the field: & to endeavor & straine themselves, both all and some, that the news of yesterdayes flight came not to Rome before, & prevented the fame of this daies victorie. Then he willed them to go to their meat, & to strengthen their bodies: that in case the fight should hold long, they might be able to endure to the end. Now when al was said & done, that might encourage & stir up the hearts of souldiours, they went out & advanced their ensignes into the field. *Annibal* being advertised hereof, Now beleve me (qd. he) we have to deale with an enemy indeed, who is of that nature, that he can neither brooke his good fortune, nor away with bad. If hee hath woon at any time, he pursueth those whom he hath vanquished, cruelly. Contrariwise if he have lost, he beginneth to fight with the conquerors againe right freshly. Then he commaunded the trumpets to found, & brought forth his power in battell array. A field was fought there on both hands more sharpe a good deale, than the day before. The Carthaginians strived to keepe the honour and reputation of yesterdayes service: the Romanes strai-

ned to wipe away the ignominie and shame of that daies foile. On the Romanes side, the Caval-
 lerie of the left wing, and those cohorts which had lost their ensignes, fought in the vauntguard,
 and the twentieth legion was marshalled and ranged in the right point of the battell. *L. Cornelius*
Lentulus & *C. Claudius Nero* had the leading of both these wings. *M. Marcellus* himselfe com-
 manded the maine battell, and withall his personall preference encouraged them, as a witnesse of
 their valour and courage. Now, when as the fight had continued long, and the victorie enclined
 no way, *Anniball* commaunded the Elephants to be put forth upon the very forefront of the
 battell, to see if that object might possible work some terror and confusion among the Romans.
 And at the first they disordered the ensignes and troubled the ranks: so as, partly by treading
 under foot, and partly by scattering them for feare, that were about, they had laid naked & open
 the battell in one part; and in more places than so had the Romanes fled, but that *C. Decinius Fla-*
vus, a Colonell, having from the first band of the Hastarii, caught up the banner in his hand,
 commaunded the companie thereto belonging to follow him; and thither hee led them
 where the foresaid Elephants were gathered round, and made foulest worke, and charged them
 to sling their darts and javelins at them. All this shot light sure, and missed them not, yea,
 and some stucke in them: and no marvel, for the beasts were neere at hand, the bodies great and
 standing thick in a plump together. But as they were not all wounded, so they that had the darts
 set fast in their backs and sides, were as reagic (such is their nature, dangerous to meddle
 withall) for to hurt their owne maisters, as the enemies; and all turned upon their fellows that
 were unhurt, and drave them backe. So as now, not that entire band onely, but every souldiour
 for his owne part, who was able to reach the head (as it were) of the Elephants as they fled, did
 his best to launce javelins and short darts at them. And so much the more furiously ran the beasts
 upon their owne, and made a farre greater havock there, than they had done among the ene-
 mies; by how much more fiercely feare and fright set them agate, and sent them forward, than
 the will of their maisters that sate upon them, was able to rule and restrain them. The Roman
 footmen espying this advantage, came forward with their ensignes and banners upon that bat-
 taillon, which was put in disarray by the running to and fro of these unruly dumbe creatures, and
 without much adoe and farther skirmish, put them to flight, after they were once broken out of
 their ranks, and set in a flight. Then *Marcellus* sent his Cavalierie after them, to pursue them as
 they fled, and to follow the chase, and never gave they over hunting and coursing them, untill
 they had lodged them in great feare within their camp. For besides all other things, which made
 them thus scared and affrighted, there chaunced two Elephants to fall downe in the very gate
 and entrance thereof, so that the souldiours were forced to rush into it over the trench and ramp-
 pier. In that place was the greatest slaughter made of the enemies. For there were slaine eight
 thousand men, and five Elephants. Neither had the Romanes a bloudlesse victorie of it: for of
 the two legions, there died fast upon 1700, and of the Allies more than 1400. Besides, many a ci-
 tizen and confederate fore wounded. And *Anniball* the next night dislodged and departed. *Mar-*
cellus although he was desirous to follow upon him, yet he could not for the multitude of his hurt
 men. The espials that were sent out to pursue him in his march, brought word back the next day,
 that *Anniball* tooke his way into the Brutians countrie.

Neere about the same time, the Hirpines, Lucanes, and Volscientes, after they had delivered
 up the garrisons of *Anniball*, which they had in their cities, yeelded themselves also to *Q. Ful-*
vius the Consull, & were received to merie with great clemencie by the said Consull, after some
 rebuke given them in words onely for their trespass and error past. The Brutians also had the
 like hope of pardon, when as *Vibius* and *Pacius*, two brethren, of the noblest house of that na-
 tion, came from them to sue for the same condition of yeelding and surrendring themselves, which
 was graunted unto the Lucanes.

Q. Fabius the Consull, woon by assault a towne in the Salentines countrey called Manduria.
 Prisoners were taken there, 4000, and some good store of other pillage. From thence he went to
 Tarentum, and in the very mouth of the haven, lay against the citie. Those ships which *Livius*
 had for to waite the convoy of victuals, hee partly charged with engines, and other ordinance to
 assault townes withall, and partly furnished with artillerie, with stones, and shot of all sorts: the
 ships of burden likewise, and not the gallies onely which were guided by oares; to the end, that
 some might bring engines and ladders unto the walls, and others aloofe from out of the ships,
 wound and hurt those that defended the citie. These ships were ordained and appointed from the
 open

A open sea to assault the citie. And cleare was the sea of all danger from the Punicke navie, which
 was sent unto Corcyra, at what time as *Philip* minded to assaile the *Ætolians*. In this mean while,
 the assailants of Caulonia, a little before the comming of *Anniball*, for feare lest they should
 be surprisid, betook themselves to a little hill; which as it was (for the present danger) a place of
 safetie, so it wanted all things els. *Fabius*, as hee lay at siege about Tarentum, was much helped to
 the achieving of a matter of great importance, by a trifling thing to speake of, and of small mo-
 ment in it selfe. The Tarentines had a garison of the Brutians, sent from *Anniball* to defend the
 citie. The captaine of this garison was greatly enamoured and readie to die for the love of a wo-
 man, who had a brother that served in the armie of *Fabius* the Consull. He being certified by let-
 ters from his sister, of this new acquaintance that shee had with that forrainger and straunger, so
 B wealthie and so honorable a person among his countrimen; conceived some hope by means of
 his sister, that her lover might be brought to any thing; & wrought as they would: and so acquain-
 ted the Consull with his conceited hope. And this seemed no vain imagination. Whereupon the
 young man was sent to Tarentum in habite and qualitie of a fugitive, and by the mediation of
 his sister, grew into some favour with the captaine aforesaid: and at first practised secretly to un-
 derfetele and sound his mind, and afterwards seeing the weakenesse and inconstancie of the man,
 he prevailed with him so much, through the flattering speeches and allurements of the woman,
 as to betray the keeping and guard of that place whereof he had the charge. After that the man-
 ner how, and the time when this plot should be put in execution, was agreed upon, the said sould-
 iour was let out of the citie closely by night in a place betweene the corps de guard, and enfor-
 C med the Consull what was done already, and in what sort every thing was to be done. *Fabius*
 at the first watch, after he had given a token and watchword to them in the castle, and to those like-
 wise that had the keeping of the haven, himselfe set a compass about the said haven, and lay as
 closely as he could to that part of the citie which lieth to the East. Then all at once the trumpets
 sounded from the castle, from the haven and ships, which in the open sea did neere at hand. Great
 shouting there was, and much adoe for the nones from all these quarters, whereas indeed there
 was least danger or none at all there. In the meane season the Consull kept his men in. Where-
 upon *Democrates*, who had beforetime bene Admirall of the Armada, and whose chaunce it
 was to have the guarding of that place, against which the Consull lay close, seeing all thereabout
 quiet ynough, and no stirring at all, and hearing all other parts to ring againe and resound with
 D such al armes as otherwise it seemed the citie was taken and woon, and fearing least if he sat still
 and bestirred not himselfe, the Consull would make some Camisado, and give the assaie to enter
 the citie with banner displayed; withdrew his guard toward the castle, from whence was heard the
 greatest and most terrible noise. *Fabius*, when hee perceived once by guessing at the time, as also
 by the silence it selfe in that place (for where but a while before they kept much adoe, raising up
 one another, & calling to arm, there now all was hush, and not a word) that the guards were had
 away from thence, he commaunded that the ladders should bee brought to that side of the wall,
 where the brocher and broker both of the treason, had brought word that the cohorts of the Bru-
 tians were quartered & kept their guard. Thus on that part was the wal woon, by the means of the
 Brutij, who were readie to helpe and take them up, & so they got over into the citie. Then was the
 E next gate broken open, that the armie might come by companies under their severall colours.
 Whereupon they set up a shout, and a little before breake of day, they marched as far as into the
 market stead, and met with none to make head against them, & caused al them that fought at the
 castle and the haven, to turne upon them. There, in the very entrance of the market place, began
 a great skirmish, rather fought hotely than maintained thorowly. For the Tarentine souldiours
 were nothing comparable to the Romanes, either in courage of heart, or goodnesse of armour;
 in skill and knowledge of warre, or in lustinesse and strength of bodie. And therefore when they
 had onely shot their darts, even before they came to handstrokes, they turned backe and slunk
 away through the lanes of the citie, wherewith they were well acquainted, some to their owne
 home, and some to their friends houses. Two of their captaines, *Nico* and *Democrates*, fought
 F manfully, and were slaine. *Philomenes*, who was the principall head that wrought the revolt unto
Anniball, fled out of the skirmish as fast as ever his horse would carrie him: but a while after his
 emptie horse was seene and knowne wandering astray in the citie, but his bodie could never bee
 found. It was commonly beleevd, that he slung himselfe headlong from his horsebacke, into a
 certaine open pit. As for *Carthalo*, captaine of the Punicke garison, he cast away his armour and
 weapon,

weapon, and as he was coming to the Consull with a goodly tale, recounting and remembering G his fathers friendship and intertainment to the Romanes, there hapned a souldiour to meete him and strike off his head. Then by some or other in every place, the Carthaginians and Tarentines both went to wrack, and were killed without mercie and regard, as well unarmed as armed. Yea, there were many of the Brutians also fell upon the edge of the sword, were it that they were mistaken, or for an old grudge and in-set hatred; or to suppress and extinguish the bruit and rumor that went of betraying the towne: to the end that Tarentum might seeme the rather woon by assault and force of armes. Then from murder and slaughter, they fell to sack and spoile the citie. There were taken prisoners by report thirtie thousand head of slaves: a mightie masse of silver tried and coined: of gold 87000 pound weight. Images and painted tables or pictures, so many, as very neere amounted to the number of the ornaments of Syracusa. But *Fabius* of a braver mind, abstained from that kind of prize & pillage, which *Marcellus* forbare not. For when his Scribe or Secretarie asked him, what his pleasure was, should be done with the images (and the Statues they were of the gods, of a mightie bignesse and proportion, portraied every one in their owne habit like warriours:) *Mary* (quoth he) let the Tarentines have their angrie gods still among them, for me. After this, the wall which devided the citie from the castle, was dismantled, rased downe, and laid even with the ground.

Whiles these things hapned at Tarentum, *Anniball* (after they had yeelded themselves unto him that besieged Caulonia) hearing of the siege and assault of Tarentum, went night and day and made all the hast he could, with a running march, to reskue and succour the citie: but hearing by the way that it was forced and gone, Ah, I see well, quoth he, the Romanes also are not without their *Anniball*. In good faith, so was Tarentum woon, and so lost againe, by treacherie and treason. But because he would not be thought to turne back and flie, in the very same place where he made stay he sat downe, and encamped almost five miles from the citie: and after he had abode there some few daies, he retired himselfe to Metapontum. From thence he suborned two Metapontines, and sent them to *Fabius* at Tarentum, with letters devised from certaine principall men of that citie, wherein they promised to betray Metapontum and the Punick garrison into the Consull his hands, upon assurance made unto them, that all former trespasses and offences should be forgiven and forgotten. *Fabius* supposing all was truth and plaine-dealing, appointed a certaine day when he would come to Metapontum, and sent his letters also to those principall citizens, which letters were brought unto *Anniball*: whereat he was right glad and tooke great contentment that his fraud sped so well, and that *Fabius* also might be entraped, caught, and overtaken by his wily fetches as well as others: and thereupon laid an ambush for him in the way not farre from Metapontum. As *Fabius* (before he should go out of Tarentum) attended to know what the birds signified, he observed once or twise that they approved not his journey. And when he killed a sacrifice, thereby to know the will of the gods, the Sooth-sayer, or bowell-prier gave him warning, to take heed of the deceit of his enemies, and beware of wait-laying. The Metapontines, seeing that he came not at the day appointed, were sent againe to hasten him forward, and to encourage him to come: who were all sodainely at once apprehended, and for feare of farther torture, disclosed the practise of the ambush.

In the beginning of that summer wherein these occurrences hapned, after that *Scipio* had bestowed the whole winter, in winning and reconciling the harts of the barbarous people, partly with gifts and rewards, and partly with enlarging and sending back their hostages, and the prisoners: there came unto him one *Edesio*, a noble and famous captaine of the Spaniards. His wife and children were in custodie with the Romanes: but besides that occasion which brought him to *Scipio*, there was another cause, even a generall inclination of all their minds, that chanced I wot not how, which withdrew and estranged whole Spaine from the Carthaginian empire, unto the Romain. The same reason moved *Indibilis* also and *Mandonius*, the greatest LL. and Princes no doubt of all Spaine, to leave *Asdruball*, and with all the power they could make of their followers and vassals, to depart into the mountaines standing just over his camp, from whence they might from hill to hill continually retire themselves in safetie to the Romanes. *Asdruball* perceiving the puissance of his enemies to grow and increase still more and more by little and little, and his owne to diminish; and foreseeing, that unlesse he made some hardie adventure and prevailed that way, all would be naught, and fall to the ground, as it was beginning already to reele, determined to put it to a battaile with all speede possible. *Scipio* also was sharp set, and the more

A more desirous of fight, as well for the good hope, which the successe of his former affaires confirmed and encreased; as also because, before the armies of his enemies should joine together, he was more willing to fight with one Generall and one armie, than with all them joynly at once: and yet he had well amended and encreased his forces politickly of purpose, against the worst, in case he should be driven to fight with many of them together. For, seeing there was no use of ships, because all the river & seas along Spaine, were cleared of the Carthaginian navie, he withdrew his fleet up into the harborough at Tاراcon, and joyned his sea-servitours to his land souldiours. For armour he had store enough, which was either taken in the pillage of Carthage, or newly made after the winning of the towne, by so many Artificers and Craftsmen that he kept there hard and close at worke. With this power, *Scipio* in the beginning of spring departed from Tاراcon (for now by this time was *Laelius* returned from Rome, without whose companie he was not willing to enterprife any service of great moment and importance) and led forward against the enemies. As he journeyed peaceably all over the countrie, and passed through the territories and confines of every citie and State, his Allies were readie to entertaine and accompanie him. *Indibilis* also and *Mandonius* among the rest, with all their power met him. Then *Indibilis* in the name of them both, spake, not like a sortish barbarian foolishly and inconsiderately, but rather with a modest kind of gravitie: more like one that excused his revolt & running from the adverse part upon constraint and necessitie, than made boast of catching and embracing the vantage thereof upon the first opportunite presented. I know full well (quoth he) that the very name of a fugitive revolt, as it is odious & detestable to old Allies, so it is suspicious to new.

C And I cannot greatly blame the manner of men in so doing, in case it be not the bare name, but the double dealing that causeth the hatred. Then he reckned up his owne good turnes and deserts done unto the Carthaginians on the one side: and recounted their covetousnesse and pride on the other side, together with their injurious dealings with himselfe and his people. And therefore quoth he, this bodie of mine onely hath conversed among them untill this day, but my hart & affection hath long since bene with them, where I believe verily, that right, justice and religion is regarded and mainteined: for even so do we flie as suppliants in humble manner to the gods also, when we can no longer endure the violence and wrongfull outrages of men. Befeeching *Scipio* this one thing withall, that this his starting from the enemy, and raunging with him, he would neither blame and condemne presently as a transgression, nor honor and commend as a good desert of his: but as he should find both him and the rest, by good prooffe from that day forward, even so to make reckoning of them accordingly, and not otherwise.

D *Scipio* made answer again, That in truth he would so do: neither would he take them for fugitives and runawaies, who judged that they were not bound in conscience to mainteine the societie and alliance with them as good & lawfull, who made no count at all to observe inviolable, any promise or dutie to God or man. Then were their two wives & children brought forth into their sight, and delivered unto them, whom they received, and shed teares abundantly for joy, and so for that day they were had to their lodgings. The morrow after, faith was plight and contracted betwene them, and the same confirmed by covenant; and they were dismissed to bring their forces, and to shew them before him: and so they quartered and lodged in the same camp with the Romanes, until by their guidance & direction they came unto the enemy. The armie of the Carthaginians next unto them was under the conduct of *Asdruball*, neere unto the citie Batura. Before his camp, he kept certaine standing guards of horsemen. Upon them the light armed forlorne hope of archers and dartars of the Romaine hoast which went before the battaile to skirmish, likewise they of the forefront and vaward, charged forcibly with their shot; yet so contemptuously, and in skornefull wise, even presently upon their travaile in journey, and before they had chosen a peece of ground to encampe in, that it was soone seene what hart there was in both parts. For, the Cavallerie of the enemies fearefully fled, and were driven into the camp: but the Romanes advanced with banners displayed, hard to the very gates: and so for that day their stomacks were onely up and provoked to a fight, and then the Romanes pitched their tents.

F *Asdruball* in the night retired his armie to a mount, which in the top had a broad plaine. Behinde this hill there ran a river, the fore-front thereof, and the sides all about the skirts were compassed as it were with a steepe banke standing plumb upright. There lay under this hill top another plaine, lower than the other, which also was enclosed round about with the like banke, as difficult for ascent as the former. The next day *Asdruball*, after he

law the enemies standing arraanged before their campe, sent downe his Numidian horse-
men, the light armed Ilanders also of the Balears, and likewise the Africanes. Then *Scipio*
rode about all the regiments, ensignes, and ranks of his armie, marshalled as they stood in
battaile wise, and shewed unto them their enemies, how they despaired afore-hand to fight on
equal and even ground, how they taking the vantage of the hills, braved and shewed them-
selves, presuming and trusting upon the place, and not upon their owne valour and strength
of armes. Howbeit (quoth hee) Carthage had higher wals, and yet the Romane souldiours were
able to scale and get over: neither hills nor castle, no nor the very sea, stood in their way then,
nor stopped them of their entrie. And as for these high places which the enemies are possessed
of, they happily may serve their turnes well, when they shall take their flight, and leape from off
the steepe banks, and runne downe-hill apace, and so get away. But I trow, I shall debar them
there, and lay a blocke in their way on every side. Whereupon he commaunded two squadrons,
the one to keepe the streights of the valley, through which the river runneth: the other to beset
the passage that leadeth from the cittie into the fields, and croseth overthwart the hill side
abovesaid. Himselfe led the light appointed vancurriers, who the day before had discomfited the
guards and wards of the enemies, to affront the light armed souldies, that were quartered in the
neather brow of the hill. And first they passed through the roughes, & were not impeached nor
hindered otherwise than by the difficult avenues. But afterward, when they were come within
shot, at the very first, they were welcommed with a mightie voley of all sorts, pouring (as it were)
like haile upon them. Himselfe answered them againe, and recharged upon them, letting drive
and discharging the stones which lay strewed all over the ground, and were such in manner all, as
might be welded and flung from them with ease. And not onely the souldiers, but lackies & horse-
boies, & such as followed the camp, were intermingled amongst the armed companies. And al-
beit the ascent up the hill was hard, and they were pelted and almost overwhelmed with darts and
stones, yet being so injured as they were to clime walls, and resolute withall, they mounted up
first to the top: and so soon as they had gotten some even ground, where they might have sure
footing, they found the enemy, (who was light and nimble, and able to runne to and fro, and
to save himselfe, and shift well when he was farre off, all the time that they skirmished alose,
and plaid upon one another with light shot) now that they came to close fight, and to hand-
strokes, not able to stand his ground: and so they drave him from his place, and with great
slaughter chased him and set him backe to the very battaile, that stood upon the higher hill.
Then *Scipio* having given commaundement to these, for to follow on the traine of their victorie,
and to enter up still upon the maine battaile of the enemies, parted the rest of his forces, to-
gether with *Lelins*, willing him to coast along and wheele about on the right hand of the mount,
untill hee found some way of easier ascent himselfe on the left hand, fetched no long circuit and
compass, untill he came crosse overthwart the flanke of the enemies. Hereupon first began their
battaile to be disordered, wiles they were desirous to turne their wings, & to oppose their ranks
and squadrons against the noises and shouts which rung every where about them. In this tumultu-
ous trouble, *Lelins* also was gotten up: and while the enemies drew backward and gave ground,
because they would not be charged behind on their backe, the vaward of their part was displayed
and lay open: and so the Romanes even of the middle battaile also, had a lane and spacious
roume to get up and enter upon them: who never had beene able to have gained the ground,
and woon the plaine above, (considering the disadvantage of the steepe banke) so long as the
ranks had stood unbroken, and the elephants were opposed against them before the ensignes,
in the forefront. Downe went the enemies now on every side, and were pittiously killed: and *Scipio*,
who with his left wing encountered the right, charged and plaid especially upon the naked
sides of the enemies. And so by this meanes, they had no way left them to flie and escape cleare.
For the Romane guards on both hands, as well on the left as the right, had beset all the avenues.
And as for the gate of the campe, the Generall himselfe, and the other captaines and officers of
the campe, had taken it up as they fled that way: besides the comberfome trouble of the Ele-
phants, whom being now affrighted, they feared no lesse than their enemies. So there died of
them 8000. *Asdruball* who before the conflict, had made sure worke with all the money, and
taken it with him, sent the elephants before, & having rallied as many as he could, of them that
fled & escaped out of the campe, he made hast along the river Tagus, toward the mountaine Py-
reneus. *Scipio* being now maister of the enemies campe, after he had given to the souldiours all
the

- A the pillage and spoile, but onely the prisoners, such as were freemen: when he came to take the
number of the captives, found they were ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Of which
number, as many as were Spaniards he set at libertie and sent them homewithout ransom. But as
for all the Africanes, hee commaunded the Treasurer to make money of them. Then the whole
multitude of the Spaniards, as well those that before had yielded themselves, as they that were
taken prisoners the day before, saluted him with great consent and generall voice, by the name
and title of king. Whereupon *Scipio*, after silence made by the crier, said, That he tooke the name
of *L. Generall or Commander, to be the greatest of all other names, by which his own souldiers
used to call him. As for the title of King, howsoever in other places it was great and honorable,
at Rome surely, it was odious and intolerable. For his owne part, the mind indeed hee caried of
a king, and if they deemed it to be the highest honour that can fall to the nature of man, let them
judge so in their owne hearts secretly, and please themselves with that stile: only he wished them
to forbear the word and tearme thereof. These very Spaniards, as barbarous as they were, per-
ceived by this speech how haughtie and magnanimous hee was, who in the height of spirit con-
temned that as a base thing, wherat in admiration onely of the very title, all mortall men besides
are amazed and astonied. After all this, he bestowed upon the Princes and great Potentates of the
Spaniards, sundrie gifts. And of the horses, whereof he had taken in the field and campe great
store, hee gave *Indibilis* the choise of three hundred where he would. When the treasurer was
selling the Africanes, according to the Generall his commaundement, he hapned upon a yong
springall and stripling, of rare and singular beautie: and hearing that he was of roiall blood, hee
sent him to *Scipio*. And when *Scipio* demaunded of him who he was, and what countreiman, and
wherefore at those yeares he was in campe among rude souldiours; I am (saith hee) a Numidian
borne, (and with that his eies stood full of water) and in my countrie they call me *Masanissa*. Being
left an orphan and fatherlesse, I was brought up with my grandfather by the mother side, *Gala*,
the king of the Numidians. And with my unckle by the mother, *Masanissa*, who was lately come
with a power of horsemen to aid the Carthaginians, it was my hap to saile over into Spaine. And
never to this day, have I bene in any battel, by reason that *Masanissa* would not in regard of my
tender age, suffer me in any hand to go to the warres. Howbeit that very day when the battaile was
fought with the Romanes, unwares to my said unckle, I secretly got an horse under me, and ar-
mour upon my backe, and went forth into the field; where my horse chanced to fall, and cast
me downe headlong on the ground: and so it was my fortune to be taken by the Romanes. *Scipio*
gaue order that this Numidian youth should be kept safe, & so proceeded to finish matters that
were brought before him, as he sat upon the Tribunall in marshall court. And after he was come
back from thence into his roiall pavilion, he called the party again before him, & asked him, whi-
ther he were willing to returne againe to *Masanissa*. Whereat the reares gushing out of his eyes
for joy, yea full faine (quoth he) and with all my heart. Then after he had given the yong gentle-
man a ring of gold, a coat embrodered with purple stud-wife, with a Spaniard souldiours cape, a
golden clasp or button, & a brave courser, with all the furniture and caparison thereto belonging,
he sent him away, and commanded certaine horsemen to safe-conduct and accompanie him, so
farre as he would himselfe.
- E Then *Scipio* fell to consult about the warre. Some there were that advised him, presently to
pursue *Asdruball*: but he supposing that to be a dangerous course, for feare least *Mago* and the
other *Asdruball* should joine their forces to his, he sent onely a good guard to keepe the passage
of the hill Pyreneus, and imploied the rest of the summer, in receiving homage and fealtie of
other States of Spaine.
- Within few daies after the battell at Boetula, when as *Scipio* in his returne to Taracón, was
gone past the chafe or Forrest of Castulo: *Asdruball* the sonne of *Gisgo* and *Mago*, the two Ge-
nerals, arrived out of the farther province of Spaine unto *Asdruball* the sonne of *Amilcar*. But
they came a day after the faire, and too late to helpe an overthrow past already: yet in very good
time, to give counsell for the managing and executing of the warre behind. There, as they con-
ferred together, concerning the disposition of the Spaniards, and how they stood affected in the
counties of each province, onely *Asdruball* the sonne of *Gisgo* was of opinion, and perswaded
That the utmost tract and coast of Spaine, which lieth upon the Ocean and Gades, was hitherto
unacquainted with the Romanes, and therefore fast ynough and sure to the Carthaginians. But
the other *Asdruball* and *Mago*, were of another mind, and agreed in this, That *Scipio* with his fa-
vours

vours and benefits had possessed the affections & hearts of all men already, both in generall, and also in particular, and that there would never be an end of sliding from them, and siding to the Romanes, before that all the Spanish souldiours were either remooved into the farthest parts of Spaine, or conueighed over into Fraunce. And therefore, albeit the Senate of the Carthaginians had not graunted out any such act and commission, yet there was no remedie, but that *Asdruball* must go over into Italie, where *Anniball* was the head of the war, & in whom lay the main chance of all; by which means also he might withdraw out of Spain all the Spaniards, far ynough from the naming and hearing of *Scipio*. For *Asdruball* his armie, as well by daily falling away and revolting to *Scipio*, as also by the late defeature much empaiored, was to be replenished again with new souldiours. Moreover, that *Mago* should deliver his armie to *Asdruball* the sonne of *Gisgo*, and himselfe in person crosse over into the Baleare islands, with a great summe of money, to wage new aids and succours from thence. And that *Asdruball* the sonne of *Gisgo*, with his armie should retire farther up into Portugall, and not encounter the Romanes at all in any hand. And that out of all the Cavallerie there should bee chosen out the very flower and strength, to the full number of three thousand, for *Masanissa*, and that he should raunge and overrun all the hither province of Spaine, partly to helpe the distressed Allies, and partly to spoile the enemies townes, and forray their lands. After these orders and directions set downe, the Generals departed asunder to the execution of these determined desingements. Thus yee see what were the affaires and occurrences of Spaine for that yeere.

At Rome the fame of *Scipio* grew greater every day than other. *Fabius* for the winning of Tarentum, albeit he gat it rather by craft and pollicie, than by force and vertue, was glorious therefore. The name of *Fulvius* began to age and decay. *Marcellus* grew also into an ill name & some obloquie, both for that at first hee had a foile, and also because hee suffered *Anniball* to raunge over Italie at his pleasure, and himselfe at midsummer had retired his souldiours to Venusia to take up there (as it were) their winter harborough. He had a sore adversarie in the citie, one *C. Publicius Bibulus*, a Tribune of the Commons: who from the very first time of that discomfiture, with continuall speeches and Orations brought *Claudius* into hatred and infamie with the common people, and now was in hand with them to deprive him of his government. Howbeit, the friends and kinsfolke of *Claudius* obtained thus much, That *Marcellus* leaving his lieutenant at Venusia, should repair to Rome for to make his purgation, & acquit himselfe of such crimes as his adversaries objected and laid against him: and that during his absence, they should not treat nor debate about his deprivation.

It hapned much about one time, that both *Marcellus* came to Rome (to meet with the shamefull slaughter that ran on him, and to save his honour) and also *Q. Fulvius* the Consull, about the new election for the yeere following. The question touching the government of *Marcellus*, was debated and handled in the lists or Circus, called *Flaminius*; and a great assembly there was, and much concourse of the Commons, and of people of all degrees and calling. The Tribune accused not *Marcellus* onely, but all the nobilitie: by whose fraudulent practise, and by whose cold and delayfull proceedings, it was come to passe, that *Anniball* now these ten yeeres had remained in Italie (as it were) in his province continually, where hee had led a greater part of his life, than at Carthage in his native countrey. And now (quoth he) the people of Rome tast the fruit, proceeding of proroguing and continuing of government still in one person. For see what is come of it; *Marcellus* his armie hath been twice defeated and fallen upon the enemies sword, and now forsooth is housed in Venusia for fire-burning. But *Marcellus* so confuted this accusatorie speech of the Tribune, by recounting his owne worthie noble acts; that not onely the bill preferred for the deposing him out of his rourne, was disanulled, and the necke of it broken, but also the next day after, all the Centuries with one generall voice created him Consull. There was joined with him companion in government *T. Quintius Crispinus*, who then was Pretour. The morrow after were the Pretors chosen, to wit, *P. Licinius Crassus* & *Dives*, who was at that time the Arch-bishop; *P. Licinius Varus*, *Sex. Julius Caesar*, and *Q. Claudius Flamen*.

During the time of this solemne parlement or session for the election of Magistrates, the citie was much disquieted for the revolt of Hetruria: *C. Calpurnius* who ruled that province as Propretour, had by his letters given notice, that the beginning thereof arose from the Arretines: and therefore immediately *M. Marcellus* the Consull elect, was thither sent with commission to looke into the matter, and (if hee thought it requisite) to send for his forces, and to translate

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A. the warre out of Apulia into Tuscane. For feare whereof, the Tuscans puld in their heads, and were quiet.

The Tarentine Embassadors made suite for peace, and that together with their freedome they might enjoy their own lawes. And this answer was returned by the Senat, That they should come againe when *Fabius* the Consull was returned to Rome. The Romane Games, and also the plaies called *Plebeij*, were exhibited that yeere, and renewed one day apeece more than ordinarie. The *Aediles* of the chaire were *L. Cornelius Caudinus*, and *Servilius Sulpitius Galba*: but those of the Commons were *C. Servilius*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus*. As for *Servilius*, it was denied, that hee had bene Tribune of the Commons before, or now *Aedile* by right and order of law, because it was now for certaine knowne, that his father (of whom the opinion went currant for ten yeeres that he was slaine by the Boians about Mutina, at what time as hee was Triumvir for the division of lands) was now living, and in the hands of the enemies in slavery and bondage.

B. In the eleventh yeere of the Punick war, *M. Marcellus* entred his Consulship the fifth time (so you reckon upon that Consulship which hee never bare through, because there was an error committed in his creation) and with him *T. Quintius Crispinus*. To both Consuls the province of Italie was assigned, and both armies of the Consuls the former yeere. There was a third armie then at Venusia, whereof *M. Marcellus* had the conduct. Of these three, they were to chuse two, which they would: and the third remaining, was to bee committed unto him, who was by lot to have the government of Tarentum, and the Salentines. The rest of the provinces were thus divided amongst the Pretours. *P. Licinius Varus* had the jurisdiction civile, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, (then *Pontifex Max.*) that of the foreiners, & to go whether soever the Senat should think good to send him. Vnto *Sex. Julius Caesar* befell Sicilie, & to *Q. Claudius Flamen* the citie of Tarentum.

C. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* had his commission renewed, to continue in government for one yeere longer: and he was appointed to governe Capua, which had been the charge of *T. Quintius* the Pretour, and to have under his hand the command of one legion. Likewise *C. Hostilius Tubulus* remained still in office, and that as Pro-pretour he should succeed *C. Calpurnius*, and have the conduct of two legions. Moreover, *L. Veturius Philo* had his authoritie and government confirmed to him anew, that as Propretour he should sit L. Deputie in the same province of Fraunce, and have the same two legions as before, when he was Pretour there. The like decree that was graunted for *L. Veturius*, passed also in the Senate for *C. Aurunculeius*, and a bill was propounded unto

D. the people for the proroguing and continuance of his office, who as Pretour ruled the province Sardinia with the strength of two legions. And for the defence and guard of the said province hee had an addition of fiftie shippes of warre, which *P. Scipio* had sent out of Spaine. *P. Scipio* likewise and *M. Syllanus*, held still, by vertue of a decree, their provinces of Spaine, and commanded the same armies for one yeere longer. As for *Scipio*, he had direction to send over into Sardinia fiftie ships, out of those eightie which he had under his hand, either taken with him out of Italie, or woon from the enemy at Carthage, because there ran a rumour, that there was great preparation at Carthage, for a navie that yeere: and that the Carthaginians would take up, and fill all the sea coast of Italie, Sicilie, and Sardinia, with an armada of two hundred saile.

E. In Sicilie the government was divided in this maner, *Sex. Julius Caesar* had the leading of the Cannian armie: *M. Valerius Levinus* (for his government also was confirmed for a yeere longer) the charge of that fleet of severntie ships, which rid about Sicilie: with commission to ad thereto, those thirtie ships which the former yeer lay before Tarentum: & with this armada consisting of one hundred saile, to put over into Affricke, if hee thought so good, and there to forray and fetch booties. Over and besides, *P. Sulpitius* was for one yeere longer to continue in office, and to governe the provinces of Macedonie and Greece, with the force of the said navie which hee had before. As touching the two legions which remained about the citie of Rome, there was no alteration. Only the Consuls were permitted to levie and enroll a new supplie, as need should require. Thus the Empire and State of Rome for that yeere was mainteined with the power of 21 legions.

F. *P. Licinius Varus* the Pretour of the cittie, was charged to repaire those thirtie old ships, which lay at Hostia, and to furnish twentie new built, with sailers and mariners, that with this armada of fiftie saile he might be able to defend all the sea coast neere unto the citie of Rome. *C. Calpurnius* was forbidden to remove his forces from Arretium, before a successor came in his place. The same order was given to *Tubulus*, and to have especially a vigilant eye, that no commotion arose from thence. And then the Pretours went into their provinces.

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For none might bee Tribune or Aedile, whose father was living.

As for the Consuls they were troubled in mind and made some scruple of conscience to go to their provinces, upon the report of some prodigious and ominous signes, and also because in their sacrifices they found not the gods so propitious and favourable unto them. For out of Campania newes came, that in Capua two temples, to wit, of *Fortune* and *Mars*, and also some tombes and sepulchres, were smitten with lightning: and besides (see how vaine and preposterous superstition, imputeth even the least trifling things to the hand of God) that certaine mice forsooth, in a chappell of *Iupiter* gnawed the gold. Also that in Casinum, a great swarme of bees settled in the very market place. Moreover, that the wall and one of the gates at Hostia was blasted and stricken with lightning. That in Cære, a gripe fled into the church of *Iupiter*. That at Volsinii, there was a poole flowed with blood. In regard of these strange and wonderous tokens, there was a devout supplication for one day. And for certaine daies together, greater beasts were killed for sacrifices, without any good token: and for a long time the grace and favour of the gods could not be obtained. But yet the fortune of the Common-weale stood still upright, and all this anger and mischief portended by those wonders, light upon the head of the Consuls alone, and their death excused all the rest. The Plaies called *Apollinares* in the yeere of *Q. Fulvius* and *Ap. Claud.* Consuls, had ben by *P. Cornel.* Sulla Pretour of the citie, first exhibited: after whom all the Pretours ever after did the like. But they vowed them a yeare before, and performed them upon a day uncertaine. The same yeare hapned a grievous plague both in the citie and in the countries about, which yet in the end turned rather to long and chronick diseases, than to sharp and deadly maladies. For this pestilence there was not only solemne going in procession, in all the high streets, carrefours, and crosse waies throughout the citie: but also *P. Licinius Varus* Pretor of the citie, was commaunded to propound unto the people, that the Plaies abovesaid should be vowed for ever against a set and determinate day. Himselfe therefore was the first that vowed them, and exhibited them upon the third day before the Nones of Iuly, and the same day ever after was observed and kept holiday for that purpose.

As the rumor of the Arretines revolt encreased daily greater, so the LL. of the Senate were carefull about it every day more than other. Letters therefore were sent unto *C. Hostilius*, that he should without delay take pledges of the Arretines: and *C. Terentius Varro* was sent with commission, to receive the said hostages at his hands, and to bring them to Rome. He was no sooner come, but *Hostilius* presently commaunded that one legion, which lay in camp before the towne, should enter the citie with banner displayed, and there he put sufficient guards in places convenient. Then having called and summoned the Senatours to appeare in the market place, he demanded of them hostages. And when the Senate requested but two daies respite to consider of the matter, he made proclamation, that either they should deliver them presently, or els the next day hee would seaze upon all the Senatours children every one. Then he commaunded the Colonels, the captaines of the Allies, and the Centurions, to ward the gates, that none might go forth of the citie by night. But this was slackly and negligently executed, for seven principall Senatours, before the warders were set at the gates, escaped forth with their children before night. The morrow morning by breake of day, when the Senate began to be cited into the Common hall, these parties were missed, and their goods confiscate and sold in port sale. Of the rest of the Senatours, their children were taken hostages to the number of 120, and were delivered to *C. Terentius*, for to be conveyed to Rome: who when he was come into the Senate, made such relation of the matter, that the suspicion of their revolt was much more pregnant than before. And therefore, as if some insurrection had like presently to grow from Tuskane, *C. Terentius* himselfe was commaunded to conduct one of the two legions about the citie of Rome, unto Arretium, and there to lye in garrison with it for to keepe the towne in order. And it was thought meete that *C. Hostilius* with the armie besides, should survey and visit the whole Province, and to be carefull and circumspect, that no occasion nor opportunitie might be given unto them, that were minded to seeke alteration and to rebell. *C. Terentius* so soone as he was come to Arretium with the legion, when he called unto the Magistrates for the keys of the gates, and they made answer that they were but miscaft aside and could not be found; supposing that they were rather carelessly laid out of the way for the nonce, than lost by negligence, caused other keies and locks to be made, and set upon every gate: and tooke as great heed and care as he could, to have all under his owne hand. He gave especiall warning also to *Hostilius* as touching the Tuskans, and told him, that he should never

hope

A hope to rest in securitie, that they would not rebell, unlesse he tooke order with them aforehand, that they possible could not rebell.

After this, there was much debate and contention in the Senate about the Tarentines, even before *Fabius*, whiles himselfe excused and defended them whom he had conquered and subdued by force and armes: but others were mightily offended with them, yea and most of them gave out plainly, that they were full as faultie as the Campanes, and deserved no lesse punishment. And so there was an Act of the Senate graunted according to the opinion and advise of *M. Acilius*, that the towne should be held with a garison, and all the Tarentines kept from stirring out of the citie: and that the matter should further be debated and decided afresh another time, when the state of Italie stood in better termes of peace and quietnesse. And the like contention and variance was among the LL. of the Senate touching *M. Livius* Constable and Captaine of the Castle of Tarentum, whiles some were of mind to condemne him as in great fault, because through his carelesnesse and sloth, Tarentum the citie was betrayed to the enemy: others againe awarded him good consideration and reward, for that he kept the fort so well by the space of five yeeres, and by his meanes especially and by none else Tarentum was recovered: But some were of opinion betweene these and said, that the discussing and determination of that matter pertained properly to the Censors and not to the Senate: of which judgement *Fabius* also himselfe was. And this moreover he said withall, that he must needs confesse, that true it was, which *Livius* his friends in the Senate stood so much upon, and iterated so often, namely, that he was the only meanes that Tarentum was recovered: for in good faith, quoth he, it never could have bene regained if it had not once bene lost before.

C *T. Quintius Crispinus* one of the Consuls, went to the armie which *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* had, with a new supplie into the Lucanes countrey. But *Marcellus* still was staied behind, upon occasion of new scruples of conscience, and sundrie objects that troubled his mind, and kept a hammering in his head one after another. Amongst which, this was one, that having vowed in the Gauls warre at Clastidium, a temple to *Honor* and *Virtue*: the dedication of the said church was hindred by the Bishops, who said, that one chappell, by right and according to their ceremonies, served but for one saint, and could not be consecrated unto more. For in case it should be blasted and smitten by fire from heaven, or otherwise some prodigious token happen therein, hardly could the right expiation and purging thereof be performed, because it might not be known, to which of the saints or gods the sacrifice should be done: for by order one sacrifice could not serve twaine, unlesse they were some particular & especiall gods named. So there was faine to be another chappell built for *Virtue*: and great hast there was made for the rearing thereof, and yet it was not his fortune ever to dedicate those chappells. So at length he set forward and put himselfe on his journey with a supplie, unto the armie which he had left the yeare before at Venusia.

When *Crispinus* minded to assault Locri in the countrey of the Brutiens, because there went a great name of *Fabius* for the assaying and winning of Tarentum, he sent for all kind of artillery and engines out of Sicilie, and shippes also were brought from thence, for to batter that part of the cittie that lieth to the sea side. But the enterprise went not forward, because *Anniball* had remooved, with all his forces to Lacinium. And besides, the newes went that his colleague had already brought out his forces from Venusia, with whom hee was desirous to joyne: And therefore he returned out of the Brutiens countrey into Apulia: and so between Venusia and Brutia, the Consuls encamped severally, within three miles one from the other. *Anniball* likewise was retired into the same countrey, considering that the war was turned from Locri. There the Consuls (hote men of nature both) almost every day led forth their men into the field, not doubting but if *Anniball* once met them (having two Consular armies joyned together) to make a dispatch of the warre once for all. *Anniball* because the yeare before, he had twice affronted *Marcellus*, and both given and taken the foile: like as he had great reason, as well to feare as to hope, if he were to encounter and fight with him alone: so he thought verily, that hee was never able to make his part good with both the Consuls together. And therefore laying off his lions skin, he tooke himselfe wholly to his olde foxes coate, and sought all meanes and opportunities to lay a traine for to entrap them. Howbeit there passed some light skirmishes betweene both their camps, with varietie of fortune and interchangeable success. By which, the Consuls thinking that they should hold out and keepe the enemies play, during the summer season, and yet

yet nevertheſſe be able to aſſault Locri, wrate unto *L. Cincius*, that he ſhould take the ſeas, and croſſe over with his fleet out of Sicilie to the cittie of Locri. And to the end that the town might bee likewiſe aſſailed from the land ſide, they commaunded part of the armie which lay in gariſon at Tarentum, to bee conducted thither. *Anniball* having intelligence afore-hand of theſe things, by certaine Thurines, ſent forth certain of his forces to beſet the waies from Tarentum. And there under the ſide of the Petellian mount, he beſtowed ſecretly in ambuſh two thouſand horſe, and three thouſand foot. Vpon whome the Romanes (marching without their eſpials ſent afore them) chaunced to light, and were ſlaine to the number of two thouſand, and upon twelve hundred taken alive: the reſt were ſcattered and fled over the fields and forreſts backe to Tarentum. Now there was a litle hill betwene both the campes of the Carthaginians and Romanes, and the ſame all overgrowne with wood, which at firſt was poſſeſſed and kept, neither by one nor other: becauſe the Romans knew not the ſituation of that ſide which lay toward the enemies campe: and *Anniball* ſuppoſed verily that it was a place fitter for to lay an ambuſh, than to encampe in: and therefore he ſent by night for that purpoſe, certaine troupes of Numidians, and beſtowed them cloſely in the mids of the wood, and not one of them ſtirred all the day long out of their ſtandings, for feare leaſt either their armour or themſelves might be eſpied a farre off. In the Romane campe, every man generally was of mind, and let not to ſay, that the ſaid hill waſt to be ſeized and fortified for their uſe, with a good fortreſſe built upon it, for feare leaſt if it were firſt gained by *Anniball*, they ſhould have the enemy as it were over their heads readie to annoy them. And *Marcellus* himſelfe was of the ſame opinion: whereupon, Why go not we our ſelves in perſon (quoth he to his colleague) with ſome few horſemen, to view and conſider the place, where our eyes ſhall be our judges; and ſeeing the ground once, wee ſhall reſolve more certainly what courſe to take? *Criſpinus* liked well of the motion: and ſo they went forward accompanied with two hundred and twentie horſemen; of which, fortie were Fregellanes, the reſt all Tuſkans. There followed after them, *M. Marcellus*, the Conſull his ſonne, and *Aulus Manlius*, two Colonels: alſo *L. Arrenius* and *M. Aulus*, two captaines of the allies. Some authors have ſet down in writing, that *Marcellus* the Coſ. ſacrificed that day; and when the firſt beaſt was killed, the liver was found without an head: howbeit in the ſecond, all things appeared that were wont to be ſeen. But in the head of that liver there ſhewed I wot not how, a kind of extraordinarie excreſcence: which the Soothſaier had no liking to, becauſe after thoſe inwards which ſeemed before ſhort, unperfect, & miſliking; now thoſe againe were ſeen too well fed and overgrowne. But the Conſull *Marcellus* was ſo hote and deſirous to fight with *Anniball*, that he thought himſelfe never encamped neere enough unto him. And even then alſo as he went forth out of the campe, he gave order to his ſouldiours to be readie at a ſhort warning, & have their cie upon the place; that preſently, if he liked the hill, for which they went to view, they ſhould diſlodge, truſſe up bag and baggage & follow preſently. Now there was a litle flat and plaine ground before the camp, from whence the way that led unto the ſaid hill, was on every ſide very open and evident to the eye: where there lay a ſkour or ſpie, ſet of purpoſe to diſcover any of the enemies gone farre from the camp, ſtragling & ranging abroad, either for ſewell or forage, that they might be intercepted: & nor for any hope of ſo great effect as fell out. This fellow gave a ſigne unto the Numidians, that all at once they ſhould ariſe out of their lurking and ſtaring holes. And they that from the top and ridge of the hill, were to riſe and ſhew themſelves affront, never appeared & made head, before that they had ſet a compaſſe about, for to ſhut up the paſſage at the back of the Romans. And then from all parts they began to ſtart up, and with a maine ſhout charged and ran upon them. The Conſuls now were in that valley, from whence they neither could poſſibly get up to the pitch of the hill, poſſeſſed aforehand by the enemy: nor had any place of ſafe retreat behind, for that they were environned and hemmed in on every ſide. Howbeit they might have maintained ſkirmiſh and held out a good while, but that the Tuſkanes began to run away, and put all the reſt in a bodily flight. Yet the Fregellanes, forſaken as they were of the Tuſkanes, gave not over, but fought manfully, (ſo long as the Conſuls ſtood on foot unhurt) and received the charge of the enemies, encouraging their people, and fighting themſelves right valiantly. But when they ſaw once both their Conſuls wounded, and *Marcellus* alſo run through with the puſh of a lance, and falling from his horſe readie to die: then they alſo (and few of them God wot remained alive) together with the Conſull *Criſpinus* (who was wounded with two javelines) and young *Marcellus*, who was himſelfe alſo fore hurt, fled away and eſcaped. There were ſlain in this ſkirmiſh, *A. Manlius*

lius a Colonell, of the two captaines of allies, *M. Aulus* was killed out-right, and *L. Arrenius* taken priſoner. As for the Liſtours belonging to the Conſuls, five of them then fell alive into the hands of the enemies: the reſt were put to the ſword, or eſcaped with the Conſull. So there were three and fortie horſemen died either in the conflict, or in the flight, and eighteen taken priſoners. In the campe there was much ado, and crying out for to go and ſuccor the Conſuls, when they ſaw one of them, and the other his ſonne grievouſly hurt, and the poore remnant of that unfortunate expedition, comming toward the campe. The death of *Marcellus* was much pittied and lamented in many other reſpects, but for this eſpecially: that he, a man of that age (for he was now above threſcore years old) and who ſhould have had more wit: an old captaine & leader (I ſay) that ſhould have had more wiſedome & forecaſt, ſo unadviſedly had brought both his colleague together with himſelfe, and alſo in manner the whole common-wealth into ſo deſperat a danger. I ſhould make much circumſtance, and fetch many turnes and compaſſes about one point, if I would rehearſe all that writers have diverſly ſet downe, as touching the death of *Marcellus*. But to let all others go, *L. Calpius* delivereth the thing three manner of waies: the one by heareſay onely, and a generall report: the other, extant in an Oration of the praiſe of *Marcellus*, penned by his owne ſonne, that was himſelfe preſent at the action: the third, which *Calpius* himſelfe alleadgeth upon his owne knowledge, and after diligent enquire into the matter. But howſoever the voice and ſame varieth in ſome circumſtances, moſt of them jump in the occaſion, That he went forth of the camp to view the place: and all agree of the event, That he was entrapped and ſo ſlaine. *Anniball* ſuppoſing that the enemies were mightily terrified, as well by the death of the one Conſull, as the hurt of the other: becauſe he would take all advantage, & omit no good opportunitie offered, forthwith removeth his campe, and pitcheth upon the very hill where hee had fought. There hee found the corps of *Marcellus*, and cauſed it to be enterred. *Criſpinus* affrighted both at the death of his companion in government, and alſo at his own hurt received, diſloded in the dead time of the night following, and in the very next mountains that he could come unto, encamped and fortified himſelfe upon an high ground, and ſurely ſenſed on every ſide. There the two Generals of both parts, beat their braines, and occupied all their wits, contriving the one to lay traines, and the other to avoid them. *Anniball* together with the bodie of *Marcellus*, had gotten his ring or ſigne manuell. *Criſpinus* fearing that *Anniball* might practiſe ſome craftie fetch, and beguile ſome bodie by the meanes of that ſignet, ſent meſſengers to all the cities next adjoining, giving them notice, that his brother Conſull was ſlaine, and that the enemy had gotten his ſeale ring, and warning them, that they ſhould give no credite to any letters written in his name, or ſigned with his ſeale. This meſſage was not ſo ſoon brought to Salapia, but ſtreight after there came letters thither from *Anniball*, framed & ended in the name of *Marcellus* to this effect, That he would the next night that immediately followed that preſent day, be in perſon at Salapia; willing the gariſon ſoldiours to be in readineſſe, for to bee employed in ſome ſervice that ſhould be thought needfull. The Salapians perceived whereabout he went, and ſuppoſing that it was a perrillous plot, whereby *Anniball* ſought ſome opportunitie to bee revenged of them and to puniſh them, for anger, not onely that they were revolted from him; but becauſe they had killed his horſemen: they therefore ſending the meſſenger backe againe, (who was a Romane fugitive and renegate, and had fled from them to *Anniball*) to the end, that their ſouldiours might effect that which they were minded to doe, without the knowledge of the meſſenger, and not be eſpied by him; beſtowed all the townſemen along the walls and in ſundry convenient places of the town, to keepe a ſtanding corps de guard. The watch and ward they tended the next night very carefully, and about that gate where they ſuppoſed the enemy would come, they oppoſed the ſtrength and moſt able men of all the gariſon. *Anniball* neere about the time of the releefe of the fourth watch came to the citie. In the vaward marched certain Roman rebels and renegates, with Roman armor upon them: who when they were come to the gate, called up the watch, and ſpake all in Latine unto them, willing them to ſet the gates open, for that the Coſ. was come. The watchmen making ſemblant as if they were rouſed & awakened at their call, began to beſtir themſelves, to make haſt with much ado, as buſie as ever they might be. The Port-cullis which had ben let downe, ſtood yet ſhut. Then they began, ſome to heave & to weigh it from the ground with leavers & coleweiges, others to draw it up with ropes unto that height, that men might goe upright under it. The paſſage was ſcarcely made open, and ſet wide ynough, when the fugitive traitours, came ruſhing in at the gate avie, ſtriving who might enter firſt. And

when there were almost fixe hundred of them gotten in, the rope was let goe, at which the port-cullies hung, and it fell downe with a mightie noise. The Salapians then, some ran upon the fugitive Romanes above said, carying their armour loosely & retchlesly, hanging upon their shoulders, as travellers and wayfaring fouldiours in a peaceable countrie of their friends: others from the turrets of the gate pelted the enemies with stones, and pushed at them with punchion poles, or with darts and javelins masked them. So *Anniball* caught in his owne snares, was faine to depart.

He went from thence to levie and raise the siege before Locri, which towne *Cincius* beleaguered fireghtly, and assaulted most forcibly, having raised fabrickes about it, and planted all kind of engines, artillerie, and ordinance against it, which were brought thither out of Sicilie. *Mago* who began already to distrust that he should not bee able to defend and keepe the citie, conceived now the first hope of better, when he heard once of the death of *Marcellus*. And then there came also a messenger with news, That *Anniball* having sent afore him the horsemen of the Numidians, followed after himselfe in person, as fast as hee could, with the power of the footmen. And therefore so soone as he perceived, by a signe given from the hill tops, that the Numidians approached, himselfe at once set the gate open, and suddainly sallied forth upon the enemy with great violence. At the first the skirmish was doubtfull, more because hee came upon them at unawares, than for that he was equall to match them in strength: but afterwards, when the Numidians charged them besides, the Romanes were so terrified, that they fled here and there in every place to the sea and their ships, leaving their fabrickes & engines wherewith they had shaken and battered the walls. So by the coming of *Anniball* the siege brake up before Locri.

Crispinus, after hee was advertised, that *Anniball* was gone into the Brutians countrey, commaunded *Marcus Marcellus* a Colonell or knight marshall, to lead away unto Venusia, the armie which had bene commaunded by his Colleague new deceased. Himselfe went to Capua with the legions, scarce able to endure the shogging and shaking of the horse-litter, for pain & griefe of his wounds. From whence he wrote letters to Rome, giving notice, That his brother Consull was dead, and in what daunger himselfe was. Signifying also, that hee could not himselfe come unto Rome against the election, because he thought he should not bee able to endure the travell of the journey: and besides, hee was in great care for Tarentum, least *Anniball* from out of the Brutians countrey would turne thither with all his power. Moreover, he gave the Senat to understand, that it was requisite there should be sent as Embassadors or Agents unto him, men of wisdom and discretion, whome hee might conferre with, and acquaint with his will and mind, as touching State-matters. The reading of these letters, caused them much to lament and mourne for the death of the one Consull, and greatly to feare what would become of the other. Therefore they not onely dispatched *Q. Fabius* the sonne, unto the armie in Venusia, but also sent unto the Consull three commissioners, *Sex. Julius Caesar*, *L. Licinius Pollio*, and *L. Cincius Alimentus* who but a few daies before was returned out of Sicilie. These had in commission to signifie unto the Consull from the Senate, that in case he were not able himselfe to come to Rome against the election, he should nominate within the Romane territorie a Dictatour for to assemble the people for the said election: also that their pleasure was, in case the Consull went to Tarentum, that *Q. Claudius* the Pretour should withdraw his legions from thence into those parts, wheras hee might defend most cities of the Allies.

In the same summer *M. Valerius* tooke the seas, with a fleet of a hundred saile, and from Sicilie passed over into Africke: and having disbarcked and landed his men neere the citie Clupea, wasted the countrey all about, and met no armed men, to speak of, to make head & withstand his invasion. Then these rovers and forraiers retired in hast unto their ships, because on a suddaine there was a rumour blowne abroad, That the punicke Armada was coming, consisting of 83 saile. The Romane Admirall fought fortunately with them not farr from Clupea. And after he had boarded and taken eightene of their ships, and put the rest to flight, he returned to Lilybæum, with a rich land-bootie, and much pillage found in the ships.

The same summer *Philip* also sent aid to the Achæi, that earnestly besought his help: whom not onely *Machinidas* the tyrant of the Lacedemonians, grievously afflicted with warring upon their confines, but also the Ætolians, who having crossed the streights or narrowes, betweene Naupactum and Patra: (which the inhabitants there call Rhios) and set over a power of armed men, had spoiled their territorie. Moreover, there went a great rumour and speech, that *Attalus* king

A king of Asia the lesse, would saile over into Europe, because the Ætolians in their last parliament or generall Diet had conferred upon him the sovereign magistracie and rule of their nation. For these causes *Philip* came downe with a power into Greece, and at the cittie Lamia, the Ætolians encountered him with their capitaine *Phylas*, who for that yeere was created Pretour together with king *Attalus* in his absence. They had in their armie certaine aids from *Attalus*, and almost a thousand Romanes out of the Romane Armada, sent from *P. Sulpitius*. Against this capitaine and these forces *Philip* fought two battailes with prosperous successe, and in both slew very many of his enemies: and when the Ætolians were driven for feare from thence, into the cittie of Lamia, and within the walls thereof saved themselves, *Philip* retired his armie into Phalera. This is a place situate in the gulf of Malea, sometimes much peopled and frequented for the passing faire haven, and many good harboroughs, and safe rodes for ships, besides other speciall commodities as well of sea as land. Thither repaired sundry Embassadors from divers parts, to wit, from *Ptolomeus* king of Egypt, from the Rhodians, the Atheniens, and inhabitants of Chios, and all to treat about a pacification, to take up the waire betweene *Philip* and the Ætolians. And of neighbor-borderers there was in the behalfe of the Ætolians as peace-maker, *Aminander* king of the Athamanes. All of them were not so carefull and earnest for the Ætolians, who were more fierce, stout and imperious than the nation of Grecians naturally is: as they laboured this point, that *Philip* with his kingly soveragntie, to the prejudice of their libertie hereafter, should not be interested, nor meddle in the affaires and state of Greece. As concerning a peace, the constitution was put off and referred to the generall counsell of the Achæi: and C. for the said Diet or counsell, was a place appointed, and a certaine day set downe and published. And in the meane space, a truce obtained for thirtie daies.

Then the king departed from thence, and through Thessalie and Boeotia, came to Chalcis in Euboea, for to put by *Attalus* (whom he heard say to be coming with a navie for Euboea) from arriving in any havens, or landing in any place on the sea coast. Then leaving a guard behind for to withstand *Attalus*, (if happily in the mean season he should chance to passe over) he marched himselfe forward with some few horsemen, and light armed footmen, and came to Argos. There by the suffrages and voices of the people, the honour of exhibiting and celebrating the solemne games, called Heraei and Nemei, was recommended unto him, because the Macedonian kings give our and say, that they are descended from that cittie. After he had performed the solemnitie of the Heraei, presently he went from the very games and pastimes, to the counsell of his allies long before proclaimed, as is above said. Much debate there was for a finall end of the Ætolians war, that neither the Romans nor *Attalus* might have any occasion to come into Greece. But the Ætolians marred all this before the time of the truce was well expired: by occasion that they heard, that *Attalus* both was come to Ægina, and the Romane navie anchored at Naupactum. For being called into the counsell of the Achæi, in which the same Embassies were, who before at Phalera had treated for peace, first they complained, that some things had bene done, during the time of the truce, against the faith of the covenant and accord. But at last they flatly denied and said, That there could not possible bee an end of warres, unlesse the Achæi rendred Pylos unto the Messenians; and peace were graunted and restored to the Romanes, and likewise to the Athamanes, to *Scerdileus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Archides*. Whereat *Philip* was very wroth, and thought it a foule indignitie, that conquered persons should take upon them to article and capitulate with him their conquerour. But neither heretofore (quoth he) gave I audience to the treatie of peace, nor yeelded consent to truce upon any hope I had, that the Ætolians would ever be quiet: but to this end, that all confederate friends might beare witnessethat I sought meanes of peace, and they sought occasions and pickt quarrels for warre. So without conclusion of any peace, hee dissolved the Diet, leaving foure thousand fouldiours for the defence and guard of the Achæans, and receiving of them five ships of warre, (which if hee had joined to the armada of the Carthaginians, lately sent unto him, and also to those ships which were coming out of Bithynia from king *Prusias*, he determined to assaile the Romanes with ship-fight, who had a long time bene mightie maisters of the seas) himselfe presently from that counsell departed backe to Argos: for now the time drew neere of the games Nemei, which he was desirous to celebrate and honour with his presence. Whiles the king was occupied in the preparation of these games and pastimes, and solaced himselfe during these feastivall holidais, with more libertie of mind and repose, than he should, in time of war; *P. Sulpitius* having

losed from Naupactum, arived with his fleete betwene Sicyone and Corinth, and wasted that goodly territorie, most renowned of all other for fruitfulness of all things. The noyse and rumor of this occurrence awakened *Philip*, and caused him to leave his disports: and so he tooke his Cavallerie with him in hast, & set forward, having geven order that the Infanterie should follow streight after: where he found the Romanes stragling here and there, all over the countrey, loden with bootie and prizes, (as who feared nothing in the world lesse) set upon them, and drave them to their ships. Thus the Romane fleet nothing wel appaied for the bootie they had gotten, returned to Naupactum. And *Philip* greatly augmented the solemnitie & magnificence of the games that were behind, by the fame of a victorie over the Romanes at that time, how mickle or little soever it was. And with great joy & mirth were those holidiaes kept: and so much the more, because the king for to please the people withall, laid aside the disdemie of his head, put off his purple robes and other princely & royal habit, and in outward port bare himselfe equal to others, and no better: a thing right acceptable and pleasing to free States, as nothing can be more. By which deede of his, he had geven great and undoubted hope unto all men, of libertie and freedome; but that he steined and marred all againe with his intollerable lust and loosenesse of life. For he used to go raunging up and downe with one or two of his favourites in companie, and did nothing else but haunt suspected houses by the sea side day & night in disguised maner: and thus by debasing himselfe to the meane estate of a private person, the lesse he was suspected and knowne, the more dissolute he was: and whiles he pretended unto others a vaine shew of freedome, he abused all to his owne licentiousnes. Neither paid his purse for all his pleasures, nor with flattering persuasions and faire speeches obtained he his desires: but to accomplish his wickednesse, he used oftentimes forcible violence: and dangerous it was both to husbands and parents, to be any thing streight-laced, and make it goodly by tedious delay and unseasonable severitie, to seeme but to stay the unbridled lust and appetite of the king. From one of the Princes also of the Achei named *Aratus*, he tooke his wife away called *Polycratia*, and upon hope and colour of marriage with the king, drew her away with him into Macedonie. Having thus with these leaud & wicked pranks passed the time of the solemnitie of the *Nemean* games, and some few dayes over and above; he went to Dymæ for to disizen the garison of the *Ætolians*, which they had sent for and received into the citie [of Dymæ] from the Eleans, *Cycliades* (who was the soveraigne or chiefe magistrat of that state) and the Achei, met the king at Dymæ: who as they hated the Eleans, because they dissented from the rest of the Acheians, so they were maliciously bent against the *Ætolians*, whom they were persuaded, to have stirred the Romanes to levie warre upon them. So from Dymæ they departed, and with joint armies passed over the river Larissus, which devideth the country of the Eleans from the territorie of Dymæ. The first day after they were entred the confines of their enemies, they spent in forraying. The morrow after, in battaile array, they presented themselves before the citie, having sent out their horsemen before them to make bravadoes before their gates, and all to provoke the *Ætolians*; a kind of people full of stomack, & readie enough to sallie forth & make excursions. Now were they not ware all this while, that *Sulpitius* with fiftene ships had crossed over from Naupactum to Cyllene: nor that he had landed foure thousand souldiers in the still time of the night (because they might not be seene to march) and entred Elis. And therefore, this sodaine and unexpected object put them in a terrible feare, when they saw & knew once among the *Ætolians* and the Eleans, the Romane ensignes and their armour. At the first, the king would have had his men to retire: but afterwards seeing the skirmish was begun already between the *Ætolians* and *Triballi*, (a kind of Illyrians) and perceiving that his souldiours also were put to it and charged, then the king also himselfe with his horsemen assailed the Cohort or Squadron of the Romanes. There his horse was with a dart shot through: and when he had once flung and cast the king forward over his head, there was a cruell and deadly fight on both sides, whiles the Romanes laid hard at the king, and the kings men protected and guarded his person. Himselfe fought right manfully above the rest, considering he was forced on foote, to mainteine skirmish among the horsemen. But afterwards, by reason of the great disadvantage, and seeing many about him sticken downe and wounded, he was caught away by his gard, mounted upon another horse, and so he fled and escaped. And the same day he encamped 5 miles from the citie of the Eleans. The next morrow he led all his whole power to a castle of the Eleans situate neere at hand, called *Pyrgos*: into which he had intelligence that a multitude of the country perisants for feare of being spoiled, were with

A their cattaille driven and retired. This confused, disordred, and naked companie he tooke captive at his comming, presently upon the first charge and onset that he gave: and with that bootie he licked himselfe whole againe, and saved the shameful diffature that he had received at Elis. As he was busy in sharing the prizes, and dealing abroad the prisoners (and there were of men some foure thousand, and of cattaille of all kinds one with another twentie thousand head) there came a post out of Macedonie with newes, that one *Eropus* had surprised *Lychnidum*, by corrupting for a peece of money the constable of the Castle, and capraine of the garrison there: and that he held in possession certaine borrough townes of the *Dassaretians*, and still raised the *Dardanians* to rebellion. The king therefore gave over the *Achæan* and the *Ætolian* warres: yet leaving two thousand five hundred armed souldiers of all sorts, under the leading of *Menippus* and *Polyphantus* for to defend his Allies, he went from Dymæ through *Achaia*, *Boeotia*, and *Bebœis*; and upon the tenth day came to *Demetrias* in *Theffalia*. Where other messengers also encountered him, bringing tidings of a greater insurrection: namely, that the *Dardanians* had invaded Macedonie, and were maisters of *Orestis*, and came downe into the plaines of *Æstræum*: and that the rumor was rise and went currant among the barbarous people that *Philip* was slain. The truth is, in that expedition wherein he fought at Sicyon with those that preyed and made spoile in the countie, he was carried by his hote and stomack-full horse under a tree, and there against a bough or arme thereof that stood out, he chaunced to breake a corner of the crest of his helmet at one end. That peece chanced to be found by a certaine *Ætolian*, and was brought into *Ætolia* unto *Scerdiletus*, who knew by the marke that it was the kings helmet: whereupon the fame of the kings death was divulged commonly abroad. After the departure of *Philip* out of *Achæa*, *Sulpitius* who was arrived with his navie at *Ægina*, went forward, and joyned with *Attalus*. The *Achæi*, not farre from *Messene* struck a fortunate battaile with the *Ætolians* and the Eleans. *Attalus* the king, and *P. Sulpitius* wintred in *Ægina*.

In the end of this year, *Quintius Crispinus* the Consul, when he had nominated for Dictator, *L. Marcellus Torquatus*, for to hold the solemn election of magistrats, & to set out the games, died of his hurt aforesaid. Some say he left his life at Tarentum: others in Campane. Thus both Coss. beinge slain without any memorable battaile; (a thing never seene afore in any other warre) left the common-wealth desolate, and as it were cleane fatherlesse. *Manlius* the Dictator chose for his Generall of the horse, *C. Servilius*, at that time *Ædile curule*. The Senate upon the very first day that the LL. were assembled, gave order to the Dictator, to exhibit the great Romane games, which *M. Aemilius* the Pretour of the citie, whiles *C. Flaminius* and *Cn. Servilius* were Coss. had represented & vowed for 5 years. Then the Dictator, both set them forth & also vowed them for the next five yeares. But considering there were two Consular annies without their Generals, so neere unto the enemies: the LL. of the Senate & the people set all other matters aside, and had a principall care above all things, to creat Consuls as soone as possibly they could: and such especially, whose vertue and valour should bee thought secured and safe enough, from Punicke craftinesse and deceitfull traines. For whereas during the time of all these wars, the over-hastie heads and hote spirits of the Leaders, had bene ever dangerous and hurtfull to the state: so in this very yeare, the Consuls upon immoderate desire to fight with the enemy, was fallen and plunged into a jeopardie and mischief ere they were aware. Howbeit the immortal gods had mercie and pittie upon the Romane name, in sparing the guiltlesse armies, and punishing the inconsiderate rashnesse of the Consuls, with the losse onely of their owne lives. And when the LL. of the Senate looked about every way, to see if they could spie out any to make Consuls of: above all others by many degrees, *C. Claudius Nero* excelled and was the onely Paragon. But a companion with him in the government they were likewise to seeke for. As for him, no doubt, they deemed him a singular man and a brave captaine: but yet more forward and egre, than the qualitie and occasions of this warre required, or to be marched with such an enemy as *Annibal* was. And therefore they thought good to joyne with him for his colleague, a sober, wise, & prudent man, who might temper and qualifie that fierce nature and disposition of his. Now *M. Livius*, many yeares ago had bene upon his Consulship condemned by the judgement of the people. Which ignominie and reproach he tooke so grievously to the heart, that he departed into the countie, and for many yeares together, forbore not onely the citie, but to converse and keepe companie with men. And almost eight yeares after his condemnation aforesaid, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *M. Valerius Levinus* the Consuls, reduced him againe into the citie. But hee used to

go in old and worne apparrell, letting the haire of his head and beard grow long, carrying in his very countenance and array, the fresh & notable remembrance of the disgrace before received. But *L. Veturius* and *P. Licinius* the Censors, compelled him to cut his haire, and lay away his vile and unseemly weed, to come into the Senate, and to meddle againe in civill matters and affaires of State. And yet in so doing, he would never proceed farther, than to say Amen to other mens opinions, and speake but one word, yea and nay: or else nothing at all, but shew his mind by passing on his feet to one side or other. Vntill such time as a kinsman of his owne, *M. Livius Macatus*, being in trouble, and his name and honour called in question, caused him to stand up in the Counsel-house and deliver his opinion. And when after so long discontinuance, he was seen and heard, once to speake, he turned every man his eye upon him, and ministred occasion also of speech in these tearmes, namely, That the people had done the man exceeding great wrong, yea and hurt the common-weale much, in that during the time of so dangerous a warre, there had bene no imploiment of so worthie a person, either for his travaile and paines, or his advice and counsell. But to returne againe to the lords of the Senate: they knew well, that neither *Q. Fabius*, nor *M. Valerius Levinus*, could possibly be joynd as companion in government to *C. Nero*: forasmuch as it was not lawfull that both should bee chosen out of the Nobles or Patritij. And the same was *T. Manlius* his case also. Besides that, as he once refused the Consuls rowme, when it was offered unto him, so no doubt hee would not accept thereof the second time if it were tendered upon him. But if they should sort *Marcus Livius* and *C. Claudius* together, there would be an excellent couple of Consuls in deed. Neither stood the people against this overture, thus moved first by the lords of the Senate. The onely man in the whole citie, that denied it, was the very partie himselfe, unto whom this dignitie and honourable place was presented. VVho much blamed the levity & inconstancie of the citie: saying, that they had no pittie of him, when it was: namely, whiles he was in question & accused, & during the time of his trouble ware poore & simple garments: but now against his wil, they offered him a glittering white robe to stand for a Consulship. Thus (quoth he) they punish and depresse, thus they honour and advance the same persons. If they tooke me for a good & honest man, why condemned they me as they did, for a wicked one and a guiltie? If they found me naught and faultie, what cause have they to trust me with a second Consulship, who used the former so badly, which was committed unto me? As he argued and made complaints in this wise, the lords of the Senate reproved him, and replied againe: setting before his eyes the example of *M. Furius*, who in times past was called home out of exile: & when the state was decayed & lying along, set it upright again in her former place and pristine glorie. And like as the curstnesse and rigor of parents is to be mollified by patience, even so the hard & shrewd dealings of a mans countie, is to be dulced & mitigated by bearing and sufferance. So they all stucke close together, and chose *M. Livius* Consul, with *C. Claudius*. Three daies after, they went to the election of the Pretours. And there were created Pretours, *L. Porcius Licinius*, *Caius Manlius*, *A. Hostilius*, and *C. Hostilius*, both *Catoes*. When the election was finished, and the games celebrated, the Dictatour and Generall of the cavallerie surrendered their places. *C. Terentius Varro* was sent into Hetruria as Pro-pretor, to the end that out of that province, *C. Hostilius* should go to Tarentum, unto that armie which *T. Quintius* the Consul had. That *L. Manlius* should go beyond sea as embassadour, to see how the world went there: And withall, considering that in summer, there were to be solemnized the famous games at Olympia, which were celebrated with a most frequent resort and meeting of all Greece, in case hee might safely & without impeachment of the enemy, hee should visite that great assembly: to the end that if he could light upon any Sicilians, who were fled and banished their countie, or any citizens of Tarentum, confined thither & sent away by *Annibal*, they should repaire home againe into their owne countries, and know, that whatsoever they were possessed of, before the warres began, the people of Rome would restore the same, and make good againe unto them.

Because it was like to be a right dangerous yeare, and no Consuls were invested fully in the common-weale, all men depended upon the Consuls elect, and were desirous that they should with all speed, cast lots for their provinces: and every man was willing to know aforehand, what province each one should rule, & what enemy he was to deale withall. Moreover, a motion and speech there was in the Senat-house, that the Consuls should bee reconciled and made friends, and *Q. Fabius Max.* propounded that first. For there had bene notorious enmitie and variance betweene them aforetime: and the calamitie of *Livius* made the same more grievous and unsupportable

A supportable unto himselfe; in regard that he was perswaded, how in that miserie of his, hee was despised of his adversarie. VVhereupon he grew to be more implacable of the twaine, and worke to be intreated. There needs (quoth he) no reconciliation, neither is it materiall & to any purpose. For they will do all with more diligence and better spirit, who ever stand in feare that their adversarie and concurrent shall grow great and be advanced by their default. Yet the authoritie of the Senate bare such a stroke with them, that they laid aside all malice and old grudge, & with one mind, consent, and counsell, administred the affaires of common-weale. Their provinces were not intermingled, nor their government extended into one anothers countie, as in former yeares, but distant asunder and divided by the remote frontiers and farthest marches of Italie. For unto one of them were assigned the Brutians & Lucans countie against *Annibal*: unto the other, B Gallia against *Asdruball*; who as the rumour and bruit went, was come forward neere unto the Alpes. Of those two armies which were in Gallia and in Hetruria, he whose fortune was to go into Gallia, was to chuse which armie he would, and have besides, that other of the citie. And he whose lot should be to go into the Brutians countie, besides the new legions enrolled of citizens, was to take unto him, the armie of whether Consul he list, of the former year. Also *Quintius Fabius* the Pro-consul, had the charge of that armie which the Consul refused: and his authoritie was renewed for one yeare longer. As for *C. Hostilius*, whose province Tarentum they exchanged for Hetruria, they altered his province againe, to wit, Capua in stead of Tarentum. Vnto him was allowed that one legion which *Fulvius* the last yeare commaunded.

C Now encreased their care every day more than other, concerning the coming of *Asdruball* into Italie. And the Embassadours of the Massilians had brought newes first, that hee was passed over into Gallia: and that the minds of the Gaules were mightily cheered up by his coming, because the speech went, that he had brought a huge deale of gold with him, for to hire & wage souldiours for aid in the warres. Then afterwards, *Sex. Antistius*, and *M. Retius*, who were sent Embassadours backe with them from Rome, for to see whether it were so indeed, had made relation unto the Senate, that they had sent certaine of purpose guided by the Massilians, who by meanes of their especiall friends, the princes and lords of the Gaules, might learne the truth, and bring word backe accordingly. By whose report it was for certaine knowne, that *Asdruball* having levied already a puissant armie, was minded the next spring to passe over the Alpes: and that there was nothing els staied him, but that it had bene done already, saving onely the avenues of the Alps which were closed up with the winter snow.

D In the roume of *M. Marcellus*, *L. Aquilius Papius* was created Augur, and so consecrated. And likewise *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* was inaugurat or installed king of the sacrifices, in stead of *Marcus Marius*, who died two yeares before. In this very same yeere the citie was purged, and there was a generall survey and numbring of the people, by the Censors taken, *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. There were reckoned and entred into the Censours bookes of citizens, 137108. A smaller number by much ods, than before the war. It is recorded in the Annales, that this yeere first after that *Annibal* came into Italie, the Comitium was built over head and covered. And that the Romane Games were once renewed by the *Ediles* of the chaire, *Q. Metellus*, and *C. Servilius*: and that the other Games called *Plebeij*, were renewed two daies by *Q. Manlius*, and *M. Caelius Metellus*, *Ediles* of the Commons: who also offered three images, and set them up in the chappell of *Ceres*. And the solemne feastivall dinner of *Iupiter* was celebrated by occasion of those Games.

E Then *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* the second time, entered their Consulship: who (because whiles they were but Coss. elect, they had cast lots for their provinces) commaunded the Pretors to do the like. And to *C. Hostilius* fell the jurisdiction over the citizens, who had that likewise over strangers and forrainers; to the end, that the other three might go forth into their provinces. To *A. Hostilius*, was allotted Sardinia; to *C. Manlius*, Sicilia; and to *L. Porcius* Fraunce. In summe, the legions were in number three and twenty, divided into the provinces in this sort: to wit, the Consuls had two apiece, Spaine foure. The three Pretours for Sicilie, Sardinia, and Fraunce each of them twaine. *C. Terentius* in Hetruria commaunded two, *Q. Fulvius* in the Brutians country, other two, *Q. Claudius* about Tarentum, and the Salentines conducted twaine: and *Caius Hostilius Tubulus* at Capua, one. Last of all, two were enrolled for the citie. In the foure first legions, the people chose all the Colonels or Marshals, but to all the rest the Consuls sent new to make up the defect.

Before

Before the Consuls went forth, there was a Novendiall sacrifice celebrated, because at Veij it G had rained stones from heaven. And after one prodigious sight was once minded and spoken of, there were (as it is commonly seene) others also reported: namely, that in Minturnæ the temple of *Iupiter*, and the sacred grove of *Marica* was smitten with lightning; and at *Atellæ* the wall and gate likewise, was blasted with fire from heaven. The men of Minturnæ spake also of a more fearful and terrible thing than that, to wit, that there ran a river of blood in their very gate. Last of all, at *Capua* a Wolfe entered the gate at night, and werried and dismembred one of the watchmen.

These wonderfull signes were expiate with sacrificing of greater beasts, and a supplication was holden for one day, by vertue of a decree from the Prelates. Then was the Novendiall sacrifice once againe renewed, because it was seene, that in *Arministrum* it rained stones. And mens minds were no sooner freed of one religious scruple, but they were troubled againe with another. For word was brought, that at *Frulino* there was an infant borne, as big as ordinarie a child is at foure yeeres of age. And the thing was not so strange for the bignesse of the bodie, as for that it was borne doubtfull, whether it were male or female, like as two yeeres before, at *Sinuessa*. The wisards that were sent for out of *Hetruria*, said, that this of all other was a foule and filthie monster, and that it should bee had forth of the dominion of *Rome*, and drowned in the deepe, so as it might touch no ground. Whereupon they put it alive into a coffer, and when they had carried it a good way into the sea, they flung it in. Moreover the Prelates made a decree, that certaine virgines in three companies, having nine apiece, should goe through the citie, & sing certaine canticles. And whiles in the temple of *Iupiter Stator*, the maidens were a learning their song by heart, devised and framed in verse by *Livius* the Poet, the temple of queene *Iuno* in the *Aventine* hill, was stricken with lightning from heaven. And when the *Aruspices* had declared that this prodigious token touched the matrones and dames of the citie, and that the goddesse was to be pacified with an oblation; they were (by vertue of an edict granted out by the *Ædiles* of the chaire) called all into the *Capitoll*, as many as had any house, either in the citie of *Rome*, or within ten miles every way. And they among themselves chose five and twentie, into whose hands all the rest should put some small portion of their dower. Of which there was made a faire and large golden bason, for to be presented unto *Iuno*: and it was brought into the *Aventine*: and withall, the dames offered unto her purely and chastly their sacrifices. And straighter the *Decemvirs* proclaimed a day for another sacrifice of the same goddesse, the manner and order whereof was this: There were two white heifers led from the temple of *Apollo* into the citie, through the gate *Carmentalis*: after them were carried two Images, representing *Iuno*, made of *Cypresse* wood: then went there seven and twentie virgines in long side garments, chaunting hymns and songs to the honour of *Iuno*. These songs in verse were peradventure commendable, and passed for good with those rude and grosse wits then living: but if they should be rehearsed nowadaies to our fine heads, they would seeme but simple stuffe, and composed without rime or reason. After this row of maidens, followed the *Decemvirs* deputed for sacred ceremonies, with chaplets & garlands of *Baies*, clothed in vesture & robes embroidered with purple. From the gate above named, they passed by the street *Iugarius* into the *Grand place*, & there rested this solemne pomp & train. Then these virgins taking hold of a cord, which went through all their hands, sung a song, and daunced the measures, footing it artificially according to the note. From thence they went by the *Tuscane* street & *Velabrum* through the beasts market, & so forward into the *Clivus Publicus*, untill they came to the temple of *Iuno*. There the *Decemvirs* sacrificed two beasts, and the Images of *Cypresse* wood were offered and set up in the temple. When the gods and goddeses were duly pacified, the Consuls tooke musters more straightly and with greater precisenesse, than any man could remember in former yeeres. For both the feare of the warre was two-fold, by reason of a new-come enemie into *Italie*, and also there was lesse store of youth, out of which the souldiours should bee enrolled. Whereupon they compelled the inhabitants of the Colonies by the sea side, who were said to have an especiall immunitie of warfare (by a sacred law) for to find souldiours: and when they denied, and stood upon their priviledge of exemption, they set them down a certain day, upon which every man should repair into the Senat, & shew what cards they had for their immunitie & vacation. Vpon the day appointed there presented themselves before the Senat these Communalities following, to wit, of *Hoflia*, *Alfia*, *Antium*, *Anxur*, *Minturnæ*, *Sinuessa*, and *Sena*, from the upper sea. When every one of these States exhibited and read their charter

* The same that
C. C.

A charter of immunitie, there was none of all them dispensed with, but they of *Antium* & *Hoflia*, in regard the enemie abode in *Italie*: and so the yong & serviceable men of those Colonies, were put to their oth and sware, that not above fortie of them should lie one night forth of the walls of their Colonie, so long as the enemie continued in *Italie*.

When all the LL. of the Senate were of opinion, that the Consuls were to goe forth to the warres with all speed possible (for that both *Asdruball* was to bee encountered comming downe the *Alpes*, for feare he should sollicite the *Gauls* on this side the *Alpes*; and the *Tuscanes* likewise who hoped and looked every day for a change and alteration; and also *Anniball* was to bee kept occupied in his owne warre, that he might not goe forth of the *Brutians* countrie, and meet with his brother) onely *Livius* made some stay and drew backe, as reposing but small trust in the armies belonging to his owne provinces. And as for his Colleague, well he wist, that hee had the choise of two notable Consular armies, and of a third, wherof *Q. Claudius* had the charge at *Tarentum*. Whereupon hee had made some motion of calling the *Volones* [or voluntaries] againe to their colours, and to serve in the warres. The Senate graunted the Consuls a large and free commission, both to make supplie from whence soever they would, by chusing out of all the armies whome they pleased, and to make exchange with whome they would, yea, and to draw out of the provinces whomsoever, according as they should thinke it good for the Commonweale. And all this was executed with the exceeding concord and unitie of the Consuls. The *Volones* were enrolled into the nineteenth and twentieth legions. Some authors have written, that *Scipio* sent unto *Livius* from out of *Spaine*, a strong power of auxiliaries for that warre, to wit, C eight thousand of *Spaniards* and *Frenchmen*, two thousand legionarie footmen, and eightene hundred men of armes, partly *Numidians*, and partly *Spaniards*: and that *Marcus Lucretius* brought these forces by sea: also that *C. Manlius* sent out of *Sicilie* foure thousand archers and slingers.

The feare and troubles in *Rome* were much increased, by occasion of letters sent out of *Gallia* from *L. Porcius* the Pretour: pourporting thus much, That *Asdruball* was removed out of his wintering harbours, and was passing over the *Alpes*: that there were eight thousand *Ligurians* levied and readie in armes, to joine with him so soone as ever he was come into *Italie*, unlesse some one were sent against the *Ligurians*, to prevent and keepe them otherwise busied with war. As for himselfe, he would with that weakie armie that he had, go forward, as far as he thought he might with safetie. These letters caused the Consuls to dispatch the musters in great hast, and to go forth into their provinces, sooner than they had purposed: with this intent, that both of them as well the one as the other, might in his severall province keepe the enemies occupied, and suffer them not to joine, and lay their forces together. And verily the thing that helped them most in this their designement, was an opinion and perswasion that *Anniball* had: For albeit he was assured that his brother would that summer passe over into *Italie*, yet when he called to remembrance what a toile he had himselfe, and how much trouble and travaile he endured in the passage, one while of the river *Rhodanus*, another while of the mountaines of the *Alpes*, and how for the space of five moneths together, hee was forced not onely to fight with the people, but to struggle also with the difficulties of the places; he never looked that *Asdruball* could so easily and so speedily passe over as he did: which was the cause that hee dislodged out of his wintering places so much the latter. But *Asdruball* found better expedition, and all things more easie and speedie than either himselfe hoped for, or others expected. For the *Arverni*, and other nations (by their example) both of *France* and also about the *Alpes*, not only received and interteined him, but also accompanied him to the warre. Over and besides, as he conducted his armie by those avenues which were prepared and made open by his brothers journey, and had bene aforetime unpassable wilds and craggie rags: so against his comming, the *Alpes* were much more easie, by reason of twelve yeeres continuall passage too and fro those waies: and the nature of the paissants more civile and tractable. For the people before, being not used to any strangers and aliens, nor accustomed to see passengers or travellers comming into those parts, were in manner unfociable, savage and wild, and could not away with the societie of men. And at the first not knowing whither *Anniball* intended to go, they supposed that he came for to surprise their holds in caves and rocks, to take their fortresses, and to drive away their people and cattail as booties. But afterwards, the same that went of the *Punick* warre (wherewith now twelve yeeres *Italie* was plagued and vexed) had taught them sufficiently, that the *Alpes* were nothing but the way for the *Carthaginians*

ginians to traueile through. And by this time well they knew, that two most puissant Cities and States, deuided and removed one from another by a great space of land and sea betweene, strived together and warred for their greatnesse and Soveraigntie. Vpon these occasions, I say, the Alpes were open and passable to *Asdruball* with ease. But looke what time he gained by speedie journeyes, the same he lost againe by stay about *Placentia*, whiles he lay there in vaine, rather besee- ging than assailing it. He was caried away with a persuation, that the towne seated upon a plaine and champain cuntry, might soone be forced and woon: and the great name that went of that noble Colonie, induced him to beleeeve, that by the overthrow and raising of that citie, he should strike a terror to all the rest. But in lying against that towne, he not only hindered himselfe much, but also stayed *Anniball*: who having heard that he was passed over the Alpes, and come downe into Italie, so much sooner than he looked for, was upon the point to dislodge out of his stand- ing wintering camp. For he considered & cast in his mind, not only what a long & tedious peece of worke it is to beseege and assault cities, but also well remembered how himselfe after his victorie at Trebia, assailed to force that colonie in his returne from thence, but might not prevaile.

The Consuls being departed from the citie, and gone divers wayes as it were for two sundrie warres at once, distracted mens minds with many cares and troublous imaginations, as well in remembrance of those losses and overthrowes, which they had received at *Anniball* his first coming: as also in thinking, what gods should be so propitious and favorable to the citie and empire of Rome, as to prosper the affaires of the State and Common-weale, at one time in both places. For until then, their successe had ben variable & alternative; and their prosperitie alwaies dilaid with seemblable adversitie: and againe, their losses were recompensed with equall gaines. For when in Italie the Common-wealth of Rome went one way downeward headlong to the ground at *Thrasymenus* and *Canna*: the fortunate warres another way in Spaine, set it upright againe. Afterwards, when in Spaine one overthrow and deffeature hapned in the neck of ano- ther, at what time as two noble Captaines were slaine, and two valiant armies in part destroyed; the happie and luckie hand in Sicilie and Italie, made up those breaches, and set the reeling state on foote againe. For why? the very distance of the place so farre remote (because one of the warres was mainteined in the farthest part of the world) yelded time and respite to breathe them- selves and gather new strength. But now, two warres at once are interteined within Italie, two most brave warriors and renowned Captaines enclose betweene them the citie of Rome: all dangers come huddle together: all the heave lode and whole burden beareth upon one and the selfesame place: and no doubt, but whither of those two Captaines first shall get a victorie, he will within few daies after joine his forces to the other. The fresh and lamentable remem- brance also of the very last yeere, wherein two Consuls lost their lives, mightily affrighted the harts of the people. So as, in these perplexities and troubles of minde, they accompanied the Consuls as they departed and went into their severall provinces. It is moreover in some records found, that when *Q. Fabius* adviced and warned *M. Livinus* being upon his journey toward the warres, not rashly and hand over head to give battaile to the enemy, before he knew his nature and qualities, he full of anger still and discontentments with his fellow citizens, made this an- swer, That so soone as ever he could have a sight of his enemies armie, he would fight: and being asked againe, why he would make such hast? Mary (quoth he) either shall I by victorie of mine enemies win singular honor and renewme: or by the overthrow of my fellow citizens gaine some harts-ease and contentment, if not honest in all respects, yet at leastwise such as they have deserved.

Before that *Claudius* the Consull was come into his province, *C. Hostilius Tubulus* accom- panied with certaine cohorts lightly appointed, encountered *Anniball* as he led his armie and marched by the utter confines and marches of the territorie of *Larinum*, which leadeth to the *Salentines*: and charging upon his disordered armie, put them to great trouble, slew foure thou- sand of his men, and caried away nine ensignes. *Q. Claudius* who had certaine garizons planted in all the cities of the *Salentines* cuntry, hearing of the enemies coming, had removed out of his wintering camp: and therefore *Anniball*, because he would not fight with two armies at once, by night dislodged out of the territorie of *Tarentum*, and withdrew himselfe into the *Brutians* cuntry: and *Claudius* turned with his armie to the *Salentines* againe. *Hostilius* in the way to *Capua*, met with the Consull *Claudius* at *Venusia*. There, out of both armies, the Consull picked forth fortie thousand choise footemen, and 2500 horsemen, for to warre with *Anniball*.

The

A The rest of the forces *Hostilius* was commaunded to leade unto *Capua*, and to deliver them to *Q. Fulcius* the Proconsull.

Anniball having assembled his forces from all parts, as well those which he had in camp du- ring winter time, as those that lay in garison in the *Brutians* cuntry, came as farre as *Grumen- tum* in the territorie of the *Lucanes*, upon hope to recover the townes, which for feare, had re- volted to the Romanes. Vnto the same place the Romanes Cos. making out his espials before to discover and cleere the waies, marched from *Venusia*, and about a mile and halfe from the ene- mie, encamped himselfe. The *Carthaginians* had fortified themselves, and cast a trench close in a manner to the walls of *Grumentum*: and betweene the camp and the Romanes was some halfe mile. A plaine lay in the midst: and on the left hand of the *Carthaginians*, and the right hand of the Romanes all along betweene, the hils overlooked them, bare and naked, and of nei- ther part suspected, by reason that they had no wood growing upon them, nor any lurking places to hide an ambush in. Into the plaine betweene they used to put out certaine bands and compa- nies from the *Corps de guard* of both sides, and made light skirmishes not worth the talking of. And it seemed that the drift of the Romanes Consull was to keepe the enemy in, and not to suffer him to go his waies. But *Anniball* desirous to be gone, entred the field with all his power in order of battaile. Then the Consull borrowing a litle of his enemies cunning, for that in so open hils there was lesse feare and suspicion of ambush, gave order that five Cohorts of horse- men, reinforced with as many bands of footemen, should by night get over those hils, and in the vallies behind, sit downe closely: with direction to *T. Claudius Asellus* a colonell of footemen; C and *P. Claudius* a captaine of allies whom he sent to conduct them, at a certaine time to arise out of ambush, and to charge the enemy: himselfe by day light led forth all his whole power as well foote as horse into the field. Within a while after, *Anniball* likewise put forth the signall of battaile: and all the camp over they set up a cry, running all about to their armour and wea- pons. Then footemen and horsemen both rushed avie out of the gates who could be soonest forth: and scattered as they were all over the plaine, made hast to the enemies. Whom when the Consull saw thus disordered, he commaunded *C. Aurunculeius* a Tribune or Colonel of the third legion, to put out the Cavallerie belonging to that legion, for to charge the enemy with all the violence he could: for that like sheepe they were sopsred over the plaine without all forme and fashion, and might be surprisid, discomfited, and beaten downe, before they could be D brought into array and set in order of battaile. *Anniball* himselfe was not come forth of the campe, when hee might heare the noyse of them fighting together and hard at it: and excited with this tumult, hee led in great hast all the rest of his forces against the enemy. By this, the vaward and forefront of his battaile was frighted with the horsemen of the e- nemies: yea and the first legion of the Infanterie and the Cavallerie of the right wing be- gan to charge. The *Carthaginians* disordered as they were, fought at a venture, as they chanced to meete either with footemen or horsemen. The conflict grew hotter, by reason of new sup- plies and fresh succours, and encreased still by the number of them that continually ran out to the medley. And surely *Anniball*, notwithstanding this tumult and troublesome feare, had set and marshalled his men in good order as they were fighting (which had bene no easie E thing to do, but that the armie was of old souldiours, and their captaine well experienced and beaten to it) if it had not bene for the shout of the cohorts and bands above-said, which they heard at their backs, as they from the hils behind ran downe upon them: and set them in great feare, least that they would thrust in betweene them and home, and so shut them out of their camp. Hereupon I say they were affrighted, and began to flye here and there. But the slaughter was the lesse, because the camp was neere, and farre they had not to run thither and save them- selves in this their fearefull fright. For the horsemen plaid upon their backs still, and gave not over: the cohorts from the open mountaines ran easily downe the hill, and charged crosse upon their sides and flanks. Howbeit, there were slaine more than eight thousand men, and above 700 taken prisoners: nine ensignes woon and caried away: of Elephants also (whereof there was little F or no use) in a sodaine and tumultuarie skirmish foure were killed, and two gotten alive. Of Ro- manes and Allies, there dyed two hundred. The next day after, *Anniball* stirred not. The Ro- mane Consull having brought his armie forth into the field, and seeing none to come abroad, and make head against him, commaunded the slaine enemies to be disarmed and despoiled, and the spoiles to be gathered up, and the bodies of his owne men to be brought together into a place

place and buried. For certaine dayes after continually, he preassed so hard at the camp gates, G that he wanted but little of entring thither with banner displayed. In so much as *Anniball* at the third watch of the night, leaving behind him many fires burning, and divers tents standing, on that side especially which looked toward the enemies, and some few Numidians, to make a shew upon the Rampiar and at the gates; dislodged, and purposed to goe into Apulia. The next morning by day light, the Romane armie embarrailed, approached the trench and rampiar. The Numidians of set purpose shewed themselves in the gates and upon the rampiar: and when they had a good while dallied thus and plaied with the enemy, they mounted on horsebacke, and spared no horse-flesh untill they had overtooke their fellows. The Consull perceiving that all was quiet within the campe, and seeing not so much as those few appeare any where, who in the morning betimes had walked their stations, sent forth two horsemen into H the campe as espials. After he understood for certaine that all was safe, and the coasts cleare, he commaunded his ensignes to make an entrie. And staying no longer there, than whiles his souldiours ranne up and downe to pill and spoile, hee founded the retreat: and long before night, brought his armie back againe. The next morrow after, he set forward by the dawning of the day, & with long journeis, following his enemies by the voice of the countrie, & tracing them by their footsteps, hee overtooke them not far from Venusia. There also was a skuffling skirmish between them, and not so few as two thousand Carthaginians slaine. From thence *Anniball* ever marched by night, and journeyed through the mountaines, because he would give his enemy no vantage of sight, untill he came to Metapontum. From whence *Hanno* (for hee was captaine of the garrison there) was sent with some fewe in his traine into the Brutians countrie, to levie a new armie. And *Anniball* after he had joynd those forces to his owne, returned againe to Venusia, by the same way that he came from thence; and so forward he marched to Cannusium. *Nero* never left the enemy, but was readie to tread on his heeles, and as he marched himselfe toward Metapontum, hee had sent for *Fulvius* to repaire into the Lucanes countrie, because those parts should not be disurnished of defence.

In this mean space, there were foure French horsemen, and two Numidians, sent to *Anniball* with letters from *Asdruball*, after he was removed from the siege of Placentia: who having travailed in manner all the length of Italie, through the mids of the enemies, whiles they follow after *Anniball* in his retire unto Metapontum, missed of their waie, and light upon Tarentum: where they were encountered by the forragers of the Romans that raunged about the fields, & by K them were brought before *Claudius* the Propretor. At the first they entertained him with slim flams, with doubtfull and intricate answers: but when the feare of the racke and other tortures, had forced them to tell a truth, they confessed, that they had letters about them to deliver from *Asdruball* to *Anniball*. With those letters sealed as they were, they were committed unto *L. Virginius* a Colonell, for to be conveyed unto *Claudius* the Consul. And two troupes or Corners besides of Samnite horsemen were sent to guard them. So soone as they were come vnto the Consull, and the letters read by an enterpretour, and some examination taken of these captives: then *Claudius* considering that the common-weale was not now in that good case, nor the occasion such, that each governour needed no more, but to make warre by the ordinarie course of commission, within the compasse and limits of his owne province, with the helpe of his owne armie L alone, and against an enemy assigned unto him by the Senate: but that some unlooked-for adventures must be enterprised, some new designements and unexpected, put in execution, which when they are begun and attempted, might make no lesse wonder and feare among their owne friends, than terror among the enemies: & being once performed and done, might turn the former fear into as great joy and gladnes; sent the letters of *Asdruball* to the Senat at Rome: & withall, himselfe acquainted the lords of the Senate what he intended to do. And forasmuch as *Asdruball* wrote unto his brother to meet him in Vmbria, hee advised them to send for the legion at Capua to Rome, to take musters also at Rome, and to oppose that armie of the citie, against the enemy at Narnia. Those were the contents of his letters to the Senate. Hee dispatched likewise messengers before, through the territories of the Larinates, Marruines, Ferentines, and Pretutians, (by whom he meant to lead his armie) for to give notice, that all the inhabitants of those parts, should out of their villages and good towns, provide and bring forth victualles into the high waies, for to refresh his souldiours; also to come with their cart-horses, draught-oxen, and other beasts for carriage, together with waines and carts, that the wearied souldiours might ease themselves

A themselves thereby. Himselfe out of his whole armie, as well of citizens as allies, chose forth the floure and most picked men of all, to the number of six thousand foot, & one thousand horie, and gave it out openly, that hee minded to surpris the first citie that hee came next unto in the Lucanes countrie, and withall, the garrison of Carthaginians that lay there: and therefore commaunded them to be readie for the journey and expedition. Thus when he had set forward in the night, he turned his way into Picenum. And the Consull made no more ado, but with long journeyes highed him as fast as he could, and led his armie directly to his colleague, leaving *Tatius* his Lieutenant, to guard and commaund the campe.

At Rome, they were no lesse terrified and troubled, than they were two year before, at what time as the Carthaginians were encamped before the wals and gates of the citie. And men wist not well, what to make of this adventurous and audacious journey of the Consull, whether they B should praise or dispraise it. And it seemed that they would measure it and report thereof according to the event, than which surely, there is nothing more unjust and unequall. But thus they whispered, That the campe was left with an armie, and without their General, neere unto the enemy *Anniball*, yea and the same gueldest of all the strength and floure thereof: that the Consull pretended an expedition into the Lucanes countrie, when indeed he went toward Picenum and Gallia; leaving the campe by no one thing more safe and secure, than by the error and mistake C of the enemy, who is altogether ignorant, that the General is gone from thence; and part of the forces with him. But where would they be then, and in what taking should the campe be, in case that were knowne abroad; or if *Anniball* would either with his whole armie follow after *Nero*, being gone with no more than six thousand; or assault the campe, lest as it were for a prey D unto him, without forces, without conduct, and without the fortune and good lucke of the General to protect it? The old defeatures received in this warre, the fresh remembrance of two Consuls slaine but the last yeare, encreased mens feare. All which misfortunes hapned, when there was in Italie but one captaine General, and one single armie of the enemies. Now, of one warre of the Carthaginians there are made twaine: and two *Annibals* (as a man would say) be both at once in Italie, right valorous and renowned warriours. For even *Asdruball* also, was *Asdruball* his sonne as well as *Anniball*, as valiant and redoubted a captaine every way: as who for so many yeares together in Spaine, hath bene exercised in the Romane warres, and borne the name of achieving a twofold victorie, and defeating two armies, with two most noble and famous commanders: and as for expedition and speed in his voiage out of Spaine, and for raising the nations of Fraunce up in armes, he may make his boast much more truly than *Anniball* himselfe. For even in those very places, where *Anniball* had lost the greater part of his souldiours, E with hunger and cold, (which kind of death of all others is most miserable) this *Asdruball* hath received a power of armed men. Moreover, they that knew Spaine well, and the affaires which had passed there, said besides, That he had not to deale with *Nero*, as with a warriour whom he knew not already; for why? he had when it was, made a child of *Nero*, by a good token, That when *Asdruball* was by chance in a wood, and could not get out, was put to his shifts; but whiles he trifled out the time with *Nero* in booking deceitfull conditions and capitulations of peace, hee shewed him a couensing Carthaginian cast, gave him the faire slip, & escaped out of his hands. And to conclude, in all their discourses at Rome, they magnified every thing on the enemies part above all truth, and debased all their owne meanes of helpe beneath all reason: such was their feare, which interpreteth and construeth all to the worst.

Nero, when he had now gained so much ground, and was gone so farre from the enemy, as it had not mattered much if his designs had bene revealead and made known unto him, for any danger that might ensue therof; called his souldiours before him, & spake some few words to this or the like effect. Never was there designment (quoth hee) of any General in the field, in outward shew more dangerous, in deed & truth more safe & secure, than this of mine. I lead you to a certaine and assured victorie, even to that warre, unto which my colleague would not go before the Senate had allowed him to his full contentment, a greater power both of foot and horie, and the same better set out and more furnished, than if he should have gone against *Anniball* himselfe: and therefore whatsoever small poise and addition of forces you bring thereto, you shall way thereby the whole, and as it were weigh downe the ballance. For when the enemies readie embattailed to fight, shall heare (and before that time, I will take order I trow, that they shall not heare) that another Consull and another armie is come, no doubt the day will be ours, and they

shall yeeld us the victorie. For it is a fame and name onely, that fighteth the field & determineth G
battles. And small matters many times carrie away the game, and cause mens minds both
to stoupe for feare, and to rise with hope. And verily, of a well foughten field you are they that
shall reap the fruite and gaine the glorie. For alwaies it is seene, that a little helpe that commeth
last, is more than all besides, and seemeth to effect the whole. And you see your selves, with
what concourse, with what admiration, with what affectionate favour all men doe entertaine and
regard you by the way. And in very truth, as they marched along in their journey, it was a world
to see, how both men and women flocked out of all the villages of the country to see them, how
they sorted themselves into companies and degrees to welcome them, and how as they passed as
it were in a lane through them, they made vows in their name, they poured out their prayers in
their behalfe, and dealt praises among them: calling them the very guard & defence of the Com- H
monweale, the favours and redeemers of Rome and the Romane Empire: acknowledging that
the lives and liberties of themselves and their children, lay in their right hands, and depended
upon the force of their arms: praying to all the gods and goddesses, and to all the holy halows of
heaven, to vouchsafe them a luckie journey, a fortunate fight, & a speedie victorie over their ene-
mies: wishing heartily, that they might be bound and condemned (as it were) to pay & performe
their vows, which in their name they had undertaken and promised: desiring earnestly, that as
now they went along, & accompanied them with carefull minds for feare of the perill which they
went unto, so after few daies they might meet with them upon the way with joyfull hearts, as they
returne with triumph for their victorie. Every man for himselfe in particular invited them friend-
ly, offered them franckely, entreated and besought them importunately, that all things whatso-
ever they stood in need of, either for themselves or their beasts, they would receive at his hands
especially, as being readie to affoord them all most liberally, heapefull, and with the better. The
souldiers againe, for very modestie strove to take no more than was very needfull and necessarie,
no stay they would make with any, nor one jot depart from their colours. Their meat they tooke
by the way as they went, journeying night and day, and scarce allowing their bodies rest & sleepe
to content their weak nature that looked for it. Now had Nero sent afore-hand to his brother
Consull certaine couriers, to give him advertisement of his comming, and to know again from
him his mind, whether he should come openly or secretly, by day time or by night, and lodge in
one campe with him, or in another apart by himselfe. Livius his advise was, and he thought it the
better of the twaine, to enter into his campe, closely in the night season, and had given a watch-
ward, and made it knowne throughout all the campe, that every Marshall and Colonell should
lodge a Marshall or Colonell, every Centurion entertaine a Centurion, every knight or man of
armes receive a knight or horseman, and every footman take unto him a footman into his pavil-
lion and cabbin. For it was not expedient that the campe should be enlarged and set out wider,
for feare that the enemy might take knowledge of another Consuls comming: and so much the
more easily might many of them be bestowed in the streight rouse of their pavilions, because
the armie of Claudius had brought in manner nothing with them in this expedition, save their
armour onely. Moreover, in the very way as they came, the companie was well mended & much
encreased, by many voluntaries that offered themselves willingly of their owne accord, as well
old souldiours, such as had served out their yeeres, as young and lustie men: whom Claudius per-
ceiving so to strive for to have their names entred, if he saw them personable & strong of bodie,
and like to do good service, had enrolled into the muster book. The other Consull lay encamped
before * Sena, and Asdruball some halfe mile from him. And therefore Nero, being now appro-
ched and come neere, sat him downe close among the mountaines, because hee would not put
himselfe within campe before night. And when they were come thither, they were welcomed
every man according to his degree, by them of their owne place and calling, and brought into
their tents and pavilions, & with a generall joy of all, friendly entertained as their loving guests.
The next day following they assembled together to counsell: at which meeting, L. Porcius Lici-
nius the Pretour was present: who was himselfe encamped close unto the Consuls leaguer. Hee
before their comming, by leading his armie over the high places; and one while keeping the
narrow streights of the Forrest, to impeach and stop the passages, another while charging upon
the flanke and sides, or els upon the backe and taile of the enemy, had by all the devises and po-
licies of warre, mocked him and kept him play. This man, I say, was at the foresaid counsell. Ma-
ny men there were of opinion, that the day of battell should be deferred for a time, whiles Nero
might

* Sena, & i. a.

A. might have some few daies respite, both to refresh his souldiours, wearied with long travaile
and much watching, and also to know the qualitie somewhat better of his enemy. Nero not
onely persisted still to persuade, but also began most earnestly to intreat, That they would not
by long delay make that designe of his to seeme rash and dangerous, which speedinesse in exe-
cution had made safe and secure. Considering, that whiles Anniball, upon ignorance and
error (which is not like to continue long with him) lay still asleepe and benumbed, neither
once thought upon it, to assaile the campe left without a Generall, nor put himselfe upon
the way, to make pursute after mee; now before hee once stirre, I may (quoth hee) defeat
the armie of Asdruball, and returne againe into Apulia. But hee that by deferring still, giveth
the enemy time and respite, betrayeth as much as lieth in him, the campe unto Anniball, and
B. laieth the way open for him into Gallia, to joine with Asdruball at his good leasure and plea-
sure. Nay (quoth he) the signall of battell must be given forthwith, and wee must into the field.
Wee must, I say, take the vantage, and make the best of the error and ignorance of our enemies
both absent there, and present here: that neither they with Anniball may know that they are to
deale with fewer; nor these againe be ware, that they are to fight with more in number, and stronger
in power. Thus the counsell brake up, and the signall of battell was put forth, and presently they
went into the field. The enemies were already advanced in battell array, and stood with displa-
ied ensignes. The only stay of joining in fight was this, That Asdruball riding out with some few
horsemen before the ensignes, chanced to marke some old targuets of his enemies which hee
had not as yet seene, and their horses more lanke and leane, than earst before. And (as hee ques-
C. sed) the number also was greater than ordinarie and usuall. Suspecting therefore, that which was
indeed, hee founded the retreat in all hast; and sent out presently to the river where they used to
water, to see if they might either light upon some, and catch them prisoners, or at leastwise take
good markes by their eie, whither any of them haply were higher coloured, or looked sunburnt,
presently upon their late travell. Also he gave them commaundement to ride aloofe about their
campe, and to spie whether the rampier were enlarged or set out farther in any place, and to listen
attentively whether the trumpet sounded single or double within the camp. When all other cir-
cumstances besides were related in order affirmatively, onely the not enlarging of the camp, put
them by their hint, and gave the occasion that they were beguiled. Two severall campes they
were like as before the comming of the Consull: the one belonging to M. Livius, the other to
D. L. Porcius. And in neither of them were the rampiers and trenches set out any jot, whereby they
might put up more tents, & quarter themselves in larger rouse. But this one thing troubled this
old experienced capitaine, & acquainted so well as he was with the Roman enemies, that his espi-
als brought word, how in the Pretors campe they sounded the trumpet once, and in the Consuls
twice. For surely that was an evident argument, that two Consuls were there. And in thinking how
the other Consull had departed from Anniball, and given him the slip, he mightily tormented
himselfe. And he could not once suspect and imagine that, which was indeed the truth, namely,
that Anniball was deluded and mocked in a matter of so great moment, as to be ignorant what
was become of the Generall, or of the armie, to which he lay so close and neere encamped. Sure-
ly (thought he) and without all question, he hath received no small foile and overthrow, & in this
E. fright dareth not make after and follow the enemy. Nay hee feared much, least all were lost and
gone, and that he should not come time ynough to helpe and succour him: and that the Romans
had gotten already the same good hand in Italie, which they had before in Spaine. Otherwhiles
he was persuaded, that his letters never came to Anniball his hands, that they were intercepted,
and so the Consull made hast to prevent him, and give him the foile by the way. Being per-
plexed with these carefull cogitations, hee caused the fires to be put out, and at the signall
given at the first watch, to trusse up bag and baggage, and to dislodge, and be gone. In this fearefull
hast, and nightly tumult, the guides whiles they were slenderly looked unto, & small heed was ta-
ken of them, one of them sat down and rested close in a secret lurking hole which he had before
destined in his mind; the other waded over the river Metaurus, through the fowls that he was
F. well acquainted with, & so got away & made an escape. So the armie left at random without their
guides, first wandered over the fields, and then diverse of them being wearie & sleepe with over-
watching, laid them downe along here and there, and left their colours with few about them. As-
druball commaunded them to march along the banke of the river, and to follow it, untill the day-
light might direct them the right way: & so going a compasse in and out according to the win-
ding

ding reaches & cranks of the river, wandered a great while, & gained but a smal ground forward. G Now when day light once appeared, he purposed to spie out the first place for convenient passage and there to get over. But finding no fowds, by reason that the farther it was from the sea, the higher were the bankes from the water that kept in the river, he spent all the live-long day, and gave the enemy time to follow after him. And first *Claudius Nero* came with all the horsemen, then *Porcius* followed hard after with the vaunt-couriers, and light armed footemen. Whiles they made offer to charge their enemies in their march, every way, and plaid still upon them, in so much as now *Asdruball* leaving to journey forward (wherein he seemed rather to flee than march) was desirous to take a little hill along the river side, and there to encamp and fortifie. *Livius* was come also with all the maine power of footemen, so armed and so orderly appointed and marshalled, as they were not only provided to march in journey; but readie also presently to H give battaile. But when they were all joynt together, and aranged in battaile array, *Claudius* had the leading of the right wing, *Livius* commaunded the left, and the Pretour took the charge and conduct of the maine battaile. *Asdruball* seeing no other remedie but to fight, never fortified his camp; but in the fore-front before the vaward, and in the very mids, placed his Elephants: about them in the left wing he opposeth the French against *Claudius*; not so much trusting upon them, as supposing verily that the enemy was afraid of them: and in proper person he tooke up the right wing against *Livius* for himselfe and the Spaniards, in whom (being old beaten souldiours) he reposed his most hope. The Ligurians in the mids were bestowed behind the Elephants. But the battaile was rather drawne out in length, than stretched forth in breadth. The Frenchmen were defended with the hill that bare out over them. That front which I the Spaniards kept, encountred with the left wing of the Romanes. And all the battaile of the right side, which bare out from the conflict, stood still and fought not. The hill that was opposite against them, was the cause that neither afront, nor asanke, they could charge upon the enemy. But betwene *Livius* and *Asdruball* there was an hote fight begun already, and cruell bloudshed on both sides. There were both the Generall captaines: there was the greater part of the Romanes, as well foote as horse: there were the Spaniards, old and experienced souldiours, skillfull also in the Romane manner of fight: there were the Ligurians, a tough nation, and hardie in fight. Against this battailon were the Elephants turned, who at the first shock and onser troubled and disordered the vaward, yea and began to force the ensignes to geve ground. But after upon the noyse that grew greater, and the battaile that waxed hotter, they began to be unruly, K and ravers betwene both battailes, as it were doubtfull to whether side they belonged, much like to ships left hulling and floting without their pilots and steeres-men. Then *Claudius* cried out eisloones to his souldiours: To what end, quoth he, made we such post hast, and tooke so long a journey? But seeing that he laboured in vaine to advance his banners and mount up against the hill opposite unto him, and perceiving that way how it was impossible to come unto the enemy and to enter upon him, he drew forth certaine cohorts out of the right wing where he saw they were liker to stand still than to fight, and wheeled about behind the enemies battaile, and soun- L wares not only to the enemies, but also to his owne men, he charged upon the left flank of the enemies: and he bestirred himselfe so nimble, that when he had shewed himselfe on the sides, presently he played upon their backs; in such sort, that now on all hands, affront, behind, and on their flankes, downe went the Spaniards and Ligurians, and were hewen in peeces, yea and the execution reached to the very French. There, with them was least ado, and smallest fight of all: for a great many of their fellowes had abandoned their colours, and being slipt away in the night, lay asleepe all over the fields: and such as were there, weery with travaile and watching (as having bodies that of all things can not away with labour and paines taking) were scarce able to beare their corselets on their backs. Besides, now it was high noone: and what with drought and heate together, they stood gaping for aire, and yeilded their bodies agood either to be massacred, or taken captive. As for the Elephants, there were more of them killed by the hands of M governors and guiders that sate upon them, than by the enemy that fought against them. For their manner was to have about them a carpenters chissell and a mallet, and when the beasts began once to rage and to run upon their owne fellowes, their maisters would set the said chissell betwene their eares, even in the very joynt where the nape of the neck and the head meet together, and with his mallet to drive it as hard as he could: this was found to be the readiest and most speedie way to kill so mightie and huge a beast, when they were past all hope to rule them and

A and keepe them in order. And the first inventor and practiser of this feat was *Asdrubal*, a famous and memorable captaine, as in many other respects, so especially for this battaile. He it was that held out to the end, exhorting his souldiours to fight, fighting also himselfe, and adventuring all dangers: he it was, that when his men were weery and drew back (by reason of long toyle and labour) incensed them againe, one while by faire words and intreatie, another while by sharpe checks and rebukes: he reclaimed them againe when they were running away: he renewed the medley in divers places when it flaked and gave over. And at the very last, when he saw evidently that the enemy had the honor of the day, because he would not remaine alive after so great an armie diffeated that followed his standard, and were induced by the reputation and name that went of him, he set spurres to his horse, and rode among the Squadrons of the Roman horsemen; and there, as befieced *Amilcars* sonne, and *Annibals* brother, fighting right- B manfully, was slaine. Never during the time of this warre in one field were there so many enemies killed: and it seemed now that for losse of captaine and overthrow of armie, they might well cry quittance with them for the diffeature at Cannæ. Slaine there were 56000 enemies, 6,000 taken prisoners: and a rich bootie and pillage gained of all sorts, besides gold and silver. Moreover, there were recovered of Romane citizens above foure thousand, who had bene taken prisoners, and were among the enemies. That comfort they had to make amends for the souldiours that died in this battaile: for they woon not the victorie without bloudshed in this field, wherein to the number almost of eight thousand Romanes and allies together, lost their lives. And the conquerours themselves had so much their fill of bloud and slaughter, that C the next morrow, when word was brought unto *Livius* the Consull, that divers Cisalpine Gaules, and Ligurians, which either were not at the battaile, or escaped out of the execution, and were going away in one companie all together, without a certaine leader, without ensignes, without any order or command, and might all be put to the sword and utterly destroyed, if there were but one cornet of horsemen sent out after them, Nay quoth he, let some remaine alive to tell the newes both of our enemies losse and ruine, and of our owne vertue and valour. And Nero the very next night after the battaile, marched with more speede backward, than he came thither, and within sixe daies returned againe so farre as to his standing leaguer, and the enemies. All the way as he marched, he was not in deed so resorted unto and frequented by so many men, by reason that there went no harbengers or messengers before: but his coming was D welcomed, with so great gladnesse and mirth, that for very joy, the people were welcure besides themselves. As for Rome, it cannot be uttered and expressed in words sufficiently, how men were affected the one way or the other: neither how penfive the citie was in doubtfull expectation of the event, nor how joyous and jocund againe, upon the newes and tidings of the victorie. For never one day (after the rumour once was blowne thither, that *Claudius* the Consull was gone forth in his expedition) from the sun-rising unto the setting, departed either Senatour out of the Councel-chamber, from attendance upon the magistrates, or the people out of the common-hall. The dames of the citie, because other helpe they could yeeld none, betooke themselves to their beads and devotions, and in every Church went up and downe, and plied all the gods with praies, with vowes, and humble supplications. As the citie was thus perplexed & in suspence; first there came some flying newes, that two horsemen of Narnia were come out of the E battaile, and returned to the campe which lay to guard and keepe the streights and passages of Umbria, who had brought word thither, that the enemies were defeated. At the first, they rather lent their eares to heare these tidings, than bent their minds to entertain the same; as being greater than they might in heart conceive, and more joyfull than they could assuredly believe: & the exceeding swiftnes of the rumor hindered the credit thereof, because it was reported withall, that the battel was fought but two daies before. Then were letters brought from *L. Manlius Acidinus*, sent out of the campe, which confirmed the arrivall of those horsemen of Narnia. Those letters were brought through the common place, unto the Tribunal of the Pretour: where upon the lords of the Senate were sent for out of the Councel-house. But the people kept such a thrusting F and thronging about the doore of the Senat, that the messenger could not passe thither, but was haled and pulled by the people, questioning with him, and calling hard upon him, that the letters should be read at the market crosse, and in the Rostra, before they were opened in the Senat. But at the last, they were restrained by the magistrates and caused to void, and hardly could the joy bee continued among so unruly people, who had no measure nor rule of their affections.

Well, the letters were first red in the Senate, and then in the assembly of the people: and there, according to the divers dispositions of men, some tooke joy and contentment of mind, as upon a certaintie: others would give no credit, before they either heard the messengers speake directly from the Consuls, or saw their letters. After this, word came, that there were Embassadors themselves at hand. And then in deed, there ran to meet them, of all sorts, young and old, every one desired to be the first, to see and to heare these so glad tidings. And they went out so far as the bridge Milvius, & all the way along, was full of people. These embassadors or messengers, were *L. Veturius Philo*, *P. Licinius Varus*, *Q. Cecilius Metellus*. Who being accompanied with people of all degrees and qualities, that flocked about them, came as farre as to the common place: some questioned with themselves, others enquired of their traine and retinue, what newes, and how the world went. And as any one had caught an end from them, that the armie and capitaine Generall of the enemies was slaine, or the Romane legions safe, and the Consuls haile and well, hee would immediatly impart his joy unto others. Much ado had they to come into the Curia, and more ado there was, to keep out the multitude, that they were not mingled among the lords of the Senate. But at last the letters were red in the Senate. From thence were the Embassadors brought into the generall assembly of the people. And *L. Veturius* after hee had red the letters, explained himselfe from point to point in order, how every thing was done, with great applause; and afterwards, with a generall shout of all the assembly, who hardly could conceive in their minds so great joy. Then they ran divers waies, some to the temples of the gods to render thanks, others to their owne houses, to communicate with their wives and children so luckie and fortunate tidings. And the Senate decreed a solemne procession for three daies together, forasmuch as *N. Livius* and *C. Claudius* the Consuls, with the safetie of the legions had vanquished the enemies, killed their Generall, and put their armie to the sword. This procession *C. Hostilius* the Pretour, published in the open assembly of the people: and it was celebrated and solemnized both by men and women. All the temples for three daies fully, were likewise replenished with the one sex and the other. For the Matrones and Dames of the citie, in their best apparrell, together with their children, yeelded praise and thanks to the immortal gods, as if now they had beene freed from all feare, and the warre come to a finall end for ever. This victorie altered the very state and course of the common-weale, so as from that time forward, as in time of feeded peace, men durst make contracts, buy and sell, borrow and lend, yea and pay debts to their creditors.

C. Claudius the Consull, so soone as he was entred into the campe againe, caused the head of *Asdruball* (which he had perserved with great care and brought with him) to bee throwne out before the *Corps de guard* and stations of the enemies, and that the Affricane captives, should be shewed bound as they were in chaines: and two of them to be sent loose unto *Anniball*, to declare and recount in order, how every thing hapned. *Anniball* having at once received this double blow, mourning as well for the publicke losse of the state, as for the calamitie hapned in his owne house, fetched a deepe sigh (by report) and said: Ah, I see well the hard fortune of Carthage. And dislodging from thence, because he would bring together all his forces (which being disperced asunder, he was not able to hold and maintaine) into the utmost angle of Italie, (the Brutians countrie) hee brought thither as well the Metapontines, even the whole state of them, who abandoned their owne townies and citties, as also the Lucanes, as many as were subject unto him, and under his obedience.

THE

THE XXVIII. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the Citie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the eight and twentieth Booke.



HE prosperous affaires in Spaine, under the conduct of Syllanus the Lieutenant of Scipio, and *L. Scipio* his brother, achieved against the Carthaginians: as also the acts performed by *Sulpitius* the Pro-consull, and *Attalus* the king of Asia (the lesse) in the quarrell and behalfe of the Aetolians, against Philip king of the Macedonians, are reported and set downe in this booke. When there was a triumph decreed and granted unto *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius Nero* the Consuls: *Livius*, because he had performed the exploit in his owne province, rode in a chariot drawne with foure steeds: and *Nero*, because hee came into the province of his colleague, to helpe forward the victorie, rode after him mounted on horse backe: Howbeit even thus, in this habit and manner of triumph, he carried the more glorie, port, and reverence: for to say a truth, in this war hee had done more good service than his brother Consull. The fire went out in the chappell of *Vesta*, by negligence of a virgin, that had the keeping and tending thereof, and looked no better unto it. The said virgin was well whipped. *P. Scipio* finished the warre in Spaine against the Carthaginians, when it had continued foureteen yeares: and in the fift yeare after that he went from the citie of Rome. And having disceizd the enemies quite of the possession of Spaine, he recovered it wholly for the Romanes. From *Taracon* hee lofed, with two barks, and sailed unto *Africke* unto *Syphax* king of the Numidians, with whom he concluded a league. *Asdruball* the sonne of *Gisgo*, sat there with him at one table, and they supped together. He exhibited a game and pastime of sword-playing at new Carthage, in the honor of his father and uncle: and the same was not performed by common fencers and sword-plaies hired thereto, but by such as either for the honour of their capitaine, or to determine some controversie, gave defiance one to the other, and entred the lists in combat: Among whom, two great LL. of the consue, who were brethren, fought at sharpe for the soveraigntie of the kingdome. When the citie *Astupa* was besieged and assailed by the Romanes, the townsmen caused a nightie pile of wood to be made, and set on fire, and when they had killed their wives and children, they threw themselves headlong into the fire after them. *Scipio* himselfe, while he lay grievously sick, and there hapned by occasion thereof, a mutinie to arise in one part of his army, when he was amended once, made an end thereof: and compelled the States of Spaine (that mutined) to come in and yeeld obedience againe. There was likewise an amitie and societie concluded with *M. Asamiss*, king of the Numidians: who also promised him his aid, in case he would come over into *Africke*: With the *Gaditanes* also, after the departure of *M. A. go* from thence: who had received letters from Carthage, that he should passe the seas into Italie. *Scipio* after he was returned to Rome, was created Consull. And when hee made sute to have the province of *Africke*, *Q. Fabius Max.* withstood him: and so hee had the government of Sicilie: but with commission to saile over into *Africke*, in case hee thought it good for the Common-weale. *M. A. go* the sonne of *Amilcar*, from the lesser Baleare Island, where hee had wintered, tooke the seas and sailed over into Italie.



When it seemed that Spaine was eased as much of warre, as Italie charged therewith, by the voiage of *Asdruball* thither: behold, all of a sudden there arose other troubles there, equall to the former. And as for the provinces of Spaine at that time, they were possessed between Romanes and Carthaginians in this manner. *Asdruball* the sonne of *Gisgo*, was retired with his power farre within the countrie, even to the Ocean and Gades. But the coasts bordering upon our sea, and in manner all Spain bending toward the East, was held by *Scipio*, and subject to the Roman empire. *Hanno* the new General, being passed out of *Africke* with a fresh armie, & entred into the rounne of *Asdruball* the Barchine, joined with *M. A. go*: and

and when he had put in armes within a short time, a great number of men in Celtiberia, which lieth in the middelt betweene the two seas; *Scipio* sent forth against him *M. Syllanus* with tenne thousand foot, and five hundred horsemen. This *Syllanus* made such speed by taking as long journeys as possibly he could (considering how much hindred and troubled he was, both by the roughnesse of the waies, and also by the streights, environned with thicke woods, and forests, as most parts of Spaine are) that notwithstanding all those difficulties, hee prevented not onely the messengers, but also the very fame and rumour of his coming, and by the guidance of certaine fugitive revolts out of Celtiberia, hee passed forward from thence to the enemye. By the same guides hee had intelligence, and was for certaine advertised (being now some tenne miles from the enemye) that about the very way where hee should march, there were two campes: namely, on the left hand the new armie above said of Celtiberians to the number of more than nine thousand lay encamped, and the Carthaginians on the right. As for this leaguer, it was well defended and fortified with *corps de guards*, with watch and ward both night and day, according to the good order and discipline of warre. But the other was as much neglected, dissolute, loose, and out of order, like as commonly barbarous people and raw souldiours are, and such as fear the lesse, by reason they are at home within their own countie. *Syllanus* thinking it good policie to set upon them first, gave commaundement to march under their ensignes & colours, and beare toward their left hand as much as they could, for fear of being discovered in some place or other by the guards and sentinels of the Carthaginians. And himselfe in person, having sent before certain vaunt-couriers & espials, with his armie advanced apace directly toward his enemye. Now was hee approached within three miles of them unespied, and not descried at all. For why? a mountaine country it was, full of roughs and crags, overspread and covered with woods and thickets. There in a hollow valley betweene, and therefore secret for the purpose, hee commaunded his souldiours to sit them downe and take their refection. In this meane time the espials came backe and verified the words of the fugitives aforesaid. Then the Romanes, after they had piled their packes, their trusses and baggage in the middelt, armed themselves, and in order of batraille set forward to fight. When they were come within a mile of the enemies, they were discovered by them, who began suddainely to be affraid. *Mago* at the first outcrie and alarme, set spurres to his horse, and rode a gallop out of his campe to succour. Now there were in the armie of the Celtiberians, foure thousand footmen targettiers, & two hundred horse. This troupe being in manner the flower and very strength of the whole armie, & as it were, a full and complete legion, he placed in the vaward; all the rest, which were lightly armed, he bestowed in the reeward for to succour and rescue. As he led them forth thus ordered and arraunged, they were not well issued without the trench, but the Romanes began to launce their javelins and darts against them. The Spaniards to avoid this volley of shot from the enemies, couched close under their shields, and defended themselves, & afterwards they rose up at once to charge again upon them. But the Romanes standing thicke as their manner is, received all their darts in their targuets, and then they closed man to man, and foot to foot, & began to fight at hand with their swords. Howbeit, the ruggednesse of the ground, as it nothing availed the swiftnesse of the Celtiberians (whose guise is to run to and fro in skirmish and keepe no ground) so the same was not hurtfull at all to the Romanes, who were used to a set battell, and to stand to their fight: onely the straight rounge, and the trees and shrubs growing betweene, parted their rankes and files asunder, so as they were forced to maintaine skirmish, either singlie one to one, or two to two at the most, as if they had been marched to cope together even. And look what thing hindered the enemies in their flight, the same yeilded them, as it were, bound hand and foot unto the Romans, for to be killed. Now when all these targettiers were slaine, of the Celtiberians were slaine; their light armed souldiours, and the Carthaginians also, who from the other campe ran to succour, were likewise disarraied discomfited, and hewne in peeces. So there were two thousand footmen, and not above, and all the horsemen (who scarce began battell) fled with *Mago* and escaped. As for *Hanno* the other Generall, together with them who came last, and to the verie end of the fray, was taken alive. But *Mago* fled still: and all the Cavallerie, with as many as remained of the old footmen followed after, and by the tenth day arrived in the province of Gades, and came unto *Asdruball*. The Celtiberians, that were but new souldiours, slippt into the next woods out of the way, and so from thence fled home.

This fortunat victorie happening in so good a time, not so much stilled the present war in the very

A very birth, as it cut off the matter and maintenance of future troubles, in case the enemies had been let alone, and suffered to sollicite and stirre other nations to take armes, like as they raised the Celtiberians already. Whereupon, *Scipio* having highly commended *Syllanus*, and conceived great hope withall, to dispatch quite, and make an end of the warres; in case himselfe lingered not the matter, & made long stay; pursued the remnant behind, and set forward into the utmost province of Spaine against *Asdruball*. But *Asdruball*, who happened then to lie encamped in *Boetica* for to keepe his allies in obedience and faithfull alleageance, all on a suddaine dislodged, plucked up standards, and away; and more like one that fled than marched, led his armie farther into the countrey, even as farre as the Ocean, and to Gades. But supposing, that so long as hee kept his forces altogether, himselfe was the onely marke which the enemye would shoot at, before that he cut over the streights of Gibraltar to Gades, he brake up his whole armie, & sent them away here and there to their severall cities, both to save themselves within the walls, and to defend the walls by force of armes. *Scipio*, so soone as hee perceived that the warre was thus divided into sundrie parts, and that to lead about his forces from citie to citie, was rather a long and tedious peece of worke, than either difficult or much available, retired backe. But because hee would not leave that countie cleare in the hands of the enemies, hee sent his brother *L. Scipio*, with 10000 foot, and 1000 horsemen, to assaile the mightiest and wealthiest citie in those parts, which the barbarous people call *Oringis*. This citie is seated in the confines of the *Melessi* (a nation meere Spaniards) the soile fruitfull, and the inhabitants there find silver mines. This was the fortress of *Asdruball*, and his place of safe retreat, when he made outrodes all abroad into the midland countries of the maine and spoiled the people. *Lucius Scipio* having pight his camp under the said citie; before that he entrenched and blocked the towne, sent certaine to the gates, who by parling neere at hand, might seele and sound the dispositions of the citizens, and persuade with them to make triall of the Romanes friendly alliance, rather than their forcible violence. But perceiving by their answers, no mind at all nor inclination to peace, he cast a trench, and raised a double rampiar about the towne, and divided his armie into three parts, to the end that one of them should ever follow the assault, whiles the other twaine tooke rest and ease. And when the first troupe and regiment of them began to give a camisado, there followed a fierce, cruell, and doubtfull skirmish. For they could not easily either come under the walls, or bring scaling ladders to set to, by reason of the shot that light upon them. And such as D already had reared up ladders to the wall, some of them were pushed off with certaine forks provided for that purpose, others were caught hold of with yron hookes from above, and were in danger to be hung up in the aire, hoisted aloft, and fetcht over the walls. *Scipio* seeing that the conflict was unequal, by reason of the small number of assailants, & that the enemies had the advantage besides, in that they fought from the wall top; caused that first regiment to retire, and with the other twaine at once, gave a fresh assault to the towne. This strake so great a feare into them who were already weryed with fighting, that not only the townesmen sodainely abandoned the walls and fled, but also the Carthaginian garison souldiours, for feare least the citie was betrayed, forooke also their stations and places of guard, and gathered themselves into one place. But then the townesmen were afraid, least if the enemies put themselves within the citie, they should be massacred every where as they came in their way, without respect and difference, who were Carthaginians, or who were Spaniards. Whereupon they set one gate open on a suddaine, and in great numbers ran out of the towne, bearing their targuets before them, against the darts that were shot a farr off, and shewing aloft their naked right hands, in token that they had laid aside their swords. But whether the enemye could not well discern them so farr off, or whether they suspected some craftie and deceitfull practise, I wote not, but they fell upon these that fled and yeilded unto them, and slew them downeright, as well as if they had affronted them in the face of a battell, and at the same gate entred the citie with bloudie banners. In other parts likewise they fell to hewing downe the gates with axes, and to breake them open with crows of yron. And as every horseman gat into the citie, he rode amaine (according to the direction given F by the Generall) into the market place, to be possessed thereof. And to these horsemen were assigned the *Triarii* for aid and assistance. The legionarie souldiours besides ran over all the other parts of the citie, spoiling & killing all that ever they met, save such as defended themselves with their armour. All the Carthaginians were taken prisoners and committed to ward, likewise of townesmen about three hundred, such as had shut the gates; but unto all the rest the towne was

rendred againe, and each man had his owne goods delivered and restored unto him. There were G
slaine at the assault of that citie, of enemies almost two thousand: but of Romanes not above
fourescore and ten. As by the winning of the towne, they that were employed there tooke great
joy and contentment: so in their returne to their Generall himselfe, and the rest of the maine ar-
mie, they made a goodly shew as they marched with a mightie multitude of prisoners led before
them. *Scipio* having praised his brother in the most honorable termes that he could devise, and
namely for this exploit of forcing *Orinx*, making him equal in glorie to himselfe for the conquest
of *Carthage*: because winter drew on, that he could neither give the attempt upon *Gades*, nor
yet follow at once upon the armie of *Asdruball*, so dispersed as it was in sundry parts over the
province, conducted his forces back againe into that province of *Spaine* that lieth on this side
Iberus: and when he had dismissed his legions into their severall standing camps to winter in, and H
sent his brother *L. Scipio* to Rome, together with *Hanno* the Generall of the enemies, and other
gentlemen prisoners, he withdrew himselfe to *Taracon*.

In the same yeere the Romane Armada being set out under the conduct of the Admirall
M. Valerius Lavinius the Proconsull, made a voyage from *Sicilie* into *Africke*, and forraied all
over the territories of *Vtica* and *Carthage*, in so much as they drave booties out of the very
utmost confines of the *Carthaginians*, and even about the walls of *Vtica*. As they sailed back for
Sicilie, they were encountred by the *Carthaginian* fleet, consisting of 70 long ships of warre,
whereof seventeene were boured and taken, foure sunke in the deepe sea, the rest were put to
flight and dispersed. Thus the Romane captaine *Valerius*, after victories achieved both by sea
and land, returned with rich prizes of all sorts to *Lilybæum*: and hereupon by reason that the
seas were open and cleered of the enemies ships, great store and abundance of graine was
brought to Rome.

In the beginning of that summer wherein these things hapned, *P. Sulpitius* the Proconsull,
and *K. Attalus*, after they had wintered in *Ægina*, as is above said, with a joint navie passed over
from thence into the Iland *Lemnos*. The Romanes were 25 Gallies of five ranks of oares, and
the king had 35. *Philip* for his part because he would be readie at all assaies to meete with the
enemie either by land or sea, went himselfe in person downe to the sea side, as farre as *Demetrias*,
and made proclamation, that all his forces should by a certaine day meete together at *Larissa*.
Vpon the fame that went of the kings coming, there repaired fundrie Embassies from the
confederate States of all parts, unto *Demetrias*. For the *Ætolians* having taken hart unto them, K
as well for their societie with the Romanes, as upon the coming of *Attalus*, wasted and spoiled
their borderers. And not only the *Acarnanians* and *Boeotians*, and they that inhabit *Eubœa*,
were in great feare, but also the *Achæans*; whom over and besides the warre from the *Ætolians*,
Machanidas also the *Lacedemonian* tyrant terrified, who encamped himselfe not farre from the
confines of the *Argives*. All these States made report what perils were like to ensue both by sea
and land to their severall cities, and besought the king his aid. Moreover there came unto him
out of his owne realme no good tidings of peace and quietnesse, for that *Scerdiletus* and *Pleura-*
tus were gone out and rebelled: and of the nations of *Thrace*, the *Medi* especially were readie to
invade the frontiers adjoining upon *Macedonie*, in case the king should fortune to be busied
and occupied otherwise in any long warres. The *Boeotians* likewise themselves, and other nations
inhabiting the more inland parts of *Greece*, had given intelligence, that the avenues of the
forest *Thermopylae*, where as the narrow gullet of the streights yeldeth small passage, were stop-
ped up by the *Ætolians* with a trench and pallisade, that it might geve no access at all unto
Philip, for to come and defend the cities of the Allies. Thus many troubles coming huddle
and thicke one upon another, had beneable to have roused and awakened even a sleepe and slow
captaine, and made him to looke about him. These Embassadors he dispatched and sent a-
way, promising every one of them help and succour, as time and occasion would permit: and
willing them each one for the present, to provide those things that were most urgent and
important. Then he sent a garison unto that citie, from whence newes came, that *Attalus*
having passed with a fleet from *Lemnos*, had wasted and forraied all the territorie about it. M
And he sent *Polyphantes* with a small power into *Boeotia*, and *Menippus* likewise one of his
owne captaines and Cavalliers, unto *Chalcis*, with a thousand targuatiars called *Peltati*, (now
the *Peltæ*, are certaine small bucklers or targuets, nothing unlike unto the Spanish *Cetræ*)
unto whom were joynd five hundred *Ænians*, that they might be able to guard all the parts
of

A of the Iland: himselfe in person went to *Scotusa*, and there he appointed the *Rendezvous*,
that all the forces of the *Macedonians* should be brought thither from ** Larissa*. Newes
came unto him there that the *Ætolians* had summoned and proclaimed a generall Diet or
Councell at *Heraclea*, and that *K. Attalus* would repaire thither to consult about the mana-
ging of the whole warre. And with an intent by his sodaine coming to trouble this solemne
assembly and meeting of the States, he tooke great journeis in his march, and led his armie to-
ward *Heraclea*: but the Councell was newly dissolved when he arrived thither. Howbeit, he de-
stroyed all the standing corne, which now was neere-hand ripe, specially in the vale along the
Gulfe of the *Ænians*, and so reduced his armie back againe to *Scotusa*: and there leaving his
whole power, he retired himselfe to *Demetrias*, attended only with his royall guard. And because
B he might from thence be readie to meete with all sodaine stirres and invasions of the enemies, he
sent out men of purpose into *Phocis*, and ** Eubœa*, and ** Peparethus*, to chuse out certaine high pla-
ces for beacons, from whence the fires might be seene a farre off. And himselfe set up one watch-
towre upon *Cissæos* (a mountaine, the top whereof is of an exceeding height) that upon the
signall of the beacons on fire from a farre, he might in the minute of an houre have intelligence,
so soone as the enemies went about any trouble whatsoever. But the Romane Generall, and
K. Attalus, passed the seas from *Peparethus* to *Nicea*, and from thence sailed with their Armada
to *Eubœa*, unto the citie *Oreum*, which as a man beareth his course from the gulfe of *Demet-*
trias to *Chalcis* and ** Euripus*, is the first citie of *Eubœa* that sheweth it selfe upon the left hand. *
And thus it was agreed betweene *Attalus* and *Sulpitius*, that the Romanes should give the assault
C from the sea side, and the king with his forces on the land. Foure daies after the fleet was arri-
ved, they presented themselves before the citie to assaile it. For, that time betwene was spent in
secret talke and conference with *Plator*, who was appointed by *Philip* governor and provost of
the citie. The citie had within it two Citadels, the one commanding the sea, the other situate in
the very hart and mids of the towne. From thence there is a way under the ground that leadeth
to the sea: at the end whereof there stood a fabrick or towre five stories high, a singular bulwarke
and place of defence. There at the first began a most sharp and cruell conflict, by reason that the
turret was well furnished with all kind of shot and artillerie: and likewise from out of the ships,
there was planted much ordinance, and many engins bent to impeach and assault the same.
Now when every mans mind was amused, and eye fixed upon this hote and eager fight, *Plator* re-
ceived and let in the Romanes at the gate of the other citadell that stood over the sea, and so in
the turning of an hand it was surprisid and won. The townesmen being expelled and chased
D from thence, retired and betooke themselves into the middle of the citie unto the other for-
tresse. But certaine souldiers were set of purpose there, to shut the gate upon them: and so being
excluded, they were killed and taken prisoners in the mids betwene. The garison of the *Mace-*
donians stood round together under the castle wall, and neither fled openly amaine, nor yet be-
gan to fight, as if they ment to stick to it unto the end. For whom, *Plator* obtained pardon of *Sul-*
pitius, and having embarked them, brought them to *Demetrium* of *Phthiotis*, and there set them
ashore, and himselfe returned to *Attalus*.

Sulpitius bearing himselfe bold for this so good and speedie successe, immediately sailed with
E his victorious armada against *Chalcis*. Where the event in the end answered nothing unto his
hope and expectation. The sea lying broad and large on both hands, gathereth in that place to
a narrow rume, so as at the first sight it maketh a shew of a double peere or haven, opening upon
two divers mouths, but in very truth, there is not lightly to be found a worse harborough, & a more
daungerous roade for ships. For not only for the exceeding high hills on both sides of the maine,
the winds arise suddainly and blow blusterous, but also the verie streight it selfe of *Euripus* ebbeth
not and floweth, seven times in the day, as the voice goeth, at certaine set and ordinarie houres;
but without all order, as the winds drive, the sea turneth and rolleth hither and thither, working
up and downe, & like a flowing stream runneth forcibly & with great violence, as it were, down
a steepe hill: so as neither night nor day, the ships there riding, have any rest & repose. As the
F Romane armada was thus engaged within so daungerous a roade: so the towne of the one part was
environned with the sea, and on the land side surely fortified; besides the defence of a strong
garison there, and the assured loialtie of the captaines and principall heads and rulers; whereby
it was chiefly guarded, which at *Oreum* was but vaine, fickle, and unsteadfast: by meanes where-
of it was tenable and imprenable. The Romane Generall in this case, considering how hee had
begun

begun a rash enterprife, & seeing many difficulties on every hand, wrought wisely yet in this one point, that he soone gave over, because he would spend no time in vaine, & passed over with his fleet from thence to Cynus of Locris (a towne of marchandise belonging to the citie of Opus, situate a mile from the sea.) *Philip* had warning by the beacons on fire that appeared from Oreum; but by the fraud of *Plator*, the other were with the latest set a burning from the watch-tower above. And forasmuch as he was not strong enough at sea, hee could not with his navie have easie access into the Iland. So that service was delaied and altogether neglected. But hee bestirred himselfe quickly to the succour of Chalcis, so soone as ever he espied the fire from the beacon. For albeit Chalcis it selfe be a citie of the same Iland, yet it is divided from the continent by so narrow an arme of the sea, that there is no more but a bridge between it and the land: and on that side it hath more easie access than by water. *Philip* having disfeized the garrison there, cast downe the fort, and discomfited the *Ætolians* who kept the streight passage of Thermopylae, came from Demetrias to Scotusa, from whence he departed at the third watch: and when he had driven and chaled the enemies in great feare to Heraclea, himselfe in one day reached to Elatia in Phocis, a journey above 60 miles. The very same day in manner, the citie of the Opuntij was taken by *K. Attalus* & put to the rancke. The whole pillage thereof, *Sulpitius* had granted to the king, in regard that Oreum a few daies before was spoiled and rifed by the Romane souldiours, and the kings men had no share with them. Now was the Roman armada retired to Oreum: and *Attalus* not ware of *Philip* his comming, spent time in exacting monies from the chiefe & principall citizens. But so suddaine and unexpected was this accident of his approach, that had not certaine Cretensians by good hap, gone forth a foraging farre from the citie, and descried the march of the enemies a great way off, he might have bene overtaken and surprisid. *Attalus* unarmed and out of order as he was, made hast & ran amaine to the sea side, for to retover the ships. And even as he and his men were losing from the land and launching into the sea, *Philip* came, and from the verie shore put the mariners and sailers in great feare. From thence hee returned to Opus, crying out upon God and man, and blaming his ill lucke, that hee bad missed so narrowly the opportunitie of so great an exploit, and let it go, as it were, snatched out of his very eye. In the same fit of anger, he reproved and rebuked the Opuntians, for that being able to hold out the siege untill his comming, so soon as they saw the enemy, they presently had yeelded themselves in a manner voluntarie into his hands. When he had set things in order at Opus and thereabout, he tooke his journey to Torone. *Attalus* at first retired himselfe to Oreum: but upon the newes arrived, how *Prusias* the king of Bithynia, had invaded the frontiers of his kingdome, he left the Romane affaires and the *Ætolian* warre, and from thence sailed over directly into Asia. *Sulpitius* also retired his navie unto *Ægina*, from whence in the beginning of the spring he had departed & taken his voiage. And *Philip* forced and wan Torone, with as small adoe as *Attalus* before had taken Opus. That foresaid citie Torone, was inhabited by certaine that were fled and driven out of Thebes in Phthiotis. For when the citie was taken by *Philip*, and they fled for protection unto the *Ætolians*, (to whome they recommended and committed themselves) the *Ætolians* gave unto them that place to seat themselves in, being a citie wasted and in manner desolate by the former warre of *Philip*. Then *Philip* having recovered Torone againe, as is aforesaid, departed from thence, and wan Tritonum and Drymas, two small and base townes of no account in Doris. From whence he came to Elatia, where he had given commandement, that the embassadours of *Ptolomeus* & the *Rhodians*, should give attendance, until his comming. Where, as they were treating about the making an end of the *Ætolian* warre (for as much as those Embassadours to the same effect, had lately presented themselves at Heraclea, in the counsell and assembly of the Romanes and *Ætolians*) tidings came, that *Machanidas* purposed and determined to set upon the Eleans, as they were preparing to exhibit the solemne Olympian games. *Philip* supposing it good to prevent that, courteously answered the Embassadours and gave them their dispatch: saying, that as himselfe was not the cause of that warre, so he would not hinder and stay the conclusion of peace, upon any equall & reasonable condition. And so with a power lightly appointed, he marched through Boeotia to Megara, & from thence went downe to Corinth: where having furnished himselfe with victuals, he marched forward to Phlios & Phancus. And being now come as farre as to Erea, and hearing there, that *Machanidas* upon the rumour of his comming, for feare was fled backe to Lacedæmon, he returned to *Ægium*, unto the generall Diet and counsel of the Achæi: supposing withall, that he shuld find ther the Punick armada, which he had sent for

A for to come thither, because he might be able to do somewhat also by sea. But some few daies before, the Carthaginians had sailed over into Phocæa, and from thence were gone to the havens of the Acarnanians, so soone as they heard once, that *Attalus* and the Romanes were departed from Oreum, fearing that they would make out after them, and least they should be overtaken and surprisid within Rhium, which is the very mouth of the Corinthian gulle. *Philip* verily grieved hereat, and was wonderfully troubled in mind, seeing what hast forever he made himselfe in all his emprises, yet he came too short and effected nothing in due time: as if fortune in taking all things out of his very eye-sight, had deluded, disappointed, and mocked all his speedinesse and expedition. Howbeit in that solemne Diet and assembly, hee diffused his griefe, bit in his passionate affections, and thus with an haughty mind he spake and said, That hee called both God and man to witnesse, that he had forlet no opportunitie of time nor vantage of place, but when B and wheresoever hee heard but any inckling of the enemy, and the least rustling of armour, whether he had made all hast that possibly he might: but he could hardly devise and conceive, whether himselfe were more venturous in seeking warre, than the enemy nimble and quicke in avoiding the same. So *Attalus* at Opus, so *Sulpitius* at Chalcis, and so the other day *Machanidas* escaped out of his hands and gat away. But surely (quoth he) this running away will not alwaies prosper and speed well: neither is that to be counted a dangerous warre, wherein a man may be sure (if he but meet his enemy once) to have the upper hand. That which is the principall point of all, thus much have I gotten yet at the enemies hands, that they confesse thereby, how they are not able to make their parts good with us: and I doubt not, but shortly I shall achieve the C victorie of them, and the event and fortune of their fighting with me, shall bee no better than their present hope. The kings allies were glad to heare him speake thus. Then he retired unto the Achæans, Erea, and Triphylia, and delivered againe Aliphera unto the Megalopolitans; for that they proved by good evidence, that it belonged by right to their territorie & confines. Thus having received of the Achæans certain ships, to wit, three Galleaces or Caravels of four banks of ores, and as many gallies of two rankes, from thence hee cut over to Anticyræ. And then with seven Caravels of five rankes of ores, and more than twentie barkes besides, which hee had sent into the gulfes of Corinth to joyne with the Carthaginian navie, he made faile to Erythra in *Ætolia*, neere unto Eupalium, and there disembarked and landed his men. But the *Ætolians* were advertised aforehand of his arrivall and comming ashore: for all the people that inhabited either the countie townes and villages, or the castles neere to Potidania and Apollonia, were fled into the mountaines and woods. As for the cattaille, which in that hurrey and hast that they made could not be driven away with them, those they preyed upon and brought them to the ships. With these and all the rest of the bootie, he sent *Nicias* the Pretor of the Achæans to *Ægium*, & so went forward to Corinth: and from thence he commanded that the land forces should be conducted & march by land through Boeotia: whiles himselfe sailing from Cenchræa along the coast of Attica, above the point or cape of Sunium, passed even though the mids of his enemies armadaes, and arrived at Chalcis. Then after he had commended the citizens there for their fidelitie and vertue, in that neither feare nor hope was able to change and turne their resolute minds, and exhorted them for the time to come, to continue stedfast in their alliance and allegiance, if they made more reckning of their owne fortune, and loved it better than the condition of the Oritanes and the Opuntij; hee sailed from Chalcis to Oreum. And when he had committed the government of the State, and the guard of the citie, unto those principall citizens, who chose to flye when the citie was lost, rather than to yeeld themselves unto the Romanes, himselfe passed over from Eubœa unto Demetrias, from whence at the first he tooke his voyage to the aid and succor of his friends and allies. After all this, having appointed and set out at Cassandrea keeles for an hundred long ships of warre, and taken up a number of shipwrights to finish out the rest of the worke: seeing that all Greece was now in quiet, both because *Attalus* was departed from thence, and also for that himselfe had in good time succored his allies and confederates, who were in some trouble and distresse, he returned back againe into his owne F realme, for to make warre upon the Dardanians.

In the latter end of that summer, wherein these affaires thus passed in Greece, when *Q. Fabius Maximus* the father, being sent as Embassadour from *M. Livius* the Consul unto the Senate at Rome, had brought word & made report, That the Consul judged *L. Porcius* with his legions to be sufficient for the province of Fraunce, and that himselfe might well be spared, and depart

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from thence, and the Consular armie withdrawne out of those parts: the Lords of the Senat gave order and determined, that not onely *M. Livius*, but *C. Claudius* also his Colleague, should returne to the cittie. This difference onely betweene the one and the other appeared in the decree, in that they gave direction, that the armie of *M. Livius* should bee brought home, but the Legions of *Nero* should remaine still in the province, and be opposed against *Anniball*. The Consuls by entercourse of their letters passing betweene, agreed thus together, That like as they had with one mind and consent made warre and managed their affaires, so, albeit they were in divers parts farre asunder, yet they should meet in one place, and at one time make repaire to the cittie of Rome: & that whether of them twain came first to Preneste, he should there attend the coming of his Colleague. And it fortuned so, that they arrived both upon one & the same day at Preneste. From whence they sent an edict before, that the third day after the Senat should generally assemble together in the temple of *Bellona*: & so they were met upon the way with a multitude of people, who accompanied them as they returned into the cittie. And they were not content all of them in generall to salute them and welcome them home, but every man was desirous particularly to take the Consuls by their victorious right hands: some with congratulations, wishing them joy, others with thanksgiving, acknowledging that by their good meanes and vertue, the Commonweale was preserved and set upright. Now when they had related in the Senat house (as the manner was of all Generals) what acts they had atcheeved, and withall demanded, that for their valiant and faithfull service to the Commonweale, first, due honour should be rendered to the almightie gods, and then, they themselves allowed to enter the cittie in triumph: the LL. of the Senat made answer, That they for their parts were readie and willing to consider first and principally of the merites and goodnesse of the gods, and next and immediatly of the good deserts of the Consuls: and as they decreed divine processions and supplications in the name of them both, so they granted triumph, as well to the one as to the other. But the Consuls, because they would not divide their triumph (since that they had managed the warres with one accord & common consent) thus agreed betweene themselves, That for as much as the battell was fought within the province of *M. Livius*, and the very day of the field fought, it fortuned to be his turne to take the signe of birds, & to have the entire rule; and besides, the armie of *Livius* was brought backe and came to Rome alreadie, but that other of *Nero* could not be removed out of the province: therefore *M. Livius* should ride in a chariot drawn with foure steeds into the cittie, with his soldiers following after, & *C. Claudius* presently come after mounted on horseback without his soldiers. Thus the triumph was communicate to the one & the other, & encreased the glory of them both; but especially of him, who the more that he exceeded his Colleague in desert, the more he yielded and gave place unto him in honour. Lo, said every man, He there on horseback, travailed in fixe daies the whole length of Italie from one end to the other, & fought the very same day with banner displaied against *Asdruball* in Gaule, when as *Anniball* thought verily hee lay encamped against him with his armie in Apulia. See, how one and the same Consull, in the defence of the one part of Italie and the other, against two captaines, nay, against two noble Generals of two armies, in one place employed his advise and counsell, and in another opposed his bodie and force of armes. Behold (say they) the very bare name of *Nero* was sufficient to keepe *Anniball* within his camp: and what was it els, that discomfited and defeated *Asdruball*, but even his onely coming? Let the other Consull therefore bee set up on high, and ride in a chariot drawne with as many horses as he will; all while that the true triumph indeed passeth through the cittie upon one horse onely. Nay, if *Nero* went but on foot, hee would be memorable for ever hereafter, as well for the refusall of glorie in that triumph, as for the winning of honour in that warre. With these and such like speeches they entertained *Nero* as they beheld him, and so accompanied him even to the very Capitoll. They brought into the Treasurhouse of the cittie in coine* thirtie hundred thousand* Sesterij, & 800000 Asses. Among the soldiours, *M. Livius* divided* six and fiftie Asses to them apeece. And *C. Claudius* promised as much to his soldiours that were absent, upon his returne to the armie. This was noted and observed in the triumph, that the soldiours uttered more ditties and rimes full of pleasant conceits and jests (as their manner was) upon *C. Claudius*, than their owne Consull: and that the gentlemen and horsemen highly extolled and magnified above all the rest, *L. Veturius*, and *Q. Cecilius* the two Lieutenants, and exhorted the Commons to create them Consuls against the next yeare: likewise, that the Consuls for the time being, confirmed this prerogative choise and election of those gentlemen, with their

* 3437500.
Sesterij.
A
small piece of silver
came among
the Romans, the
fourth part of
Denarius, containing
two asses,
and a half, and
in English mon-
ney three halfe
pence sterling,
che.
* 3437500. Sesterij.

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A owne assent and authoritie the morrow after, in a frequent assemblie before the people, giving honourable testimonie of the valiant and faithfull service of those foresaid lieutenants in that warre.

Now the time drew neere of election of new magistrates: and when it was thought good by the Senat, that a Dictatour should call that solemne assemblie for the said election; *C. Claudius* the Consull nominated for Dictatour his colleague *M. Livius*. And *Livius* named *Q. Cecilius* Generall of the horsemen. So there were created Consuls by *M. Livius* the Dictatour, *L. Veturius*, and *Q. Cecilius*, even he who then was Generall of the Cavallerie. After this, they went to the election of the Pretours, and chosen there were, *C. Servilius*, *M. Cecilius Metellus*, *T. Claudius Asellus*, and *Q. Manlius Thurius*, who then was Aedile of the Commons.

B When these elections were finished, the Dictatour having resigned up his office and dismissed the armie, by vertue of an act of the Senat tooke his journey unto the province of Tuscane, to sit in commission and make enquire, what States either of the Tuscans or Vmbrians, intended and plotted to revolt from the Romanes, and to turne unto *Asdruball* at his coming into those parts: and who they were that had assisted him either with auxiliarie souldiours, or with victuals, or with any aid and helpe whatsoever. And these were the acts for that yeare, as well at home as abroad in the warres.

The great Romane Games were wholly renewed and set out againe three times by the Aediles of the chaire, *Cn. Servilius Capio*, and *Serv. Cornelius Lentulus*. Likewise the pastimes and plaies called *Plebeij* were once fully renewed and exhibited againe by *M. Sempronius Matho*, & *Q. Manlius Thurius*, Aediles of the Commons.

In the thirteenth yeere of the second Punicke warre, when *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus* were Consuls, both of them were appointed by the Senat to make warre upon *Anniball* in the province of the Brutij. Which done, the Pretors cast lots: And to *M. Cecilius Metellus* fell the jurisdiction of the citizens; to *Q. Manlius*, of the foreiners. *C. Servilius* his lot was to governe Sicilie, and *T. Claudius* Sardinia. As for the armies, they were divided in this manner: one of the Consuls had the conduct of that which was under *C. Claudius* the Consull of the yeare before. The other Consull had the leading of that (namely two full legions) which *C. Claudius* the Propretour before commaunded. *M. Livius* as Proconsull, whose government was prorogued for another yeare, received the charge of the two legions of voluntaries in Hetruria, at the hand of *C. Cerenius* the Propretour. And *Q. Manlius* was appointed by a decree of the Senat, to deliver over his jurisdiction to his Colleague, and to take the charge of Gallia with the forces there; whereof *L. Porcius* the Propretour was captaine: and hee had in commission to wast the lands of those Gauls, who were revolted to the Carthaginians upon the coming of *Asdruball*. *C. Servilius* was assigned with the power of the two Cannian legions, to defend Sicilie, like as *P. Manlius* had before. Out of Sardinia the old armie was withdrawne, which was under the governance of *A. Hostilius*: and the Consuls enrolled one new legion, for *T. Claudius* to saile over with. *Quintus Claudius*, & *C. Hostilius Tubulus*, had both of them their commissions newly sealed for one yeare longer, the one to governe Tarentum, and the other to rule Capua. *M. Valerius* the Proconsull, who also was Admirall for the sea coast and river along Sicilie, was commaunded to give up E thirtie of his saile unto *C. Servilius*, and with all the rest of the navie to returne to the cittie of Rome.

As the cittie was in suspence and stood doubtfull for the variable event of so great a war, attributing the causes of all weale and woe, of prosperitie and adversitie, to the gods; behold many prodigious tokens were reported to have happened. Namely, That in Tarracina the temple of *Jupiter*, and at Satricum the chappell of the goddesse *Matuta*, were blasted with lightening from heaven. And the inhabitants of Satricum were no lesse terrified, with two serpents that were crept into the temple of *Jupiter*, at the very dores. From Antium there was word brought, that the harvest folke as they were reaping, spied certaine eares of come bloudie. At Cære there was a sow that farrowed a pig with two heads, and an ewe yeaned a lambe both male & female. It was F reported also, that at Alba there were two sunnes scene: and at Fregellæ by night, the day-light appeared. Also in the territorie of Rome, by report, an Oxe spake: and the altar of *Neptune* within the Cirke *Flaminia*, brake out into much sweat: and the temples of *Ceres*, *Salus*, and *Quirinus*, were blasted and smitten from heaven. The Consuls were commaunded to expiate & purge these fearefull sights with sacrificing of greater beasts, and to make supplication one day. Which

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was done according to the decree of the Senate. But above all the wonderous signes, either reported from abroad, or seene at home, the minds of men were put in feare, for the going out of the fire in the chappell of *Vesta*. For which cause the *Vestal* virgin who had the charge that night to looke unto it, was by the commaundement of *P. Licinius* the Bishop well and thoroughly skourged. And albeit this hapned by humane negligence, and that the gods portended nothing thereby, yet it was thought good, that an expiation thereof should be made with greater sacrifices, and a solemne supplication held in the chappell of *Vesta*.

Before that the Consuls went forth to the warres, they were put in mind by the Senat to take regard and order for the commons, and to procure their reducing againe into the country, and placing them in their lands and fermes. For seeing that by Gods goodnes the warre was removed farre from Rome and Latium, the country townes might be without feare of danger inhabited and frequented againe: neither was it a meete thing, that they should have more care to inhabit Sicilie than Italie. But the matter was not easily to be compassed and effected by the people, for that many of the free-holders were consumed up in the warres: and great scarcitie there was of servants and hines to till the ground: besides, the cattaille was driven away in booties, and the manor houses were either ruinate or burned. Howbeit, a great fort were compelled by the authoritie of the Consuls to repaire againe into their country habitations. The motion hereof was first occasioned by the embassidors of Placentia and Cremona; who made complaint, that their territories were much dammified and wasted, by the incursions and rodes of the Gauls their next neighbours bordering upon them: and that many of their owne naturall inhabitants were fled and gone away, so as their cities were not well peopled, and their countrey lay wast and desart. Whereupon *Manlius* the Pretour had commission to defend and guard the colonies from the enemy. And the Consuls by vertue of an Act of Senate made an edict and proclamation, that all citizens of Cremona and Placentia, should by a certaine day returne into their colonies. And they themselves in the beginning of Spring tooke their journey, and set forward to warre.

C. Caelius the Cos. received the armie of *Cl. Nero*: and *L. Veturius* of *Q. Claudius* the Pretour, and made up the full number of all the companies with those new souldiers whom he himselfe had enrolled. The Consuls led their armie into the territorie of Consentia, and having foraged and spoiled here and there, and being heavily laden with good booties, they were in a narrow and streight passage much troubled by the Brutij and the Numidian archers: in so much as not only their prizes were in danger to be lost, but they themselves that were armed, in some jeopardy. Howbeit, the alarme was greater than the skinnish, and the bootie being sent before, the legions escaped safe into places of securitie. And so from thence they went into the Lucanes country. All that nation without any fight returned under the obedience of the Romane empire. With *Asdruball* that yeere was nothing done: for neither he himselfe made offer of warre, upon the first hurt and losse received as well in publike as private, nor the Romanes provoked him as long as he was quiet. For they were all of this judgement, that there was such mettall and valor in that one commaunder, although all things els about him went to wreck, that they held it no good policie to provoke him, and wake a sleeping dog. And verily I wot not what to make of him: whether he were more to be wondred at in adversitie than in prosperitie. For why? waring as he did in his enemies land for the space of thirteene yeeres, so farre from home, in much varietie of fortune, with an armie not consisting of naturall citizens and subjects, but mingled of a confused riss raff and medley of all nations, having neither the same lawes nor manners and customes, nor language; differing in fashions, in habit, in apparell, in armour, in rites, in religion, nor serving as it were the same gods: he had so knit and united them in one linke & straight band, that they mutined neither among themselves, nor against their Generall, notwithstanding oftentimes there wanted money for pay, and victuals in their enemies countrey: for default whereof, in the former Punick war, many outrages were committed both among captaines and souldiours. But when *Asdruball* the Captaine together with his armie was diffeated and overthrowen, in whom they reposed all their hopes of victorie; and when they were faine to quit as it were all Italie besides, and to retire themselves into an angle and corner of Brutium; who would not thinke it a mervailous matter, that there was no stirre nor commotion in his camp? considering that over and besides all other difficulties, he had no meanes nor hope els to mainteine his armie, but out of the Brutians country? And say, that it were all wholly tilled, sowed, and well husban-

A husbanded, yet a small thing it was to find and feed so huge an host. Moreover, a great part of their youth was set away from the tillage of the fields and grounds, and wholie employed in warfare: to say nothing of the naturall guile and corrupt usage of that nation, which in time of war was wont to live and mainteine the same by robbing and theeeving. Neither had he any succour at all sent from home out of Carthage: whiles they all there were studious and carefull only to keepe Spaine, as if all had gone well with them in Italie.

In Spaine the fortune was in some respect all one and the same, in other far unlike and different: the same, in regard that the Carthaginians being diffeated in a foughten field, and having lost their captaine, were driven to the utmost coast of Spaine, even as farre as to the Ocean sea: different, in that Spaine is a countrie more apt and commodious to the reparation of new war, not only than Italie, but also than any land in the world, as well for the site of the region, as for the nature of the people. For although it were the first nation of all the maine and continent, that the Romanes went first in hand withall to reduce into the nature of a province; yet it was the last of all others that was subdued, and but lately in our daies even under the conduct and happy fortune of *Augustus Caesar*. There at that time *Asdruball* the sonne of *Gisco*, the greatest and noblest Captaine in all these warres (next after the Barchine house) returned from Gades; and hoping by the help of *Mago* the sonne of *Amilcar*, to wage warre afresh, tooke musters throughout the farther part of Spaine, and armed to the number of fiftie thousand foote, & 4500 horse. And as for the Cavallerie, all writers in manner do agree: but for the Infanterie, some write, there were 70000 brought unto the cite Silpia. There upon the open plaines fate these two Carthaginian captaines downe, because they would not seeme to fall off and refuse battaile.

Scipio, when newes came unto him of so puissant an armie levied, supposed that neither with the Romane legions he was sufficient to match such a multitude, unlesse he opposed the aids of the Barbarous nations, if it were no more but for shew and outward apparence: nor yet was to repose such assured confidence in them, as in the fundamentall strength of his armie, that in case they should give him the slip when the time came, (the onely occasion of the overthrow of his father and uncle) they might doe much hurt to the maine chauce and totall summe of all. And therefore he sent *Syllanus* before, unto *Colcas*, (a lord over the signorie of eight & twentie towns) for to receive of him those horse & foot which he had promised to levie in the winter time. Himselfe departed from Taracon, & gathered some small aids of his allies that inhabit along the way as he marched, and so came to Castulo. Thither *Syllanus* brought also certaine auxiliaries, to the number of three thousand foot, and five hundred horse. From thence he went forward to the cite Batula; being in all of citizens and allies, with footmen and horsemen together, one with another, 45000 strong. As they were pitching their tents and encamping, *Mago* and *Mastanissa*, with all their Cavallerie set upon them: and no doubt, had troubled them mightily as they were making their defences, but that certaine troupes of horsemen hidden behind an hill, whom *Scipio* fity for the purpose had there bestowed, suddainly at unawares ran upon them and recharged them, as they were loosely ridden forward without order and array. These had not well begun skirmish with them, but they discomfited the forwardest of them, and such especially as engaged themselves neere to the trench, to impeach and annoy the pioners and laborours at worke: but with the rest that kept to their colours, and went orderly in their ranks, the fight was longer, and for a good while continued doubtfull. But when the Squadrons which stood readie appointed in their guards and stations, were first brought forth; and after them, the souldiours also from their worke and fortifications, were willed to take armes; and still more and more continually came fresh and in hart, in place of those that were wearied, so as now from all parts of the campe, there was gathered together a full power, and ran to the battaile; then the Carthaginians & Numidians turned their backs plaine and fled. And at the first they went away by troupes and companies, keeping their order and array still, and not disbanded for hast or feare. But afterwards, when the Romanes began once more eagerly to play upon the hindmost of them; so as now their furious violence could no longer be resisted; then without all regard of ranks or files, they forgot their array, and ran on all hands by heapes, seeking every man the next way he could to escape. And albeit by this skirmish, the Romanes were more encouraged a good deale, & the enemies hearts much daunted: yet for certaine daies ensuing, there never ceased excursions and bickerings maintained by the horsemen and those that were lightly armed. Now when by their small skuffings they had made sufficient triall on both sides of their strength, *Asdruball* first lead

forth his forces into the field, & then the Romans likewise came forward readie to receive them. G But when both armies stood without their campe, arranged in battaile array, & neither of them gave the charge: when the day drew toward sun-setting, *Asdruball* first retired with his men into the campe, and after him, the Romane Generall likewise. Thus continued they for certain daies together. *Asdruball* was evermore the first that came abroad, and the first againe that founded the retreat to his souldiours, wearied with long standing. But of neither side they made out to skirmish, or discharged any shot, or gave alarmes, & set up a crie. Of the one part the Romans, on the other the Carthaginians together with the Africanes, stood in the maine battaile: & the allies of either side kept the wings, & those were Spaniards, as well in the one armie as the other. But in the front of the Carthaginian battell, were the Elephants placed, who afar off made a shew as if they had bene castles. And throughout both armies this word went for currant, that when H the time came, they would so fight as they stood day by day arranged: namely, that the maine battailes of the Romans and Carthaginians, between whom was the quarell and occasion of the war, with like courage of heart and force of armes would encounter and cope together. *Scipio* perceiving this once to go for good, & to be stily setled in their opinions, altered all for the nonce against the day that he minded indeed to give battaile. And overnight hee gave a watch-word and taken throughout all the campe, that both horse and man should take their dinner before day, and that the horsemen in armes readie appointed, should hold their horses saddled and bridled. Now before it was broad day light, he sent out all the Cavallerie together with the light armour, to charge upon the *Corps de guard* and standing watch of the enemies. And himselfe straight after, advanced forward with the whole strength of the legions armed at all peeces. I And clean contrarie to the conceived opinion & perswasion, both of his own men, and also of his enemies, he strengthened the wings with Romanes, and marshalled the maine battaile with the allies. *Asdruball* raised with the clamour and shout of the horsemen, leapt forth of his pavilion, and perceiving a tumultuous alarme & fearfull stirre of his owne men before the rampier and trench, and seeing as farre off the glittering ensignes of the legions, and all the plaines over-spread with enemies, presently made forth all his Cavallerie against their foresaid horsemen. Himselfe with the battaile of footmen issieth out of the campe, and made no chaunge nor alteration at all in the marshalling of the battailons, otherwise than he had used the daies past. The horsemen continued the fight along time doubtfully: neither could it bee determined by it selfe, because evermore, as any of them were put backe (which hapned on both parts in manner by turnes) they retired K safely into the battaile of footmen. Now when as the battels were not past halfe a mile under one from another, *Scipio* founded the retreat, and opened his ranks, & received all the horsemen and light armed souldiours within the middle ward: and having divided them in two regiments, hee bestowed them for succours and supplies behind the wings. Now when the time was come to joyne in medley, hee commaunded the Spaniards (and those were the maine battaile) to take sure footing and go stedily together: faire and softly himselfe out of the right wing (for, that point he commaunded) dispatched a messenger to *Syllanus* & *Martius*, willing them to stretch out that wing on the left hand, like as they saw him to draw it a length on the right: with direction also unto them, that they together with the light horsemen and light appointed footmen, should encounter and close with the enemy, before that both battailes might meet and joyne L together. Thus having enlarged out at full their wings, they with three squadrons of footmen, and as many cornets of horsemen, together with the light armed skirmishers, advanced with full pace directly afront the enemies, whiles the rest followed sideways a crosse. Now there was a void peece of ground in the mids between, by reason that the Spaniards ensignes went but slowly forward: and the wings had bene in conflict already, when the floure and strength of the enemies battaile, consisting of old beaten Carthaginian and Africane souldiours, were not yet come within the darts shot, neither durst they put in to succour them that were in fight, for feare they should open the main battaile, for the enemy that came directly against them. Their wings were much distressed in the fight on every side. For the horsemen, the light armed souldiours, and the skirmishers, having wheeled about and set a compasse to environ them, ran upon them on their M flanks. The cohorts of footmen charged upon them afront, & al to break off their wings from the bodie of the battell. And as now in every respect the fight was unequal, so the rabble of camp-followers, Balearic Ilanders, & raw untrained Spaniards, opposed against the approved Romane and Latine soldiours, pulled down a side. The day went on still, & *Asdruball* his armie began to faint: and

A no mervaille, for they were surpris'd & taken of a sodain, betimes in the morning, & wer forced in halt to enter into the field & go to battell, before they had refreshed & strengthened their bodies. And to that purpose *Scipio* had drawne the day on length, and trifled out the time, that the battell might be late. For it was the seventh houre [or one a clocke after noone] before the ensigne of footmen charged upon the side points. And a good deale later it was, ere the maine battailes fought and joined together: so that the heat of the noone sunne, the paine of long standing in armour, and hunger and thirst came all together to enfeeble and spend their bodies, before that they came to handstrokes and to buckle with their enemies: which was the cause that they stood leaning and resting themselves upon their shields. And over and besides all other troubles, the Elephants also affrighted and maddened with this tumultuous and disordered manner of fight of B horsemen, skirmishers, and light armed souldiours together, ran from the wings, upon the main battell. The captaines therefore themselves, being thus tainted, as well in courage of heart, as in bodily strength, gave ground and reculed. Howbeit, they still kept their arraies, as if the whole battell had retired whole and sound by the commaundement of their Generall. But when the winners and conquerours on the other part, were so much more forward to charge upon them more hotely on every side, because they saw them to lose their ground and shrinke backe, so as their violence could not well be endured; then albeit *Asdruball* held them still together, and did what he could to stay their flight, crying estfoones alowd unto them, that there were hills behind them, and places of safe retreat, if they would retire in good fort, moderately, and in order; yet when they saw their enemies presse so hard upon them, killing and hewing in peeces those that C were next unto them, feare was above shame, and so immediately they shewed their backe parts, and ran away all at once as fast as they could. Yet at first, when they came to the root and foot of the hills, they began to make a stand, and rallie the souldiours againe into order of battell, seeing the Romanes to make some stay of advancing their ensignes up the hill. But afterwards, when they perceived them to come lustily forward, they began againe to flie afresh, and so in feare were forced to take their campe. Neither was *Scipio* himselfe farre from their trench and rampier, but in that very brunt had bene maister thereof, but that immediately upon the hote gleames of the sunne, when hee shineth in a waterie skie full of blacke and rainie clouds, there powred downe such store of showers and tempests, that hardly could he himselfe after his victory, recover his owne campe. And some there were also that made it a scruple and matter of conscience, D to attempt any more for that day. The Carthaginians, although they had great reason to repose themselves, and take their necessarie rest, so wearied as they were with travell, and sore wounded, especially seeing the night was come, and the stormie raine continued: yet, because their feare and present danger wherein they stood, gave them no time to loiter and slacke their businesse, against the next morning that the enemies should carely assaile their campe, they gathered up stones from out of the vallies neere about them, and piling them one upon another, amended the heigh of their rampier, purposing to defend themselves by the strength of their fence, seeing small helpe and remedie in force of armes. But the falling away of their Confederates, was the cause that their departure & flight from thence, seemed more safe, than their abode there, would have bene. This revolt was begun by *Altanes*, a great lord of the Turdetanes: for E he with a great power of his followers and retainers fled from the Carthaginians to the adverse part. Whereupon two strong walled townes, together with their garrisons, were yeelded by the captaines unto *Scipio*. *Asdruball* therefore, fearing least this mischeefe might spread farther, now that their minds were once set upon rebellion, dilodged about the midnight following, and removed. *Scipio* so soone as he was advertised at the breake of the day, by those that kept standing watch in their stations, that the enemies were gone; having sent his horsemen before, commaunded the standers and ensignes to bee advanced, and led so speedie a march, that if they had gone straight forward, and followed their tracks directly, they had no doubt overtaken them: but beleeving certaine guides, that there was a shorter way to the river *Batis*, they were advised to charge upon them as they passed over. But *Asdruball* seeing the passage of the river stopped F against him, turned to the Ocean: and even at the first they departed in great hast, as if they fled, which was the cause that they gat the start of the Romane legionarie footmen, and wan a good space of ground before them. But the horsemen, and light appointed footmen, plaid one while upon their tails, flanked another whiles their sides, and by this meanes with charging & recharging, they wearied them and staid their march. And when as upon many of these troubles by the

the way, their ensignes were faine to stand, and forced to maintaine skirmish, some time with the horsemen; and sometimes with the light javellottiers and auxiliarie footmen, behold the legions also came on apace and overtook them. Then there was not so much fighting and resistance, as massacre and slaughter of them: downe they went with them and killed them like sheepe, so long, untill their leader himselfe began to flie, and escaped into the next mountaines, together with 7000 halfe naked and unarmed. All the rest were either slaine or taken prisoners. Then the Carthaginians began to encampe & fortifie in all hast & tumultuous sort, upon the highest mount they could find: from whence (by reason that the enemies had assailed in vaine to get up the hill, having so difficult an ascent) they had not so much adoe to defend themselves. But, the place being bare and naked, and disurnished of all commodities for their releefe, they were not able to hold out the siege for a few daies. And thereupon the souldiours fell apace to forsake their owne captaine, and to goe to the enemy. So that at the length the Generall himselfe, in the night season abandoned his armie, and having got shipping (for the sea was not farre off) he embarked and fled to Gades. *Scipio* being advertised that the captaine of his enemies was fled, left with *Syllanus* tenne thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen to continue the siege of the campe. Himselfe in person with the rest of his forces, within seventie daies returned to Taraccon, for to examine and heare incontinently upon his arrivall, the causes of the princes and States: that upon the true estimate of their desert, they might be rewarded or chastised accordingly.

After his departure, *Masaniissa* having had secret conference with *Syllanus*, about inducing his people also to bee pliable and to hearken unto a change, passed over into Affricke with some small retinue. At which present time verily, the occasion of his suddain alteration was not evident and apparent, as afterwards, his most constant truth and fast allegiance observed unto his dying day, was a good prooffe and argument, that even then he entred not into this designement and action, without good and important cause. Then *Mago* in those ships that *Asdrubal* had sent backe, passed over to Gades. The remnant, thus forlorne of their captaines, some by way of voluntarie yeelding and raunging themselves to the adverse part, others by flight, were scattered among the next cities, and no troupe remained of them behind, of any marke and reckoning to speake of, either for number or strength. In this manner, and by these means especially were the Carthaginians driven all out of Spaine, by the conduct and happie fortune of *P. Scipio*, in the thirteenth yeare of the warre, and in the sixt of *Scipio* his government in that province & command of the armie. And not long after *Syllanus* returned to Taraccon unto *Scipio*, and brought word, that the warre in Spaine was fully ended. And *L. Scipio* was sent with many noble persons captives, as a messenger to carrie tidings to Rome of the conquest of Spaine. And when al other tooke full contentment and infinite joy at these newes, and abroad in all places highly magnified the glorie of this service; he alone who was the man that did the deed (as one who had an insatiable desire of vertue and true honour) made but small reckoning of the recoverie and winning of Spaine, in comparison of those matters that hee hoped for, and conceived in that high and magnanimous spirit of his, which he carried with him. For now hee cast in his mind and aimed at the conquest of Affricke and great Carthage: and therewith, to make perfite and consummate that glorious warre, to his owne immortall honour and renowne. And therefore, supposing it was now a good time to begin the way to those high exploits, and to lay plots, to prepare beforehand, yea, and to win unto him the hearts of the princes and nations, hee determined first of all other to sound and assaile *Syphax*. This *Syphax* was king of the *Masæsyli*, a people bordering upon the Mores, and abutting upon that part of Spaine especially, where new Carthage is situate. At the same time the king was in league with the Carthaginians: which *Scipio* supposing that hee would observe no more surely and precisely, than commonly the Barbarians use, (whose fidelitie dependeth upon Fortune) sent *C. Lælius* with rich gifts and presents, as an Orator to treat with him. The barbarous prince was glad hereof, both because the Romans then prospered every where; and also the Carthaginians in Italie, lived by the losse; and in Spaine went downe to the ground, where they had nothing left: and therupon hee condescended to entertaine the friendship of the Romanes. But for the confirmation of this amitie, he neither would give nor take assurance, but onely in the personall presence of the Romane Generall himselfe. So *Lælius* having obtained the kings roiall word and warrant, that *Scipio* might come unto him with safe conduct and securitie, returned unto *Scipio*. Now for him that aspired to the conquest of Affricke, it was a matter

A matter of great consequence and importance in all respects, to make himselfe sure of *Syphax*, the most mightie and puissant king of all that land, who had aforetime made proote what the Carthaginians could doe in warre, and the confines and marches of whose kingdome lay sitly upon Spaine, and but a small arme of the sea betweene. *Scipio* thinking it therefore to be a matter worth the adventure with great hazard, (for otherwise it might not be) leaving for the defence and guard of Spaine *L. Martius* at Tarracon, and *M. Syllanus* at new Carthage, (whether hee had travelled by land from Tarracon, and taken great journeyes) himselfe and *Lælius* together, loosed from Carthage with two great Caravels of five bankes of oares, and passed over into Affricke, through the calme and still sea most what rowing, and otherwhile also making saile with a gentle gale of wind.

B Haply it so fell out that the very same time, *Asdrubal* driven out of Spaine, was entred the haven with seven gallies of three course of oares, and rid at anker neere unto the shore for to be set a land. When he had a kenning of the two Caravels aforesaid, which albeit no man doubted but they were enemies, and might have bene boured by them being more in number, before they could gaine the rode; yet hereupon ensued nothing else but a tumult and hurrey among the mariners and souldiours together, in vaine preparation of their ships and their armour. For the wind being somewhat big and high, drave the Caravels with full saile out of the maine sea into the haven, before that the Carthaginians had any time to wey anchor: neither durst any of them proceede to further dealing within the kings Rode. So *Asdrubal* first set ashore, and within a while *Scipio* and *Lælius* landed, and went all to the court. *Syphax* took this for a great honor done unto him (as indeed it was no lesse) that there were come unto him at that time, and in one day two Generall Captaines of two most mightie and puissant States, to sue for peace and amitie with him. He invited both of them friendly, and gave them entertainment; and since that it was their fortune to enter under one rouse and the same house for to be lodged in, hee indeavored to draw them to a parley, and to make an end of all quarels, grudges, and controversies betweene them. But *Scipio* denied flatly, that either there was any private malice or hatred betweene him and *Asdrubal*, that should need an end with conference and speech: and as for State-matters, he might not treat with a professed enemy, as touching them, without expresse warrant and commission from the Senate. But when the king laboured greatly with him, that he would find in his hart and not thinke much to beare *Asdrubal* companie at meate and meale (because he would not seeme to exclude either of them from his board) he yeelded thereunto, and was content. So they supped both twaine together with the king, and *Scipio* and *Asdrubal* late both at one table in one mesie, and upon one bed, for so it was the kings pleasure. But so courteously *Scipio* behaved himselfe (as he was a man that naturally knew how to carrie himselfe with a grace and dexteritie, in all things, and in every place wheresoever he came) that by his faire language and eloquent speech, he wan not only the favour of the barbarous prince *Syphax* (who before was not acquainted with the Romane fashions) but also the goodwill and love of *Asdrubal*, a most malicious and mortall enemy: who seemed to have him in more admiration upon this one meeting and communication in presence personall, than for all his feats of armes atcheived in warre: and made no doubt but reckened fully that king *Syphax* and his realme would presently be at the devotion of the empire of Rome. Such a singular gift had that man to win love and favour. And therefore the Carthaginians were not so much to seeke how Spaine was lost, as to consider and thinke, how they might keepe and hold Affricke. For thus they conceived, That this noble knight and worthie Romane Captaine was not come thither wandering at adventure, nor as a traveller to see countries, and to solace himselfe with walking along the pleasant and delectable coasts, leaving the province which hee had newly subdued, leaving his armies which hee commanded, sailing thus with two ships onely into Affricke, and committing himselfe unto an enemy countrie, and into a kings hands, of whose fidelitie and protection he had no experience: but no doubt upon some great hopes to compasse the conquest of Affricke. And this was it that long since *Scipio* had in secret purpose and designement, this was it that openly he fretted & stormed at, namely, that he warred not himselfe as well in Spaine, as *Asdrubal* in Italie. Well, *Scipio* having concluded a league with *Syphax*, departed out of Affricke; and notwithstanding hee was tossed upon the sea with variable winds, and those for the most part boisterous and raging, yet upon the fourth day he arrived at new Carthage.

As Spaine generally was at peace and rest, for any Carthaginian warre, so it was well known, that

that certaine particular States, in regard that they were touched with the guilt of trespasses committed, were quiet for feare, rather than for any loiall allegiance. Of which the most notorious, as well for their owne greatnesse and power, as for their fault and transgression, were Illiturgum and Castulo. The Caltulonians who had bene Romane confederates in time of prosperitie, were revolted unto the Carthaginians, upon the disseasure of the two *Scipions* and their armies. The Illiturgitanes besides their revolt and rebellion, added this wickednesse, in that they betrayed and murdered the Romans who fled unto them for succour after that overthrow. These two nations, if *Scipio* at his first comming had proceeded in rigor to revenge (whiles the States of the countrie stood in suspence) he should have regarded their desert more than his own good & commoditie. But when all troubles were composed & reduced to quietnesse, he thought it then a convenient time to punish and chastise them accordingly. And therefore he called *L. Martius* from Taron, with a third part of his forces, and sent him to assaile Castulo. Himselfe with the rest of the armie, marched toward Illiturgum, and within five daies presented himself before it. The gates he found shut against him, and all preparation and furniture for defence and to withstand the assault. For their conscience bare them witnesse what they had deserved, & there needed no other defiance or intimation of warre against them, than the privitie of their wicked fact. Hereupon *Scipio* tooke occasion to exhort his souldiours, and began in this wise. The very Spaniards themselves, quoth he, by shutting their gates, declare plainly what they justly are to feare: and therefore ye ought to war with them in more hostile malice and deadly hatred than with the Carthaginians. For with them the quarell was maintained, as it were, without anger and rankor, only for soveraigntie and glorie: but of these men ye are to take vengeance for their disloyall treacherie, for their crueltie and wicked villanie. And now the time is come, to revenge not only the unworthy death of your fellow souldiers, but also the like falshood prepared for your selves, in case your hap had bene to have fled for refuge thither at any time: yea, and to shew exemplarie justice, to reach all posteritie, that no man hereafter be so hardie as to wrong any citizen or souldier of Rome, in what poore estate so ever he be, without feare of condigne punishment. Vpon this exhortation and comfortable words of the Generall, they bestirred themselves, and devided the skaling ladders amongst certaine choise men out of every companie. And having so parted the armie betwene them, that *L. Atilius* the Licutenant had the conduct of the one halfe, they gave assault with great terrour unto the citie in two places at once. But neither any one generall captaine, nor many principall citizens encouraged and harmed the townesmen manfully to defend their citie, but only their owne fearefull and sinfull conscience: for they wist well and remembered, yea and put one another in mind, that it was their punishment and not victorie that the Romanes sought for. And as for them selves, since they were to keepe their lives, this was the only point that they were to consider upon, namely, where they were best to die, whether in fight and in the field (where the fortune of battaile was common, and oftentimes lifted up the conquered, and put downe the conquerour) or after their citie burnt and rased, to yeeld up their breath in the sight of their wives and children taken captives, amid the torments of whipping and hard yrons, when they had endured all villanies & indignities. Whereupon not only the serviceable youth for war, not only men I say, but women also and children, even above the bodily strength of that age, or courage of that sexe, were readie and presented themselves to defend the walls. Some brought wepons to the defendants, others caried stones up to the wals unto them that were fortifying and repairing the breaches. For why? they stood not upon their libertie alone, which whetted the stomacks of valiant & magnanimous men only, but they set before their eyes all extremities of torture and punishment, yea and the shamefullest death that could be devised: and their hearts were incensed to undergo all paines & peril, by striving avie together, and seeing one another to hazard themselves. In so much as they stood to it, and fought so resolutely, that even that noble armie which had subdued all Spaine, tooke the repulse often times at the hands of the youth of one citie, was driven from the walls, and finally to their honor received some foile in fight and began to feare. *Scipio* seeing that, and doubting least upon so many bootlesse attempts the enemies might take heart, and his own souldiers be tainted, thought good to enter himselfe personally into the action, and to take part in that dangerous service. Having rebuked therefore his men for their cowardise, he commaunded the ladders to be brought and set to, threatening that himselfe would skale the walls, if the rest made hasting and thus drew backe. With that he made no more ado, but approached under the walls in great perill of his person. Whereupon

*Scipio to his
souldiers.*

A the souldiers respecting the dangerous state of their Generall, and fearing greatly on his behalfe, set up a shout on all hands, and began to reare ladders in many places at once. *L. Atilius* likewise on the other side plied the assault and gave not over. Then at last the townesmen, for all their resolute resistance, were overcome; the defendants overthrowne and beaten from their standing, and the walls possessed by the enemies. The castle also on that side which was thought imprenable, was in that brunt and tumult taken. For there were certaine Africanes serving then among the Romanes (fled before from the enemy) who whiles the townesmen were wholie turned to defend those places that seemed to be exposed unto danger, and the Romanes climbing and entring where they could, espied one part of the citie much higher than the rest; which because it was compassed about with an exceeding high rock, was neither fortified otherwise with bulwarks, nor manned with any defendants at all: and being men (as they all are) light and deliver of bodie, and nimble by reason of much practise and exercise, they climbed up the rock where they could meete with any crag thereof to beare our unequally from the rest, and to yeeld them hold and footing: but when they came to a plumbe upright steepe place, and where thecliffe was even and smooth, they fastned certaine great yron spikes and nailes, which they caried about with them of purpose, and stuck them a prety distance asunder, like greeces and staires to climb upon: and ever the foremost pluckt him up by the hand that followed next, and the hinmost heaved up those that went before them, until they were gotten up to the top: and then they ran downe with an outcry into the citie, which was already won by the Romanes. Then it was well seene that they forced this citie for very despitous anger and deepe hatred. There was not one that thought of taking any prisoners alive, there was none that once minded any pillage, notwithstanding all lay open unto them for to be ransacked and rifled. But downe they went with the unarmed as well as the armed, killing men and women one with another: nay their cruell moode was such, as they spared not the sucking babes. Then they set fire on their houses; and what the fire saved they rased and pulled downe: so cancred a mind they had, and so bent they were, to leave no monument and token of such a citie, and utterly to abolish and roote out the memoriall of those enemies.

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Scipio returned to new Carthage to pay his vowes unto the gods, and to exhibit and set out a spectacle of sword-plaiers at sharp, which he had prepared for the honor of his father and uncle deceased. This pastime & solemne shew was not performed by those kind of men, out of which maisters of fence use ordinarily to make choise, namely, such as were picked out of bond-slaves and freed men, that use to make sale of their blood for monie: but all those that he employed in combat, were such as offered themselves and their service voluntarie and without hire. For some were sent unto him from the LL. of the country, to make shew and proove of the valour ingrafted naturally in that nation: others of their owne accord professed to fight, for the love of the Generall himselfe, and to shew him pleasure: And some there were againe, who upon emulation of glorie were drawn to make chauge, whiles others that were defied refused not, but strove to get the victorie. There were also divers that determined those controversies by the sword, which by arguing and pleading they either were not able or not willing to end: having agreed

that certaine particular States, in regard that they were touched with the guilt of trespasses committed, were quiet for feare, rather than for any loiall allegiance. Of which the most notorious, as well for their owne greatnesse and power, as for their fault and transgression, were Illiturgum and Castulo. The Caltulonians who had bene Romane confederates in time of prosperitie, were revolted unto the Carthaginians, upon the disseasure of the two *Scipions* and their armies. The Illiturgitanes besides their revolt and rebellion, added this wickednesse, in that they betrayed and murdered the Romans who fled unto them for succour after that overthrow. These two nations, if *Scipio* at his first coming had proceeded in rigor to revenge (whiles the States of the countie stood in suspense) he should have regarded their desert more than his own good & commoditie. But when all troubles were composed & reduced to quietnesse, he thought it then a convenient time to punish and chastise them accordingly. And therefore he called *L. Martius* from Taron, with a third part of his forces, and sent him to assaile Castulo. Himselfe with the rest of the armie, marched toward Illiturgum, and within five daies presented himself before it. The gates he found shut against him, and all preparation and furniture for defence and to withstand the assault. For their conscience bare them witnesse what they had deserved, & there needed no other defiance or intimation of warre against them, than the privitie of their wicked fact. Heereupon *Scipio* tooke occasion to exhort his souldiours, and began in this wise, The very Spaniards themselves, quoth he, by shutting their gates, declare plainly what they justly are to feare: and therefore ye ought to war with them in more hostile malice and deadly hatred than with the Carthaginians. For with them the quarell was mainteined, as it were, without anger and rankor, only for soveraigntie and glorie: but of these men ye are to take vengeance for their disloyall treacherie, for their crueltie and wicked villanie. And now the time is come, to revenge not only the unworthy death of your fellow souldiers, but also the like fallhood prepared for your selves, in case your hap had bene to have fled for refuge thither at any time: yea, and to shew exemplarie justice, to teach all posteritie, that no man hereafter be so hardie as to wrong any citizen or souldier of Rome, in what poore estate so ever he be, without feare of condigne punishment. Vpon this exhortation and comfortable words of the Generall, they bestirred themselves, and devided the skaling ladders amongst certaine choise men out of every companie. And having fo parted the armie betwene them, that *L. Calpurnius* the Lieutenant had the conduct of the one halfe, they gave assault with great terrour unto the citie in two places at once. But neither any one generall captaine, nor many principall citizens encouraged and harmed the townesmen manfully to defend their citie, but only their owne fearefull and sinfull conscience: for they wist well and remembered, yea and put one another in mind, that it was their punishment and not victorie that the Romanes sought for. And as for them selves, since they were to leese their lives, this was the only point that they were to consider upon, namely, where they were best to die, whether in fight and in the field (where the fortune of battaile was common, and oftentimes lifted up the conquered, and put downe the conquerour) or after their citie burnt and rased, to yeeld up their breath in the sight of their wives and children taken captives, amid the torments of whipping and hard yrons, when they had endured all villanies & indignities. Whereupon not only the serviceable youth for war, not only men I say, but women also and children, even above the bodily strength of that age, or courage of that sexe, were readie and presented themselves to defend the walls. Some brought wepons to the defendants, others caried stones up to the wals unto them that were fortifying and repairing the breaches. For why? they stood not upon their libertie alone, which whereth the stomacks of valiant & magnanimous men only, but they set before their eyes all extremities of torture and punishment, yea and the shamefulest death that could be devised: and their harts were incensed to undergo all paines & peril, by striving avie together, and seeing one another to hazard themselves. In so much as they stood to it, and fought so resolutely, that even that noble armie which had subdued all Spaine, tooke the repulse often times at the hands of the youth of one citie, was driven from the wals, and finally to their honor received some foile in fight and began to feare. *Scipio* seeing that, and doubting least upon so many bootlesse attempts the enemies might take heart, and his own souldiers be tainted, thought good to enter himselfe personally into the action, and to take part in that dangerous service. Having rebuked therefore his men for their cowardise, he commaunded the ladders to be brought and set to, threatening that himselfe would skale the wals, if the rest made hastening and thus drew backe. With that he made no more ado, but approached under the wals in great perill of his person. Whereupon

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agreed between themselves that the matter in suite should fall to him that chanced to have the upper hand. And those were no meane persons of bale degree and parentage, but of noble descent and famous houses: as namely *Corbis* and *Orfua*, two [bretheren] cousin germanes by the father side; who differing and being at variance, about the principallitie of a citie and State which they call *Ibes*, made profession to trie the title at the utterance by dint of sword. *Corbis* was the elder of the twaine; but *Orfua* his father had bene the last Prince before, and received that Seignorie after the death of his elder brother. And when *Scipio* was very desirous to debate and decide the matter with words, and to appease their anger and moode, they both made answer and sayd, That they had denyed that to the common kinsfolke of either partie, and that they would have no other god nor man to be their judge, but only *Mars*. Both of them were fierce; the elder presuming of his strength of bodie, the yonger bearing himselfe upon the floure of his fresh youth: wishing rather to die both twaine in fight, than the one to be subject to the dominion of the other. In conclusion, when by no meanes possible they could bee reclaimed from this furious rage of theirs, they became a goodly shew and pageant to the whole armie, and a singular example to prove, what a mischievous maladie among mortal men, the love of lordship is, & the desire of soveraigntie. The elder, through practise of his weapons and cunning slight, soone overcame the foolhardinesse and inconsiderate fiercenes of the yonger. After this pastime of sword-fight, followed the funerall games and plaies: which were set forth magnificently, according as either the wealth of the province, or the furniture of the armie might affoord.

In this meane time, the Lieutenants plied and sped their businesse neverthelesse, according to their commissions: for *Martius* having passed the river *Bætis* (which the paisantes of that countie call *Cirtius*) received two most rich and wealthie cities, surrendered into their hands by composition, without any assault. Now, there was another citie called *Astapa*, which ever sided with the Carthaginians: and yet it deserved not so much anger and indignation in that regard, as for that, (setting aside the necessities that follow war) it ever bare a spitefull hatred against the Romanes: neither was the towne either for naturall situation so strongly feared, or by mans hand so surely fortified, that the inhabitants therein should take more hart, or presume the rather to be lustie and bold. But the naturall disposition of the people delighting in robberies, moved them to make rodes and invade the territorie of the allies of the people of Rome bordering upon them: and to catch and take prisoners any souldiours, skulians, jackies, and followers of the camp, or merchants of the Romanes, whom they could light upon ranging abroad. Yea & when there hapned a great companie of them together, to passe through their marches and confines, (for in no wise might a few travaile in safetie) they were surprisid by an ambusment laid for them, and being environned in a place of disadvantage, were slaine every man. When the armie was come before this towne to assault it, the townesmen carrying a guiltie conscience for offences committed, thought it not the safest course for themselves, to yeeld and give up the place to the enemies whom they had so much provoked against them: and seeing no hope at all to save their lives, either by the strength of their wals, or force of armes, they resolved to execute upon themselves, & those things that were nearest and dearest unto them, a foule, detestable, & cruell fact. They set out and appointed a compasse of ground within the market place, where they bestowed and laid on an heape the most precious goods that they had. Upon which they commanded their wives and children to sit, and then they piled about them billets of wood, and laid taggots upon, of small young twigs. And after this they gave in charge to sittie lustie tall fellows armed, That so long as the battaile continued doubtfull, they should defend and guard all their goods, and the bodies of those persons more deere unto them, than all the goods in the world: but in case they perceived their owne side to goe downe and have the worse, and the citie at the point to be lost, they should then wote well and bee assured, that all they whom they sawe going forth to battaile, would surely loose their lives in that very fight and medley. And herewith they besought them in the name of the gods both celestiall and infernall, to bee mindfull of their libertie, which that day was to take an end, either by honorable death or shameful servitude: and to suffer nothing to remain, upon which the enemy in his furious anger might exercise his cruelty: and considering they had both fire and sword in their hands to do the deed, to let those friendly and faithfull hands, consume and dispatch the things which were sure to bee lost and perish, rather than the proud enemies insult over them, and make a scorn of them. To these exhortations

A hortations they adjoynd a fearefull and horrible curse, to as many as either for hope of life, or upon timoroufnes of hart and fear of death, should alter their mind and resolution. Whereupon all at once they rushed out of the gates set wide open, and with a mightie tumult & shout, made a fallie. Now there was no set guard and station of any force opposed to resist them, because the enemies feared nothing lesse, than that they durst once issue forth of the gates. Some few troupes of horse and the light armour, of a suddaine were sent out of the campe to make head, and they encountered them. Betwene whom there was a skirmish hoter and sharper in regard of courage and violence, than well ordered by any skill and good government. And therefore the horsemen were discomfited, that first presented themselves against the enemy, yea and put the light armed footmen also in great feare. And surely they had proceeded to have fought even under the very rampier, but that the maine strength of the legions, who had but very small time to be marshalled and arraigned, put themselves in array & came into the field. And yet for all that, they were distressed for a while about the ensignes, by reason that they ran as blind as mad men in their furious fit, and as bold as witlesse fooles for want of offence, even upon the sword & their own deaths. But afterwards, the old experienced souldiours, having stilly stood out against the first rash brunt and violent shock of the enemies, yea and killed the formost, bridled & staid the rage of those that seconded them: & when they assaied within a while after, to enter forward themselves & break in upon them, & saw none of them to give one foot of ground, but every one resolute to die in the very place where he stood, they opened their battaile in the mids (a thing that they might easilie do, considering the multitude of their souldiours) compassed and environned the wings of their enemies, who fighting round in a ring, unto the last man were slaine every one. Thus were they that were in armes and made resistance manfully, dealt withall by their enemies according to the rigor of warre, and in the angrie mood of souldiours; and such was their end. But within the citie there was fouler worke, and a more cruell butcherie & carnage committed, when the feeble unarmed and naked multitude of women and children were murdred by their owne neighbours and citizens: who having set the foresaid pile of wood on fire, fell to massacre them, and flung their bodies when they were but halfe dead, into the light fire under them; so as their streames of blood gushing out of their veines, were readie to quench the flame beginning to breake forth. And in the end, when they themselves were even wried with the pittifull slaughter of their own friends, they cast themselves armour and all into the mids of the said fire. When this massacre was done and ended, the Romanes entred the citie with victorie. And at the first sight of this monstrous object, they wondered for a while & stood astonied. But afterwards, when they saw the gold and silver glittering within the heape among other goods, they were readie and desirous (as the nature of man is greedie of such things) to rake and pull the same out of the fire: but some of them were caught with the flame and burnt; others flashed and halfe senged with the hote steem of the vapour and breath issuing from the light fire, such (I meane) as were formost, and could not retrieve themselves backe, by reason of the exceeding prease behind, that thrust them still forward. Thus *Astapa* was destroyed by fire and sword, and yeelded no pillage to the enemies. And when *Martius* had all the rest of that countie yeelded unto him for feare of force, he led backe his victorious armie to Carthage unto *Scipio*.

About the very same time, there came from Gades certaine fugitive rennegates, promising E. to betray the garrison of the Carthaginians lying there, and likewise the captaine of the garison, together with the navie. Now had *Mago* rested there after his flight, and having gathered together the ships in the Ocean, levied and raised certaine aids, as well beyond the narrow seas along the coast of Africke, as also out of the parts of Spaine next adjoyning unto him, and all by the meanes of captaine *Hanno*. When as betwene the Romanes and those fugitives, there had passed faithfull promise and securitie to and fro, both *Martius* was sent thither with certaine squadrons and companies lightly appointed; and also *Laelius* with 7 Triremes [of three banks of oars] and one great galie of five, for to warre joyntly together by common counsell, as well by sea as land. *Scipio* himselfe lay sicke of a grievous maladie, but much worse by report than it was, by reason that every one (as men commonly have a desire and delight, to foster and multiply rumours for the nonce) made ever somewhat of his owne head, and put it to the rest of the newes that hee heard, which brought the province out of frame and caused great disorder, especially in the most remote parts thereof: whereby it was well seene, what a world of troubles would have ensued upon some calamitie indeed, when a vaine rumour onely, was able to raise such stormes and tempests.

For neither the Allies continued loiall in their alleageance, nor the armie dutifull in their wonted obedience. *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, who made full account of the whole kingdome of Spaine now that the Carthaginians were driven out and expelled, seeing nothing answerable to their hope and expectation, and themselves disappointed of their designements, raised the peasannts and inhabitants of their owne countries (and those were the Laetanes) and solicited the youth of the Celtiberians: the countrie also of the Suesitanes and Sederitanes, that were confederate States with the people of Rome, they wasted in all manner of hostilitie. Besides, there arose a civile mutinie and dissention within the campe at Sucro; where there lay eight thousand souldiours, as a guard and garison for all the nations that inhabit on this side Iberus. Whose heads were set aworke, and began to bee busie not at that time when doubtfull and suspicious rumours were spread of their Generall, how he was in daunger of death, but long before, upon a licentious course of life that they had taken to, (as commonly it falleth out upon long rest and ease) and so much the rather, for that now in time of peace they were held in, more streightly and neerely, who before were used in their enemies land, during the warres, to breake out in a more loose manner, and to live upon rapine and robbetrie. At the first they began to mutter and whisper secretly these and such like speeches: If there be warre still in the province of Spaine, what do we here among peaceable people? And if the warre be ended, and the time of the commision come out and expired, why are wee not had againe backe into Italie? Then they proceeded to demand their pay very malapertly, and more saucely than might stand with the dutie & modestie of souldiours: yea, and the Sentinels and *corps de guara* would not stick to give reprochfull terms and taunting words to the Tribunes or Marshalls, when they went the round: and some of them made no bones to enter by night into the peaceable territorie about them, for to fetch in booties and prizes; untill at length openly at noone day, they departed from their colours without passport and licence. All things they did, as transported and carried away with lust and selfwill of souldiours, not guided by the order and discipline of warfare, nor directed by the commandement and government of their captaines and rulers. Neverthelesse, there was retained still a forme of Romane campe among them: and that upon this onely hope that the souldiours had of the Tribunes aforesaid; whome they supposed in time would come to the bent of their bow, enter into the same furious courses, and have their hand in their mutinies, & follow them in their rebellion: and therefore they were well content with them to sit judicially in Marshall court, in the usuall place of Principia, to minister law and execute justice: also to call for the watchword & signall of them, yea, and orderly to goe to their watch and ward in their course and duetimes. And whereas in very deed they had cast off all reverence and obedience of government, yet they would seeme to shew a kind of loiall and dutifull diligence; in that (forsooth) they would be commaunders of themselves, and keepe some order without constraint. But in the end the mutinie broke out into open sedition: namely, when they perceived once, that the Tribunes misliked and reproved their doings, and endeavoured to crosse their designs, yea, and denied flatly and openly to take part with them in their follies and furious outrages. Whereupon they dispossessed the Tribunes of their judiciall places in the Principia, yea, and dispossessed them quite of all rume in the campe, and by a generall consent conferred the soveraine rule upon two common souldiours, the chieftains of this their seditious commotion, *C. Albinus Calenus*, and *C. Atrius Vmber*. Who not contented with the *markes and ornaments of the Tribunes, were so bold as to handle the rods and axes, even the very roiall ensignes of soveraigne rule; never thinking how those knitches of rods, and axes sticking within them, which they caused to bee borne afore them to the feare of others, were readie to light upon themselves, to scourge their backs and sides; and to chop off their owne heads not long after. The supposed death of *Scipio*, whereupon they vainely built, was it that blinded their wits and minds: upon the rumour whereof, being already noised abroad, they had no doubt, but all Spaine generally would be up in armes. In which garboile and hurlyburly, they made reckoning, that they might levie monies of the confederate States, and spoile and pill the cities neere unto them. And amid these troubles, when all were in an uprore, and every man would venture to doe every thing at his pleasure, then they supposed their owne deeds and actions would bee lesse espied and marked. Now when as they looked every day still to heare fresh newes, not of his death onely, but also of his funerals; and seeing there came none at all, but rather, that the former tidings were checked, and proved but a flying tale without head or foot, then they began to make semblance of enquiring after, and seeking out the first

* Certaine officers
or sergeants go-
ing before them
with vine rods.

authors

authors who raised those false reports: then they seemed to bee angry also and offended with them, to the end, that they forsooth might bee thought rather to have beleevied things inconsiderately, than to have devised such a matter themselves purposely. These leaders and captains thus disappointed and abandoned, began now to dread and stand in horror of their owne ensignes of magistracie that were carried before them, and in steed of that imaginarie rule which they usurped, they feared greatly, that the very edge indeed of the true and lawfull power of authoritie would bee shortly turned upon them. As the sedition was thus dashed, by occasion, that it was credible and for certaine reported, first, That *Scipio* was living; and within a while after, that hee was recovered and in health: there came seven Tribunes or Colonels, sent from *Scipio* himselfe. At whose first arrivall at the campe, the souldiours grew more angry and waspish than before: but anone upon faire words and speeches, wherewith the Colonels entertained those of their acquaintance, with whome they had communication, they were well contented and appeased. For first they went about to their pavilions from one to another, and afterwards to the Principia and the Pretorium, where they happened to spie some knots of souldiours met together and talking one with another; and so spake unto them, as if they rather questioned with them what the cause should be of their anger and suddaine commotion, than blamed them, or laid any action to their charge. The reason commonly pretended, was this, That their wages was not duly paid at the day. Besides they alleadged, That whereas at the same time, when upon the trecherous fact of the Illiturgitanes, there followed the losse and death of two Generals, and the defeature of their two armies, they by their vertue had defended the Romane name and honour, and likewise kept the province to their behoofe, the Illiturgitanes had indeed received a condigne guerdon for their offence and trespassse, but there was none that had requited and recompenced them for their good service accordingly. Beleeve mee (say they againe) your complaints are just, and requests reasonable, and wee will make relation thereof to the Lord General: and glad wee are in our hearts, that it is no worse, and that the case is no more incurable than it is: for God bee thanked, *P. Scipio* and the Commonweale, are both sufficient, and also willing to make you amends for all.

But *Scipio*, a man though used to the wars, yet altogether unacquainted with storms of soldiors mutinies, was much troubled in spirit and perplexed, for feare the armie might exceed measure in transgressing, or himselfe passe his bounds in punishing. For the present, he thought good to deale gently with them still, as hee had begun, and sent abroad the collectors about the Tributarie cities to gather up the revenues, thereby to put them in good hope of pay, and that with speed. And hereupon there went out an edict and proclamation, that they should repaire to Carthage, there to call for their wages, either by companies apart one after another, or altogether in generall, whether they would themselves.

And now by this time, the suddain pacification of the Spaniards that were about to rebell, stilled the sedition of the souldiours quite, which of itselfe begun to coole and slake already. For *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, after it was reported that *Scipio* was alive and livelike, gave over their enterprize, and were retired againe within their confines. So as now the souldiours had neither citizen nor forreiner, to take part with them in their folly & furious rage. And when they had cast about what course to take & what shift to make, they found no other evasion, but the most common refuge and retreat of all lewd counsels and bad designments, even to commit themselves either to the just wrath of their Generall, or else to his clemencie and mercie, whereof they were not past all hope, and in utter dispaire. For why? he had pardoned even the very enemies, with whom he had fought in battaile. And as for their mutinie, it was as yet without bloudshed, and no hurt done: and as it selfe was not cruel and outrageous, so it had deserved no extream & rigorous punishment: thus reasoned they and comforted themselves, as naturally men are too too prompt and eloquent, to extenuate, to palliate and cloke their owne faults, more ywis than they should. This was their onely doubt, whether they were better to go by cohorts and squadrons, or all at once to demand their pay. In the end they were of opinion, that the safer way was to go all in one train. At the very same time, whiles they among themselves laid their heads thus together in the camp, there was a Counsell held at new Carthage about them, and much dispute there was, and varietie of opinions, whether they should proceed against the heads and chieftaines only of the seditious (who were in number not above five and thirtie) or by cutting off the greater sort, to punish this so odious example and president, of a rebellion rather than a mutinie.

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But

But the milder sentence tooke place, namely, that from whence the offence began, there the punishment should rest. And for the multitude, some chastisement and rebuke was sufficient for their correction. When the Counsell was dismissed and broken up, to the end that it might be thought abroad that they fate about nothing els but this which they pretended, they published an edict throughout all the armie in Carthage, for an expedition or journey against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*; and gave commandement to make provision of victuals for certaine daies. And those seven Tribunes, who had before gone to Suero for to appease the mutinie there, were now sent to meet that armie againe: and the names being given them of five of the principall authors of the foresaid tumult, they had a direction unto certaine meet persons for the purpose, to shew them good countenance, to speake faire unto them, and courteously to invite them home to their houses, and afford them kind and friendly entertainment; and after they had made them good cheere and brought them to bed, to take them being fast asleepe upon their liberall drinking of wine, and to bind them sure hand and foote. Now when they were not farr off from Carthage, they understood by those whom they met and encountered upon the way, that all the whole armie, was the next day following to set forth against the Lacetanes: which tidings not only rid them of all feare, which secretly surprised and possessed their minds, but also made them exceeding glad and joyous, for that they supposed their Generall being now left alone without the forces, they might do with him what they would themselves, rather than be at his commaundement and devotion. And about sunne-setting they entred the citie, and perceived the other armie providing and making all readie for the voiage above named. Received they were and welcomed with gentle words, devised and framed of purpose: namely, That the L. Generall tooke great joy and contentment for that they were come so jult before the setting out of the other armie: and so they went to repose and make much of themselves. And without any sturre and tumult at all, the ringleaders of the fedition, were by the meanes of those Tribunes entertained and lodged in the houses of certaine persons of good havior, and meet for that purpose, and there apprehended and imprisoned. At the releefe of the fourth watch, the cariages of that armie, whose expedition was pretended, began to set forward on the journey: and somewhat before day the standards and ensignes advanced, but the whole armie was detained and stayed at the gates, and certaine warders sent to keepe all the passages and wayes, that no man should go forth of the citie. Then were those fouldiours who came the day before summoned to an audience: and they ran boldly into the market place to the Tribunal of the Generall, as if with their outcries and clamours they would have put him in some feare and dread of them. And at one time, both the L. Generall himselfe in person ascended up the Tribunal, and with all the armed fouldiers were brought againe from the gate, and enclosed round about at their backs the unarmed multitude gathered together to heare an Oration. Then were they daunted, as lustie as they were before, and all their courage cooled: and (as they confessed afterwards themselves) nothing terrified them so much, as the helthfull strength and fresh colour of the L. Generall, beyond all their expectation, whom they thought verily to have found sick and crasy: yea and his countenance and face so vigorous and courageous, as they never remembered to have seene him so lustie in any battaile before. For a while he fate still and said never a word, untill he was advertised that the chieftaines of the mutinie were brought into the place, and all things els in readinesse. Then after silence made by an *Oyez* of the cryer, in this wise he began and said.

The Oration of
T. Servius to his
mutinious fouldiers.

I would never have beleevd that I should have wanted words and proper language unto mine owne armie: not because I have exercised my selfe at any time rather to make eloquent speeces than to manage valiant actions, but for that being alwaies from mine infancie almost trained up in the camp, I have bene acquainted with the natures and humors of fouldiers. But in what manner I should speake unto you, neither my wits will give me advise, nor my tongue afford me utterance: you, I say, whome I wot not so much as by what name to call. Should I terme you citizens, who have revolted from your native cuntry? or fouldiers, who have renounced your Generall, refused to be under his commaund, his charge and government, and made no conscience to breake the oth of your allégeance? Last of all, should I give you the name of enemies? Now surely, me thinks I agnise the bodies, the faces, the apparell and habit of mine owne naturall citizens: but contrarywise, I see plainly the deeds, the words, the intents, and minds of arrant enemies. For what have ye either wished or hoped for els, but the Illegers and

A and the Lacetanes have done the like? And yet I must needs say, that they had to follow for their captaines in their outrage, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, two Princes of royall bloud: whereas you imposed the soveraigne commaund & government upon *Vmber Atrius*, & *Calenus Albinus*, two base companions. Denie now hardly if you will, that you all either were in the action, or willing in the intention. Verily I can easily beleve you in so disavowing, and namely, that all this proceeded from the folly of some few brainfick fellows among you. For the trespasses committed of that qualitie & consequence, that if the whole armie were therein culpable, the expiation and purging thereof could not be procured without great sacrifices and exquisite punishments. Full against my will I touch these points, as sores and gals that will not abide the rubbing: but unlesse they be touched & handled too, they cannot possibly be cured and healed. I assure you, for mine owne part, I thought verily that when the Carthaginians were driven out of Spaine, there was neither place nor person throughout the whole province, that had envied my life and health: such hath bene my cariage, and so have I demeaned my selfe not onely with Allies, but also with enemies. But see, how much I have bene deceived! Even in mine owne campe, the newes of my death was not onely received with joy, but expected also with a longing desire. I speake not this, that I would have any man to imagin that I conceive, how all in generall are guiltie of this fact (for if I were persuaded in my mind, that my whole armie wished my death, I would heere dye presently before your eyes; for what good would my life doe me, repined of my fouldiours and fellow citizens?) But the multitude of every people is like the seas in nature; which of themselves are unmoveable and stirre not: as the winds blow, as the gales goe and come, so are they either calme or troublesome and unquiet: and even so the cause and source of all this furie and outrage, is in some few heads and leaders. As for you, yee have caught the infection from them, and played the foolles with them for companie. Certesse, I am thus persuaded of you this day, that yee know not yet, to what enormous height of follie yee have proceeded; what mischievous act yee were entred into against mine owne person; what you attempted against your native cuntry, your wives and children; what you enterprised against the gods and witnesses of your loiall oath; what ye have done against the sacred auspices and happie fortune, under which yee have served in warfare; what yee have committed against the custome and law of warre, against the discipline of your auncestours; and finally, how prejudiciall and offensive your designs have bene against the soveraigne majestie of the Roman empire. As for my selfe, I am willing to say nothing: content I am to thinke, that yee rather gave credit to my death rashly and inconsiderately, than hearkened thereto willingly and greedily. And it may be, that I have so behaved my selfe, that no wonder it is, if mine armie bee wearie of me and of my government. But what harme hath your cuntry deserved at your hands, which to betray, yee should complot with *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*? How hath the people of Rome offended you, that you have deprived the Kn. Marshals and Colonels created by the voices of the people, of their lawfull rule and authoritie, and conferred the same upon private persons? And being not therewith contented, to have and acknowledge them for your Colonels; you, even you the armie of the Romanes, have taken the knitches of rods belonging onely to the General, and bestowed them upon those, that never kept so much as a bondslave of their owne to commaund. *Albius* and *Atrius* forsooth, set up their pavilions in that chiefe place of State in the campe, where the soveraigne magistrat ought to quarter: with them the trumpet sounded: from them the signall and watch-word was demanded: they sat as iudges in the Tribunal seat of *Scipio* the Pro-consull: upon them the Licours and Sergeants attended: for them they made way and voided the place, against they should go forth & march in their state: and before them were the rods borne, and the axes withall. When it raineth stones, when thunderbolts are shot, when lightnings flash from heaven, when beasts bring forth strange, uncouth, and monstrous young ones, contrarie to the course of nature, you take them for prodigious signes and fearefull tokens. Nay, this is a monstrous sight and wonder in deed, which by no sacrifices of beasts, by no supplications and praiers, can be purged and expiat, without the bloud of them that have committed so hainous a fact. And albeit no wicked crime can be founded upon any reason, yet wold I gladly know of you (as in a case that indeed should not bee once named and remembered) what was in your mind? what imagined you? and what was your designment? There was in times past a legion sent to Rhegium, there to lie in garrison. Traiterously & villanously they murdered the principall citizens there, and for ten yeares space possessed and kept that wealthie town to their

owne beloufe. For this notorious and beaſtly fact, the whole legion, even foure thousand men
 and no fewer, were in the market place of Rome beheaded every one. And yet they at the first
 followed not for their captaine *Atrius Vmber*, one little better than a launder, skullican, and fol-
 lower of the campe, a man of an unluckie and unfortunate name, but *Decius Iulbellus* a Tribune
 or Kn. Marshall: neither joynted they with *Pyrhus*, nor with the Samnites & Lucanes, professed
 enemies of the people of Rome. Whereas yee, have plotted in counsell, and ment to have banded
 in armes together with *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*. Their purpose was to have seated themselves for
 ever in Rhegium, like as before them the Campanes, who tooke Capua from the Tuskans, the
 old inhabitants: and the Mamertines likewise, who possessed themselves in Sicilie of *Messana*, and
 never minded to molest and make warre, either upon the people of Rome, or any of their allies
 and confederates. But tell me I pray you, intended yee to have made your continuall residence, H
 and to have dwelt at Sucro? where if I your Generall at my departure out of this province, when
 my time and commission was expired, should have left you behind me, yee might have cried out
 upon me, and called for vengeance to God and man, in regard of hard measure & wrong, offered
 unto you, in that yee might not be permitted to return home to your wives & children. But alas,
 wife & children were clean excluded out of your mind: & ye thought no more upon them, than
 of me or of your native countrie. Well, I will follow on still, and discourse upon your plot and de-
 signs, wicked & ungracious though they were, yet haply not altogether so foolish & foolish in the
 highest degree as may be supposed. Imagined yee being eight thousand men in number, (and
 say that yee were all of better account and reckoning than *Albins* and *Atrius* are, under whom ye
 submitted your selves) to have beene able for to defeat the people of Rome of the province
 of Spaine? so long as I lived, and the other armie stood sound and strong: wherewith in one day I
 forced new Carthage; with which I discomfited, put to flight, and chased out of Spaine, foure
 brave Generals, and as many puissant armies of the Carthaginians? But let that go by, and to lay
 aside my name, and to speake of no more abuse but this, that ye were very credulous and quick-
 ly beleevd that I was dead. How then? what if I were departed, this life, and gone indeed? Had
 the common-wealth together with me yeelded up her ghost? Would the maine state & empire
 of Rome have fallen to the ground with mee at once? Forfend (*o Jupiter*, almightie and most
 gracious) that ever a cittie founded first most happily, with the approbation of the gods, built
 eternally for ever to endure, should be compared and made bursequal with this fraile and mor-
 tall bodie of mine. *Flaminus*, *Paulus*, *Gracchus*, *Posthumus Albinus*, *M. Marcellus*, *T. Quintus*
Crispinus, *Cn. Fulvius*, two *Scipios*, my father and uncle both, so many noble warriors and
 captaines, have bene slaine in this one warre; and they are dead & gone: yet the people of Rome
 continueth on foot and overlieth them, yea and shall still, when a thousand more of them shall
 die, either upon the edge of the sword, or upon some sickness or other. How should then the
 state of the people of Rome be entered and buried with the dead corps of mee, but one man and
 no more? Even you your selves (to go no farther to seeke examples) here in Spaine, when my fa-
 ther and uncle, two Generals, were killed, chose *Septimius*, *Martius* for your captaine, to lead
 against the Carthaginians, being in the ruffe and jolitic upon their fresh and late victorie. I
 speake now, as though if I had miscarried, Spaine had bene left destitute and without a Comman-
 der and Generall. *M. Syllanus* who was sent with me into the province, joined in the same com-
 mission and of equall authoritie; *L. Scipio* my brother, and *C. Lelius*, both Lieutenants generall:
 would these have sit still and done nothing? would these have failed to mainteine & recover the
 majestie of our empire? What? could yee have compared armie for armie, captaines for cap-
 taines with them? was either your reputation and credit, or your quarrell and cause comparable?
 And suppose that in all these regards, yee had bene superiour and gotten the vantage, would yee
 indeed with the Carthaginians, have born armes against your native countrie? against your fel-
 low citizens? would ye in very truth, that Africke should have commanded Italie; and Carthage
 the citie of Rome? And for what demerit and great trespass, I pray you, that your countrie had
 committed? *Coriolanus* long ago, being wrongfully condemned and unworthily banished, see-
 ing himself to live a miserable exiled man, was moved to take armes & to come against his coun-
 trie to assaile it. A private regard of love and naturall kindnesse, reclaimed him from publicke
 parricide. But what griefe of heart, what fit of anger hath incited and provoked you? See case
 your wages was paid later by some few daies, whiles your Generall lay sicke: was that a sufficient
 cause for you, to give defiance to your countrie, and proclaime open warre against it? was
 that

A that enough to cause you to revolt from the people of Rome, and turne to the Iltergetes? and
 to spare no lawe of God and man, but to breake all: and make shipwracke of consci-
 ence and common honestie? Now surely, souldiours, yee were out of your wits, and foolcs yee
 were in the highest degree. I was not my selfe farther out of frame nor sicker in bodie, than yee
 were in your mind and understanding. I tremble to thinke upon it and to rehearse, what folke be-
 leevd, what they hoped, what they wished. Let all bee forgotten and buried in oblivion, if it bee
 possible: if not, let us not speake of it yet, howsoever wee doe, but rake it up in deep silence. I can-
 not denie, but my words have seemed sharpe and bitter unto you, and all this my speech very
 rigorous. But how much more cruell thinke yee are your deeds, than my words tart and soure? And
 if ye deeme it reasonable, that I should beare and put up the things that ye have done; will ye
 not abide then, and take in good part, and patiently hear me to tell all that I can say? But these
 matters I will lay no more in your dish from henceforth; ye shall be checked no more for them.
 B Would God yee could as soone forget them, as I will put them out of my remembrance. And
 therefore as touching you all in generall, if ye repent and be displeased with your selves for your
 fault and folly, I shall be content, and thinke you punished to the full. But as for *Albins Calenus*
 and *Atrius Vmber*, with the rest of the authors of this cursed and detestable mutinie, they shall
 make amends for their trespass and transgression, even with their heart-bloud; and they shall
 surely die for it. The spectacle of their exemplarie punishment ought not to seeme unto you
 greivous and odious, but rather a pleasant and delectable sight, if ye have any grace in you, and
 be come again to your right wits. For their intent was to hurt and do mischeefe to no man alive,
 C more than to your selves.

He had scarce made an end of his speech, when all at once, according to the order given be-
 forehand, there was presented to their eyes and eares a terrible and fearefull object on all sides.
 For the armie which had environned the assemblie round about, clattered their swords & buck-
 lers together. The common crier was heard to cite byname all those that were condemned there,
 in the presence of the whole audience. Stripped they were naked, and baled forth in the mids
 of them all, and every thing brought out at once for to accomplish the execution. Thus were
 they bound to the stake, whipped with rods, and their heads chopped off. So benumbed they
 were all and astonied for feare, that were present at the sight hereof, that there was not heard
 amongst them all one shrewd and hard word, in misliking the rigour of the punishment, no nor
 D so much as one groane or secret sigh. Then their bodies were all drawne atone side, the place was
 made clean and purged, and all the soldiours were called by name, and before their Colonels and
 Kn. Marshalls, sware allegiance, and to be true souldiours unto *Scipio*. And every one, according
 as he answered to his name, had his wages truly paid. This was the issue and finall end of the sol-
 diours mutinie, which began at Sucro.

At the same time, captaine *Hannosent* by *Mago* from Gades with a small power of Africanes,
 solicited the Spaniards about the river *Bætis* for monie, to rebel and put in armes upon a foure
 thousand able men. But afterwards he was forced by *L. Martius* to quit his campe, and having
 lost the greatest part of his men in the very tumult of taking the campe, yea, and some in the
 flight, whom the horsemen pursued in chase and slew as they ran stragling, himselfe with few
 E others escaped away. Whiles these things happened about the river *Bætis*, *Lelius* in the meane
 time having passed through the streights into the maine Ocean, arrived with his navie at Car-
 teia. This is a citie standing on the sea coast bounding upon the Ocean, even in the mouth of the
 river, where it first openeth from the streights into the broad sea. Now there was some hope (as
 hath bene aforesaid) to gaine the citie of Gades without any assault, by treason, for as much as
 there came some into the Romane campe, that of themselves made offer and promise thereof.
 But the treason brake forth too soone, and was revealed before it was ripe, the conspiratours
 were all apprehended, and sent by *Mago* unto *Adherball* the Pretour, for to be conveyed to Car-
 thage. And *Adherball* having embarked those traitours in a Caravell or Gallion of five bancks
 of oares, and sent her afore, because she was slower of faile than those of three bancks; himselfe
 F with eight three banked gallies, followed a pretie way after. The said Caravell of five course
 of oares, was not so soone entred the streights, but *Scipio* also being embarked in another
 Caravell of the same sort, made out of the haven of Carteia, with seven gallies of three ranckes
 of oares, and invested *Adherball* and the foresaid gallies: supposing verily, that the enemies
 Caravell being taken tardie in the very current, was not able against the tide to retire. *Adherball*
 being

being thus surpris'd on a suddaine, for a while stood in feare and doubt what to doe; whether hee had best to follow on after his own Caravell, or turn the prow and beaks of his galleies, and make head against the enimie. Thus whiles hee stood at a bay lingering, hee lost the opportunitie of shifting and avoiding a battell: for now they were come within the dart shot, and the enimies on every side were readie to charge. And the current was so strong, that they were not able to rule and manage their ships as they would. And the manner of fight was nothing at all like to a sea-battell, for as much as they could doe nothing to their mind, nothing by skill and dexterity, nothing by counsell & advise. The nature only of the narrow sea, the violence of the current was all in all, and ruled the conflict, driving the ships one against another, as well upon their own fellows as upon their enimies, notwithstanding they rowed and laboured what they could to the contrarie. So as, one while yee should see a ship that fled and scudded away, whirled about back again with a witness by the waves, upon those that had her in chase: and likewise another that seemed to follow and pursue after her enimie, if she happened once into a contrarie course of billowes, to turne top & taile, and seem to flie. And in the very conflict it so fell out, that when as one vessell ran with her beakehead full butt upon another, she was forced by waves to turne her side, and receive in her flank the push of her enimies. And contrariwise, when as one lay with her flank opposite to the enimie, suddainly all at once shee should wind and whirle againe upon her prow. As the galleies fought thus doubtfully together, hap hazard, at the pleasure and will of Fortune; the Romane Caravell (were it because of her weight shee was able to stand more stedie against the surging billowes, or by reason that shee had more rankes of oares that cut the waves, and so was more easily ruled) chanced to sinke two of the smaller galleies of the enimies; & running fast by one with a forcible violence, wiped away clean all the oares of one side, and had no doubt spoiled and marred all the rest that shee would have invested and charged upon, but that *Atherball*, with the other five made saile, and got over into Africke. *Lelius* having sailed backe to Carteia with victorie, and heard what had been done at Gades, namely, how the complot of betraying the island was disclosed, the conspirators sent bound unto Carthage, and consequently all their hope frustrate and turned to nothing upon which they came to Gades; dispatched messengers unto *L. Martius*, giving him to understand, That unless they meant still to lie before Gades, trifling out the time and doing no good, the best way was to returne unto *Scipio* the lord General: and so with the consent of *Martius* both of them within few daies repaired to Carthage. Upon whose departure *Mago* had not only a time to breath himselfe, being so frighted as he was with a duple fear both by land and sea; but also hearing that the Ilergetes were revolted, conceived some hope to recover Spaine again, & addressed his courriers to the Senat at Carthage: who by relating not only the civile mutinie that arose in the Roman campe, but also the rebellion of the confederats (& all by way of amplification and enforcing every thing to the highest degree) should encourage and exhort them to send aids for to regaine the dominion of Spain, lest unto them by descent from their auncestors. *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* who were retired for a time into their confines, untill they knew how the sedition sped and what was the issue thereof, rested still in suspence. For if the naturall citizens had their trespass forgiven, they made no doubt themselves but they might be pardoned also. But when it was published abroad how severely & sharply they were punished, they supposing their own transgression to deserve the like guerdon, solicited their owne people againe to take armes: and thus having levied and assembled the same power of aids which they had before, they passed into the Sederanes countie, where at the beginning they lay in standing campe, being in all 20000 foot, and 2500 horse strong.

Scipio after he had soone reconciled and wooed againe the hearts of his souldiours, as well by making true payment of their wages, to the faultie and innocent alike, as also by shewing a loving countenance, and geving friendly words unto all indifferently; before that hee dislodged and removed from Carthage, assembled them all together to an audience. Where he inveighed bitterly and at large against the falshood and trecherie of the lords of the countrey that rebelled: and protested before them all, that he went not now to be revenged of them for their wickednes; with the same mind, wherewith lately before he had cured the folly, and reformed the error of his naturall citizens: for then quoth he with harts grieve and grone, yea and with teares, like as one that rent and cut his owne bowels, I expiated and purged either the inconsiderate folly, or the wilfull malice of eight thousand men, with the heads of thirrie persons: but now I go with joy and glad hart, yea and with a resolution to execute and massacre the Ilergetes. For neither are they

A they borne in the same land with me, nor linked now in any societie at all unto me: the only bond of offaith and amitie which was betweene us, that have they themselves first impiously broken. But in mine owne armie, besides that I see they all are either Romane citizens, or els allies, and those not aliens, but meere Latines: this doth me good, and moveth me much, that there is not amongst them so much as one souldier to speake of, but was brought out of Italie either by mine unkle *Cn. Scipio* (who was the first of the Romane name that came as *L. Deputie* into this province) or els by my father who was Consul, or last of all by mine owne selfe. They are every one of them well acquainted and inured with the name of the *Scipios*, and used to their fortune and government: whom I gladly would conduct home safe with me to deserved triumph; and whome I hope to find readie to assist mee with their favour when I stand for a Consulship, as if it were a matter that concerned the honor of them all in generall, as well as mine particular. And as for the expedition now in hand, whosoever taketh it to be a warre, little remembreth the noble acts by me achieved: for surely I make more reckning of *Mago* and his exploits, who is fled with a few ships as it were out of the compass of the world, into an Island environed with the Ocean sea, than I do of the Ilergetes. For there in that place is not only a Carthaginian capitaine, but all the Carthaginian forces and strength that now remaine. Heere are none but thieves and robbers, and their leader; who peradventure may be of some power and sufficiencie to foray the fields, to burne the houses, to drive away some cattaille of their neighbours, but to come to hand-strokes in a set fight and ranged battaile, they are of no valor and worth at all: who no doubt will come into the field, trusting upon their good footmanship to run away in the rout, more than upon any force of armes to maintaine the medley. And therefore I have thought good to put down & suppress these Ilergetes, before I depart out of the province; not for any present danger at all, or feare of greater war that I see may spring from thence; but first and principally, that I to ungracious and wicked a rebellion should not remaine unpunished; and next, because it might not be said, that in a province so subdued, as well by singular prowess as rare felicitie, there was left one enimie behind of the Romanes. And therefore in the name of the gods follow after mee, not so much to make just warre (for yee are not to deale with enemies any way comparable unto you) as to take vengeance of wicked men, and to punish gracelesse persons. When he had finished his speech, he dismissed them, with commandement to be readie the next morrow, to put themselves in the journey: and after that he set once forward, by the tenth day he came to the river Ibertus, and when hee had passed over, within foure daies more, hee encamped in the sight of his enemies. Now there was a plaine there, environned round about with mountaines: into which vale betweene, he caused the cattaille (and those were for the most part driven out of the enemies countie) for to be put forth to grasing, and all to provoke the anger of the fierce and savage enemies: and sent out withall, the light appointed archers to guard them: hee took order besides, that when these were once in skirmish with the vancouriers of the enemies, *Lelius* with his Cavallerie should closely from some covert place give a suddaine charge. And for this purpose, there was a hill that bare out handsomely to hide the ambush of those horsemen. And presently without any delay, they came to a skirmish: for the Spaniards made out to the cattaille, so soone as ever they discovered them as farre off: the archers againe and darters of the Romanes, ran upon the Spaniards as they were busie in their bootie. And at first they terrified them, and skirmished with their shot: but afterward, when they had spent their arrows and darts, which were better to begin a fray, than determine a battell, they drew their naked swords, and began to fight close together foot to foot. And surely, the medley of the footmen had been doubtfully decided, but that the horsemen came upon them: who not onely affronted the enemies in their face, and trampled them all under their horsefeet that came in their way, but also some of them having wheeled about & set a compass along the hill foot, presented themselves at the backe of the enemies, so as they enclosed and shut up the most part of them in the middle betweene. In so much as there ensued a greater slaughter, than commonly upon light skirmishes by way of such rodes and excursions. But the barbarous people by this difcomfure were rather kindled and enflamed to anger, than daunted any way or discouraged. And therefore, because they would not seeme to have been dismayed and affrighted, the morrow morning by day-light, they shewed themselves in battell array. The streight and narrow vale, as is before said, was not able to receive and containe all their power: for two third parts welneere of the infanterie, and all the horse were come downe into the plaine field; the rest of their footmen besides, stood together

ther quartered on the side of the hill. *Scipio* judged that the skantnesse of the ground made for him, both because it seemed that the Romanesouldiours were more fitted to fight in a small rounne than the Spaniards: and also for that the enemies were engaged within that place, which was not able to containe the whole multitude: and therefore he devised a new stratageme besides. For considering that he could not in so narrow aspace bring his owne cavallerie about to compasse and charge the wings and points of their battaile, and that the horsemen which the enemies had arranged together with their infanterie, would serve them in no need; he gave direction unto *Laelius* to conduct the horse as closely as he could about the hills, and to keepe off the squadrons of the cavallerie so farre as possibly might be from the medley of the Infanterie. Himselfe directly turned all the ensignes of the footemen opposit against the enemies, and marshalled the forefront with foure cohorts only, because he could not stretch out the battaile any broader: and then without delay he made hast to begin the conflict, to the end, that while the enemies were amused and occupied in fight, they should be withdrawn from espying the horsemen as they traversed over the hills. Neither had they an eye of them at all, while they were brought about, before they heard the noyse and tumult of them as they charged upon their backs. So they fought asunder in two severall places: and two battailes of foote, and as many of horse encountred and joyned along the plaine, because the streightnesse of the ground would not admit both horse and foote to fight together in one plot at once. Now when as the infanterie of the Spaniards could not help the men of armes, and they againe were as little succored by the Cavallerie, but that the footemen trusting upon the Cavallerie, were without good direction put rashly to fight in the plaine ground, and so beaten downe and slaine; and the horsemen being enclosed round, could neither abide the enemies footemen afront them (for by this time their owne infanterie was overthrowne and defeated) nor yet endure behind them the hote assault of their horsemen; they left their horses, cast themselves into a ring, and after they had stood so at defense a long time, were slaine every one to the last man: there was not I say one footeman or horseman left of all those that fought in the valley. As for that third part which stood upon the hill side, rather to behold the fight in a place of securitie, than to take part with their fellows in the battaile, they had both time and space to shift for themselves and escape. Among whom, were the Princes also themselves in person, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: who were slipt away in the first tumult of the medley, before all the battalions were environed. The same day was the campe also of the Spaniards forced: and therein besides other pillage, were taken prisoners almost three thousand men. Of Romanes and allies there died in that fight upon a 1200, and above three thousand were sore hurt. The victorie no doubt had bene obtained with lesse bloodshed, if they had fought in a more large and open peece of ground, where there had bene better scope to flye away. Then *Indibilis* giving over cleane to thinke any more of warres, and supposing nothing safer, than to have recourse to the approved goodnes and clemencie of *Scipio*, sent his brother *Mandonius* unto him: who fell prostrate downe at his feete, blaming much (as the cause of their folly) the fatall rage and furie of the time; wherein not only the Illergetes and Lacetanes, but also the Romane camp, as it were by some contagious and pestilent infection, became frantick and beside themselves: and said withall, that the condition of himselfe, his brother, and other their followers and subjects was such, as they were readie if it were so thought good, either to yeeld up their lively breath unto *Scipio*, at whose very hands they had once received the same, or else if they might now be pardoned and saved, to devote and employ their lives for ever hereafter wholly in his service, as being now wise due unto him alone, and no other. Once afore they presumed upon confidence in their innocent cause, when as yet they had no experience of his clemencie: but now contrarywise they repored all their full hope in the mercie of the conquerour, and nothing trusted in the goodnes of the quarrell. Now it was an old custome among the Romanes, not to exercise the absolute authoritie of their government upon any (as they did to peaceable subjects) with whom they were neither confedered in equal and reciprocal covenants, nor linked in the band of amitie; before they surrendered up unto them all rights, as well divine as humane: before I say they had received hostages of them, taken armor from them, and planted garisons in their townes and cities. *Scipio* after he had sharply rebuked and roundly shaken up *Mandonius* there present, and likewise *Indibilis* that was absent, said, That for their wicked parts and lewd demeanor, they had worthily deserved death: but live they should by his goodnes and the gracious favour of the people of Rome. And moreover he promised

neither

A neither to despoile them of their armour and weapons (the seizing whereof was but a pawne and assurance unto such as feared rebellion; for as for him, he left unto them their armour freely to use at their pleasure, and their harts and minds secured from feare) nor proceed in rigor and cruelty against the guiltlesse hostages, but against their owne persons, if they went out and revolted againe: ne yet would he content himselfe to be revenged of disarmed and naked enemies, but the offenders and transgressors should in their armes suffer for their deserts. And now since they had tried both fortunes, as wel the one as the other, he put unto their choise, whether they had leiffer have the Romanes pacified or displeased, friends or enemies? So *Mandonius* had a faire delivery: only there was an imposition and fine laid upon him and *Indibilis*, of a summe of money for souldiers pay. *Scipio* himselfe after he had sent *Martius* before into the farther part of Spaine [beyond the river Iberus] and *Syllanus* back againe to Tarracon, staid some few dayes untill the Illergetes had made payment of the monies that they were charged with: and then with all his souldiers lightly appointed without cariages, marched in a running camp to overtake *Martius*, who by that time approached neere unto the Ocean.

The treatie which *Masaniissa* began before time, was upon sundrie occasions put off still and deferred. For the Numidian prince was very desirous to parley and commune with *Scipio* himself in person, & in his right hand to assure him of fealtie: which was the very cause then, that *Scipio* tooke so long a journey so far out of his way. *Masaniissa* being now at Gades, and advertised by *Martius* that *Scipio* was coming & neere at hand, shewed false semblance to *Mago*, made many excuses, and found much fault, namely, that their horses being pinned up and pestered within the lland, were welnere lost and spoiled: and that by their long abode there, not only they made others feeble the want and scarcitie of all things, but also tasted thereof themselves: and besides that his men of armes for very ease and idleness, became feeble and unlustie. By which suggestions he persuaded with *Mago*, and prevailed with him so much, as to suffer him to crosse over into the continent, under colour to wast and spoile the lands of Spaine next adjoining. When he was passed over, he sent before him three principall Numidians, gentlemen of marke, to appoint both the time and the place of their meeting and conference, and gave order, that *Scipio* should deteine two of them with him as pledges: the third was sent backe, to conduct *Masaniissa* to the appointed place, according as he was commaunded, and so with a small companie they met for to emparley and commune together.

D Now was *Masaniissa* the Numidian king possessed before with a wonderful admiration of *Scipio* and his vertue, by reason of the fame that was blazed abroad of his noble acts: and had conceived withall and imagined, that he was a man right personable, of a mightie, big, and goodly stature: but when he once saw him in place, he grew into a far greater reverence and honor of his person. For besides the exceeding majestie & port that naturally he caried with him, his goodly long bussh of haire well became and graced him; the habite also and attire of his bodie, manly and souldierlike, not brave nor tricked up deintely and delicately, much adorned and set him out. And for his age, he was in the best and height of his strength: which seemed upon his late sickness, more full, more smug and fresh, as if the very prime and floure of his youth had bene renewed, and himselfe cast againe in a new mould. The Numidian (at their first meeting) almost

E astonished, gave him thanks for sending back his brothers sonne unto him, saying, That ever since that time, he sought to espie some occasion and fit opportunitie, which now at length by the goodnes of the immortall gods being presented unto him, he had not neglected and let slip: Proteesting, that he was most desirous both to do him favour, and to gratifie the people of Rome in any kind of service: in so much, as there was no one foreiner more earnest and readie to advance and better the State of the Romanes than himselfe: which (albeit he had bene willing unto heretofore) he could not possibly shew in effect, so long as he was in Spaine, a strange country, and unknowne unto him; but in that wherein he was borne and brought up in hope of succession in his fathers kingdome, he would be most forward to performe. For, in case the Romanes would send but *Scipio* as L. Generall into Affrick, he made no doubt but hoped assuredly, that Carthage had not long to continue and stand, but soone would come to a final end. *Scipio* for his part was glad both to see him, and heare him so speake; knowing this full well, that of all the cavallerie of the enemies, *Masaniissa* and the Numidians went ever away with prick and price, and the yong man himselfe in his very countenance caried with him a good shew of a brave and haucie mind. So after faithfull promise geven and received on both parts, *Scipio* retired to Tarracon;

racon: and *Masaniſſa* when he had by the permission of the Romanes haried the coasts next adjoining, because hee might not seeme to have passed over into the maine land for nothing, returned to Gades.

When *Mago* now being in utter despaire of Spaine (whereof he had conceived great hopes, and bare himselfe so proudly; first upon the mutinie of the soldiours, and afterwards upon the revolt and rebellion of *Indibilis*) made preparation to saile over into Africke, there came a message unto him from Carthage, that the Senate there had given order and direction, That hee should transport the armada which he had at Gades, and passe into Italie: and there to take up and wage all the able men that possibly he could levie, either of Gaules or of Ligurians; and so to joyne with his power unto *Anniball*: and not to suffer that warre to quaille and flake now, which was enterprised with greatest force and endeavour, and yet with greater favour of fortune. For this exploit, both treasure was brought from Carthage to *Mago*: and himselfe also raised as great sums as possibly he could of the Gaditanes, having not onely emptied the common treasure of the yland, but spoiled also their temples, yea and forced all private persons to bring abroad all their gold and silver whatsoever. As hee sailed along the coast of Spaine, hee landed his souldiours not farre from new Carthage: and after hee had wasted and overrun the territories by the sea side, he approached neere with his fleet, and rid at anchor before the cittie: where all the day long he kept his souldiours within their ships, and by night set them ashore, and led them toward that part of the wall, whereas Carthage was by the Romanes woon: supposing that the cittie was not sufficiently defended with a strong guard, and that some of the townesmen, upon hope of a change and alteration, would rise up in armes and rebell. But there were come posts out of the countrie in all hast beforehand, who had brought newes, as well of the harrying of the countrie and fearful flight of the rusticall peasants, as of the comming of the enemies. Moreover the armada was deferred also in the day time, and it was apparant, that they made not choise to anchor even just in the rode before the cittie, for nothing. And therefore the citie soldiours flood readie, well appointed, and in armes, and kept within that gate, which turned toward the lake and the sea. And when the enemies, souldiours and mariners confusedly together, were come in great disorder under the wals, with more tumultuous noise than forcible violence: the Romans at once suddainly set open their gate, & with a great crie & shout, made a sallie upon them: charged the enemies, troubled & disordered them, and at the first onsets and volie of shot discomfited and put them to flight, yea and with much slaughter chased them to the shore: and but that the vessels flood close to the strand, readie to receive them about as they fled so fearfully, there had not bin one left alive, either in the flight or fight. Nay, they that wer in the very ships were in great afright and peril, whiles for to prevent the enemies of breaking in upon them pel mel with their own companie, they pul'd up the ladders, drew in the planks, cut a two the ropes wherby the ships were fastned to the banks, yea and the very cables for hast, that they might have no hindrance by weighing anchor: so that many there were, who in swimming to the shippes, because they knew not in the darke night, which way to go or what to avoid, perished miserably. The next day, when the armada was fled from thence backe againe into the Ocean from whence it came, there were found slaine eight hundred men: and of armours and corselets between the citie wall and the sea shore, two thousand.

Mago being retired to Gades, was excluded from thence, and arrived with his fleet at *Cimbis*, a place not farre from Gades. From whence hee sent embassadours, to complaine that the gates were shut against him, being their allie and friend: and when the Gaditanes excused themselves and said, that it was long of an uprore of the multitude, who were offended and aggrieved for certaine robberies committed, and spoile made by the soldiours at their departure, and when they were readie to be embarked, hee trained forth to parlie their head magistrats (whom the Carthaginians call *Suffetes*) together with the chiefe Treasurer: and after they were skourged & their skin pittreously torne, he commanded them to be roundly trussed up and crucified. From thence he sailed to *Pityusa*, an yland distant from the maine an hundred miles, inhabited at that time by Carthaginians, where the fleet was friendly and peaceably received: and not onely provided for liberally of store of victuals, but also furnished with lustie men, for mariners to serve at sea, yea and with armour and munition for souldiours. Vpon which forces *Mago* bare himselfe confident and bold, and setting saile, fell with the Balear ylands, that were fiftie miles off. Now there are two of these ylands called *Baleares*, the one greater than the other, and more mightie both

in

A in men and munition: having an haven and harbour where *Mago* supposed that he might commodiously winter in. But the Ilanders withstood his navie with as great hostilitie, as if they had bene Romanes that had inhabited the yland, they could not have done more. And as now adaies they use for the most part slings, so at that time they practised no other kind of weapon at all. And in no nation besides, can yee find one speciall person, so much to excell in that feat, as all the Balears generally do exceed and surpass others in the cast and slight thereof. And therefore they discharged and levelled among them, as the armada approached the shore, such store of stones flying about their eares as thicke as haile, that they durst not enter the haven, but turned their ships into the maine sea again. Then they put over to the lesser *Iland of the Balears, which as it was fertile in soile, so for men and armour it was nothing so strong. Whereupon they disbar-
ked and came a land, and above the haven in a strong and well fenced place they encamped. And
B having gotten to bee maisters both of the citie and the territorie about it, without any force of armes and conflict, they levied & enrolled there among them two thousand auxiliarie soldiours, whom they sent to Carthage for to winter, and then they drew up their shippes a land into the docke. When *Mago* was once departed from the Ocean sea-coast, the Gaditanes surrendered themselves to the Romanes.

* Minorique, as
the greater is
called Majorique.

These were the acts achieved in Spaine, under the conduct and fortunate government of *P. Scipio*: who having delivered the charge of the province to *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, returned to Rome with a fleet of ten saile. He had audience given him in the Senate, assembled in the temple of *Bellona*, without the citie: where he discoursed before them, in order from point to point, of all the affaires and exploits that hee had done in Spaine: Namely, how often hee had fought in set and ranged battailes; what a number of townes hee had forced and woon from the enemies; what nations he had subdued and brought in subjection under the state of Rome; how at first hee passed into Spaine, against foure generall capitaines and foure victorious armies; and now had not left one Carthaginian in all those parts. Yet for all these noble deeds, he rather assaied what hope he might have of a triumph, than made any hote & earnest sute therefore: because it was never seen to that day, that any one had triumphed who made war, being himselfe no principall magistrat. After the Senat was risen and dismissed, he entered the citie: and caused to bee carried before him into the chamber of Rome, of silver in bullion, fourteene thousand three hundred & fortie two pounds weight; & in coine besides, a great quantitie. Then *L. Peturius Philo*, held the solenne assembly for creation of Consuls: and all the Centuries in generall, with exceeding favour and affection, elected *P. Scipio* Consull: and for to bee his companion in government, *P. Licinius Crassus* the Archbishop was joyned unto him. But this assembly (as wee find in records) was celebrated with more frequencie of people, than ever any had bin known during this warre. For they repaired and met from all parts, not onely to give their voices, but also to see *Scipio*: nay they ran in great numbers to his house, and into the Capitoll, when he sacrificed and slew an hundred oxen in sacrifice for the honour of *Jupiter*, according to his vow which he had made in Spaine. And all mens minds gave them, and they were assuredly persuaded in their hearts, that as *C. Lucatius* finished the former Punick warre, so *P. Cornelius* would make an end of that which was now in hand: and like as hee had driven all the Carthaginians forth of Spaine, so would *Scipio* hunt them out of Italie: and every man in his conceit wished and assigned unto him the province of Africk, as if the war in Italie had bin fully brought to an end. Then ensued the election of the Pretors. And two were created that were then *Ædiles* of the Commons, to wit, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *Cn. Octavius*: and of private persons, *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, and *L. Aemilius Pappus*. In the fourteenth yeare of the Punicke war, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Crassus* entered their Consulship. And unto the Consuls were the provinces appointed: namely, unto *Scipio* was Sicilie granted without casting lots, and that with the consent and good liking of his colleague, because he being the Archbishop, was by vertue of that dignitie kept still in Italie, for to see to the sacrifices, divine service, and church matters: and unto *Crassus* the countrie of Bruttij was assigned. Then the provinces for the Pretours were put to the lotterie: and the civile jurisdiction within Rome fell to *Cn. Servilius*: Ariminum (for so they called Gallia) unto *Sp. Lucretius*: Sicilie was allotted to *L. Aemilius*: and Sardinia to *Cn. Octavius*.

The Senate assembled in the Capitoll: where *Publius Scipio* propounded an Act, and it was confirmed by the authoritie of the house, That out of the monie which himselfe brought into the common treasure, he might be allowed to defray the charges of those plaies and games

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that hee had vowed in Spaine during the time of the fouldiours mutinie. Then hee called the G Embassadours of the Saguntines into the Senate house: and the most auncient man amongst them spake in this wise:

The Question of
the Saguntine
Embassadours
to the Senate
of Rome.

Although right honorable, it be not possible to find any more miseries and calamities, than we have endured already in the maintenance of our faithfull allegiance unto you even to the end, yet such have your deserts bene to us ward, and so many favours have we received of your capitaine Generals, that we thinke not much nor repent of any damage or losse whatsoever, that we have sustained in that behalte. For first, yee entered into the quarrell, and began the warre for our sake; and having once begun it, yee have continued therein for the full space of foureteeene years; and that with such resolution, that oftentimes as ye have plunged your selves into extreme perill and daunger, so ye have engaged no lesse the State of the Carthaginians. For at what time H as yee had within Italie a cruell and bloudie warre, and *Anniball* your mortall enemy, yee sent forth your Consuls with armies into Spaine, as it were to gather up the broken reliques of our shipwracke, *Pub.* and *Cneus Cornelij* the two brethren, from the first time that they came into the province, never ceased to devise and doe, whatsoever might either aduantage us, or endamage our enemies. For first and formost, they restored unto us our towne againe: then having made enquirie throughout all Spaine, where any one of our citizens were sold as slaves, they delivered and redeemed them out of miserable servitude, and recovered for them their former freedome. But see; When we were well neere come to this good passe, that from our poore & pitifull estate we were raised up to a wished for and desirable fortune, then *Pub.* and *Cn. Cornelij* your Generals, suddenly died: whose death happened in manner more lamentable and dolorous unto us I than unto you. For then we thought verily, thus of our selves, That we were reduced from remote and distant places unto our auncient habitation, for this purpose, that wee should perish once againe, and see a second overthrow and destruction of our native cuntry: knowing thus much, that for to worke our utter confusion, there needed not a Carthaginian capitaine or armie to bee the instrument and the meanes; for even the Turderanes alone, our most auncient enemies, who were the cause also of our former ruine and undoing, were able with their owne forces to root us out cleane, and extinguish our name. But behold, whiles we were in these perplexities, immediately beyond all our hope and expectation, ye sent among us this noble *Scipio* here in place. In whose behalte, we count our selves of all Saguntines most happie, because we have seen him declared Consull already, and shall be able to report the newes unto our neighbors and fellow citizens, that we have beheld with our own eyes, even our whole hope, our help, our health and safety. Who having forced and woon very many cities and townes of your enemies in Spaine, at all times and in all places set the Saguntines apart from out of other prisoners and captives, and sent them home againe into their owne cuntry. Finally, as for Turderania a nation so aduerse, and so daungerous enemies unto us, that if it should continue still in prosperitie, Saguntum could not possibly stand upright; he hath by force of armes so quelled and tamed it, that neither we our selves, nor (bee it spoken without arrogance) any of our posteritie hereafter need stand in feare of any daunger from thence. Wee see before our eyes their citie rased, at whose instigation and whom for to gratifie, *Anniball* before had rased Saguntum: and out of their lands now, we gather rents and revenues: which contented our hearts, not so much for profit and gaine, as for quitance and revenge. In consideration and regard of these benefites and good turnes, which be such, as greater we cannot hope nor wish for at the hands of the immortal gods: the Senate and people of Saguntum hath sent us ten here in Embassie unto you, for to give you thanks in their name; and withall, to reioice and congratulate in your behalte for the happy hand ye have made, and the fortunate exploits yee have achieved these last yeares past, as well in Spaine, as in Italie; namely, that yee have subdued, and doe hold in possession all Spaine, not onely so farre as to the river Iberus, but even to the lands end, & the utmost point lying upon the Ocean sea: And as for Italie, ye have left no more ground in it for *Anniball* and the Carthaginians, than they empale within the compass of trench and rampier. Moreover, we have in speciall charge, not onely to render thanksgiving therefore to almighty and most gracious *Jupiter* the patron of the fourest and castell of the Capitoll, but also to offer and present unto him (if it may stand with your good grace and liking) this golden crowne; and to set it up in the Capitoll; in token and memorall of victorie. Which we humbly beseech your HH. or your favour to graunt unto us: and moreover (if it please you) to ratifie and confirme for ever by your authoritie and approbation, all those benefites

A benefites, franchises, and priviledges, which your Generals have of their goodnesse vouchsafed to endow us with.

The Senate made this answer to the Saguntine Embassadours, That both the raising and allowing the rearing againe of Saguntum, should be a memorable example to all nations, of the faithfull societie and alliance, observed both of the one part and the other inviolate. And whereas their Generals had re-edified the citie of Saguntum, and delivered the citizens thereof from servitude and bondage, they had therein done well and truly, and by direction, according to the will and pleasure of the Senat. And whatsoever els was performed by them to the good & benefit of the Saguntines, the Senat stood willing and contented therewith, and gave order therefore. As for their present and oblation, good leave they had to bestow it solemnly in the temple of the Capitoll. After this, order was given, That the Embassadours should have their lodging appointed them, and presents sent unto them, and all other entertainment at the charges of the citie, yea, and by way of a reward, an allowance of no lesse than ten thousand Asseapece.

Then were the other Embassadors admitted into the Senat house, & audience given them. Also the request of the Saguntines was granted to go & see Italie for their pleasure, so far forth as they might with securitie of their persons: and certaine guides were assigned to conduct and accompany them, with especiall letters also directed unto all cities and townes, for to receive the Spaniards friendly, and give them courteous entertainment.

These things done, the Senators sat in consultation about the state & commonweale, & treated concerning the levying of new armies, and the distribution of the provinces. Now when as the common brute went that *P. Scipio* was destined & named to a new province of Affricke, & all men gave out with open voice, that he was the man to be sent thither directly, without casting of lots for the matter: and himselfe besides not resting content now with meane glorie, said openly, that he was declared Consull, not onely for to mainteine warre, but also to finish and make an end thereof once for all: which could not be effected by any other meanes, unlesse himselfe in person made a voiage with an armie into Affricke; protesting moreover, That if the Senate crossed and gaine said this designe of his, he would propound it to the people, and carie it away clear by their voices: whiles the principall LL. and auncients of the Senate were nothing pleased with this resolution of his, but durst not say a word and speak their minds, either for feare, or for courting of him, in hope of preferment; only *Q. Fabius* being demanded his opinion, spake to the D matter in question to this effect.

Right honourable and my LL. of the Senate, I know full well, that many of you here assembled are of this mind, & verily persuaded, That we are set this day to no purpose, but even to consult and debate of a matter cleerely determined; and that in vaine he shall spend words, who shall deliver his advise of the province of Affricke, as of a point as yet doubtful and not resolved upon already. For mine owne part, first and formost I cannot conceive, neither will it enter into my head, how Affricke can possibly now bee accounted as a province, and assigned certainly unto your Consull (let him be a man right hardie, and of as much valour as may be) considering, that neither the Senate unto this day hath judged it, nor the people ordained and assigned it to any person in the nature and name of a province. Furthermore, if it were so indeed without all peradventure; then in my judgement, the Consull hath done amisse, who in making semblance to put a matter for to be debated, which is already agreed upon, hath deluded & mocked the whole Senate, and not the Senatour, who in his course delivereth his opinion of the thing in question. But I am assured, that in gaine saying and crossing this hastie voiage into Affricke, I shall incur the sinister opinion and turnise of two things: the one is, of my usuall lingering and slow proceeding in all mine actions (a course that naturally I am given unto) which yong men may terme at their pleasure, timorousnesse and lazinesse; but so long as I have no cause to repent therefore, I passe the lesse. For surely hitherto, the advises of others have ever at the first sight made a goodlier shew, and seemed more honourable; but by experience, mine own waies have sped better, and bene found in the end more effectual. The other is, of backbiting, detraction, and envying at the glorie and reputation of the Consull, a man of singular prowess (I must confesse) and whom I see to grow from day to day in greatnesse and honour. From which jealousie and suspicion, if neither my life passed and the carriage of my selfe; if neither my Dictatorship with five Consulships, nor so much glorie which I have acquired, as well in managing the affaires of warre abroad, as of civile policie at home (that a man would thinke I should rather bee

The Opinion of
Q. Fabius.

glutted therewith than desire any more) bee able for to cleere and assoyle mee; yet my G
 yeeres at leathwife, may free mee verie well. For what concurrence and emulation can there
 bee betwene mee and him, who is not of equall age with my very sonne? When I was
 Dictatour, in the vigour and floure of my strength, in the very courle and traine of my grea-
 test and bravest exploits, no man either in Senate or in the assemblie of the people, heard
 me to refuse and denie, That my own Generall of Cavallerie, who could not affourd mee a good
 word but ever railed at me, (a thing that was never heard before) should be made equall with my
 selfe in command and government. And yet by good deedes rather then by faire words, I effe-
 cted and gained thus much in the end, that he, who in the judgement of others was matched with
 me and made my fellow, confessed within a while himselfe to be my inferior. Lesse reason have I
 then now, after I have gone through all degrees of honors and dignities, to enter into conten-
 tion and emulation with a yong gentleman, of all others at this day most flourishing in the eies H
 of the world: unlesse forsooth it be a likely matter that I (a man weary not only of managing
 affaires, but also of this world, and of this life) should looke to have the province of Affrick offered
 unto me, if it were once denied him. Nay verily, I have enough already: in that glorie I am con-
 tent to live and die, and seeke for no more. It was sufficient for me to hinder *Anniball* from
 atcheiving the victorie; to the end that by you, who now are gallants in the best of your strength,
 he might be vanquished and overcome. Meet it is then and great reason, *P. Cornelius*, that you
 should beare with me, and hold me excused, if I (who never in regard of mine owne selfe set grea-
 ter store by the fame and opinion of people, than of the good of the common-weale) prefer not
 now your glorie before the weale-publike. And yet I will not say, but in case there were no war I
 at all in Italie; or the enemy of that qualitie, as by conquering of whom, there were no credit and
 honor to be gotten: then he that would seeke to keepe you still in Italie, were it never so much
 for the good of the State, might seeme to go about to disappoint and frustrate you (in putting
 you by the charge of the warre) of the very meanes and matter of your glorie and renowne.
 But seeing that *Anniball* is your object, seeing he is our enemy, who with an entire animie still
 holdeth Italie as it were besieged now these foureteene yeeres; will you not, *P. Cornelius*, hold
 your selfe well contented with this honour and reputation, That you being Consull, should drive
 that enemy out of Italie, who hath bene the cause of the death of so many brave men of ours,
 and of so many foiles and overthrowes that we have received? that, like as *C. Lucatius* had the
 name of finishing the former Punick warre, so you may win the title of ending this other also. K
 Unlesse a man would say that *Amilcar* was a warrior and capitaine worthie to be preferred before
Anniball; or that war of more importance than this; or that victorie greater and more hono-
 rable than this is like to be, in case it happen that we may be conquerours under your conduct,
 and whiles you are Consull. Whether would you chuse rather to have drawne *Amilcar* away
 from Drepanum and the mountain of Eryx, than chased & hunted the Carthaginians and *An-
 nibal* out of Italie? Nay surely even your owne selfe (howsoever you embrace glorie already won,
 than hoped for hereafter) would not take more joy and contentment, & triumph rather for free-
 ing and delivering of Spaine than Italie, from the warres. *Anniball* it is as yet is not come to that
 low ebb, nor so downe the wind, but that he which hath made choise of another war, may seeme
 well in so doing to stand as much in feare and dread, as in contempt of him. Why then addresse L
 you not your selfe to effect this inprese, and leave building these castles in the aire, and hope by
 fetching these reaches and this compasse, and going the longest way about, that when you are
 passed over into Affrick, *Anniball* will follow you thither; and not rather go the next way to
 worke, and fight with *Anniball* where he is, and make no more ado? Are you willing indeed and
 desirous to win this honor, of dispatching quite the Punick warre? Why, it is the very course of
 nature to defend and make sure your owne, before you go in hand to assaile the dominions of
 others. Let us have peace first in Italie, before we make warre in Affrick: and let us first rid our
 selves of feare, or ever we take occasion to put others in feare; unlesse we had some greater quar-
 rell. And if by your conduct and fortunate government, both these may possibly be effected;
 conquer *Anniball* heere, and then go thither to assaile Carthage a gods name. But if the one or
 the other of these victories must needs be left for new Consuls to achieve: as the former of the
 twaine will be the greater and more memorabile, so it will open the way, and give the overture
 unto the other ensuing upon it. For at this time, over and besides that our treasure, & all the reve-
 nues and finances of our state, are not able to mainteine and wage two sundrie armies both in
 Italie

A Italie and in Affrick: besides I say, that we want the meanes to keepe two Armadaes afloat, and
 have nothing left sufficient wherewith to furnish them with victuals and munition: who
 seeth not I pray you, how farre we engage ourselves in perill and danger by this enterprise? *P. Lucius*
Lucius (shall warre in Italie, and *P. Scipio* in Affrick. What will ye say if *Anniball*, (which God
 forbid, and my heart even dreadeth to bode the offe, but that which once hath hapned, may
 happen full well again) upon the traine of some new victorie, fortune to go forward & assaile the
 citie of Rome? Where are we then? Shall we have time then to send for you our Consull out of
 Affrick, as we did for *Q. Fulvius* from Capua? And what say you to this besides, That the fortune
 of war is doubtfull & uncertaine even in Affrick, as well as in other places? Call to mind, and be
 taught betimes by the examples of your owne house and familie, by your father and unkle; who
 within 30 daies were slaine, and their armies defeated; even there, whereas for certain yeeres space
 they had performed both by sea and land most noble exploits: and highly renowned among
 foreine nations both the Romane people, and also your owne name and familie. The time will
 not serve, if I would all this day long do nothing els but reckon and recount unto you, how many
 Kings, Emperours, and Generall Capitaines there have bene, who have entred rashly into their
 enemies countries, and received many foiles and overthrowes thereby, as well in their own per-
 sons, as in their whole armies. The Atheniens, a most prudent and politick State, having left
 the war at home in their own country, and following the counsell and suggestion of * one yong
 man, as hardie and valiant in armes, as noble in birth and parentage as your selfe (none disprai-
 sed) sailed into Sicillie with a brave and puissant navie; and there in one battaile fought at sea, C
 overturned and ruinated for ever their most flourishing citie and common-weale. But why seeke I
 forraie examples of strangers, and old stories of times too far past, and over-long ago. Let even
 this same Affrick (to go no farther) and *M. Atilius*, serve as a notable example of both fortunes,
 for our instruction and learning for ever. Now certes, *P. Cornelius*, when you shall once discover
 Affrick within your kenning from the sea, you will thinke then that your provinces of Spaine were
 matters of sport and pastime in comparison of it. For what semblable proportion or likenesse is
 there betwene them? When you were in your voyage for Spaine, you sailed in the calme sea
 peaceably along the coast of Italie and France, and arrived at Emporia, a friend citie and confe-
 derate: and when you had landed your men, you led them in securitie through all places to the
 friends and allies of the people of Rome, even as farre as Tarracon. From thence, ye journeyed
 D all the way by cities and townes, furnished with Romane garisons. About the river Iberus, you
 found the armies of your father and unkle, which remained upon the losse of their Generals,
 more fierce and fell for the calamitie that they had received, than before. You met there *L. Mar-
 cius* their captain & leader, chosen (I must needs say) I know not how in a hurrey, by the souldiers
 themselves for the time: but otherwise I assure you, if nobilitie of birth and the titles of dignities
 which he justly deserved had graced him, he was in all feates of armes and martiall knowledge,
 comparable to the very best warriors and noblest Capitaines. After this you assaulted Carthage
 without any impeachment, and tooke your time at your own pleasure, even when there was not
 one of the three Carthaginian armies to aid and defend their associates. As for all the exploits
 besides (without offence be it spoken, and not to debase any good service there) they are in
 E no respect to be compared with the Affricane warre: where wee shall finde no haven open
 to enterteine our Armada, no countrie peaceable, no citie confederate, no king friendly,
 no place at all either to sojourne and rest in, or to march forward and passe through with
 safetie. Which way soever you cast your eyes, nothing but hostileitie threatening danger and
 perill unto us. Do you in deed trust *Syphax*, or relie upon the Numidians? Well, let it suf-
 fice that once ye trusted them. Rash adventures speede not alwayes best. And oftentimes wee
 see, that fraude seemeth faithfull, and maketh way of credite in small things, that in matters
 of great importance, and when the time serveth, it may pay home and worke a mischief
 with a witnesse. The enemies overcame not your father and unkle by force of armes, be-
 fore that the Celtiberians our Allies overraught them by falsehood and treacherie: ney-
 F ther were your selfe in so much daunger from *Mago* and *Idarubail* the chiefe Capitaines
 of your enemies, as from *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*, your new friends and confederates. Can
 you repose any confidence in the Numidians? you, I say, that have experience of your
 owne souldiours mutinie, and have seene them rise against you? As for *Syphax* and *Mas-
 sissa*, as they had rather themselves be the soveraigne and most mightie in Affricke, than
 the

the Carthaginians should; so surely they with the Carthaginians to be the highest, above
 all others besides their own selves. Now at this time there is some emulation and hea-
 rning among them, and all occasions of quarrell whet them on to maintaine sides and
 factions, so long as feare of foraine enemies is farre ynough off. Shew them once the
 Romane armes and forces, let them see an host of strangers once, they will runne I war-
 rant you, altogether then, as it were to quench a common skarefire. You shall find that the
 very same Carthaginians, will farre otherwise stand to the defence of the walles of their coun-
 trie, their cities, the temples of their gods, their altars & private houses, when going to battaile
 they shall have their feartull wives to beare them companie, their small children to go afore them
 in their eye: you shall find them I say, stick better to it, than they did in the quarrell and defence
 of Spaine. But what and if the Carthaginians, finding themselves strong enough upon the con-
 fidence of the generall concord of Atricke, of the fast fidelitie of the confederate kings, of the
 strength of their owne wals, should fortune themselves, when they shall see Italie destitute of
 your helpe, and disarmed of your forces, either to make out a fresh armie from Africke and
 send it into Italie, or else give order and direction to *Mago* (who as it is well knowne for certaine,
 is departed with his navie from the Baleare Ilands, and lyeth floating and riding continually upon
 the Alpine Ligurians) for to joyne his power with *Anniball*? It is a cleere case, that we shall be in
 as great trouble, and as much affrighted then, as we were of late, when *Asdruball* mounted over
 the Alpes, & came down into Italie. *Asdruball* I say, whom you (that will with your armie com-
 passe not only Carthage but also all Affricke) let go out of your hands, & suffered to passe over
 into Italie. But you will say, that you have vanquished him. Say you so? I would not for anything,
 not onely in regard of the love I beare to the common-weale, but also of the affection that I car-
 rie toward your selfe, that a vanquished man could find the way by you into Italie. Be content and
 suffer us to attribute all things that have gone well with you or the common-weale, during the
 time of your government, to your wisdom and pollicie; and contrariwise, whatsoever hath fal-
 len out cross and adverse, to impute and assigne the same to nothing else, but to the variable
 events of warre, and to fickle fortune. The better and more valiant that you are, the more need
 hath your native countrie, yea and all Italie besides, to keepe you still at home with them, so brave
 a captaine, so rare a Protectour. You cannot your owne selfe dissemble the matter, but con-
 fesse, That wheresoever *Anniball* is, there is the very head, the fort and strength of all this warre;
 for as much as you pretend, that the only cause why you would passe into Atricke, is to draw *An-
 niball* thither after you. Well then, be it here or be it there, with *Anniball* you must have to deale.
 Tell me then, whether are you like to be stronger in Africke your selfe alone, or here where your
 own forces and the power of your Colleague shall be joyned together? Is it possible that even the
 late example of *Livius* and *Claudius* so fresh in memorie, should not enforme and teach us, what
 difference there is between the one and the other? In whither place I pray you, will *Anniball* be
 more strong in men and munition; here in the utmost corner and angle of the Brutians countrie,
 where this long time he hath waited in vaine for aid from home, where hee hath sent for succour
 and gone without; or nere unto Carthage, & in the mids of Affricke among his friends & allies?
 What kind of pollicie is this of yours, thereto decide the quarrell and trie the whole matter,
 where your owne forces are lesse by a halfe moitie, and the power of your enemies much grea-
 ter and stronger; rather than here, whereas you may fight with the power of two armies against
 one, toiled out of heart in so many battailes, and wearied with long warfare, so tedious and grie-
 vous withall? Consider with your selfe, what conformitie and resemblance there is, betwene
 your designes and your fathers. He, as Consull having made a journey into Spaine, to the end
 that he might encounter *Anniball* as hee came downe the Alpes; returned out of his owne pro-
 vince into Italie: and you, when *Anniball* is in Italie, purpose to abandone and leave Italie. And
 why? forsooth not because you judge it good for the common-weale, but because you thinke it
 an enterprize that may emport you in great honour and glorie: like as when you being captaine
 Generall of the people of Rome, left your province at randon, and your armie at fixe and seven,
 without warrant of law, without order or act of Senate, hazarded in two bothomes the whole state
 and majestie of the Empire of Rome; which at that time together with the danger of your life,
 incurred the perill and jeopardie of the maine chance. To conclude, for mine own part (my lords
 of the Senat) I am of this mind, & this is my conceit, That *P. Cornelius* was not created Consull
 privately for himselfe and his owne behoufe, but for the good of the common-weale and us all:

and

and that the armies were levied and enrolled, for the guard of the citie and defence of Italie; and
 not for the Consuls, in their owne proud selfe-conceit and overweening of themselves, after the
 manner of absolute KK. to transport and lead into what parts of the world they list themselves.
 When *Fabius* by this Oration (premeditate and framed to the time) had through his authoritie
 and the long seled and confirmed opinion that men had of his wisdom, drawne unto his side
 a good part of the Senate, and specially the auncients; inso much as the greater number com-
 mended the grave counsell of the old man, above the lustie and youthfull courage of the other
 gallant: then *Scipio* by way of answer made these remonstrances, and spake in this wise. My
 lords of the Senat, even *Fabius* himselfe in the beginning of his Oration, said very well, That his
 opinion which he was to deliver, might be suspected of detraction and envie. Of which note, ve-
 rily I durst not my selfe taxe and accuse a man of his qualitie & reputation so much, as me thinks
 is not so well cleered as it ought to be the very suspicion it selfe: and I wote not whither it bee by
 a default of his speech and oration, or that the thing it selfe is so pregnant. For in such manner he
 extolled with goodly words, and magnified his owne dignities and renowned deeds, and all to
 quench the jealousy and crime of envie: as if my selfe were to feare the danger of emulation and
 concurrence of some companion of the basest degree and condition, and not of him; who be-
 cause he farre surpasseth other men, (which height and pitch of honour I denie not, but I ende-
 vour my selfe to reach unto) would not in any hand, that I should compare with him. So highly
 hath hee advanced himselfe in regard of his old yeares, considering that hee hath gone through
 all ranks of honour: and so low debased me, and put me downe even under the age of his own
 sonne; as though the desire and love of glorie, should passe no farther than the length of mans
 life, and the greatest part thereof extended not to the memorie of posteritie and the future time.
 This I hold for certaine, that it is a thing incident to the most magnanimous men & of greatest
 spirit and courage, to have a desire for to match themselves not onely with them that live in their
 daies, but with the most famous and excellent personages, that ever were or might be in any age.
 And certes for mine own part, *Q. Fabius*, I will not make it goodly, but frankly bewray my mind
 that way, namely, that I would full fain not only attain unto your praise-worthy acts & commen-
 dable vertues: but also (with your good leave be it spoken) if possibly I can, even to excell & sur-
 mount the same. And therefore let us not carrie this mind, either you toward mee, or I to those
 that are younger than my selfe, To be unwilling and thinke much, that any one citizen among
 us, should prove equall to our selves: for in so doing, wee should offer wrong and doe hurt not
 onely to them whom we have envied and maligned, but also prejudice the common-weale, and
 in manner the whole state of all mankind. And thus much to your selfe. He hath now (my lords)
 recounted, to what great perils I should enter into by the Africk voyage: in such sort, as he would
 seem not only to have a carefull regard of the common-weale and the armie, but also to pitie me
 and tender my case & fortune. Whence cometh it, that you should al on a sodain take so great
 care for me? when my father and unckle both were slaine; when their armies both twaine, were
 utterly almost disfeated and put all to the sword; when Spaine was lost; when foure armies of
 Carthaginians, and foure Generals, held all in feare by force of armes; when there was a captaine
 fought for to undertake that warre, and no man durst bee seene to put himselfe forward, no
 man so hardie as to present and offer his service, but my selfe; and when the people of Rome had
 committed the charge and government of Spaine to me a yong man, but foure & twentie yeares
 old how hapned it that no man then tooke exception of my age, made mention of the enemies
 force, discoursed of the difficultie and daunger of the warre, or laid abroad the late and fresh de-
 feat and death of my father and unckle? I would demaund and gladly know, Whither we have
 sustained now lately, some greater calamitie and losse in Affricke, than we received at that time
 in Spaine? or if the armies at this present in Affricke be more puissant, or the captaines more in
 number, or better in valour, than they were in Spaine at that time? or whether mine age then, was
 more ripe and sufficient to mannage warres, than now it is? Last of all, whether it be better, more
 commodious and easie, to maintaine warre with the Carthaginian enemy in Spaine, than in
 Affricke? After that I have discomfited & put to flight foure hosts of Carthaginians; after I have
 either forced by assault, or reduced under mine obeisance (for feare) so many cities; after I have
 vanquished and subdued all, even as far as to the Ocean sea, so many princes and potentates, so
 many fierce & cruell nations; after I have so fully recovered Spaine, as there is not remaining to
 be seen there, so much as the footing and bare token of any war: an easie matter it is, and all one

to

to elevate and depreſſe the acts paſt that I have archieved: as alſo par-die it will be, when I returne
 with conqueſt out of Affricke, to debaſe and make nothing of thoſe very things, which now to
 keepe me backe from thence, and to make them appeare ſtrange and terrible, are amplified with
 great words, & ſtretched upon the tainters to the full. He holdeth, That there is no acceſſe, no en-
 trance into Affricke, nor havens open to receive an armada. Hee telleth us and allegeth, That
M. Attilius was taken priſoner in Affricke: as if *M. Attilius* forſooth at his firſt arrivall in Affricke,
 had caught that harme and heavie miſfortune. But hee never remembreth and calleth to mind,
 how that even the very ſame captaine, as infortunate as he was, yet found the baies open ynough
 into Affricke: and the firſt yeere, bare himſelfe right valiantly and victoriously; and for any hurt
 from Carthaginian captaines, continued invincible unto the end. You ſhall never therefore
 feare mee with this example ſo much, (were it ſo, that the calamitie you ſpeake of, happened
 in this warre, and not in the former; of late, and not fortie yeeres agoe) that I ſhould give over
 my intended purpoſe, and not faile into Affricke now, becauſe *Regulus* there was taken pri-
 ſoner: as well as I paſſed before into Spaine, whereas the *Scipions* chaunced to bee killed.
 Or that I ſhould ſuffer, that *Xanthippus* the Lacedemonian was borne into this world more hap-
 pie for Carthage, than my ſelfe for Italie: but rather, that thereby I ſhould think the better of my
 ſelfe, conſidering that the vertue of one onely man can be of ſuch conſequence and ſo great ef-
 feet. But we ought (you ſay) to conſider the example of the Athenians, who leaving the warre at
 home in their owne countrie, paſſed over into Sicilie unadviſedly. Seeing you are aſo good lei-
 ſure to tel tales & report the fabulous ſtorie of Greece, why diſcouſe you not rather of *Agatha-*
cles the king of the Syracuſians? who ſeeing that Sicilie a long time was troubled and vexed with
 the Punicke warre, ſailed over into the ſelfeſame Affricke whereof wee ſpeake, and withdrew the
 warre thither from whence it came? But what need I to inſtruct and teach you by rehearſing old
 and forraine examples, how materiall a thing it is and important, to begin with an enemy firſt,
 and put him in feare; and by bringing another into danger, to remove the perill from our ſelves?
 Can there bee a preſident found more pregnant, more preſent and freſh in memorie to prove
 and enforce this point, than *Annibal* himſelfe? A great difference there is betweene the waſting
 and pilling the lands of others, and the ſeeing of our owne burnt and deſtroied. And he which
 giveth the aſſault to endanger another, is ever of more courage than hee that ſtandeth upon his
 owne guard and at defence onely to ſave himſelfe. Moreover, the feare and dread is alwaies grea-
 ter of things unknown unto us: but ſo ſoon as a man is entred into the confines of a forraine coun-
 trie, he may behold and ſee at hand (as well the good as the bad) what may advantage & what
 may endamage the enemies. *Annibal* would never have thought and hoped, that ſo many
 States in Italie would have revolted unto him, as they did upon the overthrow at Cannæ. How
 much leſſe account then may the Carthaginians make of anything in Affricke, to remaine ſaſt
 and aſſured unto them; who are fickle allies to ſtrangers, without all truth and fidelitie; proud lords
 and intollerable tyrants over their owne ſubjects, full of wrath and crueltie? Over and beſides,
 we (albeit we were forſaken and abandoned of all our confederates) ſtood alwaies upon our owne
 forces, and maintained our ſelves with meeſe Roman ſoldiours; whereas in Carthage they have
 no ſtrength of natural citizens: the ſoldiours that they have, are mercenaries al & waged for monie;
 partly Aſiaticanes, and partly Numidians, the moſt unconſtant nations of all others by nature, and
 apteſt to entertaine changes and innovations. Let me have no ſtay and hinderance in this place
 onely; yee ſhall heare newes at one time, That I am ſet over in Affricke, that all the countrie there
 is up in a broile; that *Annibal* is readie to diſlodge and remove out of theſe parts; and alſo that
 Carthage it ſelfe is beſieged. Expect you daily out of Affricke better and luckier tidings, yea, and
 oftener than yee heard out of Spaine. Theſe hopes of mine, I ground upon the fortune of the
 people of Rome: upon the juſtice of the gods, witneſſes of the league broken by the enemies;
 upon *Syphax* and *Ataniſſa*, both kings, whoſe truth and fidelitie I will truſt ſo farre forth
 as I find them, and ever ſtand in feare and doubt of their falſhood and trecherie. Many things
 there are now, that by diſtance of place appeare not, which warre once begun will ſoone diſco-
 ver. And this is a ſpeciall point of a man indeed, and of a good captain, in no caſe to be wanting
 unto fortune when ſhe offereth her ſelfe, but to take all vantage that ſhe giveth: and thoſe acci-
 dents and occurrences which fal by chance, to make uſe of them: yea & by wiſdome and counſell
 to frame them to his owne purpoſe and deſignes. True it is, o *Fabius*, I ſhall have *Annibal* to
 beard and to match mee; a ſouldiour, I confeſſe, as good every way as my ſelfe: but I will rather
 draw

A draw him after me, than hee ſhall keepe mee backe at home. Force him I will to fight in his owne
 countrie, and Carthage ſhall bee the price of my victorie, rather than the decayed peeces, and
 halfe runate petie cattles of the Brutij. Only provide, o *Fabius*, that in the meane time whiles
 I am at ſea in my voyage, whiles I am landing mine armie in Affricke, whiles I approach Carthage
 with a running camp, the Common-weale ſuſtaine no harme and damage heere at home. See to
 this, I ſay, and be well adviſed, that it be not a ſhamefull reproch to ſay, That *P. Licinius* the Con-
 ſull, a man of ſingular valour (who becauſe he is the high prieſt, and by vertue therof, not to ab-
 ſent himſelfe from the ſolemne celebration of ſacrifices and divine ſervice, was content and wil-
 ling, that the charge of ſo diſtant a province ſhould not befall unto him by caſting lots) is not
 able to performe that, now when *Annibal* is halfe defeated, and his heart almoſt broken, which
 your ſelfe was ſufficient to effect, when *Annibal* ſquared it out, and braved all Italie like a conque-
 rour. But ſet the caſe, and ſuppoſe and ſay, that by this courſe which I meane to take, the warre be
 never the ſooner brought to an end: yet ſurely it were for the honor of the people of Rome, and
 for the reputation and name which they have among forrain princes and States abroad, that they
 may ſee and know, that our hearts ſerve us, not onely to defend Italie, but alſo to offend Affricke.
 And that it might be neither thought and beleaved, nor ſpoken and noiſed abroad in the world,
 how no Roman captaine durſt adventure that which *Annibal* hath already dared and done: and
 when as in the former Punicke war, when all the quarrell was for Sicilie, our armies and armadaes
 ſo often aſſailed Affricke; now that Italie is in queſtion, Affricke ſhould lie ſtill, and be at reſt. Nay
 rather let Italie be at repoſe and quiet now at laſt, after ſo long travell and affliction, & let Affricke
 C in her turne bee fired and forraied another while. Let the Romane campe bee pitched, rather un-
 der the very walls and gates of Carthage, than wee ſee once againe from our walls the trench and
 rampier of our enemies, to inveſt our cittie. Let Affricke be the ſet place and ſeat of the war, let
 fright and flight, forraying and harrying of countries, revolt and rebellion of allies, and all other
 inconveniences and enormities that follow war, which have lien heave upon us theſe fourteene
 yeeres, turne from us thither. It ſhall content and ſuffice mee to have ſpoken as touching State-
 matters and the Commonweale, of the warre preſently in hand; and concerning the provinces
 and their government, now in queſtion and conſultation. For it would require a long and tedious
 diſcouſe, and the ſame impertinent altogether unto you, if as *Fabius* hath deſaced and de-
 praved mine acts in Spaine, ſo I likewiſe ſhould diſgrace him and diminith his glorie, and ſet out
 D my ſelfe and mine owne reputation with goodly and magnificall words. But my LL. I will do nei-
 ther the one nor the other. And if in nothing els, yet at leaſtwiſe, yong man as I am, I will in mo-
 deſtie and government of my tongue, goe beyond him as old and auncient a perſonage as he is.
 Thus have I lived, & thus have I carried my ſelfe in all mine actions, that without blaſing of mine
 owne praifes, I can ſoone content my ſelfe with that good opinion which you of your ſelves have
 conceived and entertained of me.

Scipio had audience given him, with leſſe indifference and patience, becauſe it was common-
 ly voiced abroad, That if the Senate would not graunt him to have the province and empreſe
 of Affricke, he would immediately propound and put it to queſtion before the people. Where-
 upon *Fulvius*, a man that had bene foure times Conſull and Cenſor beſides, required the
 E Conſull to ſpeake his mind openly before the Senate, whether he would referre it unto the LL.
 there aſſembled, to determine of the provinces, and ſtand to that which they ſhould ſet down, or
 preterre the thing unto the people. When *Scipio* had made anſwere againe and ſaid, That hee
 would doe that which might be good and expedient for the ſervice of the Commonweale; then
Fulvius replied upon him and ſaid: I demaund not this queſtion to you, as ignorant what either
 you would anſwere, or what you meant to doe. For I know full well, and you pretend no leſſe your
 ſelfe, that you doe but ſound the Senate, and ſeele rather how they are inclined, than to ſtand to
 any adviſe of theirs in good ſadneſſe. And in caſe wee doe not preſently graunt you the province
 according to your deſire, you have a bill framed already to preſent unto the bodie of the people
 and Communalitie. And therefore (quoth he) my maſters, yee that are Tribunes, I require your
 F aid and aſſiſtance, in that I forbear to ſpeake unto the point and deliver mine opinion; in this re-
 gard, becauſe I know that the Conſull will not approve & ratifie the ſame, howſoever the whole
 houſe ſhould go with me, and allow my ſentence. Hereupon aroſe ſome braule & debate among
 them, whiles the Conſull urged and enforced this point eſpecially, and ſaid, It was againſt all rea-
 ſon and equite, that the Tribunes ſhould enterpoſe their authoritie, and not permit every Sena-
 tor

tour being requested to speake in his turne, for to deliver his mind and opinion. Then the Tribunes made a decree in this manner, If the Consull be content that the Senate shall determine of the Provinces, we will and commaund, that all men rest in that which the Senate shall ordeine and judge: neither will we suffer the same to be propounded unto the people: but if he be not content nor yeeld thereto, then we will assist him who shall refuse to speake to the matter. Then the Consull requested a daies respite to conferre with his Colleague, and so the morrow after he condescended to put all to the censure of the Senate. And in this wise were the provinces distributed and appointed: Vnto one of the Consuls Sicilie was assigned, and thirtie ships of warre, with brasse beake heads (even the same that *C. Servilius* the yeere before had the charge of) with commissiō also to passe over into Affrick, if he thought it were for the good of the Commonwealth. The other Consull had the government of the Brutij, and the managing of the warre against *Anniball*, with the power of that armie which *L. Veturius* or *Q. Caelius* had under their hand: & decreed it was that they two, namely, *L. Veturius* & *Q. Caelius*, should either cast lots, or agree between themselves who should remaine still in the Brutians country, to follow the warres there, with those two legions which the Consull left: and that whether of them chanced to have that province, his government should be prorogued and continued for another yeere. The rest of the Pretors also and Consuls, who were to governe any province, or to have the conduct of armies, had their commissions renewed and sealed againe for a longer terme. Now it fell to *Q. Caelius* his lot, to make warre together with the Consull, against *Anniball* in the Brutians country.

After this, ensued the games and playes of *Scipio*: which were exhibited and set forth, with great concourse of people, and exceeding applause and affectionate favour of the beholders. *M. Pomponius Matho*, and *Q. Catulus* were sent as Embassadors unto Delphos, to cary thither an offering and stately gift of the bootie and pillage of *Asdruball*: who presented there a crowne of gold weighing two hundred pound: also certaine counterseits resembling the spoiles, which were made of silver, amounting to a thousand pound weight. *Scipio* when he could nor get leave graunted to levie souldiers and take musters, which he greatly forced not of, obtained thus much yet, that he might have with him in his traine voluntarie souldiours: as also receive whatsoever the Allies would contribute and geve toward the building of new ships, because he had passed his word, that the citie should not be charged with setting out an Armada. And first and foremost, the States of Hetruria promised to help the Consull, every one according to their ability. The Carites came off, and graunted to purvey corne and all kinde of victuals for the mariners and sailors: the Populonians to provide yron: the Tarquinians to finde saile-cloth: the Volaterrans to send all tackling & furniture belonging to ships, and also corne: the Arretines to conferre thirtie thousand targets; as many murrions or head-peeces, besides javelins, darts, faulchions, launces and pikes, to the full number of fiftie thousand, as many of the one sort as of the other: also axes, spades and mattocks, bills, sithes, hookees, and sickles, meales, troughs and querne mills, as many as would serve to furnish fortie long ships or gallies: of wheate 120000 Modij, and all voyage provision for the Decurions, petie-captaines, Mariners and Ore-men by the way. The Perusines, the Clusines, the Rusellanes offered fire trees for the framing and making of the ships, and a great quantitie of corne. But for this worke, he occupied only the fire hewen out of the publike forests and wasts. All the States of Vmbria, the Nursines also, the Reatines, and Amiternines, and the whole country of the Sabines, made promise to help him to souldiers: the Marsi, the Peligni, and Marrutines, in great number came of their owne free will, and were enrolled to serve at sea in the navie. The Camertes, being allies and confederate to the Romanes, but not tied to any service, sent a brave companie of fixe hundred men well armed. And when as there were set out the keeles or botomes for thirtie ships, twentie Caravels of five course of ores, and ten of foure; himselfe in person plied the carpenters and shipwrights so, and set forward the worke, that 45 daies after the timber was brought out of the wood, the ships were finished, rigged, armed, and furnished with all things, and shot into the water. So to Sicilie he sailed with thirtie long ships of warre, having embarked therein almost seven thousand of voluntarie servitours, *P. Licinius* also for his part, came into the Brutians country unto the two consularie armies, of which he tooke unto him and chose that which *L. Veturius* the Consull had commaunded: and suffered *Metellus* to have the leading still of those legions, which had bene under his conduct before: supposing that he should more easilie employ them in service, because they

A they were acquainted alreadie with his manner of regiment and governance. The Pretours likewise went into their sundrie provinces. And because money was wanting for to defray the charges of the warres, the high Treasurers were commaunded to make sale of all that tract of the Campane countrey, which from the Greeke Fosse extendeth toward the sea. And there was graunted out a commissiō to give notice of those lands: and looke what ground forever belonged to any citizen of Capua, it was confiscate to the use of the people of Rome: and for a reward to him that gave such notice, there was assigned the tenth part of the monie, that the land was rated and priced at. Also *Cn. Servilius* the citie Pretour, had geven him in charge to take order that the Campanes should dwell where as they were allowed to inhabit, by vertue of a decree graunted forth by the Senate, and to punish those that dwelt elsewhere.

B In the same summer *Mago* the sonne of *Amilcar*, being departed from the lesse Balcare Iland, where he abode the winter season, and having embarked a chosen power of yong & lustie men, sailed over into Italie with a flecte of thirtie ships headed with brasse piked beakes, and many hulks of burden: and there he set aland his souldiours, to the number of twelve thousand footemen, and welneere two thousand horse: and with his sodaine comming surprised Genua, by reason that there lay no garisons in those parts to guard and defend the sea coasts. From thence he sailed along, and arrived in the river of the Alpine Ligurians, to see if he could by his comming raise some commotion & rebellion: The * Ingauni (a people of the Ligurians) fortun- * Of Albenga. ned to warre at that present with certaine mountainers the Epanterij. Whereupon *Mago*, having laid up and bestowed safe all the prizes & pillage that he had won in * Savoy, (a towne upon * Pua, or Savona. the Alpes) and left ten ships of warre riding in the river, for a sufficient guard, and sent away the rest to Carthage for to keepe the sea coasts at home, (because there ran a common rumor, that *Scipio* would passe the seas, and over into Affrick) himselfe after he had concluded a league and amitie with the Ingauni (whose favour he more affected and esteemed than the others) set in hand to assaile the mountainers. Besides, his power increased dayly: for that the Frenchmen flocked unto him from all parts, upon the noyle and voyce of his name. Intelligence hereof was geven to the Senate by the letters of *Sp. Lucretius*: who were with these newes exceedingly troubled and perplexed, for feare least they had rejoyced in vaine for the death of *Asdruball*, and the defeature of his armie two yeare before; in case there should arise from thence another warre as great and dangerous as the other, differing in nothing els but the exchange of the Generall.

D And therefore they gave order and direction both to *M. Livius* the Proconsull, to come forward with his armie of Voluntaries out of Tuskanie, into Ariminum: and also unto *Cn. Servilius* the citie Pretour, (if he thought requisite and expedient for the Commonwealth) to commit the two legions of citizens attending about Rome, to whomsoever he pleased, for to be commaunded, and led forth of the citie: So *M. Valerius Lavinius* conducted those legions to Arretium.

About the same time, certaine hulks of the Carthaginians to the number of fourescore, were boured and taken about Sardinia, by *Cn. Octavius*, governor of that province. *Celus* writeth, that they were loden with corne and victuals sent unto *Anniball*. But *Valerius* reporteth, that as they were carying the pillage taken in Hetruria, and certaine prisoners of the Ligurian E mountainers, into Carthage, they were intercepted and surprized by the way. There was no memorable thing that yeere done in the Brutians countrey. The pestilence raigned as well amongst the Romanes as the Carthaginians, and they died thereof alike on both sides. Many the Carthaginian armie, besides the plague, were afflicted also with famine. *Anniball* passed all that sommer time neere unto the temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, where he built and reared an alter, and dedicated it with a glorious title of his worthie acts, engraven in Punick and Greeke letters.

THE XXIX. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the nine and twentieth Booke.



*A*ims Lalius being sent from Scipio out of Sicilie into Africke, brought from thence a huge bootie, and declared unto Scipio the credence and message that hee had from M. Asanissus, who complained of him, that he had not as yet, passed over with his fleet into Africke. The warre in Spaine which Indibilis had raised, was dispatched: himselfe slaine in the field: and M. Andonius was delivered by his owne men into the Romanes hands that demanded him of them. Mago who was in France and Liguria, had out of Africke sent unto him, both a great power of souldiours, and also money to wage aids: with a commission and precept to ioyne himselfe, unto Anniball. Scipio crossed the sea from Saracoe into the Bruttii, and recovered the cittie Locri, after he had discomfited the garrison there, and put to flight Anniball. Peace was concluded with Philip. The goddesse Dame Ideia was brought solemnly to Rome from Pessinus, by occasion of a prophesie, said in the bookes of Sybilla to this effect: That then the forreine enemy might be driven out of Italie, when Dame Cybele of Ida was brought to Rome. And to the Romanes she was delivered by Attalus king of Asia. A thicke stone it was, and nothing else, which the inhabitants called the mother of the gods. P. Scipio Nasica, the sonne of that Cneus who was killed in Spaine, iudged by the Senate a right good man, one that was very young, & had not been yet so much as Questor, was he that received her: for it was by the Oracle imported, that the said goddesse should be received by the best man of the cittie, & so dedicated. The Locrians sent their Embassadors to Rome, to complaine of the outrage and crueltie of Q. Pleminius the Lieutenant: in that he had unrightfully taken away the money consecrated to Proserpina, and unrightfully forced their wives and children. Pleminius was brought bound with chaines to Rome, and there died in prison. There was a false rumour of Pub. Scipio (Pro-consull in Sicilie) and spread as farre as to the citie, that he should spend his time there in riot. Whereupon there were sent certaine messengers from the Senate, far to enquire & see whether these reports were true. And Scipio being cleared from all infamie, by the permission and good leave of the Senate, sailed over into Africke. Syphax affianced and wedded the daughter of Asdruball the sonne of Gisco: and thereupon renounced cleane the amitie which he had contracted with Scipio. M. Asanissus the king of the M. Asyrians, while he served in the warre in defence of the Carthaginians quareled within Spaine, after he had lost his father Gala, was withal, disesteemed of his kingdom. And when he had often times sought to recover it againe by warre, he was in certaine battailes vanquished by Syphax king of the Numidians, and utterly deprived of his roiall dignitie. So with two hundred horsemen he ioynd as a banished person with Scipio: and with him, immediately in the first battaile, he slew Hanno the sonne of Amilcar, together with a great number of his men. Scipio upon the coming of Asdruball and Syphax, who were almost one hundred thousand strong, was compelled to breake up the siege of Utica: and so he fortified a standing campe for winter habitation. Sempronius the Consull had anfortunate battaile against Anniball in the territorie of Croton. The Consuls held a solemn review and purging of the cittie, and numbered the people: in which survey taken, there were assayed in their bookes 225000 citizens. Betwene the two Consuls, M. Lanius and Claudius Nero, there fell out a notable discord: for C. Claudius took from Lanius (companion with him in office) his horse of service: for that hee had bene sometimes condemned by the people of Rome, and driven into exile. And Lanius againe did the semblable by him, because he had bene false witness against him, and not dealt bona fide with him, considering the reconciliation betwene them, wherein they seemed to be made good friends againe. The same Lanius left all the tribes but one, disfranchised, and caused them to pay tribute as no denizens, for that they had both condemned him being innocent, and also made him a Consull and Consul afterwards.

Scipio

A



*S*cipio after he was arrived in Sicilie, disposed his voluntarie souldiours in order, and enroled them by Centuries. Over and besides them, he had about him three hundred lustie tall fellows, for the floure of their age & strength of bodie, the bravest men of all others: but they wist not themselves for what purpose they were reserved; being neither assigned to any colours under a captain, nor so much as armed at all. Then he made choise from out of the whole manhood and youth of Sicilie, three hundred men of armes, such as for birth and wealth, were the very principall and best in all the Iland, who were to passe over with him into Africke: and he appointed them a day, upon which they should all present themselves in readinesse, furnished like to be yrkesome unto them, and to bring with it much trouble, many difficulties and daungers, as well by sea as land. The consideration and feare hereof, mightily disquieted not onely the parties themselves, but also their parents and kinsfolke. Now when the day appointed was come, they shewed their horses and armour. Then Scipio made a speech unto them & said, That he was given to understand, that certeine Sicilian horsemen stood in great feare & dread of this soulderie, as being a fore and painfull peece of service: In case then (quoth he) there bee any of you so minded and disposed indeed, I had rather you would now presently be known thereof unto me, and confesse at once, than hereafter to whine and complaine, and so to prove lazie lubbers and unprofitable souldiours to the common-wealth. And therefore utter your minds in plaine tearmes, and I will be content to heare you without offence. Whereupon, when as one of them tooke a good hart & said flatly, That if it lay in his choise freely to do what he would, he was altogether unwilling to serve: then Scipio answered him again in this maner, For as much as (my youth) thou hast not dissimuled thy hearts griefe, but spoken out what thou thinkest, I will soon depure one in thy turne, unto whom thou maist deliver thy armour, thy horse, and other furniture of warfare, and whom thou shalt forthwith have home with thee, there to traine, teach, and exercise him, after thou hast given him thy horse and armour. The young man was glad hereof, and accepted the offer upon that condition: and so he assigned unto him one of those three hundred above said, whom he kept about himselfe unarmed: When the rest saw that horseman in this manner discharged of his service, and that with the favour and good will of the L. Generall: every man then began to speake for himselfe, & to make excuses, and tooke others in their stead. Thus for the three hundred Sicilians, were substituted as many Romane horsemen, without any expenses at all of the state. And the Sicilians themselves had the charge of instructing & training them up. For the Generall had made an edict and proclamation, That whosoever did not so, should serve himselfe in person. This proved by report, a brave cornet of horsemen above the rest; and in many battailes performed right good service to the common-weale. After this, hee tooke a survey of the legions or footmen: and all those who had borne armes longest in the wars he selected forth, especially such as had bene employed under the conduct of Marcellus. For those he well wist to have bin brought up under the best discipline of warfare, & also by reason of the long siege of Saracoe, to be most skilful in assaulting of cities. For now they were no smal matters that hee had in his head, but he plotted even the very destruction and ruine of great Carthage. After this, he divided his armie and placed severall forces in sundrie townes. The cities of Sicilie hee enjoyed to provide corne; hee made spare of that which was brought out of Italie; the old ships he newly repaired and rigged, and with them he sent Lilius into Africke for to prey upon the countrie and fetch in prizes; the new which rid at Panormus hee drew up to land, that they might all winter long lie upon drie ground, and be seasoned, because they were made in haist of greene timber. When he had prepared all things necessarie for warre, hee came to the cittie of Saracoe, which as yet was not in good order and well quieted, since the great troubles of the late warres. For the Greekes made claime for their goods, granted unto them by the Senat of Rome, which certaine of the Italian nation deteined and withheld from them by the same violence, wherewith in time of warre they had possessed themselves thereof. He supposing it meete and requisite, to mainteine above all things, the credit of the state; partly by vertue of an edict & commandement, and partly by a civill course and processe of law against such as were obstinate and avowed their wrongs done, hee forced them to make restitution to the Syracusians. This act of his, pleased not onely them, but also all the states of Sicilie; and therefore they were more

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willing and forward to helpe him in the warres.

The same summer there arose in Spain great troubles, raised by the meanes of *Indibilis* the Ilergete, for no other occasion or reason in the world, but because in regard of the high admiration of *Scipio*, all other captaines besides whatsoever, were but despised. Him they supposed to be the onely Generall that the Romanes had left, now that all the rest were slaine by *Anniball*. And hereupon it was (thought they) that when the two *Scipios* were killed, they had no other to send into Spaine but him: and afterwards, when the wars grew hot in Italie, he was the onely man sent for over, to match with *Anniball*. And over and besides that, the Romanes had now in Spaine no captaines at all, but in bare name & shew: the old experienced armie also was from thence withdrawn. All things are out of frame, and in great confusion, and none there, but a disordered sort of raw freshwater soldiours. And never they looked to have again the like occasion and opportunitie to recover Spaine out of their hands. For hitherto they had been ever in subjection to that day, either to the Carthaginians or the Romanes, and not alwaies to the one or the other, by turns, but otherwhiles to both at once. And like as the Carthaginians have beene driven out by the Romanes, so may the Romanes bee expelled by the Spaniards, if they would hold together. So that in the end Spaine being freed from all forraine warre, might be restored for ever to the ancient customes and rights of the countrie. With these and such like suggestions and discourses, hee solicited and raised not onely his owne subjects and countriemen, but the Ausitanes also, a neighbour-nation, yea, and other States and citties that bordered upon his and their confines; so as within few daies there assembled together into the territorie of the Sederanes (according to an edict published abroad) thirte thousand foot, and fast upon foure thousand horsemen.

The Romane captaines likewise for their part, *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, least by neglect of the first beginning, the warre might grow to a greater head, joined their forces together, and marching through the countrie of the Ausitanes, as peaceably as if they had ben friends, (notwithstanding they were knowne enemies) came to the very place where they were encamped, and pitched themselves within three miles of the enemies. At the first they assailed by way of Embassage to deale with them, and to perswade them to lay aside all armes and hostilitie: but they laboured in vaine. Afterwards, when as the Spanish horsemen gave charge suddenly upon certaine Romanes that were a foraging, the Romanes also sent out from their Stations and corps de guard, their Cavallerie to rescue: so the horsemen skirmished, but no memorable act to speake of, was effected on the one side or the other. The next morrow by sun rising, the enemies all shewed themselves armed and in order of battell, and braved the Romanes within a mile of their campe. The Ausitanes were marshalled in the maine battaile; the Ilergetes in the right point, and certaine other Spanish nations of base & meane account in the left: between both those wings and the battell, of either hand they left certaine wide and void places, whereas when the time served they might put forth their horsemen. The Romanes having embattailed and put themselves in array after their old and usuall manner, yet in this one thing followed the example of the enemies, in leaving out certaine open waies between the legions for the men of armes to passe through. But *Lentulus* supposing, that the use of the horse service would be advantageous to that part, which first should send out their Cavallerie into the battaile of the enemies, that lay so open with spaces betweene, gave commaundement to *Ser. Cornelius* a knight Marshal or Tribune, to will and charge the Cavallerie to set to with their horses, and to enter those open lanes betweene the enemies battaillons. And himselfe having sped but badly in beginning the fight with footmen so rashly, staid no longer, but untill hee had brought the thirteenth legion, (which was set in the left wing opposite to the Ilergetes) out of the reeward into the vaward, for to succour and strengthen the twelfth legion, which already began to shrinke and give ground. After that once the skirmish there was equall and fought on even hand, hee advanced forward to *L. Manlius*, who in the forefront of the battell was busie in encouraging his men, and sending supplies and succours into all parts where hee saw needfull: shewing unto him, that all was well and hole in the left point, and that he had sent out *Cornelius*, who with his horsemen, would like a tempestuous storme come upon them, and soon overcast and bespread the enemies round about. The word was not so soon spoken, but the Roman horsemen were ridden within the thickest of the enemies, and not onely disordered the arraies and companies of the footmen, but also at once shut up the waies and passages, that the Spaniards could not make out with their horsemen.

A horsemen. And therefore the Spaniards leaving to fight on horsebacke, alight on foot. The Romane Generals seeing the ranks and files of the enemies disarrayed, themselves in fright and feare, and their ensignes waving up and downe every way; fell to exhorting, yea, to entreating of their owne infanterie, to recharge them with all their force, whiles they were thus troubled and disbanded, and not suffer them to come into order, and reenforce the battell againe. And surely the barbarous people had never beene able to abide their violent impression, but that *Indibilis* himselfe their prince and lord, together with the men of armes that were now dismounted on foot, made head against the ensignes of the footmen in the vaward. Whereupon ensued a sharpe and cruell fight for a good while. At length, when as they that fought about their prince (who first, although hee were halfe dead, yet stood his ground, and afterwards with a javeline was nailed to the earth) were overwhelmed with darts, and slaine; then they began to flie on all hands: but the greater number were killed in the place, because both the horsemen had no time nor space to recover their horses, and mount upon them againe, and also the Romanes pressed so hotely upon them after they were once discomfited, and never gave over, untill they had stript the enemies quite out of their campe. So there died that day thirteene thousand Spaniards, and well neere eight hundred were taken prisoners. Of Romanes and Allies, not many more than two hundred left their lives behind them, and those especially in the left point. The Spaniards, that either were driven out of their campe, or escaped out of the battaile, first ran scattered and dispersed over the fields, and afterwards returned every man to his owne cittie where hee dwelt.

C Then *Mandonius* summoned them to a generall counsell: where they all bewailed their calamities and miseries, greatly blamed the authors of the warre, and agreed in the end to send their Embassadors to give up their armes, & to yeeld their bodies. These having excused themselves and laid the whole fault upon *Indibilis* and the rest of the Princes who were the stirrers of the war, and were for the most part slaine themselves for their labour in the field, yeelded up their armour and themselves, and received this answer from the Romanes: That they should bee received to mercie, and their submission accepted, if they would deliver alive into their hands *Mandonius* and the rest that were the breakers of peace. Otherwise, they threatened to lead their forces into the territories of the Ilergetes and Ausitanes, and so forward, of the other nations their complices in that rebellion. With this answer the Oratours departed, and related the same in the council assembled. Where *Mandonius* and the rest of their lords were apprehended and delivered to the Romanes for to be punished and executed accordingly. So the States of Spaine obtained peace againe: and a double tribute for that year was imposed upon them, and they enjoined to provide corne to serve the armie sixe months, besides souldiours liveries, short coats, and side caskes: and they received hostages welneere of thirte cities. Thus the troubles and rebellions of Spaine being begun and ended after this manner, without any great ado within few daies, all the force of the warre turned upon Affricke.

C. *Laelius* being arrived in the night at Hippo Roiall, by the breake of day, led forth with banner displayed in order of battell, all his souldiours and mariners, for to harrey and spoile the countrie. And finding the inhabitants there retchlesse and carelesse, and living in securitie as in time of peace, they did much hurt and annoied them sore. Whereupon the newes went in post to Carthage, set all on a hurrie, and put them in exceeding great feare. For it was reported, that the Romane armada was arrived, and that *Scipio* the Generall was landed (for the rumor ran before, how he was passed over alreadie into Sicilie.) And because they neither desiered the ships, nor discovered certainly what power of men invaded and spoiled the countrie, they thought the most and doubted the worst, as fear commonly maketh every thing more than it is. And so at first they were only affrighted and terrified; but afterwards they grew melancholike and troubled in spirit in these tearmes, to think, That fortune should so much be chaunged, that they, who but a while before as noble conquerours, had lien encamped with an armie before the walls of Rome, defeated so many hosts of enemies, and either by fine force or meere love, held all the States of Italie under their signorie, should now themselves see the wheele so turne about, as they were like shortly to behold the wasting and spoiling of Affricke, & the citie of Carthage besieged: a thing that they were never able to endure with that valour & resolution, nor to abide with such strength as the Romanes had. For the Romanes had ever the Commons of Rome; they had alwaies the youth of Latium readie at hand; who still increased more and more the new fire, and daily

grew in number to make supplie, & to repaire and furnifh out ſo many armieſ that were deſeited, G
 Vheras, their naturall people were neither in towne nor countrie ſit for ſervice, their aidſ were
 waged & hired for mony from among the Africaneſ, a nation like to turn upon any accident, & to
 change with every gale and puffe of vain hope, & were beſides falſe & unfaithfull in their promiſe.
 For now the kingſ alreadie *Syphax* and *Maſaniſſa*, the one upon conference with *Scipio* iſ ſe-
 credly alienated from uſ in hart, and the other openly revolted in action, and become our moſt
 deadly enemy: ſo that, there remaineth neither help nor hope for uſ at all in any place. For nei-
 ther *Mago* iſ able in Gaule to make any commotions and rebellion, nor yet to joyne with *Anniball*.
 And as for *Anniball* himſelf, he weareth apace, and decaieſh daillie both in fame & reputati-
 on, and alſo in ſtrength & forcible meanes. When their mindſ being thus diſquieted upon thoſe
 freſh & preſent tidings, they were fallen to bewaile & lament their wofull ſtate, the inſtant danger
 recalled them againe to conſult by what meanes they might withſtand the imminent perils. So
 they thought good to take muſters in all haſt both in the citie and the countrieſ by, to ſend ſome
 to levie and wage the aidſ of the Affricaneſ, to fortiſie their citie, to bring in ſtore of graine, to
 provide weapons and armor, to rig their navie, and to ſend it out to Hippo, for to encounter the
 Romane Armada. Whiles they were deviſing theſe courſes, there came at laſt a poſt with newes,
 that it was *Lelius* and not *Scipio* who waſ ſet aſhore; that there waſ landed no greater power than
 for to make rodes into the countrie for bootieſ only: and as for the maine ſtrength of the whole
 armie, it remained ſtill in Sicilie. So they had ſome reſpit to breath themſelves, and began to
 addreſſe their Embaſſieſ to *Syphax* and to other Princeſ, for to eſta bliſh and confirme peace and
 league betweene them. They diſpatched otherſ alſo to *Philip*, who ſhould make promiſe unto
 him of two hundred talentſ of ſilver, in caſe he would take the ſeaſ and paſſe over either into
 Sicilie or Italie. Meſſengerſ alſo were ſent aſ farre aſ into Italie unto their owne Generallſ ſerving
 there, to will them to raiſe what troubleſ they could poſſibly, for to keepe *Scipio* a worke, and hold
 him back from coming into Africk. And unto *Mago* were ſent not only thoſe meſſengerſ
 aforeſaid, but alſo five and twentie long ſhipſ of warre, fixe thouſand footemen, eight hundred
 horſemen, ſeven Elephants, and great ſtore of treaſure beſides for to hire aidſ, whereby he
 might advance forward with hiſ forceſ neerer to Rome, and joyne with *Anniball*. Theſe prepa-
 rationſ were making, and theſe courſes deviſing at Carthage, when aſ *Maſaniſſa* upon the bruit
 that went of the arrivall of the Romane ſceere, began to ſtart up and rouſe himſelfe; and accom-
 panied with ſome few horſemen, came unto *Lelius*, buſy in driving ſtill great bootieſ out of the
 countrie, which he found altogether diſfurniſhed of armour, and unprovided of guardſ and
 garriſonſ for defence. He much complained that *Scipio* waſ ſo ſlack in hiſ affairſ, and grieved
 that he had not paſſed over ere this time with an armie into Africk, whiles the Carthaginians
 were thus affrighted, whiles *Syphax* waſ troubled with the warreſ of the bordererſ: of whom he
 waſ thus much perſuaded, that if he might have reſting time to compoſe hiſ owne affairſ to hiſ
 mind, he would not continue faſt unto the Romanes, nor deale in any thing faithfullly & ſoundly
 with them: willing him to ſolicit *Scipio*, yea and to ſpur him on and importune him not to ſtand
 longer at a bay and make delaieſ. And for hiſ owne part, notwithstanding he were diſſeaſed of
 hiſ fatherſ kingdome, yet he would be readie to aſſiſt him with ſuch a power of foote and horſe
 aſ were worth god amercy: adviſing *Lelius* withall not to make any longer ſtay in Africk, for aſ
 much aſ he beleevved verily, that there waſ a ſceete alreadie ſet out from Carthage, with which in
 the abſence of *Scipio*, he might not with ſaferie enter into conſlict and battaile. After this com-
 munication, *Maſaniſſa* waſ diſmiſſed, and *Lelius* the next day loſed from Hippo, with hiſ ſhipſ
 laden with pillage and priſeſ: and being returned into Sicilie, declared unto *Scipio* the counſell
 and credence that he had from *Maſaniſſa*.

About the very ſame time thoſe ſhipſ which were ſent from Carthage to *Mago*, coaſting
 along the Albignanniſ and the Ligurianſ, arrived at Genua. It fortun'd that *Mago* at that time,
 lay with hiſ ſceete in thoſe partſ: who upon the wordſ of the meſſengerſ, and the commiſſion to
 raiſe aſ great forceſ aſ poſſibly he could, immediatly held a counſell of the Frenchmen and Li-
 gurianſ; for of both nationſ there were great numberſ in thoſe coaſtſ. Where before them all
 he declared how he waſ ſent unto them for to ſet them at libertie: and how (aſ they might ſee
 themſelves) to that effect he waſ furniſhed with new aid and ſuccour from home. But what for-
 ces, and how great an armie waſ needfull for the managing of the war in hand, it lay in them to
 determine. Aſ for himſelfe, firſt and formoſt he knew full well, that there were two Romane ar-
 mieſ

A mieſ abroad, the one in France, the other in Tuſcane: and that *Sp. Lucretiuſ* would joynt with
M. Liviuſ: and therefore they themſelves were to put many a thouſand in armes, for to make
 head againſt two Generallſ, and two compleat armieſ of Romanes. The Frenchmen made an-
 ſwere again, That their will waſ good enough, and they had an exceeding deſire to compaſſe and
 effect the deſignement intended: but for aſ much aſ the Romanes had one camp within their
 confines, and another in Tuſcane neere adjoining, and in mainer within ſight; if peradventure
 they ſhould be ſcene in the action to aid the Carthaginians; incontinently both armieſ, aſ well
 the one aſ the other would in all manner of hoſtilitie invade their territorieſ: and therefore they
 requested him to deſire of the Gaulſ ſuch thingſ, wherein they might ſtand him in ſteed ſecretly
 under hand. Aſ for the Ligurianſ, becauſe the Romanes lay far enough off encamped from
 B their landſ and citieſ, they might diſpoſe well enough of themſelves aſ they liſt: and therefore it
 waſ good reaſon that they ſhould put their young and able men in armes, and beare a part in the
 managing of the warre. The Ligurianſ reſuſed not. Only they craved reſpit of two monethſ, for
 to take the muſters. In the meane time *Mago*, having ſent away the Gaulſ, cloſely took up
 and preſt ſouldiourſ throughout their countrey townſ for money. And from the Stateſ of
 France, there waſ ſent ſecretly proviſion of victualſ of all ſortſ unto him.
Marcuſ Liviuſ led hiſ armie of Voluntarieſ out of Tuſcane into France, and having united
 hiſ forceſ unto *Lucretiuſ* hiſ power, waſ readie to receive and welcome *Mago*, if haply he remo-
 ved out of the Ligurianſ countrey neerer to the citie of Rome: but in caſe *Mago* kept himſelfe
 quiet in a corner under the Alpes, he minded alſo himſelfe there to keepe hiſ ſtanding leaguer
 C about Ariminum, for the guard and defence of Italie.

After the returne of *C. Leliuſ* out of Africk, both *Scipio* waſ prick'd forward by the inſtiga-
 tionſ and perſuaſionſ of *Maſaniſſa*: and alſo hiſ ſouldiourſ, ſeeing great prizeſ brought out
 of the enemyſ land, and every ſhip freight therewith; were mightily incenſed and ſet on fire
 with a burning deſire to be transported over thither with all ſpede poſſible. But aſ they were
 plotting about this enterpriſe of greater importance, they thought alſo upon a leſſer that
 came betweene, namely, the winning againe of the citie of Locri, which in the generall
 revolt of all Italie, had ſided alſo with the Carthaginians. The firſt hope that they con-
 ceived both to affect and effect this enterpriſe, grew upon a very ſmall matter: by occaſion
 that in the Brutianſ countrey, the whole manner of ſervice waſ performed by way of rob-
 D bing and roving, rather than by any ordinarie courſe of warre. The Numidianſ firſt be-
 gan, and the Brutij ſoone tooke it up and ſeconded them: not ſo much becauſe they would
 keepe the Carthaginians companie, and do aſ they did; but for that of their owne na-
 turall inclination they were proane, and readie enough to follow that courſe. At laſt the
 Romane ſouldiourſ alſo, infected aſ it were by their example, tooke delight in robberieſ:
 and ſo farre forth aſ they might have leave of their captainſ, would make inrodeſ into the
 territorieſ of their enemyſ. It fortun'd ſo, that when ſome of them were gon abroad a boot-
 haling, certaine Locrianſ were intercepted, and brought away with them to Rhegium. In
 which number of captiveſ, were ſome carpenterſ and malonſ, who aſ it chaunced, were hired to
 worke for the Carthaginians in the caſtle of Locri. Theſe were diſcovered and known by certain
 E greatmen, and the principall citizeſ of the Locrianſ, who hapned then to live aſ baniſhed
 perſonſ in Rhegium: ſuch aſ by the contrarie faction that banded with *Anniball* and had deli-
 vered Locri into hiſ handſ, were driven out of the citie. Theſe men ſell to queſtioning with them
 (aſ commonly their manner iſ, who have bene long out of their owne countie) of many mat-
 terſ, and among the reſt, how all thingſ ſared at home: who told them all accordingly; & there-
 with, put them in ſome good hope, that if they might bee ransomed, ſet at large, and ſent home
 againe, they would betray the caſtle unto them: for aſ much aſ within it they dwelt, & the Car-
 thaginianſ put them in truſt of all thingſ there. They therefore, aſ men that were wonderfull deſi-
 rous to returne thither, aſ well for love of their native countrie, aſ for to bee revenged of
 their adverſarieſ, out of hand paid their ranſome: and after they had given order how to worke
 F the feat, and in what ſort; aſ alſo agreed upon the ſigneſ & tokenſ which they ſhould marke from
 on high aſ farre off, they were ſent backe againe. Then the exiled Locrianſ repaired unto *Scipio* at
 Saracoe, with whom alſo were otherſ of the baniſhed perſonſ of Locri: & there they related unto
 him the promiſeſ of the captiveſ aforeſaid, and put the Conſul in very good hope that the effect
 would bee correſpondent to their deſignement. With them were ſent two Tribuneſ or Mar-
 ſhals,

thals, to wit, *M. Sergius* and *P. Matienus*, with commission to conduct three thousand souldiours from Rhegium to Locri. Letters also were dispatched unto *Q. Pleminius* the Viz-pretour, for to be assistant in this action. Who being departed from Rhegium, and carrying with them scaling ladders, proportioned to the height of the castle wall foretold unto them, about midnight gave a token by fire to those that were to betray the castle, from that place which they had agreed upon: who being in readinesse also, and looking wistly for them, put downe likewise ladders of their owne made, for the purpose; and in many places at once received them that limbed up so as, before there was any alarme heard, they set upon the watch of the Carthaginians, fast a sleepe as they were, and distrusting no such matter: who first were heard to grone as they lay a dying, but afterwards, to make a noise and keepe a running and much adoe, upon their suddaine starting from sleepe, all the whiles that they wist not what the occasion was. At length, upon the discovery of the matter, one man wakened another, and every one called aloud to arme; crying out, that the enemies were within the castle, and the watchmen slaine. And without question, the Romanes had bene put to the worke and defeated quite, being farre fewer in number than the enemies, but that there was an outcrie & shout set up by them that were without the fortresse; which to long as men knew not from whence it came, put them in great feare: & the tumult besides by night made every smal & vain thing much greater than it was. By means wherof, the Carthaginians astonied (as if all places had bene full of enemies) abandoned all fight, and betooke themselves into the other fortresse (for two there were distant not farre asunder.) The townesmen kept possession of the citie, as the prise and guerdon in the mids, for the winners. But out of the two castles there were light skirmishes every day. *Q. Pleminius* was capitaine of the fort and garrison of the Romanes, and *Amilcar* over the Carthaginians: and both parts increased their strength, by aids that they had comming unto them from the places adjoining. Vntill at last *Anniball* thewed himselfe in person: and no doubt the Romanes had never bene able to hold out, but that the whole multitude of the Locrenians fore galled and grieved with the proud government and the covetous polling of the Carthaginians, tooke part with the Romanes. When intelligence came to *Scipio*, that the Romanes were distressed in Locri, and that *Anniball* himselfe was advancing thither: for feare least the garrison also should be in some hazard (as having no readie means to retire from thence) himselfe leaving at Messana his brother *L. Scipio* for the guard of the place, passed over from thence with his vessels downe the water, when he espied the current and the tide together to serve for a fare. Likewise *Anniball* having sent out a vauntcurour from the river Butrotus (which is not farre from the citie Locri) to signifie unto his men, that by day light they should give a hote charge with all their might and maine upon the Locrenians & Romans both, whiles hee himselfe made an assault upon the towne behind, not looking for him, but wholly turned away and amused upon that other tumult. Now when as early in the morning hee found the skirmish begun, he was not willing to put himselfe within the castle, for feare of pestering with over great a companie the place so streight and of so small receipt: and for to skale the walls they had brought no ladders with them. So causing all their carriages and packes to be piled tip in one heape together: hee presented all his footmen in battaile array before the citie, to terrifie his enemies withall: and with the Numidian horsemen hee made a bravado under the wals, and rode about the citie. While the ladders and other ordinance meet to give an assault, were in preparing and making readie, hee approached on horsebacke neere to the wall, for to view on which part above the rest, he might give the assault: and there he was shot with a quarell discharged from an engine called a Scorpion, which hapned to be planted next unto him. And being affrighted at this so dangerous an occurrent, he commaunded to found the retreat, & fortified his campe aloofe without the perill and shot of any dart. Now was the Romane fleet from Messana arrived at Locri, and had the day afore them: so as they were all set a land, and entered the citie before the sunne setting. The morrow after, the Carthaginians began to skirmish out of the castle: and *Anniball* being now provided of ladders, and having all things else in readinesse needfull for the assault, came under the wals: with that, all upon a suddaine the Romanes set open a gate and sallied out upon him, who feared nothing lesse than any such accident: & thus setting upon them at unawares, slew two hundred of them. *Anniball* perceiving that the Consull was there, retired with the rest into the campe: and after hee had sent a messenger to them that were within the castle, willing them to shift for themselves, in the night season hee dislodged and departed. They also who were in the fort, after they had set on fire the houses which were in their

keeping,

A keeping, of purpose by that tumult to cause the enemy to make some stay and tarry behind, ran away in manner of a rout, & before it was night with good footman ship overtook their owne companie. *Scipio* seeing as well this castle quit by the enemy, as their campe also empty, called the Locrenses to a generall assembly, and gave them a sharpe checke, & rebuked them for their revolt. The principall captaines and authours of that trespass hee put to death; and gave away their goods to the chiefe heads of the other faction, in reward and consideration of their singular fidelitie to the Romanes. But as concerning the publicke state of the Locrians, hee said hee would neither make nor medle therewith, either in giving to them, or taking ought at all from them. But willed them to send their Embassadors to Rome, and looke what the Senate would award in equitie, that fortune they should abide. This one thing he was well assured of, that how ill soever they had deserved of the people of Rome, yet they should live in better condition under the signorie of the Romanes, provoked to anger as they were, than they had already under the government of Carthaginians, pretending love and amitie as they did.

Then himselfe in person cut over to Messana with those forces that he brought with him, leaving *Pleminius* his Lieutenant, and that power that woon the castle, in garrison for the defence of the citie. The citizens of Locri had been so proudly misused, and so cruelly handled by the Carthaginians, after they were revolted from the Romanes, that it seemed they could be content to abide any small wrongs, not onely patiently but also willingly, and in manner with a glad heart. But so farre now exceeded *Pleminius*, *Amilcar* the former capitaine of the garrison; so far went the Romane garrison souldiours, before the Carthaginians in wickednesse and avarice, that a man would have thought they had strove together who should passe the other in sinful vice & ungodlinesse, and not in feats of armes and prowess. For neither capitaine nor souldiour forbore to practise upon the poore townesmen any enormous facts, which are wont to make the great and mightie men odious unto the poore and meaner persons. They wrought and committed shameful villanies upon their very bodies; upon their wives and children. And their greedie avarice so farre proceeded; that they could not hold their hands from spoiling and robbing the very religious and sacred temples. Infomuch, as among other holy churches which they polluted, they met even with the rich treasure of *Proserpina*, which had lien still in all ages, and untouched by all others: save onely it was reported to have bene pilled by *Pyrrhus*; who indeed carried away the spoile of her, but hee deerly bought it, and paid full sweetly for that sacriledge. And therefore like as before time the kings ships shaken with tempests, and torne and split with the rage of the sea, brought nothing at all in that wrecke safe to land, but onely that sacred monie of the goddesse, which they had stolen and carried away: even so at this present, the very same monie (but in another kind of calamitie and miserie) brought upon all them that were tainted in that wicked action of robbing the temple, a strange and franticke madnesse; which caused captaine against captaine, and souldiour against souldiour, to fare as if they were starke wood, and enraged as mortal enemies one with another. *Pleminius* had the cheefe rule and commaund of all, As for the souldiours, some were under him, such as himselfe had brought from Rhegium; others were commaunded by the Tribunes or Colonels. Now it chanced that one of *Pleminius* his souldiours had stolne a silver cup out of a townesmans house, and ran away when hee had done; and the owners after him with huy and crie, and fortunated to come in the way, and to meet with *Sergius* and *Matienus* the two Tribunes or Colonels, full in the face. Whereupon the cup was taken from him by the commaundement of the Tribunes; and thence arose first a braile, and some hard words were dealt between; and from them consequently they went to open clamors and loud outcries, untill at length there grew a very fray between the souldiours of *Pleminius* & of the Tribunes: and according as they came still one or other in time to helpe their own side, both the number & the riot increased at once. In the end, *Pleminius* his men went away with the blowes, and moned themselves into *Pleminius*, running to him with open mouth and great indignation, shewing their bloudie wounds: and reporting besides, what opprobrious words to his disgrace had passed against him without spare, in the time of those brawling fits. Hereupon in a great choler & boiling heate of bloud, hee gat him forth of doores in all the hast; convened the Tribunes before him, and commaunded them to be stripped naked, and the rods to be brought forth readie for to scourge them. But whiles there was some time spent in turning them out of their apparell and uncasing them (for they struggled and made resistance, and called to their souldiours for helpe) all at once they came thick about them (for very lustie they were upon their fresh victorie) & ran from

from all places, as if the alarme bell had bene rung against the comming of some enemies. But when they saw once the bodies of their Tribunes tewed with rods, then they fell into farre more furious rage and a very fit of madnesse: and thus incensed as they were, without all regard, not only of the reverent majestie of authoritie, but also of common humanitie, they fell upon the Lieutenant himselfe, after they had most pittiously beaten and evill intreated his Lictours and officers about him. Then having singled him out apart from his ministers & sergents, they cruelly mangled him, cut off his nose, cropt his eares, and left him for dead. Newes hereof came to Messana, and within few daies *Scipio* highed him apace to Locri in a gallie directed with six banks of oares: who after due examination and hearing of the cause between *Pleminius* and the Tribunes, acquit *Pleminius* as innocent, and left him governour of the garrison in that place: but hee judged the Tribunes guiltie as malefactours, and caused them to be bound in chaines for to be sent to Rome unto the Senate: and so he returned to Messana, and from thence to Syracusa. *Pleminius* not able to over-rule his anger, and thinking that *Scipio* had dealt but coldly and negligently in the matter, and made too light of the injurie which hee had received, and not punished the offenders accordingly; and supposing that there was no man els able to make true estimate of the cause, but he that in his owne person had felt the indignitie and hainousnesse thereof; commaunded the Tribunes to be haled before him, and after he had put them to all the cruell torments, that any mans bodie is able to abide, he did them to death: and not satisfied either with their dolorous torture whiles they were quick, nor with taking their lives from them, cast their dead bodies forth into the fields, there to lye above ground unburied. The like crueltie he exercised upon the principall Burgeses of the Locrians, such as he heard say went to *Scipio* for to make complaint of his wrongs and injuries. And looke what foule and shamefull pranks he had plaid afore with his friends and allies, proceeding of lust and covetousnesse; the same now in his fell and furious rage he multiplied and wrought in divers sorts: so as he brought infamie, hatred and obloquie, not onely upon himselfe, but also made the world to thinke hardly, and to speake much shame of the Generall himselfe.

Now drew the time neere of the solemne election of Magistrates; when as there came letters to Rome from *Pub. Licinius* the Consull, the tenure whereof was to this effect: That himselfe and his armie were fore visited with a grievous sicknes: and that he could not possibly have stayed there, but that the violent contagion and influence of the same maladie, if not greater and more grievous, had not assailed the enemies. Seeing that therefore himselfe was not able to come unto the election, hee was minded, if it might so stand with the good liking of the Lords of the Senate, to nominate as Dictatour *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, for to hold the foresaid election. And as for the armie of *Q. Cecilius*, it was for the good of the Common-weale that it should be cassed and discharged, since that there was no employment of them at this present; considering that *Anniball* was retired & readie with his forces into his standing camp, and taken up his wintering harborough: and againe, the pestilence grew so hote in that leaguer of his, that if they were not discharged betimes, there was not one of them like to escape and remain alive. In these points, the LL. of the Senate graunted out their commission unto the Consull, for to doe according as himselfe thought to stand either with his owne credite and trust committed unto him, or the benefit of the Commonweale.

At the very same time there was a certaine religious opinion that had possessed of a suddaine the whole citie, by occasion of a certaine prophesie found in the books of *Sibylla*. When search was made into them and they diligently perused, about the raining of stones, which happened so often that yeare. The Prophesie ran in this forme: At what time soever an enemy of a strange and forraigne countrey, shall happen to make warre upon Italie, hee may bee chased out of Italie and vanquished, if the goddesse dame *Cybele* of Ida, were brought to Rome from Pessinus. This prophesie found by the Decemvirs, moved the Senate the more, for that, the Embassadors also who carried the oblation and present aforesaid to Delphos, related, That as they themselves sacrificed unto *Pysbius Apollo*, all the inwards of the beatt killed for sacrifice, appeared good, and shewed prosperitie: and the Oracle besides gave answer, That there was a farre greater victorie toward the people of Rome than that was, out of the spoiles wherof they brought gifts and offered to the god at this present. And for to make up and fully accomplish these hopes, they alleaged withall, how *P. Scipio* in demaunding the province of Affricke, did presage (as it were) before-hand in his mind the finall end of this warre. To the end therefore, that they might with more speed

A speed obtaine this honourable victorie thus foretoked, and offering (as it were) it selfe, by all luckie offerings of men and Oracles of the gods, they thought and devised some mean to transport the said goddesse to Rome.

The people of Rome in those daies was confedered with no States of Asia: howbeit the LL. calling to mind, how long age, upon occasion of a sicknesse, and to purchase health unto the people, *Aesculapius* was sent for likewise out of Greece, before it was joined with the citie of Rome in any league or societie; and considering withall, that there was some friendship & amitie begun already with king *Attalus* (in regard of the common warre against *Philip*) and that hee would bee readie to doe for the people of Rome, whatsoever lay in his power, they resolved to send unto him an honourable Embassage, to wit, *M. Valerius Levinus*, who had been twice Consull, and had warred in Greece; *M. Cecilius Metellus*, who had ben a Pretour, and *Servius Sulpitius Galba*: likewise an *Aedile*, and two late Questours, *C. Tremelchius Flaccus* and *M. Valerius Falco*. For these five, they assigned five Quinquereemes or Gallies of five rankes of oares, that according to the credite and dignitie of the people of Rome, they should make a voiage into those lands; with whom they were to win a reputation and majestie to the Romane name and State. These Embassadors, as they held on their course toward Asia, so soone as they were put a land at Delphos, repaired directly to the Oracle, for to know what good hope it might affourd unto them; and the people of Rome, of effecting that businesse and commission, about the which they were sent forth. And this answer by report, was returned to them again, That they should obtain their desire, and effectuate their purpose by the meanes of *Attalus* the king: advising them moreover, C That when they had conveyed the said goddesse downe to Rome, they should take order, that the very best man of all others in the citie, should give her lodging and entertainment. But to proceed, to *Pergamus* they came unto the king. Who having courteously received & welcomed the Embassadors, conducted them into Phrygia to Pessinus, and delivered into their hands that sacred & holy stone, which the inhabitants of the countrey said, was the Mother of the gods; and willed them to carrie it to Rome. Then *M. Valerius Falco* was sent backe from the other Embassadors to advertise them at Rome, that the goddesse was comming, and that they should seeke out the best man in all the citie, for to receive and lodge her in his house with all devotion that might be.

Now was *Q. Cecilius Metellus* nominated Dictatour by the Consull in the Brutians countrey, D against the solemne election of the magistrates. His armie was disbanded and cassed, and *L. Veturius Philo* created master of the horse. Then the Dictatour held the Election. In which were chosen Consuls, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* in his absence, who at that time had the government of Greece. After them were elected Pretors, *J. Claudius Nero*, *M. Martius Ralla*, *L. Scribonius Libo*, & *M. Pomponius Matho*. When the Election was finished, the Dictatour resigned up his place of magistracie. The Romane Games were thrice renewed & set forth, and the plaies *Plebeij* seven times exhibited. The *Aediles* of the chaire were *Cn.* and *L. Cornelius Lentuli* both. This *Lucius* governed then the province of Spaine: created he was in his absence, and absent as he was he bare that dignitie. The *Aediles* of the Commons were *T. Claudius Asellus*, and *M. Junius Pennus*. That yeare *M. Marcellus* dedicated the temple of *Virtue*, neere the gate E Capena, the seventeenth yeare after it was vowed by his father at Clastidium in Gallia, during the time of his first Consulship. There died also this yeare a Flamine of *Mars*, namely, *M. Aemilius Regillus*.

For the last two yeares, the affaires in Greece had not bene well followed. *Philip* therefore taking the vantage, that the *Aetolians* were forsaken of the Romanes (the onely aid upon which they trusted) forced them both to sue for peace, and to contract the same under what conditions and capitulations himselfe pleased: which if hee had not made the better hast, all that ever hee could to accomplish in good time. *P. Sempronius* the vice-Consul, sent to succeed *Sulpitius* in the government, had utterly defeated him whiles he waged warre with the *Aetolians*: considering that he was ten thousand foot and a thousand horse strong, and had five & thirtie tall ships of war, headed with brassen pikes before; a power of no small importance, I assure you, to aid and assist his allies. For the said peace was not so soone concluded, but newes came to the king, that the Romanes were arrived at Dyrrhachium; that the Parthines and other neighbour nations, upon hope of change and a new world, began to rise and rebell; and that Dimallum was already besieged and assaulted: for to that citie the Romanes bent their power (in steed of aiding the *Aetolians*

lians unto whom they were sent) upon high displeasure and indignation, that without their advice and consent, yea and against the tenor of the accord and covenant they had made a peace with the king. *Philip* upon these advertisements, for feare least some farther troubles might arise among the nations and states there bordering, tooke long journeis, and sped him apace toward Apollonia. Thither *Sempronius* was retired, after he had sent *Leclorius* his Lieutenant with part of his forces and thirteene ships into *Ætolia*, to visit the country, and to see in what termes they stood, yea and to disturb and breake the peace if possibly he could. *Philip* wasted and spoiled the territories and lands of the Apollonians, and approching the citie with his whole power, bad battaile to *Sempronius* the Romane Generall. But after he saw once that he kept himselfe quiet within the citie, standing only upon his guard and defence of the walls; distrusting also his owne strength, as not able to force the citie by assault: and desirous withall to enterteine peace with the Romanes as well as with the *Ætolians*, if he could; if not, yet at leastwise to have truce with them: without effecting any more (seeing he could but only rub an old sore, and renew cankred malice upon fresh contention and quarell) he returned into his owne realme.

About the same time, the Epirotes weery of long warres, after they had first founded the disposition and mind of the Romanes that way, sent their embassadors unto *Philip*, to treat about a generall and universall peace: affirming, that they had assured hope of an honorable end and agreement, if his highnesse would vouchsafe to come to a parlie with *P. Sempronius* the Romane Generall. And soone they obtained thus much of him, as to passe over into Epirus for the king himselfe was not unwilling thereunto. Now there is a citie in Epirus, named Phœnice: there the king after communication had first with *Eropus*, *Darda*, and *Philippus*, Pretors of the Epirotes, entred into an interview also with *P. Sempronius*. At this soleme meeting and conference, *Aminander* the king of the Athamanes was present, and other Magistrates of the Epirotes and Acarnanes. And first *Philippus* the Pretour began to speake and request, as well king *Philip* as the Romane Generall, to make an end of all warres, and likewise to give the Epirotes leave to do the same. *P. Sempronius* propounded and set downe the articles and conditions of peace in this wise, That the Parthines, Dimallum, Bargulum, and Eugenium, should belong to the Seignorie of the Romanes, notwithstanding that they had obtained of the Senate by their Oratours sent to Rome, to be annexed to the dominion of *Philip* king of Macedonie. When they were agreed for peace upon those capitulations, there were comprised within the league on the kings behalfe, *Prusias* king of Bithynia, the Achæians, the Boeotians, the Thessalians, the Acarnanes, and the Epirotes: and on the Romanes, the Illeses, *K. Attalus*, *Pleauratus*, *Nabis* the Tyrant of the Lacedemonians, the Eleans, the Messenians, and the Atheniens. And hereof were instruments and Indentures ingrossed and sealed, and truce made for two moneths, untill such time as embassadors were sent to Rome, that the people might by their suffrages approve of the conditions in that forme. So all the tribes in generall graunted the same, because the warre now being intended and bent against Affrick, they were willing for the present to be discharged of all other troubles.

P. Sempronius having concluded peace, departed unto Rome for to enter his Consulship. Now when as *M. Cornelius* and *P. Sempronius* were Consuls (which was the 15 yeere of the Punicke warre) the Provinces were assigned unto them in this manner, namely, unto *Cornelius*, *Hetruria* with the old armie: unto *Sempronius* the Brutij, with the new legions that he was to enroll. And to the Pretors in this wise were the Provinces allotted, that *M. Marius* should be lord chiefe Iustice of the citizens pleas, and *L. Scribonius Libo* have the jurisdiction of foreriners, together with the government of Gallia. Item, that *M. Pomponius Matho* should rule Sicilie, and *T. Claudius Nero* sit as L. Deputie in Sardinia. As for *P. Scipio*, his commission was renewed and continued for one yeere longer, with the commaund of that armie and Armada which he had conducted before. Likewise *P. Licinius* had his commission newly sealed, for to have the charge of the Brutians country, with the power of two legions, so long as the Consull thought it good for the Common-weale, that he should remaine in the government of that Province. Also *M. Livius* and *Sp. Lucretius*, with the assistance of those two legions with which they had defended Gallia against *Mago*, continued still in their roume for another yeere. Moreover *Cn. Octavius* remained in place, with commission, that when he had delivered up Sardinia, and the legion there unto *T. Claudius*, himselfe should with fortie long gallies skoure the seas, and guard the coasts along the river, within those bounds and limits, for which the Senat had given order. Vnto *M. Pomponius*

nus the Pretor in Sicilie were appointed the two legions of the Cannian armie. And *T. Quintinus* and *C. Hostilius Tullus* Viz. pretours, were to governe as they did the former yeere, the one Tarentum, and the other Capua; and both of them were allowed the old garisons. As for the government of Spaine, it was put to question before the people, what two Viz. pretours their pleasure was should be sent into that Province. And all the Tribes with one accord gave their graunt, that the same Proconsuls *L. Cornel. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, should sit as governors in those Provinces as the yeere before. The Consuls began now to muster souldiers, as well to enroll new legions for to be sent into the Brutians countrie, as also to supply & fulfill the number of the other armies; according as they were directed by the Senate. And albeit Affrick was not yet openly declared a Province, but dissimuled by the LL. of the Senate, (of purpose I beleieve, that the Carthaginians should have no ynking and intelligence thereof before hand) yet the whole citie was in good hope, and made full reckning that this yeere the warre would be determined and fought out in Affrick, and so an end for ever of those troubles. This perswasion of theirs had possessed their hearts with much superstition: and very forward men were, both to report, and also to beleieve many prodigious and straunge wonders, which dayly were blowne abroad and divulged more and more: To wit, that there were two sunnes seene; that in the night season betwene whiles it seemed day light; that in Setia there was a burning torch or blasing Starre reaching from the East to the West; that in Tarracina the gate; and in Anagnia, as well the gate as the wall in divers parts were blasted and shaken with lightning; lastly, that in the temple of *Iuno Sospita* in Lanuvium, there was a noyse and a C rumbling heard, with an horrible crack. For the expiation and purging of these prodigies, there was a supplication holden for one day: and a novendiall soleme sacrifice was also celebrated, because it had rained stones out of the sky. Besides all this, there was some consultation about the receiving of dame *Idea*. For over and besides that *M. Valerius* one of the embassadors was returned and had brought word that she would be very shortly in Italie, there came a new messenger with tidings, that she was now already at Tarracina. This deliberation (about no small matter, namely, whom they should geve judgement to be the best man simply in the whole citie) held the Senate much amused: considering that every one for his part was more desirous of true victorie, & preeminence in this behalfe, than of any promotions, honors or dignities whatsoever, awarded unto them by the voyces either of Senators or Commoners. In conclusion, they judged *P. Scipio*, the sonne of that *Cn.* who was killed in Spaine, a very young man, and as yet not of full age to be a Questor, the very best man without exception in the whole citie. Vpon what motives of his singular vertues they were induced thus to deeme of him, as I could willingly have delivered unto posteritie, what had ben set down in record by the auncient & first writers of those times: so I wil not interpose mine own conceits, in guessing at a thing which hath lien dead and buried so long time. This *P. Cornelius* was commaunded to go accompanied with all the dames of the citie as far as to Ostia, there to meete the Goddesse, and then to take her forth of the ship, and being once set a land, to deliver her unto the foresaid matrones for to be devoutly caried to the citie. Now when the ship was arrived at the mouth of the river Tyberis, he according as he was directed, went aboard in a pinnace, & launched into the sea: where he took E the goddesse at the Priests hands, & brought her ashore. And the dames which were the noblest and chiefe of the citie, amongst whom, *Claudia Quinta* was the ladie most renowned, received her. This *Claudia*, who before time (as it is reported) was of no better name and fame than she should be, now by this religious and devout ministerie, was for her chastitie and continencie recommended better to posteritie. These women caried this goddesse charily and daintely in their hands, and tooke her by turnes, one in course after another. All the citie came forth by heapes to meete her: and along the streets as she was conveighed, they stood at the dores with censers, making sweet perfumes, & burning frankincense: yea & prayed unto her, that she would willingly enter the citie of Rome, and continue propice and gracious unto it. Thus they transported her into the temple of *Victoria* within mount Palatine, the day before the * Ides of April, which was F alwayes after kept as a festivall holiday. The people with great frequency brought gifts unto Palatium, which they offered unto the goddesse, & solemnized a Lectisternium. And those places called *Megalefia* came up then, and were first instituted.

Now when the Counsell were busie & sat about the supplie of those legions which were in the provinces, there were certaine of the Senatours began to whisper & blow into their heads; That the

* 12. April.
The Plaies called Megalefia.

the time was now come, no longer to abide those things which during the troubles and dangerous daies they made a shift to endure; considering that now at length by the goodnesse of the gods, all feare was past, and the daungers overblowne. At which words the lords of the Senate being in great expectation and attentive to heare out the rest; they went on & said, That those colonies of the Latines, which whiles *Q. Fabius* and *Q. Fulvius* were Consuls, refused to set out souldiours, now almost for six yeares had intermitted their service in the wars, as exempted from warfare altogether, and enjoyed that immunitie as an honour and reward for their good deserts; whereas in the meane time, other loyall and obedient allies, were by mustering every yeare continually, wasted and consumed, in performance of their faithfull allegiance and dutifull service to the Empire of Rome. At this speech, the lords called not so much to mind a thing long forlet and almost worne out of remembrance, as they were provoked to anger and grew very hote; and therefore would not suffer the Consuls to passe any other matter before, but decreed that they should peremptorily convent to Rome the magistrates, and ten principall citizens out of every of these Colonies, to wit, Neper, Sutrium, Ardea, Cales, Alba, Carscoli, Sora, Sueffa, Setia, Circeij, Narnia, and Interamna, (for these were the Colonies touched in that point above-named) and to lay upon them every one a double levie of footmen, to that number and proportion which they were charged with, when they set out most in the service of the Romane warres, ever since that the enemies were come into Italie: besides one hundred and twentie horsemen a peece. And in case any one of those colonies were not able to make up that full number of horsemen, then to allow for every man of armes three footmen. Provided alwaies, that for foote and horse both, such should be chosen and no other, as were most substantiall and of the best havour, and bee sent to what place soever there was need of supplie, even out of Italie. And if any of them refused thus to do, then the Consuls had commission to stay the magistrates and deputies aforesaid, and not to give them audience in the Senate, (although they should require the same) before they had performed those impositions. Moreover those Colonies were enjoined to pay every yeare a tax or tribute; and that there should be raised and levied, one Assie in the thousand, of their substance by the month; and be assessed in those Colonies according to the rate and rule that the Romane Censors should set downe; which they gave order to bee the same that was laid upon the people of Rome: & the information therof to be exhibited & presented at Rome by the sworn Censors of the foresaid colonies, before they went out of their office. By vertue of this Act of the Senate, the magistrates and chiefe men of those Colonies were sent for, & compelled to repaire to Rome: and when the Consuls demanded of them, those souldiours and tribute aforesaid, they began all of them (but some more than others) to refuse and gainsay it; yea and flatly to denie, that so many souldiours could possibly bee made: nay hardly were they able, although they should streine themselves, to furnish the bare single number, according to the usual proportion and old prescript order: requesting and beseeching them, to give them leave to have recourse unto the Senat, and there to make sute for their release: neither have we (say they) so much offended as thus hardly to be used, nor deserved worthily to be undone. And say, we must needs miscarrie and bee cast away; yet neither our offence, nor the wrath of the people of Rome, can force us to find more souldiours than we have. But the Cons. resolute in their purpose, commaunded the Delegates and Committees of those Colonies, to stay stil at Rome, and their magistrates onely to repaire home and take musters: for as much as s(unless the full number of souldiours which was set downe unto them were brought to Rome) there was no Consull there would graunt them audience in the Senat. Thus when all hope was cut off, to have access into the Senate, and to obtaine a release; those twelve Colonies tooke a levie & enrolled the full number. Which was no hard matter to be don, considering how their youth was increased in that time of long vacation and intermission of warfare. There was likewise another matter (by as long silence forlet and well neere quite forgotten) proposed newly againe by *M. Valerius Levinus*: who said, That it was meet and good reason, that those private persons which had credited forth their monies to the common-weale, when himselfe and *M. Claudius* were Consuls, should now at last be satisfied, contented, and paid: neither ought any man to marvaile why he (notwithstanding the cittie were bound for the debt) had a speciall care and regard to call upon them for to have it discharged: for, besides that the Consul for that yeare being, when those lones of money were graunted, was in some sort properly obliged, to see that credit were kept; himself moreover was the very man that made the motion of taking up those monies, in regard that the cittie

chamber

A chamber was so emptie of treasure; and the Commons purses so bare of money, that they were not sufficient to pay the ordinarie tribute. This ouverture made by the Consul, was well taken of the lords, who willed the Consuls to put up this matter to the house: and so they entred an Act and decree, that the said debts should be discharged at three payments; whereof the first should be made presently by the Consuls then in place; the other twain, by the Consuls that wer to succeed in the third and fift yeares next ensuing.

But there fell out one new object and occurrence; that drowned all other cares besides; and wholly possessed the heads of the Senate, by occasion of the miseries and calamities of the Locrians; whereof before that day, they had no knowledge nor intelligence; and now were by the coming of their ambassadors declared & divulged. Neither were the people provoked to choller & anger, so much at the lewd behavior and wicked pranks of *Q. Plummus*, as the slacknes and negligence, or else the partialitie and connivencie of *Scipio* in dealing between them. These Embassadors of the Locrians, ten in number, presented themselves before the Consuls sitting in the open hall called Comitium: clad they were in homely weeds & coarse apparell, looking pale and poore on the matter; and carrying withall in their hands as tokens of humble supplicants, certaine branches of the olive, according to the manner of the Greekes, fell downe prostrate upon the ground before the Tribunal, with pittieous weeping and sorrowfull lamentation. The Consuls demanded who they were: and they made answer againe, That they were Locrians, who had endured at the hands of *Q. Plummus* the Lieutenant, and the Romane souldiours, such indignities, as the people of Rome would not find in their hearts, that the very Carthaginians themselves should suffer and susteine: beseeching them to do them this favour, as to give them leave to have access to the lords of the Senat, there to make their mone and complaine of their wofull distresses. Being admitted into the Senate, and audience given them, then the auncientest man of the companie spake in this wise. Right honourable (my LL.) I know full well (quoth he) how important it would be, & available to the due estimat & weight of our complaints & grievances, in case yee were informed sufficiently and knew the truth, as well in what sort Locri was first betraied unto *Anniball*, as also after what order the garrison of *Anniball* was thence expelled, and the cittie restored againe under your obedience. For, if it may appeare that the trespasses of our revolt, cannot be imputed any way unto the publicke counsell and consent of our cittie; but contrariwise, that our returne under your signorie and dominion was not onely performed with our good will, but also first wrought & compassed by the meanes of our helping hand & valour: yee have the greater cause to be discontented and displeased with your Lieutenant & souldiours, for offering us (your good and loiall allies) such abuses, so cruell wrongs and unworthie indignities. As for the cause of our double revoltment and change, I thinke it good to deferre the speaking thereof to another time, and that for two reasons: the one is, that the matter might be heard in the presence of *P. Scipio*, who recovered Locri, and was an eye-witnesse of all that wee have don, be it good or bad: the other is this, that howsoever we be, yet we should not have abiden those calamities in such sort as we have supported them. We cannot dissimule (my LL.) nor conceale, how at the while that we had the Carthaginian garison within our castle, we suffered many foule outrages and shamefull villanies, both at *Amilcar* his hands (the captaine of the garison) as also from the Numidians and Africanes: but what are they in comparison of the abuses and indignities that we endure at this day? May it please you (my LL.) to give us the hearing of those things with patience, that I shall utter even against my will with grievance. All the world at this day is in suspence, and standeth in great doubt, whither to see you or the Carthaginians, the soveraigne lords of the whole earth. But if they were to weigh and counterpoise the Roman & Carthaginian Empire, by those injuries which have beene offered to us of Locri, either from them or your garison: & which at this day, more than ever before, we still endure: there is none but would rather make choise of them to be their soveraigne LL. than the Romans. And yet consider I pray you, & see how wel affected the Locrians are towards you: when we were nothing so hardly used nor so ill entreated by the Carthaginians, yet we had recourse unto your captaine Generall: and now that we are misused of your garison, and put to more sorrow than if we were professed enemies, yet we have run no whither with our complaints but unto your selves. Either shall you (my LL.) vouchsafe to have compassion of our miserable state, or else we see not what wee have left wherein we should pray unto the immortall gods, for to be good and propice unto us. *Quintus Plummus* Lieutenant to the General *Scipio*, was sent with a strong garison & power of men,

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to

The pittifull complaints of the Locrians beseege the Senate of Rome.

to recover Locri out of the hands of the Carthaginians; and with the very same garrison was he left there: but this Lieutenant of yours (for the extremitie of miseries and afflictions whereinto wee are driven, maketh us bold, and putteth courage in us to speake our minds freely) hath nothing at all in him of a man, my Lords, but the bare shape and outward forme; nor of a Roman citizen, unlesse it bee the habite of apparrell which hee weareth; and the sound of the Latine tongue which hee speaketh. A verie plague hee is and no better, a monstrous and ouglie beast, like unto that, which sometimes (if old tales and fables bee true) haunted the narrow seas betwene us and Sicilie, for to destroy all passengers that sailed by. Who, if he could have been content himselfe alone to have practised and wrought upon us your Allies, all mischeivous acts and prances, of wickednesse, of filthie lust, and greedie covetousnesse, we would peradventure in all patience and long sufferance, have filled up that one gulfe and pit were it never so deepe, and satisfied one gorge never so unsatiabie. But now so great a delight and pleasure hath he taken, that all lewd and licentious parts, all shamefull acts and villanies should be commonly practised, and in every place committed, that hee hath made all your Centiniers very *Pleminius*, yea, and your souldiours as bad as himselfe. All of them can skill now of robbing, rifling, spoiling, beating, wounding, and killing: they are all good at forcing of dames and ladies of honor, at ravishing and despoiling of young virgins, at abusing (against kind) of younglings, free borne and well descended, whom they pull perforce from between the armes, and out of the very bosomes of their parents. Daily is our citie assaulted and taken; daily is it sacked and pillled, night and day, there is no place free, but ringeth againe with the pittieous shrieks and lamentable plaints and cries of women and children, harried and carried away in every place. He that were a stranger to these things, and knew nothing, might wonder well ynough, how either we can possibly hold out in suffering such outrages, or they which are the doers, not yet be satisfied and full of committing so great wrongs and injuries. For neither will my tongue & utterance serve to deliver, nor needfull is it and expedient for you to heare every thing in particular, what we have sustained. But in general I will comprise and knit up altogether. I will abide by it, that there is not one house throughout all Locri, I dare avouch there is no person either one or other, exempt from the wrongs that he hath done. I say, and stand to it, that there is no kind of wickednesse, no manner of filthie lust and uncleannesse, no unsatiabie avarice besides, that hee hath not assaied to practise upon as many as were capable thereof, and fit subjects to worke upon. Hardly can a man devise and thinke, whether of these two mischeefes incident to a citie bee more detestable, either when the enemies force it by assault in time of warre, or when a pestilent and cruel tyrant oppresseth it by force and armes during peace. All calamities we endured before, that townes woon and lost are put unto. And now at this houre, more than ever (my LL.) *Pleminius* hath perpetrated upon us, our children and our wives, all those excessive villanies, that the most inhumane, cruell, and outrageous tyrants can devise to exercise upon those subjects, whom they keepe downe with oppression, and tread under foot. Yet one thing there is (right Honourable) whereof both sense of religion imprinted and engrafted naturally in our minds, constraineth us to make particular complaint by specialtie; and also our desire is, that yee should have the hearing, yea, and to assoile and discharge your Commonweale of the scruple of conscience, in case ye thinke it so meet and requisite. For we have observed and seen with our eyes, with what devotion and ceremoniall reverence, you not onely honour and worship the gods of your owne, but also receive and entertaine those of strangers and forrainers. We have in our citie a chappell of *Proserpina*, concerning the holinesse of which house, I suppose verily, that ye have heard some report and fame, during the warre of king *Pyrrhus*: who in his return out of Sicilie, passing along the sea side with his fleet by Locri, among other shameful villanies and outrages which he committed against our citie in despite of us, and for our fidelitie shewed toward you, pillled also and robbed the treasure of this *Proserpina*, which to that day had never been touched by any man whatsoever. And when he had so done, he embarked the monie, & sent it away by water, but journeyed himselfe by land. But see what happened my LL. hereupon! His whole navie the morrow after, was all to tossed, split, and torn a peeces in a most hideous ghuft and horrible tempest, save M only those ships wherein that sacred treasure was bestowed, which were cast upon our coast, & driven ashore. Whereupon this king, as proud and fierce a prince as he was, being taught by so great harmes and losses, to beleve that there were gods in heaven that ruled all; made diligent search for all the said monies, and caused the same to bee brought backe againe, and laid up in the treasure

A surie of *Proserpina*. And yet for all that, never sped he well in any thing that hee went about, from that day forward. Hunted hee was and chased cleane out of Italie; and coming by chaunce on a night, and entering unadvisedly the citie of Argos, he died an obscure, base, and dishonourable death. And notwithstanding your Lieutenant, your Colonels and knight Marshals heard of this, and a thousand more such instances and examples which were recounted unto them (not for to amplify and set out with the highest the great religion and holinesse of the place; but as we and our auncestours have had right evident prooffe, and that full oftentimes, to shew the manifest power and puissance of that goddesse) yet were they so hardie, as to lay their theevish and sacrilegious hands upon those treasures, that were inviolate and not to be touched; & so by that cursed prize and bootie have polluted themselves, their houses, and your souldiours. Whose service take heed my LL. as ye tender your selves and your credite, how yee employ either in Italie or in Africa, in any of your affaires and warres there; before ye purge and expiate this foule & heinous fact: for feare least they make amends, and pay for this detestable forfeit, not onely which their owne blood, but also with some publicke losse and calamitie of the whole State. And even already die my LL. the yre and displeasure of the goddesse hath ben well seen upon your captains & souldiours both, and at this present day continueth still. Sundrie times they have ben together by the eares, and skuffed one against another with banners displaied. *Pleminius* the captain bare up one side, and two Marshals or militarie Tribunes another. Never fought they more fiercely & sharply with the Carthaginians in the field, than amongst themselves in fraies at the sword point. And through their furious rage they had given *Annibal* good opportunitie and vantage to regaine Locri into his owne hands; but that *Scipio*, whom we sent for, came in the meane time upon him. C But peradventure (some will say) this madnesse and furie hauntheth and tormenteth the souldiours onely, who are tainted with the foresaid sacriledge, and no power at all of the goddesse hath been shewed in punishing the leaders and captaines themselves. Nay ywis, in them it hath most evidently appeared. The Tribunes have been beaten with rods by the Lieutenant, and the Lieutenant againe, being laid for by the said Tribunes, and caught in a traine, hath not only been manegled all his bodie over, but when they had cut off his nose, and cropt his eares, was left for dead in the place. And afterwards, when the Lieutenant was recovered and cured of his hurts, hee first imprisoned the Tribunes; then he scourged them; and after he had martired them, and put them to all exquisite tortures that might bee devised against bondslaves, he did them to death; & when D they were dead, would not suffer them to bee enterrd. Thus yee see how the goddesse hath punished and taken vengeance of them that have pillled and robbed her temple: and never will shee give over to torment and harrie them with all manner of furies and hellish fiends, before the sacred money bee againe bestowed in the chests and cofers of her treasure. Our auncestours long agoe, in time of greivous and cruell warre betwene them and the Crotoniates, because the temple standeth without the citie, were desirous to remooove that treasure and money from thence, into the citie. But in the night there was a voice heard from out of the shrine, that they should hold their hands off; for that the goddesse herselfe knew well ynough how to defend her owne temple. And because upon this warning they made it a matter of conscience, and were afraid to stirre the treasure from thence, they would needs cast a strong wall about the said temple: and when it was brought up to a good heigh from the ground, behold, suddainely at once all the E worke came tumbling downe. But both now, and oftentimes besides, hath this goddesse either guarded her seat and chappell, or else if it hath been any way violated, shee hath been grievously revenged by some fearefull example of them that have seemed to offer violence to the same. Now for the wrongs that we abide, she is not able; neither is there any other but your selves (my lords) to right us, and revenge our quarrell. You are they whom wee flie unto; unto your protection only in all humble maner, we have recourse. And all one it is to us, whether ye suffer Locri to be under that Lieutenant and that garrison, or yeeld us unto *Annibal* in his anger, and to the Carthaginians, for to wreke their teene upon us and our throtes. Neither require wee, that you should credite and beleve our complaint of him that is not now in place, without libertie of F his answer, and pleading for himselfe. Let him come hardily; let him be at the hearing himselfe, and spare not, let him a gods name cleare and acquit himselfe, if hee can. If when all is done and said, it can be proved, that he hath left undone any mischeefe against us, that one man can devise to doe unto another; we will be content to abide and endure all those miseries once againe (if it were possible) which wee have suffered already, yea, and to hold and declare him guiltlesse of

all offences done both to God and man.

When the ambassadors had laid abroad those matters, and *Q. Fabius* demanded of them whether they had complained unto *P. Scipio*, and uttered these their griefes before him, they made answer and said, That they had sent ambassadors unto him, but he was busied in making preparation for the warres, and was either passed already over into Affrick, or upon his voyage ready to take the seas within few daies: and they had scene by good experience, in how great favour the Lieutenant *Pleminius* stood with his generall: and namely they were not ignorant how *Scipio* after he had heard the matter betweene the Tribunes and him, committed them to prison: but as for the Lieutenant, who was as faultie as the other, if not more, him he left there still in his full authoritie. Now after that the ambassadors were willed to go forth of the temple where the Senate sate, the chiefe LL. of the Senate began with biting words to inveigh bitterly against *Scipio* as well as *Pleminius*. But above all others, *Q. Fabius* girded at him, and said, That he was borne even to corrupt and marre all militarie discipline. Thus (quoth he) in Spaine also we have lost more by mutinies of our owne souldiours, than by the warres with our enemies: for why? after a strange and forrein maner, and according to the guise of kings, one while he cockered his souldiers and suffered them to have their will and head too much; otherwhiles he would be overharp & cruell to them. After which rough words, he came upon them both thus with a heave & sharp sentence, namely, That *Pleminius* the Lieutenant by his consent should be had away bound in chaines to Rome, and there clapt up in prison, untill his cause were heard, and judicially determined: and in case those challenges were true, that the Locrians have commensed against him, he should be put to death in prison, and his goods be confiscate and forfeited to the chamber of the cite. As for *P. Scipio*, in that he presumed to depart out of his province without commission and direction from the Senate, he should be called home: and the Tribunes of the Commons dealt withall to prefer a bill unto the people for his deprivation, and to put him besides his place of government. As touching the Locrians, his opinion was, That the Senate should geve them their dispatch, and returne them this answer: First, as touching the wrongs that they complained of, it was not the will and pleasure neither of the Senate nor of the people of Rome that they were done; who wished with all their hearts they had bene undone: Item, that they acknowledged them to be good men, to be their friends and allies, and so would accept of them and call them. As to their children, their wives, and other goods taken from them whatsoever, their mind was that they should be restored againe: Item, that enquire should be made what summes of money were taken out of the treasury of *Proserpina*, and that two-fold restitution should be made and laid up there in stead of it: Item, that there should be a solemne purgatorie sacrifice celebrated for amends and expiation of that sinne; but so, as the collidge first of the Priests and Bishops should be consulted with, and their advice taken in that behalfe, (considering the sacred treasure was disquieted, laid open and violated) namely, what manner of expiations and cleansing were to be used, to what gods, and with what beasts they should sacrifice: Finally, that all the souldiers which were at Locri should be transported over into Sicilie; and in their rounce foure cohorts of allies from out of the Latin nation should be brought to lye in garison there. But every Senatour could not be asked his opinion and sentence that day, by reason of their difference and disagreement of minds so hotely incensed, some in favour, other in disfavor of *Scipio*. For besides the lewd part of *Pleminius*, and the calamitie and oppression of the Locrians, they began to speake against the apparell of the Generall himselfe, how he went not like a souldier and a warriour, no nor so much as like a Roman: walking up and downe, and squaring it out in the schooles and open places of exercise with his mantle and cloke, and in his slippers and pantofles, after the Greeke fashion: And that he was over bookish, and set his mind too much upon reading; and tooke delight to be in the sense schoole and wrestling place: and all his men and gard about him, as idly and wantonly given as he, tooke joy in the pleasures & delightfull seat of Syracuse. As for Carthage and *Anniball*, they were quite forgotten: and his whole armie through loosenesse and libertie was spilled and cleane lost, like to that of late at Sucro in Spaine, and all one with them at this time in Locri, more to be feared of their friends than their enemies. And albeit these matters thus reported, were either true, or mingled with some truths, and therefore founded all very probable; yet the opinion of *Q. Metellus* prevailed: who in all other things gave his assent unto *Maximus*, onely as touching *Scipio*, he varied from him. For I can not see any reason (quoth he) how this can stand, that whom

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A crewhile the whole cite chose at those young yeeres of his, to be the only captaine for to recover Spaine; of whom they made speciall choyse to be their Consull, after that he had gotten Spaine from the enemies, to end at once the Punick warre; and in whom they reposed great hope, that he was the man to draw *Anniball* out of Italie, and to subdue all Affrick: he now should all of a sodaine be called for home out of his province, as a person almost condemned, without pleading and hearing of his cause, as if he were another *Pleminius*: considering that even those leawd and cruell parts which the Locrians complained of, were by their owne words and confession not committed, whiles he was present in place: neither could he be charged & accused directly for ought els but only for his sufferance & connivencie, in that upon a tender and respective indulgence of his Lieutenant, he was too remisse; and forbore to punish him with rigor. His advice therefore and opinion was, that *M. Pomponius* the Pretour, unto whose lot the government of Sicilie was fallen, should within three daies next and immediately ensuing, take his journey into his province: & that the Consuls, should elect x. Commissioners or Delegates out of the Senat, such as they thought good of, & send them with the Pretour; likewise two Tribunes of the Commons, and one *Edile*: that the Pretour with the assistance of these personages, should sit upon a commission to enquire and know the truth: and in case they could find that those things wherewith the Locrians found themselves so much grieved, were done either by commandment and direction from *Scipio*, or with his will and consent; then to charge him to depart out of the province. But in case that *P. Scipio* were already passed over into Affrick; then the foresaid Tribunes of the Commons, and the *Edile*, joyning unto them two of the Delegates above said, (such as the Pretor deemed most meet) should saile into Affrick: & the Tribunes and *Edile* bring with them *Scipio* from thence: and the two Commissioners have the charge and government of the armie, untill such time as a new L. Generall succeeded and came in place. But if *M. Pomponius* and the ten Delegates above said, found that neither by the direction, nor with the will of *P. Scipio* these enormities were committed, then *P. Scipio* should remaine still with the armie, and go forward with the warre as he intended. When this decree of the Senate was once passed, and an act made thereof, they were in hand with the Tribunes either to agree betweene themselves, or els to cast lots, which two of them should go with the Pretour and the Delegates. And then the collidge of the Bishops were consulted with, about the expiation and making satisfaction for those things which in the temple of *Proserpina* at Locri were either handled, polluted, or caried forth from thence. The Tribunes of the commons that went the journey with the Pretor & the Commissioners, were *M. Claudius Marcellus*, & *M. Cincius Alimentus*: who also had an *Edile* of the Commons to assist them, whom they might commaund, if *Scipio* would not obey the Pretor, whether he were in Sicily, or gone over into Affrick, to apprehend and attach his bodie; and by vertue of their sacrosanct and inviolable authoritie to bring him home with them. And first they resolved to go to Locri before they went to Messana. But concerning *Pleminius*, the report goeth two waies. Some say, that when he was advertised what was intended and devised against him at Rome, he purposed to go to Naples into banishment, and chanced by the way to light upon one of the Delegates above said, and so by him was perforce brought back to Rhegium. Others asseirme, that *Scipio* himselfe sent out one of his Lieutenants, accompanied with 30 of the most noble knights or gentlemen that he had about him, with a warrant to commit *Q. Pleminius*, and with him the principall authors of the sedition, and to lay them fast in irons. But certaine it is that they all, were it by the commandment of *Scipio* before, or then by warrant from the Pretor, were put in ward and safe custody with the Rhegines. The Pretour & the Delegates being come to Locri, first and foremost, according to their commission, had a principall care of religion. For all the holy money which they found by diligent search in the custodie either of *Pleminius*, or of the souldiers, together with that which they themselves had brought with them from Rome, they bestowed againe in the privie vestries where the treasure was kept: and besides, they made a solemne purgatorie sacrifice for the sacrilege. After this, the Pretour assembled the souldiers together, and commanded them to carrie their ensignes out of the citie: where himselfe encamped upon the plaine; and proclaimed that no souldiour, as hee would answer at his uttermost perill, should either carrie behind, or bring forth any thing with him but his owne. Then he gave the Locrians leave, that every man should lay hold upon that which he knew to be his owne: and if ought were not forthcomming and to be seen, to challenge and put in his claime for it. And above all things, his pleasure was, that all bodies of free persons

persons whatsoever, should without delay be restored unto them, & if any made default of restitution, he should abide the smart and be grievously punished. Then he assembled the Locrians to an audience, and pronounced before them all, That the people and Senate of Rome granted unto them their auncient libertie, and their owne lawes: giving notice unto them, that whosoever had any thing to say against *Pleminius*, or any other person by way of accusation, he should follow him to Rhegium, and there give attendance. Also if they were desirous to make a publike and open complaint of *Scipio*, namely, That the facts committed at Locri most impiously and wickedly, against both God and man, passed either under his warrant, or with his leave & liking, then they should send embassadours to Messana, where he together with his Counsell and assistants would give them audience of all matters, and determine accordingly. The Locrians yielded great thanks to the Pretours and to the Delegates or Commissioners: as also to the Senate, and people of Rome: and said, they would go to accuse *Pleminius*. As for *Scipio*, although he set little to the heart the injuries and wrongs done unto their citie, yet hee was a man whose friendship they desired rather to embrace, than to entertaine his enmitie. And this they knew assuredly, that so many lewd pranks, & so horrible parts ther plaid, wer neither by the direction nor yet with the connivencie and tolleration of *P. Scipio*: but his onely fault was, that either hee trusted *Pleminius* overmuch, or credited them too little. And some men (say they) be of this nature, that they will have a carefull regard for to prevent sinne, and an earnest desire that no offence be committed, rather than courage and heart to punish and correct faults when they are once done & past. Hereupon both the Pretours and also the Commissioners with him, thought themselves well eased of no small burden and charge of making farther inquisition and sitting upon the cause of *Scipio*. But *Pleminius* and two and thirtie persons more with him, they condemned & sent bound in chaines to Rome. They themselves went also in person to *Scipio*, to be eie-witnesses & to make report at Rome of their owne knowledge, as touching the manner of apparrell, the ydle life of the Generall, and the lose, dissolute, and corrupt militarie discipline of his fouldiours; so ripe and common in many mens mouthes. Against their comming to Saracose, *Scipio* was provided of deeds to approve his innocencie, and not of words to excuse his follie. He gave order for all his forces there to meet, & for his armada to be in readinesse, as if he were that day to give battaile both by land and sea to the Carthaginians. The very same day that they arrived thither, they were friendly received & courteously entertained by *Scipio*. The morrow after, he shewed them all his forces, as well for land as sea service, not onely furnished, well appointed, and in readinesse, but the one sort, namely the land fouldiours, running and charging one another at turney; and the sea servitours likewise within the haven, representing a navall combat with their shippes. Then he led the Pretour and the other commissioners all about, to see the arsenall and armorie, the store-houses, the garners of come, and all other provision and furniture for the warre. At the view and sight whereof, they were stricken with such exceeding admiration, both of every thing in particular, and of all in generall, that they were fully persuaded, that either by the conduct of that captaine and valour of that armie, the Carthaginians might be overcome & conquered, or by none other in the world: yea, and they willed him in the name of God, without more ado to passe over into Africke, and with all speed possible to make the people of Rome to enjoy the effect of that hope which they conceived that very day, on which all the Centuries nominated and declared him with one voice the former Consull of the twaine: and with so joyous hearts they tooke their leave and departed from thence, as if they were to bring tidings to Rome of a glorious victory; and not to make relation and report of a magnificall & stately preparation for warre. *Pleminius* and all they that were likewise attaint and guiltie, after they came to Rome, were immediately clapt up and laid fast in prison. At the first time when they were brought out before the people by the Tribuns, they could find no grace, no favor nor mercie amongst them, their minds were so tormented & possessed aforehand, with the consideration of the worstill miseries & calamities of the poore Locrians. But afterwards, being produced oftener unto them, as the hatred conceived against him, began to weare and decay, so mens anger grew to assuage and soften: besides the pittious plight and deformed hew of *Pleminius* there present, and the remembrance withall, of *Scipio* now absent, gat him some favour with the people. Yet he died in prison, before his cause was judicially tried, and definitive sentence of him passed. *Clodius Licinius* reporteth in this third booke of the Romane stories, that this *Pleminius* in the time of the games which *Africanus* second time Consul, exhibited at Rome, according to a vow by him made; went

about (by the helpe of some whom he had corrupted and waged for money) to set the citie on fire in divers places, thereby to have opportunitie to breake prison and make an escape: but when his wicked purpose was once disclosed and brought to light, he was condemned and awarded by an act of Senat to the dungeon Tullianum. But as for *Scipio*, ther wer no words made of him, neither came he in question any where else but in the Senate: where all with one accord, both commissioners and tribunes, by extolling and magnifying with glorious words, the navie, the armie and the captaine, brought it so about, that the Senate thought good and were agreed, that with all convenient speed *Scipio* should over into Africke, and have libertie granted out of those armies which were in Sicilie, to make choise of those whom hee would himselfe transport over with him into Africke, and whom he would leave behind for the guard and defence of the province.

Whiles these things passed thus amongst the Romanes; the Carthaginians also having spent all the winter time in much suspicion and continuall feare, hearkening to all newes, and enquiring leasurably of every messenger, and keeping watch upon all their promontories & high hills by the sea side, bestirred themselves likewise, and procured the societie and alliance of *K. Syphax*, a matter of no small importance for the safegard and defence of Africke, in hope & confidence of whose amitie and friendship especially, they were persuaded, that *Scipio* intended to faile over into Africke. Now there had been already betwene *Asdruball* the sonne of *Gisgo* and the king, not onely familiar acquaintance by way of kind welcomming and reciprocal hospitalitie, since the time (as hath ben said before) that *Scipio* and *Asdruball* fortunated to meet at one time together in the kings house, when they came out of Spaine; but also some treatie was already begun of alliance and affinitie, and a motion made, that the king should espouse and wed the daughter of *Asdruball*. For the assurance of this matter, and the appointment of a certaine day for the solemnizing of the mariage (for now the Damosell was readie for an husband, and marriageable) *Asdruball* tooke a journey, and seeing the king burning in love (as these Numidians of all other barbarous nations are most given that way, & exceeding amorous) he sent for the maiden from Carthage, and hastened the wedding. And among other congratulations that passed betwene, to the end, that besides the private affinitie, there should be also a publicke league, there was an alliance concluded betwene the people of Carthage and the king, by giving and taking their faithfull promise interchangeably, and obliging themselves by a solemne oth one to the other to observe it as wel offensive as defensive, & to have the same enemies & the same friends for ever.

But *Asdruball* remembring both the friendship begun betwene *Scipio* and the king, and also how fickle & variable the natures of the Barbarians are; & fearing if *Scipio* should passe over into Africke, that this bond of wedlock would not be strong ynough to hold the king in; took the time whiles this Numidian prince was enamored with his fresh love, induced him what with reasons, and what with the faire words and allurements of his young spouse, to send Embassadours into Sicilie to *Scipio*, for to advise him not to passe over into Africke, nor to relie upon any confidence of him, ne yet to build upon his former promises. For as much as himselfe was not only linked in matrimonie with a citizen of Carthage, the daughter of that *Asdrubal* whom he saw entertained as a guest in his court, but also joined in a publicke league with the people of Carthage. And first he exhorted him that the Romanes would war with the Carthaginians far from Africke, as hitherto they had done; for feare least he should of necessitie be forced to have an hand, and intermeddle in their quarels; and so whiles hee desired to avoid the daunger and hostilitie of one part or other, be driven at length to side one way: giving him more plainly to understand, That if *Scipio* would not forbear Africke, but needs come with an armie against Carthage, then must he necessarily fight in defence of the land of Africke, wherein himselfe was borne, and for the native countrie, for the father and house of his owne wife. With this commission & direction were certaine Orators sent unto *Scipio*, who met with him at Saracose, and there delivered their message. *Scipio*, albeit he was disappointed greatly of his groundworke that he had laid for his warres in Africke, and put besides his good hopes, gave the Embassadours letters into Africke unto the king; and sent them backe againe in all hast, before the thing were published and come abroad. In which letters hee requested him earnestly to be advised and bethink himselfe that hee brake not the rights either of friendship and hospitalitie begun with him, or of the league and societie entered with the people of Rome: nor violated justice and faithfull promise made by giving right hands: ne yet beguile and abuse the gods, the witnesses and judges of all covenants & agreements made. But forasmuch as the comming of those Numidians could not bee concealed (for they

went all about the cittie, & were daily conversant in the Generall his lodging: & if it should have been kept secret wherabout they came, it was to be doubted least the truth the more it was smothered and dissimuled, the more it would break forth & come to light: and so the armie was to stand in feare, that they were to warre at once both with the king and Carthaginians. *Scipio* therefore buzzed aforehand into mens heads, false devised matters, and so withdrew them from the understanding of the truth indeed. He assembled all his souldiours together, and said unto them; That now it was no longer staying and trifling out the time: bearing them in hand, that the kings, his allies and confederates, importuned him to set over into Affricke with all convenient speed: that *Masinissa* beforetime himselfe in person came to *Lelius*, grieving & complaining that the time ran thus on in delaies and doing nothing: and *Syphax* now sent his embassadours, musing much and wondring what the cause should be of so long temporising: and requiring that either the armie without more adoe, should be set over at once: or else if their minds & purposes were changed, to certifie him so much, that hee likewise might provide for himselfe & his kingdome. And therefore he did them to weete and understand, that hee intended (now that hee was sufficiently provided & furnished of all things; & considering that the impresse might abide no farther stay) to conduct his armada to Lilybæum, to wait the first good day of wind and weather, to take the seas for a bon-voiage, and with Gods grace and favour to set saile for Affricke. His letters hee dispatched to *Marcus Pomponius* to this effect, That if hee thought so good, hee should repaire to Lilybæum, to the end they might commune and consult together, what legions especially, and what number of souldiours he should transport over with him into Affricke. In like manner, hee sent all about the maritime and sea coasts, to stay all the carrickes & ships of burden, & to bring them away at once to Lilybæum. Now when all the shippes and serviceable men in Sicilie were assembled to Lilybæum, so as neither the cittie was able to receive the multitude of souldiours, nor the haven conteine the number of the vessels; so earnestly minded they were all, and so hotely set upon their voiage into Affricke, that they seemed as if they were conducted not to fight a warre, but to enjoy the assured rewards of a victorie. But especially above all others, the souldiours remaining of the Cannian armie, were verily perswaded, that under this capitaine, or else none, by valiantly quitting themselves in the service of the Commonweale, they should be able to end and finish their ignominious and shamefull souldierie. And *Scipio* himselfe made no base account of those kind of souldiours, as knowing full well that the defeature received at Cannæ, was not occasioned by their cowardise: neither were there throughout the Romane armie any souldiours so auncient and of so long continuance, or so well experienced not onely in many and sundrie foughten fields, but also in the assaulling of townes and citties. And these Legions of Cannæ were the fift and sixt in order. Now when hee had once resolved and given out, that hee would transport them over with him into Affricke, then hee tooke a particular view of them, man by man. And having culled out those, and left them behind, whome hee supposed unmeet and unsufficient, hee substituted in their place those whome hee had brought with him out of Italie: and so fully hee supplied and made up the number of those Legions, that either of them had sixe thousand and two hundred foot, and three hundred men of armes. Hee chose also out of the same armie of Cannæ, both horsemen and footmen, of the allies and confederates of the Latine nation. What power of souldiours in the whole were set over into Affricke, writers differ not a litle in the number. In some authours I find, that they were tenne thousand foot, and two thousand and two hundred horse: in others, fiftene thousand footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen. In some records againe, they were more by one halfe and better, namely, that of horse and foot there were embarked five and thirtie thousand. And others there be, that have set down no number at all, amongst whom, as in a matter so doubtfull and uncertaine, I would myselfe be counted for one. But *Cælius* for his part, as he forbearth to put down any number at all, so he seemeth to imple an infinit multitude of them, in that he saith, That with a crie and shout that the souldiours set up, the very fowles of the aire fell down to the ground: & he that had seen the multitude of them when they went a shipbord, would have said, there had not been a man left behind, either in Italie or in Sicilie. Well, how many or how few soever they were, *Scipio* himselfe took the charge to see the souldiours embarked in good order, & without any tumult. As for the sailers & mariners, who were forced before to shipbord, *C. Lelius* the Admirall of the navie, kept them still & quiet within their ships. *M. Pomponius* the Pretor had commission for to furnish the armada with corn & victuals: who made provision of food and sustenance for 45 daies: of which there was of baked meats

A meats and other viands already dressed, as much as would suffice for fiftene daies. Now when they were all embarked, he sent about to all the ships, certaine pinnaces or cock-boats, and commaunded all the pilots and maisters of every ship, with two souldiours apeece, to come into the market place, there to receive their charge. When they were all met and assembled together, first hee enquired of them whether they had provided and taken into their vessels fresh water sufficient both for man and beast, to hold out so many daies as their come would serve: and when answer was made, that they had water in their ships to last five and fortie daies: then he charged and commaunded the souldiours to keepe silence and be quiet during their navigation, & without any strife and contention to be obedient unto the mariners, and willing to helpe in any ministerie and service whatsoever, saying, That himselfe and *L. Scipio* would keepe on the right wing with twentie strong ships with brazen beake heads, and *C. Lelius* the Admirall with *M. Porcius* the Treasurer on the left, with as many of the same sort, to waite over and guard the hulkes and ships of burden: willing and requiring that there should be lights in all their vessels, namely, that every brazen headed ship should have one; each Carricke twaine; and the Admirall ship, wherein the Generall was, three lights, for a speciall marke, to bee discerned from the rest in the night. And so hee commaunded the Pilots to steere and direct their course for Emporia. [The territorie hereabout is most fertile and fruitfull, whereby the whole countrie aboundeth in plenty of all things: the barbarous peasants (as commonly it falleth out in battell and plentiful lands) are cowards, and unfit for warre, and it was thought they might bee surprised and subdued before any succour could come from Carthage.] When these directions were given, C they were commaunded to retire unto their ships, and the next morrow at the signall, with the helpe of the gods to weigh anchor, hoise up sailes and away. Many Romane Armadaes had aforetime set out of Sicilie, and the very same port: but never any viage all the time of that warre, nor during the former, made so goodly a shew, and was so much looked on. And no mervaille, for most of their other fleets were sent out only to rob and to fetch in booties and prizes. And yet if a man would esteeme navies by the number and greatnesse of ships: there had bene aforetime two Consuls together, who went over with the power of two complete armies: and in every of those fleets there were weneere as many warre ships with brazen beake heads, as hulks and carricks in those that *Scipio* transported over. For besides fiftie long ships of warre, he had not all o.: foure hundred ships of burden and passage to transport over his armie with. But if wee D will compare both warres together, the second seemed unto the Romanes more sharpe and cruel than the former: both because it was fought within Italie; and also by reason of so great overthrowes of so many armies, together with the losse and death of their Generall capitaines. Moreover, great expectation there was of *Scipio* the Commaunder and Generall of this voiage, a man much renowned and talked of, both in regard of his owne noble acts of chivalrie, and also for a special and singular fortune that followed him in all his exploits; whereby he grew every day more glorious than other, which caused all mens hearts to be set upon him: beside his very resolution and mind that hee carried, to passe over into Affricke, which all the while of that warre entred not into the head of any capitaine before him: in that hee gave it out abroad, That hee meant to goe over, with intent to draw and fetch *Anniball* out of Italie, and to divert and translate E the warre into Affricke, and there to finish and make an end of it. There came running unto the haven to see the setting out of this Armada, the whole multitude, not onely of the inhabitants of Lilybæum, but also the traine of all the Embassages out of Sicilie, which were come together for to accompanie *Scipio*, and to doe him honour, and also attended upon the Pretour of the province *M. Pomponius*. Over and besides, those legions also which were left behind in Sicilie, went forward to beare their fellow souldiours companie. So that not only the navie was a goodly prospect unto the beholders upon the land, but also the strand so overspread all about with numbers of people, made a brave and pleasant shew unto these passengers that were in the ships. When day light once appeared, *Scipio* from out of the Admirall (after silence commaunded by voice of the crier) praied in this wise: O ye gods & goddesses al, that haunt & inhabite the seas and lands both, I beseech and pray you to vouchsafe, That all that ever hath ben done already, is now intended, or shall hereafter bee enterprised, during my conduct and government, may speed well, and turne to the good of my selfe, the people and Communitie of Rome, our allies, and especially those of the Latine nation; who by land, by sea, by rivers, follow the direction, commaund, government, and fortune of my selfe, and of the people of Rome, and that

The praier of
Scipio.

that in all our actions yee would bee good, gracious, favourable, and helpfull unto us, and ad-
 vance all our proceedings: that ye would graunt us the victorie over our enemies: and after we
 have subdued them, to continue safe and sound: and adorned with their goodly spoils, laden with
 their rich pillage, to returne home all together with glorious triumph: and geve us the hand and
 opportunitie to be revenged of our foes and mortall enemies: and deigne me and the people of
 Rome that power and strength, to execute upon the citie of the Carthaginians those fearefull
 examples of crueltie, which the people of Carthage intended to practise and bring upon our
 citie and state. After these prayers thus pronounced, he tooke the raw inwards and purtenance
 of the beast killed for sacrifice (as the manner is) and flung them into the sea: and with that by
 sound of trumpet, gave the signall of departure.

Now were they under saile: and having a good great gale of a forewind, they soone lost the
 sight of land. In the afternoone, there began to fall a thick mist; by reason whereof the ships
 could hardly avoid running one upon another. But when they were once in the maine and
 deepe sea, the wind became more mild: and all the night following, the same darke mist continu-
 ed still. After the sunne was once up it brake and disperfed, and then the wind againe grew
 big and high, by which time they might discover land. And not long after, the pilot said unto
Scipio, that they were not full two leagues from Affrick; and that he saw well and discerned the
 cape or point of *Mercurius*: and if his will and pleasure were thither to direct their course, pre-
 sently the whole armada should be in the rode. *Scipio* so soone as he was within view of land, af-
 ter he had made his prayers unto the gods, to blesse this first discovery of Affrick to his owne
 good and the benefit of the Common-weale; gave commaundement to saile still, and to
 put with the shore and tide at anchor in some bay beneath. So they made way with the same
 wind. But about that very time as the day before, they were misted againe, and lost the sight of
 land. And as the fogge increased, the wind fell: the night also that came upon them: besides,
 made all things more doubtfull. Whereupon they cast anchor, for feare that the ships should
 either hit one upon another, or run aground. When day light arose, the same wind was up
 againe, but the foggie mist scattered; and then they might see plainly all the coast of Affrick. *Scipio*
 then demanded what promontorie it was that he saw next; and hearing that the name of it was
The head Pulchrum, [or The faire Cape] The name (quoth he) pleaseth me, and the presage ther-
 of I like full well; even thither put the ships a land: and so the Armada entred the bay, and all the
 host was set ashore. Thus have I reported that they had a prosperous voyage without any feare-
 full danger, or much trouble; geving credit herein to very many writers, as well Greekes as La-
 tines. Only *Celcius* (setting aside that the ships were not cast away and drowned amid the surging
 waves) writeth, how all other dangers both of water & weather encountered them in so much as at
 last the Armada was driven by tempest from the coast of Affrick, and fell upon the yland * *Egi-*
murus, from whence they had much ado to recover their direct course againe: and finally
 when the ships were at hand to sinke under the water, that the souldiers faring like men at point
 to suffer shipwrack, without licence and commaundement of their Generall, and without their
 armour, in great feare made shift with boates to recover the shore.

The Romanes thus being landed, pitched their tents among the hils next adjoining. By
 which time the terror and fearefull fright of this their arrivall was not entred only into the Ma-
 ritime coasts and territories bounding upon the sea, first upon the discovery of the fleet, and af-
 terwards by reason of the rumor and tumult of the armie, as it came ashore; but also spread for-
 ward as far as to the good townes and very cities. For not only the high waies were all filled and
 overspread with multitudes of men, women and children, who went by heapes together one with
 another; but also the country pezants drave before them whole herds of cattail: as a man
 would have said that had seene it, how all Affrick was like to be abandoned at once on a sodaine:
 in such sort, as they put the cities in deede in greater feare and perplexitie than they were them-
 selves, and especially Carthage above all others: where there was no lesse trouble and hurlybur-
 ley, then if it had bene surprised and forced by the enemy. For since time that *M. Atilius Regu-*
lus, and *L. Manlius* were Coss. for the space almost of fiftie yeeres, they had not once so much as
 seene an armie of Romanes, but only certein fleets of rovers and men of warre, who had landed
 at times, and made some rodes into the lands lying upon the sea side: and when they had harried
 some prizes, such as came next hand, they ever were retired againe to their ships, before the
 alarme could be given to raise the country. The greater therefore now was both the sight and
 fright

* *Gaius*.

A fright within the citie. And to speake a truth, good cause they had; by reason that there was nei-
 ther at home in readinesse an armie of puillance to encounter the enemy, nor a Captaine of
 valour to conduct and leade an armie. *Asdruball* the sonne of *Gisco*, for nobilitie and high pa-
 rentage, for honor and renowne, for wealth and riches, and besides for the new affinitie then
 contracted with a King, was of all others the greatest personage by many degrees, yea & the only
 man of the whole State. And him they remembered very well to have bene foiled, discomfited,
 and beaten out of the field in Spaine, by the selfesame *Scipio* in divers and sundrie batailles. Also
 they made account, that they were no more able to match the Captaines man for man, than
 to compare and set their tumultuarie power raised in hast, with the staide and experienced armie
 of the Romanes. Therefore they gave the alarme presently, as if *Scipio* were readie to assault Car-
 thage out of hand: the gates with all speede were shut and made sure: the walls manned with
 souldiours: the *corps de guard* set: watch and ward kept: and all the night following the Sentinels
 duly relieved and mainteined. The next day, 500 light horse were sent out as espials & vancu-
 riers to discover and scoure the quarters to the sea side; and withall to empeach them that were a
 disembarking and comming a land: who chaunced to light upon the Romanes *corps de guard*. For
Scipio had sent away the fleet already to Utica, and before he was gone up into the land far from
 the sea, had encamped upon the next hils thereby, placed guards of horsemen in convenient
 places, and put out certaine foragers into the fields and villages for to raise booties. These ha-
 ving entred skirmish with the Carthaginian corner of horsemen, slew a few of them in the very
 conflict, but most of them as they fled and were followed in chase: amongst whom was *Hanno*
 C also the Provost marshall, a noble young gentleman. *Scipio* not only wasted the country all a-
 bout, but also won a citie of the Affricanes that stood neereest, and was of sufficient wealth:
 where besides other pillage which was presently imbarcked in the ships of burden and sent into
 Sicilie, there were taken prisoners eight thousand polles of free and bond one with another.
 But the greatest joy and contentment that the Romanes tooke in this new entrance and begin-
 ning of their warlike affaires, was for the comming of *Masanissa*; whom some report to have
 presented himselfe with two hundred horse and no more: but the most do write that he came
 with two thousand. But for as much as this *Masanissa* was of all other kings for his time the
 greatest Prince and most puissant, and withall, he that stood the Romanes in best sted, and hel-
 ped their state, none like unto him: me thinks it wereworth the labour, and would quit for all the
 D paines, to digresse a little out of the way, for to shew and declare in what varietie of alternative
 fortune he was tossed, both in the losse and also in the recoverie of the inheritance of his fa-
 thers kingdome.

This *Masanissa*, while hee was employed during the warres of Spaine, in the defence
 and quarrell of the Carthaginians; his father, whose name was *Gala*, hapned to dye: and then
 the kingdome fell by descent, according to the custome and manner of the Numidians, un-
 to *Desfalces* the late kings brother, a man of great yeeres, and very aged. And not long af-
 ter, when *Desfalces* also was departed this life, *Capusa* the elder of his two sonnes, (for the o-
 ther was a very child) succeeded in his fathers kingdome. But for as much as hee the fore-
 said *Capusa* maintained his royall estate and throne, more by reason of the authoritie and
 E reputation that hee caried among his friendes and favorites, than by power and strength;
 there arose up in armes one named *Mezetulus* (who also was descended of royall blood, but
 of an house that was ever of the adverse and contrarie side) and contended in much varietie
 of fortune about the crowne, with those who then swayd the scepter. This *Mezetulus* ha-
 ving gathered a powre of his tenants, followers, and paisants of the country (with whom
 he caried a great stroke and was highly esteemed, by reason of the hatred that they bare un-
 to the kings race) encamped openly and shewed himselfe in action, yea and forced the king
 to come into the field, and to try the title of the crowne in a set battaile by dint of sword. In
 which conflict, *Capusa*, together with many of his peeres and nobles was slaine, and the whole
 nation and seignorie of the Massylians, was reduced under the rule and obedience of *Mezetulus*.
 F Howbeit he forbore to be called king; and contenting himselfe with the meane name of Tutor
 or Protector, gave the kings stile unto the child *Lacumax*, who only remained alive of the kings
 issue & line. He tooke to wife a noble dame & ladie of Carthage, *Annibal* his neece by his sister,
 who had bene lately wedded unto king *Desfalces*; hoping thereby to enter into league and alliance
 with the Carthaginians: and besides, for to renew the ancient familiaritie and amitie with *Sy-*
phax,

phax, he sent embassadors unto him of purpose. Thus made he himself strong aforehand against *G*
Masanissa.

Masanissa likewise for his part, being advertised of his uncles death, and also how his cousin
germaine was deceased: crossed the seas out of Spaine over to Mauritania, at what time as *Boc-*
char was king of the Mores. At whose hands by humble sute & importunate prayers in most lowly
manner, he obtained a power of foure thousand Mores to accompanie him in his journey, for
otherwise to imploy them in warre he might not. And after he had dispatched a messenger afore-
hand to those that were his fathers friends and well-willers to himselfe, by that time that he was
come with them to the confines of his realme, there met him almost five hundred Numidians.
Having therefore sent backe againe the Mores from thence unto the king, according to cove-
nant, albeit there was assembled together a smaller number of people than he hoped and looked
for, and not so sufficient that he durst adventure upon so great an enterprise; and supposing with-
all, that by entering into some action, and by travaile and endeavour, he should gather strength still
to performe some greater exploit, he encountreth at Thapsus the young king *Lacumax*, as he
journeied unto *Syphax*. And when the kings companie in great feare fled into the towne, *Masanis-*
sa both at the first assault woon the said towne, and also of the kings traine received some that
yeelded themselves, and slew other some that made resistance in their owne defence. But the
greatest part with the child himselfe the young Prince, got away in that tumult and escaped unto
Syphax, unto whom at first they intended their journey. The same of this small thing, so happily
atchieved in the first beginning & entrance of his affaires, caused all the Numidians to revolt and
side with *Masanissa*. So as there flocked unto him from all parts of the countrie, and out of the
villages, the old souldiours of king *Gala*, and incited the young Prince and set him on to recover
his fathers kingdom. Now in number of souldiours, *Mezelulus* was a good deale superiour:
for both himselfe had the same armie still entier, with which he had vanquished *Capusa*, besides
some others that after the slaughter of the king, he had received upon their yeelding: and also
young *Lacumax* the infant, had brought great aids from *Syphax*: so that *Mezelulus* was fiftene
thousand foot, and ten thousand horse strong. With whom *Masanissa*, albeit he were nothing so
puissant either in foot or horse, fought a battell; yet atchieved hee the victorie through the ap-
proved valour of the old souldiours, and his owne politicke wisdom, being a captain well ex-
perienced and exercised both in Romane and Punick warres. The young prince together with his
tutour and protectour, and some small number of Massylians, fled and escaped into the territo-
ries of the Carthaginians. Thus *Masanissa* having recovered his fathers kingdom, & foreseeing
that there remained still behind a farre greater bickermment and encounter with *Syphax*, & taking
it to be the best course and pollicie for him, to be reconciled and made friends with his cousin
germaine: addrested certaine messengers both unto the child, for to put him in good hope & as-
surance, that if he would submit and yeeld himselfe under the protection of *Masanissa*, he should
live in as honourable place and degree with him, as *Desalees* sometime had done with his father
Gala: & also to *Mezelulus* to give their word & promise unto him, not onely for impunitie of
all trespasses, but also for faithfull restitution of all things that were his. By which meanes hee per-
suaded both of them to take part with him: who made choise of a mean estate at home in their
owne countrie, rather than to live in exile: notwithstanding the Carthaginians labored all that
ever they could to the contrarie.

Asdruball hapned at that time when these occurrences fell out, to make his abode with *Sy-*
phax: who finding the Numidian king *Syphax* resolved upon this point, and fully persuaded,
That it mattered not, nor imported himself much, whither *Lacumax* or *Masanissa* were king of
the Massylians: replied upon him and said, That he was foully deceived, if he thought that *Masanis-*
sa would keepe himselfe within those teames, that either his father *Gala* or his uncle *Desalees*,
held them contented with: No, no, (quoth he) there is much more towardnesse in him, and farre
greater signes of haucie mind and forward wit and spirit appeare in him, than ever shewed in any
of his house and line before him. Full often hath hee in Spaine made good proove of rare valor
and singular prowesse, as well unto his friends as his enemies. And let both *Syphax* and the Car-
thaginians looke as well about them as they can, for unless they put out this sparke of fire
betimes, and even at the first beginning, it will be their chauce to be caught therewith, when it
shall burne soorth; and able they shall not bee to helpe the matter and quench the rage there-
of. Mary as yet his strength is small and slender, his forces fraile, tender, and feeble, and not well
united

A united together to maintaine his state, unsettled as he is in his kingdom. Thus hee importuned
him still by reasons and persuasions, untill at length he reduced him to lead forth an armie into
the confines of the Massylians: and there in that territorie, about the title whereof he had often-
times noisily contended by plea and words with *Gala*, but also by armes and dint of sword, to
encampe himselfe in his rightfull and undoubted inheritance; with this direction, That if any
came against him to warne him off the ground, then to trie his interest by sword: which was the
only way of necessitie to be taken, and most for the purpose: but in case for feare of him they
quit the possession quietly, then to advance forward into the heart of the kingdom: for either
the Massylians would without battaile render themselves under subjection, or else in a pitched
field not be able to stand out against him. Upon these suggestions *Syphax* was incited & pricked
on so much, as he made warre upon *Masanissa*, and in the first battaile discomfited and put to
flight the Massylians. And *Masanissa* with some few horsmen fled out of the field & escaped unto
a mountaine, which the inhabitants call *Balbus*. Certaine whole families and householdes with their
sheds and tents, together with their catraile (which is all their riches) went after and followed the
king. But all the multitude of the Massylians besides, did homage unto *Syphax* and came under
his obedience. This mountaine aforesaid, which these exiles that fled their countrie was posses-
sed of, was plentifull of grasse and well watered; and being so good for pasture to feed their cat-
raile, it yeelded sufficient maintenance and food abundant, for the people that used to live up-
pon flesh and milke. From hence they began at first to steale out by night and make rodes; but
afterwards in open day light to rob & spoile al the countrie about; but above all others to fire and
burne the territorie of the Carthaginians: both because there were more prizes to be had from
thence, than from the Numidians; and also for that it was more safe robbing & harrying there
without danger. This they practised so long, so licentious, and in such scornfull manner, that
now they would carrie their booties to the sea side, and make markets and sale therof to the mer-
chants: and for this purpose divers ships arrived thither to traffick: yea & otherwhiles there were
many of the Carthaginians cut off and came short home, and more of them were either slaine
or taken prisoners, than oftentimes in open warres and set battailes. The Carthaginians bewailed
and complained of these matters unto *Syphax*, and spurred him forward (disposed well enough
as hee was of himselfe to revenge) for to pursue the reliques of the warre, in his owne person. But
forasmuch as it was not thought to stand with the roiall maiestie of a king, to chase and hunt a ra-
ble of vagrant theeves about the mountaines; therefore *Bocchar*, one of the kings captaines, a
right hardie and valourous man, was chosen to do the feat, and to performe that service. Who
had the conduct of foure thousand foot, and two thousand horse: and was promised besides,
great gifts and mightie rewards, in case hee brought away the head of *Masanissa*: but if hee could
take him prisoner alive, that were alone indeed, & a peecelesse peece of work, of inestimable joy
beyond all measure. Hee waiting his time when the enemies were stragling rechelessly abroad,
came upon them at unawares and charged them, and having singled out from the guard of the
armed soldiours, a huge number both of people and catel, he forced *Masanissa* himselfe with some
few horsmen to take the top of the mountain. From whence after he had sent away unto the king
(as if the warre had now ben at point of an end) not onely a great bootie both of people and cat-
raile, the which hee had taken, but also part of his forces, as being much greater in proportion,
than for to dispatch the remnants of a war: accompanied with no more than five hundred foot,
and two hundred horse, he pursued *Masanissa* being come downe from the hill tops, & there ha-
ving beset & stopped the passages at both ends, enclosed him within the streight & narrow vallie.
Where there was committed a great execution and carnage of the Massylians, but *Masanissa*
with fiftie horsmen and not above, got away through the unknowne and hidden cranks of the
mountaine, and escaped the hands of the pursuers. Howbeit, *Bocchar* traced him still, and follo-
wed him at heeles so narrowly, that neere to the cittie *Clupea* hee overtook him in the plaines,
where he so streightly environned him about, that he killed all his companie every one, save only
four hundred horsmen. With whom, in that tumult hee let slip as it were out of his hands *Masanissa*
also himselfe, sore wounded, and lost him cleane. As he fled, he had still in his cie certain corners
of horsmen disperfed all over the plain, & some of them crossing the waies overthwart to meet
the enemy at every turn, and to intercept him. But he and the foure horsmen with him fled for-
ward still, and tooke the great river before them: for their feare & fright was greater than to make
any stay at the banke side, but to put their horses to it, and plunge in: where they were caried with

the current of the streame, and borne to a side: two of them in the sight of the enemies, were swallowed up of the deepe hurtpits; himselfe also was supposed to have perished with them, but he and the other two horsemen besides caught hold of certaine twigs of officers that grew under the bankes on the farther side. So *Boichar* made an end of farther pursuit, as neither daring to take the river, nor beleiving that hee had any enemy for rescue. And thus returned hee to the king with false newes, that *Masanissa* was drowned. And divers poits and courtiers were sent out to Carthage, to report these exceeding joyfull tidings. This rumour and false fame of *Masanissa* his death, being noised all over Affricke, wrought diversly in the minds of men. But *Masanissa* keeping himselfe close in a secret cave, whiles hee cured his hurt with certaine herbes, lived for some daies by the breiving and robbrie of the other two horsemen. So soon as the wound was once healed up and skinned over, and that he thought himselfe able to abide the sitting & thinking of his horse, with exceeding courage and boldnesse he set forward againe to claime and recover his kingdome. And having in the way as he passed, gotten together unto him not above fortie horse, by that time that hee was come among the *Malythians*, and gave out openly who hee was, he prevailed so much with them, that as well in regard of their ancient favour and love toward him, as also for the unexpected joy, that they saw him alive and sound, whom they verily beleived to have beene dead; within few daies there were gathered and assembled unto him 6000 foot, and 4000 horse. So as not onely hee was restored againe, and put in full possession of his fathers kingdome, but also waited and spoiled the confederate nations of the *Carthaginians*, yet, and the frontiers and confines of the *Masæyli*, which belonged to the kingdome and dominion of *Syphax*. Having thus provoked *Syphax* to war, he set him downe and encamped betwene the cities of *Cirtha* and *Hippo*, upon the ridge of certaine hills, places of advantage and commodious in all respects. Then *Syphax* supposing it a greater peece of work, and of more importance than to be managed by his captaines, sent part of his forces under the conduct of his sonne, the young prince, named *Vermina*, and gave order unto him to wheele about with his power, and whiles the enemy was amused upon himselfe one way, to charge upon him behind another way. So *Vermina* set forth, and tooke his way by night, because he was to give the charge closely, and in secret. But *Syphax*, who was to shew himselfe with banner displayed, and to bid the enemy battell, marched openly by day light, and advanced forward. And when the time (as hee thought) was come, wherein they that were sent about to fetch a compass, might reach to the place appointed, himselfe also trusting as well in the multitude of his men, as in the ambush laid before at the enemies backe, set his battell in array; directly upon the side of the hill, which with gentle and easie ascent ariseth, and leadeth toward the enemy. *Masanissa* likewise arranged his men, presuming most of all in the plot of ground, which served much better for his advantage to fight. The battell was sharpe and cruell, and for a long time doubtfull. While the site of the place, and valour of the souldiours much helped *Masanissa*; and the number againe on the other side, which exceeded beyond all measure, and made too great odds, availed *Syphax*. This multitude divided into two battaillons, whiles the one was opposed affront the enemy, and the other compassed about their taile and backe part, gave the victorie cleere unto *Syphax*: insomuch, as the enemy thus enclosed both before and behind, had no way in the world to escape. Whereupon all the footmen and horsemen both were either killed or taken prisoners. Onely two hundred horsemen or very neere so many, which were gathered in a ring together about *Masanissa*, hee commaunded to cast themselves by troupes and squadrons into three severall companies, and so to pearce and breake through: but first he appointed them a certaine place before, where they should rallie and meet together againe after their scattered flight. Himselfe in person, at one side which he had proposed to himselfe before, made meanes to passe through the very pikes & darts of the enemies, and escaped. Two of those squadrons tarried still behind, the one for feare yielded to the enemy, the other sticking to it, & making more resistance, was overcharged with shot of arrowes and darts. But *Masanissa* winding in & out, to and fro, deluded *Vermina*, who pressed hard upon him, and followed him fast at heeles: and after he had wearied him out at length in tedious travaile and desperate pursuit, caused him perforce to give over the chase. While he himselfe with seventie horse gat away as farre as to the lesse * *Syrtis*. Where he set up his rest, & quieted his conscience, in that hee had so often right valiantly fought to recover the inheritance of his fathers kingdome: and led his life betwene the * *Punicke Emporia*, and the nation of the *Garamants*, untill the arrivall of the *Romane* navie, and *C. Lælius* into Affricke. These presumptions

* Golfo di Capri. These Syrtis, as well they are called as the lesse, as the Mediterranean sea near Tripoli, full of shelves and brars: & are called Secche or Baros de Barbaria.
* The sea coast, neere the Syrtis, so called for their sterility, as Ortelius hath mentioned of Polybus.

A tions induce me to thinke and beleieve, that *Masanissa* came afterwards also to *Scipio* with a small power of horsemen, rather than with any great aid. For that multitude was besitting the state of a prince, established in his kingdome, but this small number befecmed the meane condition and fortune of a poore exile and banished man.

Now to return againe unto our storie. The *Carthaginians* having lost the cornet of horsemen aforesaid, together with their captain, and raised another power of horse, by taking new musters, made *Hanno* the sonne of *Amilcar* commaunder over them. And first by messengers and letters missive they sent for *Asdruball* and *Syphax* one after another, and at last also even by Embassadors and Orators. As for *Asdruball*, they required him to succour his native country, beset in manner round about: *Syphax* they besought and requested to provide for the safetie & defence of Carthage and all Affricke.

B At that time *Scipio* was encamped neere *Vtica*, within a mile of the citie: for he was removed from the sea side, where some few daies, he kept a standing camp close to the fleet. *Hanno* having received a power of Cavallerie, nothing sufficient and strong ynough to charge upon the enemy, nor so much as to guard and defend the countrie from wasting and spoiling, first before all other things cast about and devised, how he might augment his number of horsemen by a new levie and enroulement. And albeit hee rejected none of other nations, yet hee levied and waged the *Numidians* especially, the best horsemen simple in all Affricke. Now had hee gathered together upon a foure thousand horse, when hee surprised a citie named *Salera*, almost fiftene miles from the *Romane* campe. And when word was brought to *Scipio*, that so great a Cavallerie tooke up their summer standing harbour within a towne; Tush (quoth hee) I passe not, if they were more than they are, so long as they have such a one for to be their leader. And thinking with himselfe, that the more slowly the enemies went to worke, the lesse hee was to slacke his businesse, he sent *Masanissa* before with the horsemen, and gave commaundement to ride up and down before the gates, to brave the enemy, and to traine him forth to fight: with this direction, that when their whole multitude was issued forth, and the skirmish growne so hote, that hee might not well endure the charge, hee should give ground and recule by little and little, for hee would himselfe come in due time to the battell. And staying no longer behind, than whiles he thought *Masanissa* who was gone afore, had time ynough to traine the enemies forth, he followed after in person with the *Romane* horsemen, and marched closely under the hills (which stood fide for the purpose, opposite betwene him and the enemy) about every turning of the way. *Masanissa* for the nones according to the direction given him, one while right courageously galloped before the gates, as one that would brave and terrifie the enemy, another while as if he had been afraid himselfe, gave backe; and by this counterfeite shew of fearefulnessse, hee made the enemies more bold and venturous, and drew them on to pursue him rashly. But as yet they were not all gone forth, and their captaine was diversly troubled, and had much adoew with them, whiles he was faine to force and compell some that had taken their load of wine, and were heave headed and sleepe withall, to arme themselves, and to bridle their horses, and to stay others from running out of all the gates at once confusedly, without order and array, and without their colours. *Masanissa* caught up those, and cut them short, that apart from their companie at the first setting out, rode venturously forward, and tooke no heed to themselves: but anone when more of them rushed forth at once out of the gate, the skirmish was maintained with equall valour on both sides, and at last, when all the horsemen were abroad and joined in battell, *Masanissa* was not possibly able to hold out any longer. Howbeit he fled not outright, but as he gave backe leisurely, he received them as they violently charged upon him, so long, untill he had trained them to those hills, under which the *Romane* Cavallerie lay hidden. Then rose the horsemen from out of their ambush, themselves in heart, and their horses fresh; and environned *Hanno* and the *Africanes*, who with fighting and following were tired out and overwied: *Masanissa* likewise turned his horses so daimeily, and made head againe, and returned to battaile afresh: so there were environed, intercepted, and killed in the place together with *Hanno* himselfe the Generall, fast upon a thousand, even as many as were in the vaward, and could not well retire themselves backward. The rest affrighted with the death of their leader, fled with bridle on horse necke: whome for the space of three miles the conquerors followed in chase upon the spur, and either slew or tooke prisoners two thousand horsemen of them besides. Amongst whom there were, as it is for certaine knowne, no fewer than two hundred naturall *Carthaginians*, men of armes, and divers of them

of good marke, both in regard of wealth and riches, as also of birth and noble parentage.

It fortune that the very same day when this hapned, the ships which had transported over the bootie into Sicilie, returned back charged with provision of victuals, as if they bodened and foretoked by their arrivall, that they were come for a new pillage and fresh prizes. But all writers do not accord, that two Carthaginian captaines of one name were slaine in two battailes of the Cavallerie: for feare (as I verily take it) least by telling one thing twice, they might seeme to deceive and abuse the reader. Certes, *Calius* and *Valerius* report that *Hanno* was taken prisoner. Then *Scipio* bestowed rich gifts upon the captaines and horsemen according to their good service, and as they every one deserved: but Above all the rest, he highly rewarded *Masinissa*. And when he had placed a strong garison in Salera, himselfe with the rest of his armie made rodes; and not only wasted and spoiled the lands and villages all the way as he went, but also forced and woon certaine cities and borough townes: and so having filled all places farre and neere with the terror of warre and hostilitie, he returned to the camp, the seventh day after he set forth; bringing with him great numbers of people, much store of cattaille, and prizes of all sorts; and so dispatched away the ships a second time freight and laden with the spoiles of enemies. After this, he sent all light expeditions, small rodes and sassage of the country townes, and bent his whole power and all his forces against *Vtica*: intending if he had once woon it, to settle himselfe there, and to make it his seate against forward, and a sure place of defence in all his other exploits that he meant to perform. Thither at one time were the sea servitours brought from the armada, to that part of the citie where the sea beateth upon the walls: likewise the land souldiers advanced from the hill that overlooketh the towne, and joyneth in manner hard to the very walls. As for artillerie and engines of batterie and assault, some they had brought with them, and others were sent out of Sicilie with the victuals: and daily new were made in the common Armorie and Arsenall, where there were of purpose artificers continually kept at worke for the framing of such fabricks and peeces of batterie. The men of *Vtica* beset thus round about on every side with so great preparation and ordinance of war, reposed their whole hope and confidence in the Carthaginians; and the Carthaginians relied themselves upon *Asdruball*, in case that he could sollicite *Syphax* for to set to his helping hand. But all things went but slowly forward, and they bestirred themselves not so quickly, as they should have done who wanted so much aid as they did. And *Asdruball* when he had with all the meanes and the best shift that he could make, gathered together thirtie thousand foote and three thousand horse, yet durst he not approach the enemy, before the coming of *Syphax* to joine with him. At length came *Syphax* with fiftie thousand foote, and ten thousand horse: and immediately departing from Carthage, encamped not farre from *Vtica* and the Romane campe. Whose arrivall yet was so important, and wrought this effect, that *Scipio* after fortie dayes welneere (during which time he had invested *Vtica* and tried all mastries but in vain) was compelled to remove his siege and dislodge, without doing any good at all. For now the winter approached, and he fortified his standing leaguer for winter harbour upon a promontorie, which joyneth to the continent by a thin and narrow ridge of a banke, lieth out a good way and beareth into the sea. And with one and the selfsame trench and rampier, he empaled both his armie, and also the ships that lay up in the dock. The legions were quartered and lodged in the mids of the said cape: the ships that were drawn up to land, and likewise the sailers and mariners, kept the strond on the north side of the hill: the horsemen tooke up the vale toward the south, upon the hanging and side thereof, shooting to the other shore. And these were the acts atcheived in Affricke untill the end of Autumne.

Besides the provision of corne gathered from all parts out of the countries pilled and wasted round about, and other store of victuals brought out of Sicilie and Italie, *Cn. Octavius* the Vizetor arrived with a mightie deale of graine out of Sardinia, sent from *T. Claudius* the Pretor, who had the government of that Iland: so as not onely the old garners already made were replenished, but also those that were newly built. Onely there wanted apparell for the armie. Whereupon *Octavius* had in commission to breake with the Pretor about that matter, namely, what liveries might be provided out of that province, and sent for the supplie of that defect. Which businesse was not slackly followed, but with all diligence performed, in such sort, as in short space there were sent over 1200 side horsemens cotes, and twelve thousand short cassocks and jackets.

During

A During the time of that summer wherein these occurrences passed in Affricke, *P. Sempronius* the Confull who governed the Province of the Brutij, skirmished suddenly in a disordered manner with *Anniball* upon the very way, within the territorie of Croton: where the fight was maintained rather by Squadrons and companies one to one, than by any set bodie of a ranged battaile. The Romanes were discomfited; and having lost in this conflict (which might more truly be called a tumultuous skuffling than a full fight) upon 1200 of the Confulls armie, they retired in great hast and feare into their camp. Yet durst not the enemies make an assault upon them within their hold. But the Confull dislodged from thence in the dead time of the next night, and having dispatched a courier before unto *P. Licinius* the Viz-confull, for to come forward with his legions, he joyned his power unto them. So they returned againe unto *Anniball*, being now two Generals, and two entier armies. And without any stay, to battaile they went: whiles the Confull on the one side stood upon this his power redoubled and reenforced, and *Anniball* on the other side tooke hart for his fresh victorie aforesaid. *Sempronius* advanced with his legions into the vaward; *P. Licinius* with his, kept the rereward. The Confull at the very first shock and beginning of the medley, vowed a chappell to *Fortune* under the name of *Primigenia*, in case he might have the honor of that day, and vanquish his enemies. And surely his vow was heard, and he obtained his desire: for the Carthaginians were discomfited and put to flight, and more than foure thousand armed men slaine, three hundred or somewhat under taken prisoners, fortie horse of service gotten alive, and eleven ensignes woun and caried away. *Anniball* dismayed and daunted at this adverse and unluckie battaile, withdrew his forces to Croton.

C At the same time *M. Cornelius* the Confull, in another side of Italie held in awe Herruria, not so much by force of armes, as by rigorous processe of law and severe justice: for all that country in manner was turned to *Mago*, and by his meanes and favor hoped for a change, and were altogether set upon novelties and an alteration of the state. The examinations & judicall trials of these matters the Confull followed by vertue of commission from the Senate, and not upon his owne motive & seeking: and went through therewith, setting aside all partialitie, nothing respective either of favor or displeasure. In such sort, that many of the nobilitie of Tuscanie (such as either had repaired themselves in person, or had sent their agents unto *Mago*, for to treat with him about the revolt and rebellion of the States wherein they lived) were at first, as many as made personall apparance, condemned: but afterwards, such as had guiltie consciences, went into D voluntarie exile: and being condemned in their absence, in stead of their bodies which were gone out of the way, they yielded and left behind them their goods only, which might be forfeit and confiscate as pawns to pay for the punishment of their persons.

While the Coss. were thus employed in divers places one from the other, the Censors in the meane time at Rome, *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius*, held a new choise and review of Senators: and *Q. Fabius* was once againe chosen the principall Senator and President of the Senat. Seven in number of them were noted with ignominie and disgrace, but not one of all those had suten in the yvorie chaire and borne office of state. They looked narrowly & most faithfully to the publicanes, that had the charge of the city-buildings to see them kept wind-tight & water-tight, and in sufficient reparations. They publicly gave order for a paved causie to be made, from the beaulty market unto the temple of *Venus*, and all about the shops and scaffolds in the shew-places. Also the church of *Magna Mater* [the great mother of the gods] they caused to bee built in the mount Palatine. They instituted also a new tax and impost out of the provision of salt. And whereas both at Rome and throughout all Italie, salt was sold at a * Sextant by the Modius, they set and fermed this commoditie, to be served out at the same price still in Rome: but in the market townes and faires, they enhaunfed the price higher, and in sundrie places they rated it at divers prices. This tax was devised as all men verily beleaved, by the one of the Censors, for anger, and an old grudge that he bare unto the people; because he had bene in times past unjustly judged and condemned by them, and therefore in the pension and price of salt they supposed that those tribes were most pinched and charged who were the means of the hard doome that passed against him. And hereupon it came that this *Livius* was furnished *Salinotor*. The Cense and numbring of the citizens was finished the later, because the Censors had sent about into all provinces, that the full number should be taken of all Romanie citizens, who were without in the armies, and presentment made accordingly. So there were registred in all, with those abroad, two hundred and seven and fiftie thousand persons. And *C. Claudius Nero* was he that performed

Rrr iij

and

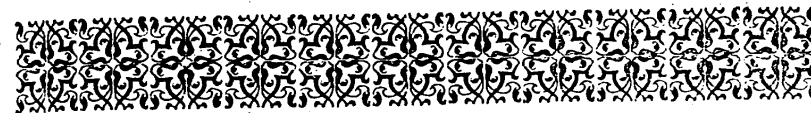
*Cybele, or
Idra.
At this time is
appeareth by
Festus and o-
thers. At Affric
were Sextenta-
rij and not 1. li-
brales, at Rome:
so that Sextans
which before was
the fixth part of
As, and a new or
halfe farthing
englishe, now was
raised to the
worth of the
whole, and val-
ued as three far-
things, the price
of a Modius of
salt in Rome, set
downe by Livius
Salinator.*

and accomplished this numbring and assessment. After this there was a Cense or taxation taken of the twelve Colonies, a thing then brought up and never before. And according to the relation of the Censors they were entred into the subsidie booke at Rome: that it might appeare upon record in the publicke instruments and writings, what number of able men for warre they could make, and what every man was worth in money and goods. Then they began to take a survey of the gentlemen and knights of Rome. And it fortuned so, that both Censors had horses of the cities provision and charges. And when the crier came to cite those of the tribe Pollia, which in the name of *M. Livius* was enrolled, and made some stay to call the Censor himselfe by name: Call hardly (quoth *Nero*) for *M. Livius*. And whither it were upon the relics of an olde cankered malice, or that he tooke a foolish pride and vaine delight to seeine forth to be severe and precise, hee commaunded *M. Livius* to sell his horse of service, because hee had bene sometimes a man condemned by the doome of the people. Semblably *M. Livius* when the crier was come to the tribe Narniensis, and to the name of his colleague, awarded *C. Claudius* to sell & make away his great horse likewise: & that for two causes, the one for that he had borne false witness & deposed wrongfully against him: the other, because he was not soundly and in truth of heart reconciled unto him, when they were made friends. Whereupon there grew a foule jarre and contention betweene them, whiles they passed not to impeach and stein the credit one of the other, even with the touch and hazard of their owne good name and reputation. At the end of the Censureship, when *C. Claudius* had sosome to keepe and observe the lawes, and was ascended up into the chamber of the cities treasure; among the other names of those that hee left as disfranchised and tributaries, he declared his colleague for one, and gave up his name in the roll. Afterwards came *M. Livius* into the chamber aforesaid, and setting aside the tribe Metia only (which neither had condemned himselfe, nor elected him a condemned person for Consull or Censor) he declared the whole people of Rome likewise suspended, even foure and thirtie tribes; and lett them all, no better than meer straungers and aliens, in regard of taxes & tributes: and why? because they had both condemned him, an innocent and guiltlesse man; & being thus condemned, had created him Coss. & Censor notwithstanding: neither could they denie but that they had erred and done amisse once in their judgement, and twice in their elections. And among those foure and thirtie tribes, he pronounced that *C. Claudius* also should be reckoned for one: protesting moreover, that if he could have found any one precedent, to have led him to the disfranchising of one man twice, he would have left *C. Claudius* by name, as a noted person by himselfe, in the checkroll of the cittie chamber.

Surely that reciprocall debate betweene the two Censors, in depraving and diffaming one another, was but a lewd & naughtie part by them plaid: but this chastisement of the peoples levitie and inconstancie, was a worthie thing, and becomming the Censors gravitie of that time. While the Censors stood thus in exceeding disgrace and hatred with the people, *Cn. Bebius* a Tribune of the Commons, taking his time and occasion hereby to rise and become great, ended them both and commenced an action against them before the bodie of the people. But this designation of his was soone dashed and came to nothing, through the generall accord and content of the lords of the Counsell: to the end that in time to come, no such example might bee extant upon record, that the Censors dignitie should be exposed to the variable & inconstant pleasure of the people.

The same summer in the Brutians countie, *Petilia* had bin alreadie forced & wooen by the Col. when as *Consentia* and *Pandosia*, with other mean and base peeces, willingly yeelded themselves to his devotion. Now when the time drew nere of the election of new magistrats, it was thought good that *Cornelius* should bee sent for to Rome out of Tuscane, where there was no warre at all, rather than the other Consull out of his province: who being come, created for Consuls *Cnaeus Servilius Capio*, and *Cn. Servilius Geminus*. After this, the court was assembled for the chusing of Pretours, wherein were elected *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, *P. Quintilius Varus*, *P. Aelius Paterius*, and *P. Valerius Tappalus*. These two last were Ediles of the Commons when they were chosen Pretors. The Consull after these elections were finished and past, returned to his annie againe into Hetruria. Certain Priests and Prelats that year died, & new were chosen in their roumes. *P. Veturius Philo*, *Flamin* of *Mars* was created, installed, and inaugurated, in steed of *M. Aemilius Regillus*, who deceased the year before. And in place of *M. Pomponius Matto*, who was both Augur and Decemvir, there was advanced into the dignitie of Decemvir, *M. Aurelius Cottus*: & into the office of Augur,

A gur, *Tit. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very young man: a rare thing to be seene in those daies, in the bestowing of sacerdotall and church-promotions. In that year was set up in the capitoll a chariot drawne with foure steeds, all of beaten gold, by *C. Livius* and *M. Servilius Geminus*, Ediles of the chaire for the time being. The Romane games also were exhibited and renewed againe for two daies: likewise the plaies and pastimes called *Plebeij*, for other two daies by the Ediles of the Commons, *P. Aelius* and *P. Villius*. And for the greater honour of those games, the feast of *Jupiter* was solemnly kept and celebrated.



THE XXX. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the

Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the thirtith Booke.



N Africk, *Scipio* by the helpe of *M. Asiniss* a in sundrie battels vanquished the Carthaginians, together with the aforesaid *Syphax* king of the Numidians, & *Asdruball*. He woon & sacked two camps of the enemies, wherein there perished by fire and sword, to the number of 40000 men. By the means of *C. Laelius* he tooke *Syphax* alive. *M. Asiniss* a when he had taken prisoner queen *Sophonisba*, the wife of *Syphax* & daughter of *Asdrubal*, by & by fell in love with her, and by way of marriage tooke her to wife: but being chastised & rebuked therfore by *Scipio*, he sent unto her a cup of poison: which she drank, & therof died. By the manifest willies of *Scipio* it came to passe, that the Carthaginians driven to despair, were faine to call for *Anniball* out of Italie, to save the maine chance, and defend their whole state: Who, in the sixteenth yeare of the warres, departed out of Italie sailed over into Affricke, and assaid by meanes of conference, to make peace with *Scipio*. And when they could not agree about the conditions and capitulations thereof, he fought, and was overthrowne in the plainesfield. The Carthaginians at their suite and request, had peace granted. And when *Gisgo* dissuaded that peace, *Anniball* plucked him backe with his hand, and so after some excuse made of his rude rafhnesse in that behalfe, himselfe spake for peace. *Mago* who had fought with the Romanes in the countie of the *Isurians*, was grievously wounded, and being sent for home into Affricke by certaine Embassadors, in the way died of his hurt. *M. Asiniss* a was fully restored to his kingdome. *Scipio* being returned to the cittie of Rome, had the glorie of a most honourable and noble triumph: whom *Q. Tereus Culeo*, a Senator, followed with a cap [of freedome] upon his head. *Scipio* was surnamed *Africinus*: but doubtfull it is, whether he came by that title through the favour of his soldiers before, or the generall applause and affection of the people. But this is certaine, that he was the first Generall that ever was intitled in his style, with the surname of a nation by himselfe conquered.



*W*hen *Cn. Servilius Capio*, and *C. Servilius Geminus* (Coss. in that yeare, which by computation was the sixteenth of the second Punick war) proposed unto the Senate, concerning the affaires of the State, the managing of the warres, and the government of the provinces: the LL. ordained and gave order, That the Consuls should either agree betweene themselves, or els cast lots whether of them should goe into the Brutian land against *Anniball*: and whether should take upon him the charge of the province of Hetruria and the Ligurians: with commissiion for him, whose hap it was to rule the province of the Brutij, to receive the armie from *P. Sempronius* the Consull; & the said *P. Sempronius* (for he also as Vice-consull was to continue in place of government one year longer) to succeed in the roume of *P. Licinius*, who was to return home to Rome.

Rome. This *P. Sempronius* among other commendable parts (wherein no citizen in his time was counted more sufficiently furnished than himselfe) was taken also for a brave warriour and man at armes. For being richly endued with all those good blessings that either nature or fortune can afford unto a man, he was both noble in birth, & wealthie in substance. In beautifull personage he excelled, for strength of bodie he farre surpassed. Of tongue and speech he was thought most eloquent, whether he were to plead a cause at the barre, or occasion offered either in Senat house or before the assemblie of the people to perswade or dissuade, to give counsell one way or other. In the Pontificall canons and laws, he was singularly well learned and skillfull. Besides all these praise-worthie qualities (I say) his Consulship had given him experience also in militarie affairs, and made him a worthie soldiour. The same order that was taken for the Brutians province, was also decreed for Hetruria & the Ligurians. *M. Cornelius* was commaunded to put over & deliver up his armie to the new Consul: & himselfe to continue still in government, & to rule the province of Fraunce with the strength of those legions which *L. Scribonius* the Pretor had under his charge the yeare before. After this, the Consuls cast lots for their provinces. Vnto *C. Cato* fell the Brutii, unto *Servilius Geminus*, Hetruria. Then the Pretours provinces also were put to the choise of lotterie. And *P. Aelius* his lot was to have the civile iurisdiction of the citie of Rome: *P. Lentulus* to rule Sardinia: *P. Villius* to governe Sicilie: and *Quintilius Varus* to have the charge of Ariminum with two legions, which were commaunded by *Sp. Lucretius*. And *Lucretius* had his commission revived againe for a longer time, to the end, that hee might reedifie the towne Genua, which by *Mago* the Carthaginian had been rased and destroyed. As for *P. Scipio*, his commission and government was not limited by any expresse time, but onely with the end of the warres, and to continue untill those wars in Affricke were fully determined. A decree also passed, that there should be a solemne procession and supplication holden to this effect, and in these termes, That whereas he had failed over into the province of Affricke, this voiage and expedition of his might turne to the safetie and good of the people of Rome, of himselfe, and his armie. In Sicilie were enrolled three thousand souldiours. And for as much as the whole strength and manhood of that province had been shipped over into Affricke: for feare least some Armada should cut over out of Affricke, it was thought expedient to guard all the sea coasts of Sicilie, with a fleet of shippes saile. And *Villius* had with him into Sicilie thirteene shippes, newly built; the rest of the old shippes in Sicilie were repaired. For Admirall of this armada was appointed *M. Pomponius*, the Pretour of the former yeare, whose government was prorogued, and hee embarked the new souldiours brought out of Italie. The like number of shippes the LL. of the Senat assigned unto *Cn. Octavius* the Pretour of the former yeare, with the same commission of government, for to defend the coasts of Sardinia. And *Lentulus* was commaunded to allow unto the Pretour two thousand souldiours for to man and furnish those shippes. Moreover, the sea coasts of Italie, because it was uncertaine to what parts the Carthaginians would make out their navie (and like it was, that where they could espie any place weake and disurnished of sufficient strength and garrison, thither they would direct and bend their forces) were committed to *M. Martius* the Pretour of the former yeare, that hee should scour the seas, and keepe that side, with as many shippes as the other. And for to furnish that fleet of his, the Consuls by order from the Senat enrolled three thousand souldiours, and reserved two legions besides, against all doubtfull chaunces of warre whatsoever. As for the two provinces of Spaine, together with the armies there, and the whole government, they were appointed to the old Generals, *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidennus*. So the Roman warres for that yeare were maintained with twentie legions in all, and with a hundred and sixtie shippes of warre. Then the Pretours were commaunded to take their journey into their several provinces. But the Consuls were charged before they departed from the citie, to exhibit those great Games, which *T. Manlius Torquatus* the Dictator had vowed against the fift yeares end, if so be the Commonweale remained in the same good and fortunate estate, during that time.

Now there entred into mens minds new doubts and strange scruples of conscience, by reason of divers prodigious sights and tokens reported out of many places. For beleevd it was that certaine ravens not only pecked and rased with their bills, but also ate and devoured the gold in the Capitoll. At Ancium the mice and rats gnawed a crowne of gold. About Capua, a huge number of locusts (but from whence they came, no man knew for certaine) overpried all the grounds, and filled the fields. At Reate there was a horse-colt foled with five feete. At Anagnia were seene in the element, at the first, divers fire-lights shooting and flashing here and there; and

after-

A afterwards a mightie blasing comet burning. At Frusino a certaine arch compassed the sonne with a thin course like a line: and afterwards a greater circle of the sonne enclosed the said rundle from without-forth. In the territorie of Arpi, the earth in a plaine champain field setled and sunke downe and made an exceeding great chinke. As one of the Consuls killed the first beast for sacrifice, the liver thereof was found headlesse. These monstrous tokens were expiate and purged with sacrifices of the bigger sort: and the colledge of the priests and bishops shewed unto what gods the sacrifice should bee made. These things once done and performed, the Consuls and Pretours went forth into their provinces: yet so, as all of them had a speciall regard of Affricke, as if it had bene their owne province fallen unto every one of them by lot; either because they saw that therein rested and consisted the whole importance of all affaires, and the maine state of the warre: or els because they would grauise and currie favour with *Scipio*, whom now the whole citie made court unto, and chiefly respected. And therefore not only out of Sardinia as is before said, but also out of Sicilie and Spaine, there was transported thither raiment and corne: yea and armor also out of Sicilie, and all kind of victuals, for the maintenance of the armie. And albeit it was winter season, yet *Scipio* flaked no affaires and works of war: which being many, amused his mind at once on every side, and kept him continually occupied. For Vtica hee besieged and encamped, he lay opposite to *Anniball*, and even within his sight: the Carthaginians were with their shippes aforesaid, and put to sea, and a navie they had rigged, furnished and trimmed, for to intercept all victuals that came. Amid these cares he forgot not to win againe the love of *Syphax*, if haply now hee had his fill of love-delights with his fresh wife, since hee had the plentifull fruition thereof, as much as heart could desire. But *Syphax* rather tendered conditions of peace betweene the Romans and the Carthaginians, to wit, that the Romans should depart out of Affricke, and the Carthaginians out of Italie; than seemed to give any hope, that he would revolt from the Carthaginians, in case the warre continued still. And for mine own part, I would rather beleevd that these matters were treated upon by entercourse of messengers, as most writers doe report, than that *Syphax* himselfe in person, as *Antias Valerius* recordeth, came into the Roman campe to a parle and conference thereabout. At the first the Roman General, would scarcely lend his eare to heare those ouvertures: but afterwards, to the end that there might bee some colourable and probable cause for his people to resort unto the campe of the enemies, he seemed not so streight laced, nor to denie the same articles so stiffely, but pretended some hope, D that by often debating thereof to and fro betweene them, they should at length grow to some good point and finall agreement. The wintering harbours of the Carthaginians were in a manner all of wood, but built of slender stufte gathered out of the fields at adventure hand over head, where they could meet withall. The Numidians for the most part lay in cabbins and sheds, walled and wound with reeds especially, and covered and thatched with mats of sedge & such like, here and there scattering without all order: in such sort, as some of them taking up their lodging at their owne pleasure, without direction and commaundement of any officer, quartered without the trench and rampier. *Scipio* advertised hereof, conceived good hope to find some opportunitie one time or other to fire the campe of the enemies. Vpon a certaine day therefore, he sent in traine of those Commissioners whom he addressed unto *Syphax*, in steed of pages & drudges, and disguised in slaves and bondmens weed, the bravest souldiours of a band, (men of approved valor, wisdom, and discretion) who whiles the Commissioners were busie in conference, should range about the campe, some one way, some another; to espie and marke all the passages and waies in and out; the site and forme generally of the whole leaguer, and particularly of every part; where the Carthaginians quartered; where the Numidians lodged; what distance there was betweene *Asdruball* his tents, and the kings pavilions; to observe also and learne withall, the order and manner of their sentinels, their wards and watches, whether by night or by day they lay at more vantage to be surprised by an ambush. And according as there were divers meetings and conferences, so of purpose some were sent at one time, some at another; to the end that more and more still should have the spiall and full knowledge of all things in the enemies camp. Now when as the oftener that this matter was treated of, the greater hope of peace both *Syphax* had and the Carthaginians likewise by his means; the Delegates or Commissioners aforesaid of the Romans, said that they were expressly forbidden by their General to returne without a full and resolute answer. And therefore they willed him to make short worke at once, and to bethinke himselfe what to doe, either to stand upon his owne determinat purpose (if he were resolved) or els to consult

sult with *Asdruball* and the Carthaginians, and determine accordingly. For now high time it is, say they, either to conclude peace, or to prosecute warre freshly, and to go through with it lustily. Thus while *Syphax* consulreth with *Asdruball*, and *Asdruball* with the Carthaginians, both the espials had sufficient time to view and see all, and *Scipio* also good leasure to provide necessities for his purpose. Moreover, by this motive and hope of peace, as well the Carthaginians as the Numidians, began (as commonly in such cases it falleth out) to be negligent & slack in forecalt, and to provide that in the meane while they came by no harme and detriment from the enemy. At length an answer was returned, and some clauses put in, without all reason, and founding to much inconvenience, by occasion that the Romanes seemed too too faine and desirous of a peace. Which fell out very fitly for *Scipio*, whose only desire was to pick some just quarrell for to breake the truce and abstinence of warre: and so the next day (for in the meane time he said he would conferre with his counsell) he answered the kings messenger in this wise, That besides himselfe alone, who laboured all in vaine and could do no good, there was none liked of the peace; and therefore he willed him to report unto the king his maister, that there was no other hope for *Syphax* to haue peace with Romanes, unlesse he renounced and cast off quite the friendship of the Carthaginians. And thus he ended the truce, that with free conscience being discharged of his promise in that behalfe, he might go forward in his designements, and bring his enterprise to his desired issue. So having put his ships to sea (for now the prime of spring was come) he embarked in them his artilerie, his ordinance and engines of batterrie, as if he meant to assault *Vtica* on the sea side. And sent out two thousand souldiers, to possesse themselves of the hill that overlooked *Vtica*, which he had held and kept before: both to withdraw the minds of the enemies from that which he secretly designed and intended, and amuse them upon the care and regard of another thing; and also to prevent a mischief, that whiles himselfe should go against *Syphax* and *Asdruball*, they might not fall forth of the citie, and assaile his camp, left with a small guard to defend it. Having made this way, and laid this ground aforehand, he assembled his counsell, where he commaunded as well the foresaid spies to lay forth and utter what they had scene and found, as also *Masanissa*; who was acquainted with all the manner and fashions of the enemies: and then at last he declared and shewed unto them, what himselfe intended to execute the next night. Then he gave commaundement to the Tribunes or Kn. Marshals, that so soone as the counsell was risen, and the court dismissed in the Generals pavilion, at the first sound of trumpets immediately they should bring their legions out of the camp. Thus according to his edict, the ensignes began a little before sunne setting to set forth. About the first watch they put the souldiers in aray readie for to march, and by midnight (for they were to journey seven miles) they going a faire & soft pace, approached the enemies camp. There *Scipio* gave unto *Laelius* a part of the forces together with *Masanissa* and his band of Numidians, with direction to invade the camp of *Syphax*, and to set fire thereupon. Then calling them by themselves both apart one from the other, *Laelius* Imean and *Masanissa*, he earnestly besought them of all love to make up and recompence by carefull industrie and devot that providence and forecalt, which the darknesse of the night disappointed them of. As for himselfe, he ment to set upon *Asdruball* and the Carthaginian camp: but begin he would not, before he saw the fire amongst the kings tents. And that was not long first ere it began: for so soone as the fire caught hold of the next pavilions whereupon it was cast, by and by it tooke all that stood neere it, and so forward to those that joynted unto them, untill it spred into all places of the camp. And verily into a great fright they were all put, as they could not choose, but needs must in a night skare fire, which was runne all over in so short a time. Howbeit, they thought it some fire by mischance only, and not the hand of enemy, by occasion and meanes of warre: and therefore unarmed as they were, and lightly appointed without weapons, they ran forth by heapes to quench the fire, and light full upon their armed enemies, the Numidians especially; who by *Masanissa* that was well acquainted with the manner of the kings camp, were bestowed in convenient places, at the ends of every avenue and passage. Many in their very beds and couches, betwene sleeping and waking, were consumed with the flame: many running headlong in this their hasty flight, one upon another, were in the streights of the gates troden under foote, or els thrust and crushed to death. The Sentinels and watch of the Carthaginians, espied at first the fire thining and flaming out: after whom others awakened and raised out of their nests by this nightlie tumult and alarme, might behold and plainly see the same: but they likewise were deceived as well as the other, and beleevd verily that

A that the fire began of it selfe by some misfortune, no man wist how. The confused noyse and cry also, which was heard whiles they were a killing, slaying and wounding, would not suffer them to know the truth indeede, whether the same arose upon their affright and sodaine feare by night, or otherwise. And therefore every man naked as he was, and suspecting no practise at all of the enemy, at all the gates as they stood next, did what he could to bring with him such instruments and meanes as were to put out the fire; and happened unwares upon the armie of the Romanes. Now after they were all massacred and put to the sword to the last man, not only upon an ordinarie hatred betwene enemies, but also because there might not escape so much as one to cary newes unto the rest: *Scipio* immediately entred the gates, being not warded, but altogether neglected, as in such a fearefull garboile and hurlyburly it was no mervaille. Then they fell a flinging of fire upon the lodgings and sheds that stood next, so as the flame brake out and shewed at first as if it had bene dispersed in many places: but afterwards catching and spreading from one tent to another as they joynted close together, they were all at once on a light fire, and burnt every stick downe to the ground. Men and cattails both, fenged and scorched at the first, as they ran in piteous and fearefull sort away: but afterwards as they tumbled one upon another by heapes, stopped and choked up all the waies and avenues of the gates. And looke who escaped the fire, fell upon the edge of the sword. Thus in one day were two camps cleane consumed. Howbeit, both the Generals, and of so many thousands of armed men, only two thousand foote, and five hundred horse armed by halves, and many of them either wounded or els fenged and halfe roasted with the fire, got away, and escaped. There were either slaine or burnt to ashes upon C fortie thousand men: taken prisoners there were above sixe thousand: among whom there happened to be many gentlemen of the Carthaginians, and eleven Senators. Of ensignes were taken 178. Of Numidian horses for service more than 2700. Sixe Elephants gotten alive, eight perished either with fire or sword: and a mightie deale of armour came to their hands: all which the L. Generall *Scipio* consecrated to *Vulcane*, and set on fire. *Asdruball* with some few Africanes that fled with him, rid away upon the spur to the next citie: and thither got all the rest, who remained alive, following the tracks of their captaine, and there saved themselves. But afterwards fearing least that citie would be yelded to *Scipio*, he quit the place and departed. Anon the Romanes were received within the same at the gates standing open for them: and because willingly of themselves they rendred the towne, there was no kind of hostilitie or violence offered unto D them. But two other cities one after another were forced and put to the ranack. All that pillage, as also whatsoever was saved out of the fire in the two camps, was freely given to the souldiers. *Syphax* encamped and fortified himselfe in a strong hold, almost eight miles off. But *Asdruball* made hast to Carthage, for feare least upon the sodaine fright occasioned by this fresh and late overthrow, things should go backward, and the Senat resolve upon some unmanly and unworthy course. Thither at the first arrived such fearefull newes, that all men thought verily that *Scipio* would give over *Vtica* and forthwith lay siege unto Carthage: whereupon their Suffetes (who are the Consuls as it were, of the citie) called the Senate: where three opinions were delivered amongst them. The first, advised to dispatch embassadors to *Scipio* to treat for peace: the second, to send for *Anniball* home to the defence of his owne countrey, against so dangerous and deadly a warre: the third gave counsell, by example of the Romanes constancie and resolution in their adversitie, to repaire the armie and gather new forces, and to request *Syphax* not to abandon and give over the quarrell. This opinion, because *Asdruball* was in place (and all those that sided with the Barchine house and faction, evermore enclined to warre) prevailed and tooke effect. Heereupon, they began to take musters in towne and countrey: Oratours were addressed to *Syphax*, who of himselfe with all his might and maine, was busie in levying fresh forces, and preparing for new warre. For his wife now, not as aforetime, by inticing words, flattering speeches, and pleasant allurements, that might serve the turne to winne and moove the heart of an amorous lover, E but by way of prayer and pitifull compassion had prevailed so much with him already: yea, and with plenteous teares besought him, not to betray her naturall father and native countrey, nor suffer Carthage to be burnt with flaming fire, like as the campos were consumed already. The Embassadors also brought with them new hopes besides, which were presented unto them in as happie a time as might be; who reported, that they fortun'd to meet with 4000 Celtiberians, brave and lustie young men, about the citie named Olba, which had bene

beene levyed and hyred in Spaine by their Commissioners, of purpose sent to take up new souldiers: and that *Asdruball* himselfe in person would be present with a power of no small importance. *Syphax* not onely entertained these Oratours with gracious speeches and courteous answeres, but also shewed them a great number of Numidians, gathered out of the country townes, which some few dayes before he had furnished with armour and horses; promising besides, that he would assemble all the young & able men for service throughout his whole realme. For well he wist, that the late losse and deffecture happened by occasion of fire, & not by fight; and never in warre is a man to be reputed inferiour, before he be vanquished by fine force in ranged battaile. In this wise answered he the Embassadors. And after some few daies, *Asdruball* and *Syphax* once againe joyned their forces together: so as in all, their host amounted to the number well neare of 30000 armed men.

Now when *Scipio* was wholly set upon the assault of *Vtica*, and at the point to bend his ordnance and artillerie against the walles, as thinking verily that the warre was alreadie done with *Syphax* and the Carthaginians; the fame of the warre renewed by them afresh, averted him from his purpose, and caused him to give over that enterprise for a time. So leaving behind him certaine small guards, as well by water as land, onely for a signe and shew of sieges; himselfe with all the strength of his armie, set forward to meet the enemy. At the first he fate him downe and encamped upon an hill, foure miles (or verie neere) distant from the kings campe. The next day after, he descended with his Cavallerie, downe into the Great plaines or downes (for so they call them) lying neere the same hill; and spent that whole day in braving the standing *corps de guard* of the enemies before their campe, and playing upon them with light skirmishes. And so for two daies together next ensuing, they passed the time in divers tumultuous excursions betwene the one part and the other, without doing any great exploit worth the remembrance. On the fourth day, they entred on both sides into the field, and embattailed themselves. *Scipio* marshalled his men in this wise: Behind the Principes in the vaward, he placed the foremost ensignes of his Hastati, or Speares; & the Triarii he bestowed in the rereward, for to second them. The Italian horsemen he set in the right point: the Numidian horse and *Masaniissa* he ranged in the left. *Syphax* and *Asdruball* put their Numidian horse opposite to the Italians, and the Carthaginians to affront *Masaniissa*. In their maine battaile were planted the Celtiberians, to make head against the ensignes of the Romane Legions. Thus ordered and arraunged, they encountered one another, and joyned battaile. At the first onser, both wings at once, as well the Numidians as the Carthaginians, were put backe and forced to give ground: for neither the Numidians (being for the most part country people and rusticall) were able to receive the Romane horsemen; nor the Carthaginians (raw and untrained souldiers) sufficient to hold out with *Masaniissa*; who (besides all other things) for his late and fresh victorie, was so terrible, as there was no dealing with him. So the battaile of the Celtiberians, (naked and disurnished of both her points) stood still: for neither saw they any likelihood to escape and save themselves by flight, considering they knew not the coast of the country; nor hope to obtaine pardon at *Scipio* his hand, against whome, (deserving so well of them and their nation) they were come into Affricke with a power of waged mercenarie souldiers. So being environed on every side with the enemies, they fell one upon another, and obstinately dyed to the last man. But whiles all the enemies were wholly employed about them, *Syphax* and *Asdruball* gained themselves some time to get away and escape. The victours (wearing rather with continuall killing than long fighting) were overtaken with the night. The morrow after, *Scipio* sent out *Laelius* and *Masaniissa*, with all the Romane and Numidian horse, and the nimblest and lightest appointed footmen, after *Syphax* and *Asdruball* for to follow the chase. Himselfe with the strength and bodie of the armie, subdued all the cities thereabout that were within the seignorie of the Carthaginians; whome he partly forced by assault, and partly tooke by surrender for feare. Great was the fright yee maybe sure at Carthage: & they thought no other but that *Scipio* being now in the traine of conquest, would make halt to overrunne the country; and when hee had once brought under his subjection (and that with speed) all the other States there bordering, then at once he would come to assault Carthage. Therefore they fell to repaire and make up the breaches of their walles, and to fortifie them with strong bulwarkes: and everie man did his best to bring out of the country all kind of provision, against the time they should abide a long and tedious siege. Few words or none at all of peace, but much talke of sending Embassadors to call home *Anniball*. The

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A greatest part were of mind and gave advise, to make out the Armada which stood readie rigged, for to intercept the Romanes victuall, and to surprise and assault the Romane fleet, riding before *Vtica* restlessly without feare, and distrusting nothing: for peradventure they might also force the navall campe, left with a small guard for the defence thereof. And to this counsell the most enclined: yet they thought it good to send Embassadors to *Anniball*. For suppose that their navie should speed full well, and haue the happiest successe that they could wish; this onely good would come thereof, that *Vtica* thereby might be in some sort eased of the straight siege wherewith it was invested: as for the defence of Carthage it selfe, they neither had any other Generall besides *Anniball*, nor armie left but onely his. Whereupon the next day after, the ships were shot into the water, and set a float: and withall, the Embassadors tooke their way toward Italie. All things were huddled up and done in hast; such was their fortune that pricked them forward, and gave them no further time. And looke if any one man slackted his businesse here, he was reputed to betray the whole state, and the safetie of all.

Scipio now marching with an armie, laden with the spoile and pillage of many cities; sent the prisoners away, and all the prizes besides, unto the old campe before *Vtica*. And wholly set upon the conquest of Carthage, he surpriseth *Tunes* (a citie abandoned of her guard left for defence) situate from Carthage almost twelve miles. The place, both by mans hand was strongly fenced, and by nature fully seated: and as it might be easily seene from Carthage, so it yeelded a goodly prospect to Carthage, and also to the sea all about Carthage. From thence the Romanes (as they were hard at worke in fortifying themselves with a trench and rampier) discouraged the enemies fleet, sayling from Carthage toward *Vtica*. Laying therefore their worke aside, they founded the remoove, and presently in all hast advanced their ensignes, to prevent that their owne shippes which stood close to the shore, bent wholly to the siege, and nothing fitted and furnished for a sea fight, might not be surpriséd and boarded. For how possibly could ships heavily charged, carrying artillerie, ordnance, and engines of batterie, be ever able to withstand an Armada nimblely appointed, rigged and trimmed for the purpose with all shippe furniture meete for battaile, and manned besides with armed souldiers? How might our ships (I say) withstand the enemy, which either are converted to the use of merchant-shippes of burden; or else too nere set to the walles, that they serve in stead of a platforme and banke, or else of bridges to enter upon the citie? *Scipio* therefore, after he was thither come, and had bestowed his warre shippes with brasse beakes behind in the rereward neare to land, which (as the manner is in sight at sea) might guard and defend the rest: opposed the Hulkes and Carricks in a fourfold ranke and course, in stead of a wall afront the enemy. And because that in the tumult of the fight, those raunges might not be broken and disordered, hee laid the masts and saile-yards over-crosse, reaching from ship to ship; and with strong cables he linked and fastened them all in one together, and laid boards and planks over them, that men might passe euerie way from one ship to another. But under those verie bridges, he left certaine spaces betwene, from whence the light pinnaces and frigats might make out to charge and recharge the enemy, and retire themselves thither againe in safetie. Having thus in hast (according as the time would give him leave) set these matters in order; there were to the number almost of a thousand elect and choise souldiers put a board into those ships of burden, to make head in the forefront, and withstand the violence of the enemies: and furnished they were with offensive weapons, but missive especially, to shoot and sling from them: and such store thereof they had together, as might serve for the assault, were it never so long. Thus appointed and prepared, they waited the coming of the enemies. The Carthaginians, (who if they had made good speed, might have surpriséd them unawares, & found all pell mell and out of order whiles they were troubled, frightened, and to seeke what to do upon that sodaine occurrence) fearing still, as men out of heart and dismayed with so many foiles by land, and thereupon distrusting themselves even at the sea also; where (no doubt) they were the better and more puissant: and having trifled out all the live-long day, and sailed but slowly; about the sun-set arrived in the haven, which the Affricans call *Rufcinon*. And the next morning by sun-rising, they put forth into the open sea, and ranged their ships in order, as against a set navall battaile; supposing that the Romanes would make out and receive them. When they had stood thus a long time, and perceived the enemies not to stir or once to set forward, then at last they charged upon the foresaid hulkes and ships of burden. The service was nothing like a sea-fight, but resembling for all the world the ships that are to as-

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side the walls of the towne. For the hulks were a good deale taller, and stood aloft over the enemies. And the Carthaginians from out of their war-ships armed & breasted with brazen beakes, let fire many a shot in vaine, as launcing them from beneath faintly against the higher place; whereas the shot from above out of the Caricks, was levelled with more strength, and by reason of their owne poise light also with greater force. The light pinnasles for spiall, and the other small barks, which made sallies from under the bridges aforesaid, framed of planks upon masts and saile yards, at the first were encountered, overcharged and hidden onely with the violence and greatnesse of those warre-ships: but afterwards they were some trouble to the defendants of their owne side; for that being intermingled amongst the enemies ships, their owne fellows were forced oftentimes to stay their hands, and neither shooe arrow, nor launce dart, for feare of missing their enemies, and lighting among their owne part. At the last the enemies from out of the Carthaginian ships, began to cast out certaine loggets, with yron hookes at the end (which the souldiors use to call Harpagones) [Grapples] for to take hold upon the Roman ships. Which when the Romanes were not able to cut in sunder, no more than the very chaines whereto they hung, and whereby they were slung, then yee might have seene (as any one of the enemies warre-ships and gallies rowed backe, and towed after it a Romane Caricke hanging by the grapple end) the bords and ropes cut asunder, by which it was tied & fastened unto others, or else another raunge and course of more ships together, to follow after the taile of the other. By this devise especially were all the bridges torne and rent in peeces, and scarcely had the defendants any time and space to retire and passe into the second ranke of ships behind. Thus there were upon a fixe Carickes of the Romanes drawne away to Carthage, hanging at the poores of their gallies. Their gladnesse and rejoicing hereat was much greater than the thing it selfe came to, and the more acceptable, in that amid so many continuall losses and plenteous teares of theirs, one onely joy as small as it was, shining upon them beyond their expectation, eased and lightened their hearts: considering withall how neere by all likelihood and apparence the Roman armada was to a mischeefe and finally destruction, had not the captaines of their owne gallies forefollowed so much, and *Scipio* come in time to helpe.

It fortuned about the same time, that *Lalius* and *Masanissa* were come within 15 daies into Numidia; the Masafylians rendered *Masanissa* the auncient realme belonging to him by inheritance from his father, and received him with joy, as their king whom they had long time desired. *Syphax* seeing his captaines and garrisons disseized and displaced, kept himselfe within the auncient limits of his owne kingdome, but was not like to be long at rest and quiet. For his wives father on the one side, and his wife againe on the other, set him on, and pricked him forward continually to take armes against the Romanes: and so dored he upon her in excessive love, that needs he must yeeld to her, there was no remedie. Besides, so mightie hee was in numbers of men and horse, that the puissance of a kingdome flourishing so many yeares together, offering and presenting it selfe daily to the eye, had ben yough to have made a prince proud, that was not so barbarous and uncivile as he, and had some better rule and maistrise of his affections than himselfe had. When he had assembled together as many as were able for service, hee furnished them with horses, and with armour, as well offensive as defensive. The Cavallerie hee sorted and divided into small troupes and cornets, the infanterie into cohorts and squadrons, according as hee had learned long since of the Roman centurions. And thus having raised an armie, equall for number to the former, but standing all together in manner, of new and untrained souldiours, hee put himselfe on his journey against the enemies. And after hee had encamped neere unto them, at the beginning some few light horsemen advanced forward from before the *corps de guard*, in espiall, so neere as they might with safetie, but being set backe from thence with arrowes and javelins, they retired unto their companies. After this they began of both sides to make out one against another, and to maintaine light skirmishes; and when of any part they had taken the foile, they would for anger returne againe in greater number, which is the wonted manner to kindle a battell betweene horsemen: for whiles the winners hope still of better, & the loosers chafe for having the worse, the companie ever encreaseth on both sides. And thus now, after some few had scuffed and blowed the coales, at length the whole armie of either part, came forth into the field eager of fight, and to strike a set battell. So long as the horse-service lasted, the Masafylians were so many, as there was hardly any dealing with them, *Syphax* sent them out in such great troupes: but after that the Romane footmen once had suddainly entred betweene the cornets of their

A their horsemen, which gave way as they came, and had gotten sure footing and made head, and so frightened the enemy charging so freely upon the spurre as hee did: then the Barbarians began to ride their horses more easily, and within a while gently to stand still, and seeme as it were amazed at this strange and new kind of fight; and in the end, not onely to give ground unto the footmen, but also to recule from the horsemen, who now were the more bold and hardie, being flanked with a guard of footmen.

And now by this time the standers of the legions advanced forward, and approached neere hand. But then the Masafyli were so farre from receiving & enduring their first charge, that they might not abide the very sight so much, as of their ensignes and armour, so mightily wrought with them either the remembrance of former overthrowes already passed, or the present feare of imminent daunger. Where *Syphax*, while he rode bravely in the face of the enemies troupes and squadrons, if happily for very shame, or for the perill of his owne person, hee might stay his men from running away, had his horse under him fore wounded, and being cast off his backe to the earth, was overpressed with the number, taken prisoner, and brought alive unto *Lalius*, for to represent unto *Masanissa* above all others a goodly shew and joyfull sight to behold. Now was *Cirtha*, the head citie of all the kingdome of *Syphax*; and thither after the fight, betooke themselves a mightie multitude of people. The slaughter in this battaile was lesse in proportion, than the victorie, because the horsemen onely maintained the medley. Not above five thousand were slaine, and not halfe so many taken prisoners. And when they had made an assault upon the camp whither the frightened multitude, after the losse of their king, had retired, *Masanissa* came unto *Lalius* and said, That for the present there could bee nothing more pleasing and honourable unto him, than upon his victorie to visit and see his fathers kingdome, which he had recovered & woon againe after so long a time. But as in adversitie, so likewise in prosperitie (qd. he) tract of time & delais are never good. In case therefore *Lalius* would permit him and his horsemen, together with conquered *Syphax* to goe before unto the citie *Cirtha*, he would surprisethem on a suddain, finding all out of frame and to seeke, by reason of this so suddaine and unexpected feare: and *Lalius* with his footmen might travell faire and softly, & come after by easie journeys. *Lalius* grunted hereunto. Whereupon, being gone afore unto *Cirtha*, he commaunded the principall citizens of *Cirtha* to bee called forth unto a parle. But all the whiles that they were ignorant of the kings unhappie fall, and so long as *Masanissa* uttered nothing of that which was happened, hee might not prevaile either with threats or faire words and persuasions, until he presented the king D before them a bound prisoner. Then at so heave an object and miserable spectacle, they lift up a pittuill crie, and made great lamentation. And so partly for feare they abandoned the defence of the walls, and partly by a generall consent to court the conquerour, and to seeke for grace and favour at his hands, they set the gates open. Then *Masanissa*, after hee had bestowed about the gates, and in convenient places of the walls, certaine strong guards, to keep that no man should stirre and make an escape, hee rode a gallop to the roiall pallace, for to bee possessed of it. As hee entred within the fore-gates thereof, even in the very entrance of the porch, *Sophonisba* the wife of *Syphax*, and daughter of *Asdruball* the Carthaginian, met him on the way: & espying in the midst of the armed traine *Masanissa* full gorgeously dight, as well in his brave armor, as in other goodly array and ornaments, imagining him to be the king (as he was indeed) she fell downe prostrate at his feet, and spake in this wise: True it is (quoth she) O *Masanissa*, that the gods above, together with your owne vertue and felicitie have given you full power and puissance, to doe with us according to your pleasure: but if it be lawfull for me a poore prisoner and captive woman, to open my mouth, and make an humble speech unto my Lord, in whose onely hands lieth my life and death; if I may be so bold as to touch your knees, and that victorious right hand of yours; I would beseech and pray you for the honour of the roiall majestie of a prince, wherein we also our selves erewhile were interested; in the love and name of the Numidian nation, which now is commune to you and *Syphax*, by the domesticall gods, protectours of this regall house and princely palace, who vouchsafe to receive you into it at this present with better prefaces and more fortunate tokens, than lately they sent *Syphax* out of it: to deigne me a lowly suppliant this favour, and graunt me this petition, as to determine your selfe of me your captive whatsoever pleaseth you, & not to suffer me to fall into the proud hands and inhumane disposition of any Romane. If there were nothing els but this, that I was sometime wife and queene to *Syphax*, yet would I rather trie the courtelie and humanitie of a Numidian, and one borne in Affrick as well as my selfe, than of a stranger

stranger and alien. But what hard measure a Carthaginian lady, and the daughter of *Asdruball*, may feare at a Romans hand, you see and know full well. Wherefore once againe I request and intreate your highnesse upon my knees, to regard my suite; and if there be no way els to save and keepe me from the will and appetite of the Romanes, to do me to death out of hand. For beautie she surpased and was incomparable: for yeeeres lustie, & in the very best of her age. And therefore when as now she held him fast by the hand, and requested his protection and honorable word, only for this, That she might not be delivered and betrayed to a Romane; placing and setting her words so well, and couching them so cunningly, that they sounded neerer to speeches for to win love, than prayers to crave pitee: see the fanisie and affection of this victorious prince! he enclined presently not only to mercy and compassion, but also (as all the kind of these Numidians are full of love, & have no stay of their wanton lust) a conquerour otherwise though he were, yeelded himselfe prisoner to the love of his captive: and so after he had given her his right hand for assurance to performe her request, he went into the palace. This done, he began to cast about with himselfe how he might make good his promise unto *Sophonisba*: but finding no meanes els to compasse and bring it about, he borrowed foolish, rash, and shamelesse counsell of blind love. He made no more ado, but commaunded in all hast to prepare that very day for the solemnization of a marriage with *Sophonisba*, because he would give neither *Laelius*, nor *Scipio* himselfe, any libertie at all to proceed against her as a prisoner, after she were once the wedded wife of *Masanissa*. The wedding was no sooner done, but behold *Laelius* came, a guest unsent for and nothing welcome: who so little dissimuled how much he misliked the thing, that he was once about to have plucked her forth of the bride-bed, and sent her away even with *Syphax* and other prisoners to *Scipio*. But overcome with the earnest prayers of *Masanissa*, who besought and importuned him to referre the matter over to *Scipio*, for to arbitrate and decide unto whether of the two kings *Sophonisba* should be awarded, for to mend their state, and better their fortune; he sent away *Syphax* alone with the rest of the prisoners, and by the help of *Masanissa*, wan and recovered the other cities in Numidia, which were held by the garisons of the king. When news came into the camp that they were bringing *Syphax* thither, all the multitude went forth as it were to behold a triumph. Himselfe went bound before all the rest, and a number of Numidian noblemen and gentlemen followed after. Then every man, to set forth and amplifie this victorie, magnified what he could the greatnesse of king *Syphax*, and the glorious renoume of the nation, in these termes: That he was the king, unto whose majestie the two most mightie and puissant states of the world, to wit, the Romanes and the Carthaginians attributed so much, that *Scipio* the Generall of the one, for to seeke his amitie, left the province of Spaine and the armie there, and with two Caravels or Gallies ruled with five banks of oares, sailed over into Affrick: and *Asdruball* the great commaunder of the Carthaginians, not only repaired himselfe in person unto him into his kingdome, but also gave him his daughter in marriage: so as at one time he had in his power the two grand-captaines, of Carthaginians and Romanes both. And like as both these nations killed sacrifices unto the immortall gods, and craved thereby their grace and favour, so of both parties at one time was his friendship sought for and desired. And as for his power and puissance, it was so great, that he expelled *Masanissa* out of his owne realme, and drave him to this narrow point, that the best meanes he had to preserve his life, was either the running rumor of his death, or the lurking holes in the wild woods, wherein he was glad to live by rapine and stealth, after the guise of savage beasts. The king thus talked of in every mans mouth that stood about him, was brought at length into the Prætorium or Generals pavilion, and there presented unto *Scipio*. And *Scipio* verily was much moved in mind to consider the former state and fortune of the man, compared now with this present condition: and to remember withall and call to mind the hospitall intertainment, the geving interchangeably of the right hand, and the covenant between them made both in publick and private. In these regards likewise *Syphax* tooke hart, and spake more frankly unto the conquerour. For when *Scipio* demanded of him, What he meant, and for what intent he not only renounced alliance with the Romanes, but also began himselfe first to make warre upon them: he made answer againe and confessed, That he had in dedde done amisse, and plaid the foole. As for his taking armes against the people of Rome, that was not the beginning of his follie, but rather the very end of his frantick foolishnes. Then it was, and never els but then, that he went besides himselfe and was bereft of his wits; then he abandoned out of his mind and cleane forgot, as well privar amitie by hospitall enterteinment,

ment, as all publick alliance by solemne covenants; when as he received into his house a Carthaginian ladie for his wife: then his royall court and palace was set on fire and burned with those nuptiall torches. That furious fiend it was (quoth he) and pestilent dame, that by all kind of pleasant alluring baits, and flattering enticements possessed my mind, drew away and alienated my hart; and never rested she, untill with her owne hands she did upon my body impious and ungodly armour against mine owne guest and loving friend. And yet as desperate and as wofull as my case is, in all my miseries and calamities this one thing doth me good and joyeth my heart, that I see the same pestiferous furie, that fiend of hell, and limme of the devill, gotten into the house and familie of him, who is the most deadly and mortall enemy that I have in all the world. Neither surely will *Masanissa* demean himselfe more wisely, soberly and constantly than *Syphax*: nay, considering his youthfull yeeeres, he will be as apt to be misled by love, and more subject to the temptations of a woman. Certes in this action of espousing her, he hath shewed more folly a great deale and want of government. When he had uttered these words not only upon a spitefull hatred against an enemy, but also upon some new pricks of jealousy rising in his heart, seeing her whom he loved, in the possession of his concurrent: *Scipio* was driven into no small dumps, and wist not well what to make of it. And as he began to be suspicious of *Masanissa* for this marriage, so, to speake a truth, the circumstances thereof hammered in his head, and made him conceive hardly of him; for feare that another day by the suggestions of the same woman, he would play false, and trespass as well as *Syphax*. The marriage was so huddled up as it were in the mids of warre and hostilitie, without the advise, without the privie, and without the expectation of *Laelius* his companie. Such hast he made all on the head, and without advisement, that the very same day that he set eye first upon the queene his prisoner, he must needs espouse and marry her out of hand, and in the very house of his greatest enemy consummate and solemnise the complements of sacred wedlock. Moreover to aggravate these matters, and make them seeme more foule and shamefull, *Scipio* knew full well, that *Masanissa* during the time that he remained in Spaine a lustie yong gentleman, it was never knowne that he was enamoured upon the lovely beautie of any captive woman. As he tossed and revolved these things in his mind, *Laelius* and *Masanissa* chaunced to come in place. And after he had welcomed them both alike, and shewed them a loving and gracious countenance, yea and honoured them with singular praise and commendations openly in a frequent audience and court, he within his lodging tooke *Masanissa* into a secret place apart, & began to speake unto him in this manner. I suppose *Masanissa*, that you saw in me some good parts, for love wherof both at the first you were induced to come into Spaine and contract amitie with me, and afterwards also in Affrick, you reposed your selfe and all your hopes in my fidelitie and protection. But of all those vertues, for which I have seemed worthe of your affectionate love, there is not one wherein I may so much glory and take joy and comfort, as in temperance, continencie, and the bridling of carnall desires, and fleshly pleasures. This vertue *Masanissa*, I wish that you also would have joined unto the rest that are in you so rare and excellent. For our age (trust me truly) standeth not so much in danger of armed enemies, as of those earthly pleasures that compasse us on every side. And hee that by his sobrietie and governance hath been able to rule and tame the same, hath won himselfe more honour, and gotten a greater victorie, than wee have done by the conquest and subduing of *Syphax*. What valiant exploits & wortheie acts you have achieved in mine absence, I have willingly reported, and still remember. For the rest, I had rather you would consider of them by your selfe, than change colour & blush at my rehearfall of them. *Syphax* through the good fortune, and by the forces of the people of Rome, is vanquished and taken prisoner. And therefore, himselfe, his wife, his realme, his lands, his townes, the inhabitants thereof, and finally all things els whatsoever that belonged unto *Syphax*, are become a bootie to the people of Rome. The king himselfe, and the queene his wife, in case she had not been a cittizen borne of Carthage, in case wee had not seene her father to bee the grand captaine of our enemies, ought by right to have been sent to Rome; that the Senate and people of Rome might passe their censures, award, and judgement of her, who is reported to have alienated a confederate king from us, and to have caused him rashly and inconsiderately to take armes against us. Strive then to rule and maister your lusts and affections; take heed you staine not many good vertues with one bad vice. Marre not the grace, deface not I say, the thanke of many wortheie deserts, by one fault and trespass greater indeed, than the subject cause and occasion thereof. *Masanissa*, whilst he heard

these words, not onely blushed as red as fire, but also began to water his plants. And when he had promised for his part to be overruled and set downe by the Generall, and requested him withal, to farre forth as possibly the case would permit, to tender and regard his promise, wherein rashly and inconsiderately he had entangled himselfe (for given his faithfull word he had, that he would not deliver and betray her into the hands and power of any other) he departed out of the Pretorium or Generall his court, all dismaied and exceedingly troubled in spirit, and betooke himselfe to his owne pavillion. Where all solitarie and alone by himselfe, after hee had passed over some time, with fetching many deepe sighes and sobs, so as he might easily be overheard by them that stood about his tent, at the last hee gave one greivous grone above the rest, and with that called for one of his trustie groomes, who had under his hand the keeping (as the manner was of kings and princes) of a speciall poyson, against all doubtfull chaunces that might happen. Which hee commaunded him to temper in a goblet of wine, and to carie it to *Sophonisba*, and withall to tell her thus much from him. That *Masanisa* would have been most willing to performe his plighted troth and first promise, which an husband ought unto his wedded wife. But since that the superior powers, and those that were mightier than himselfe, had bereft him of that puissance and libertie, he was readie and able yet to accomplish a second behest, namely, that shee should not come alive into the hands of the Romanes: and therefore hee advised her, that in remembrance of her father a noble warriour and Commaunder, of her native countrie, of two kings to whom she had been married, she would provide for her selfe, and save her owne honour. This credence and message, together with the poyson, the servant when he was come unto *Sophonisba*, delivered unto her. Whereat, I accept (quoth she) this marriage present, & welcome be it unto me, if this be the best token that an husband could find to send unto his wife. Yet thus much signifie unto him from me againe, that better content I would have beene to die, if my marriage bed had not stood so neere to my grave. Shee spake not the word so stoutly, but shee did the deed as resolutely: for shee tooke the cup in hand, and shewing no signe at all of feare, she roundly dranke it of. When tidings hereof came unto *Scipio*, for feare least the hote, humorous, and passionate young prince, might doe himselfe some mischeefe, he presently sent for him. One while hee gave him good and comfortable words; another while he gently rebuked him, in that he would seeme to make amends for one follie with another, and to play a more cruell & tragicall part than there was need. The next day after, to the end that he might withdraw his mind away from this present fit of trouble some fancies, hee mounted up into his Tribunall seat, and assembled an audience. There first, he openly styled *Masanisa* by the name of king, and honored him with singular praises and commendations: which done, he gave him a golden crowne, a faire cup likewise of gold, a chaire of estate and a scepter, both of yvorie, a rich long robe embroidered of divers colours, and a coat wrought with needle worke, representing the Date tree. These honourable presents wanted no words to set them out. For as (quoth hee) there is nothing among the Romanes more stately & magnifical than triumph, so they that ride in triumph, have no ornaments more rich & sumptuous than this, which the people of Rome esteeme *Masanisa* onely of all strangers and aliens to be worthie of. After this he gave *Laelius* also his due and deserved praises, and bestowed upon him a coronet of gold. Other martiall men likewise according to the service which they had done, were rewarded with sundrie gifts. The king having these honours done unto him, was well quieted and contented in mind, and conceived some assured hope, now that *Syphax* was displaced and rid out of the way, shortly to compasse and enjoy the whole kingdome of Numidia. Then *Scipio* having sent *C. Laelius* with *Syphax* and other captives unto Rome, accompanied also with the Embassadors of *Masanisa*, returned himselfe with his power againe to Tunes. And there, what fortifications and workes hee had begun afore, now hee finished perfittly and brought to an end.

The Carthaginians, who were filled with a kind of joy that was not onely short, but also in manner vaine and foolish, grounded upon their late assault of the Romane Armada, which (considering their present state) was fortunate enough; after they heard that *Syphax* was taken prisoner, in whome they had reposed more hope (well neare) than in *Asdruball* and their owne army, were mightily affrighted and daunted; and would give no more care to any that perswaded war, but sent as orators to sue for peace, thirtie of their principall auncients: and they amongst them were (as one would say) their privie counsell of state, and had the greatest power and authoritie to sway and overrule the whole bodie of the Senate. Who being entred into the Romane campe

and the Generall his lodging and pavillion, fell downe prostrate (after the manner and guise as I take it, of the country * from whence they were first descended) like those that worship and adore the gods. And to this their humble and lowly reverence, their language was suitable and correspondent; not excusing themselves and their fault, but transferring the beginning and occasion thereof, upon *Anniball* and his favorites about him, that soothed him and bare him up in his willfull pride & insolent ambition: craving pardon for their citie of Carthage, which twife already had bene subverted and overthrowen by the inconsiderate follie of her owne citizens: and once againe yet would gladly be saved and stand upright by the meanes and goodnesse of their enemies: for as much as they knew full well, that the people of Rome sought not the utter extermination and destruction of those whome they had vanquished by force of armes, but onely the soveraigntie and rule over them: promising fealtie and homage unto them; readie to serve in all loyaltie, and to performe whatsoeuer it should please them to impose and lay upon them. *Scipio* made them this answer againe and said, That as he came into Affricke upon hope to returne home with conquest and not with peace; so that hope of his by the prosperous and happie successe of his warres hitherto, was much bettered and augmented. Howbeit, although hee assured himselfe of the absolute victorie, at if he had it fast enough in his hand, yet a good accord he would not refuse: that all nations of the world might know, that the people of Rome can both begin warres rightfully, and also end the same as justly. My will therefore (quoth he) and pleasure is, that the conditions of peace shall be these. *In primis*, That the Carthaginians shall restore and deliver backe all the prisoners that they have taken in the wars: with all the renegates & fugitives that have fled to their side from us. *Item*, that they remove their forces out of Italie and Fraunce. *Item*, that they forbear to meddle in Spaine. *Item*, that they abandon and quit all the Ilands betwene Italie and Affricke. *Item*, to yeeld up all their shippes of warre, saving onely twentie. *Item*, that they deliver unto the Romanes, of wheat 500000 Modij, and of barley 300000. [Now what was the summe of money that he required or demanded of them, it is not certainly agreed upon. In some writers I find 5000 talents: in others, five thousand pound weight only of silver: and there be that have set downe, that he laid upon them a double pay of all the souldiers.] Upon these conditions (saith he) whether ye will like of peace or no, ye shall have three daies respite & libertie to consult and consider. If you will accept thereof in these tearmes, make a truce with me for the present, and send your Embassadors unto Rome to the Senate there. Thus the Carthaginians, when they had agreed together, and concluded to refuse no articles and conditions of peace whatsoeuer, were dismissed. But in truth they sought for nothing else but delays and tract of time, untill *Anniball* were sailed over into Affricke. So they addressed certaine Embassadors unto *Scipio* to enter a truce: others they dispatched to Rome to treat for a peace; who brought with them for shew, some few captives, renegates, and fugitives, to the end they might obtaine their sute more easily. But *Laelius* with *Syphax* and other captives (the principall nobles and gentlemen of the Numidians) was many dayes before arrived at Rome, and had declared unto the LL. of the Senate all things in order astouching their good speed and successe in Affricke, to the great contentment and joy of all men for the present, and with exceeding hope for the time to come. Then the LL. after consultation had, gave order that the king should be sent to Alba, there to lye in ward and safe custodie; and that *Laelius* should be kept still at Rome, untill the Carthaginian Embassadors came. A solemn procession for foure daies was decreed. And *P. Aelius* the Pretour, after he had dismissed the Senate, called presently an assembly of the people, and together with *C. Laelius* went up into the Rostra [or pulpit for publicke orations.] Where, the people hearing that the Carthaginian armies were defeated, that a king of great name and renowne was overcome and taken prisoner; that all Numidia was overrunne from one end to the other with a noble and singular conquest; they could no longer containe their joy in silence, but with shouts and acclamations and other tokens (usual in the assembly of a multitude) expresse and signifie their exceeding gladnes and contentment of heart. Whereupon the Pretour immediately made proclamation, that the churchwardens and sextaines should set open all the holy temples and chappels throughout the citie, and give the people libertie and leave all the day long, devoutly to goe about the gods, reverently to salute them, and heartily to render thanksgiving for this achieved victory. The next day following, he admitted the Embassadors of *Masanisa* into the Senate house, and gave them audience, who first and foremost rejoyced in the behalfe of the Senate, for the prof-

perous warres and happie successe of *P. Scipio* in Affricke: then they gave thanks, that hee not only had entituled *Masanisa* their lord & master by the bare name of king, but also invested him a king indeed, by restoring him into his fathers kingdom. Wherein, if it pleased the LL. of the Senate, he might reigne, now that *Syphax* was remooved and gone, without feare & trouble at all. Also, for that hee solemnly in the open assembly praised him in most honourable tearms, & adorned him richly with right stately and precious gifts. For to deserve which favors and honours done unto him, as he had endeavoured already, so would he henceforth not faile to doe his best. Then they made a petition, that the Senate would confirme and ratifie by their acte and decree, his royall style and title of a King, with other benefits and favours received of *Scipio*. And this moreover particularly *Masanisa* would request, (if hee might be so bold, and that it stood with the pleasure of the Senate) that they would enlarge and set at libertie all the Numidian captives that lay in prison at Rome: for this would be a thing whereby he should acquire much honour and reputation, and gaine great love and favour among his people and countreymen at home. To these points the Embassadors received this answer. Concerning the prosperous affaires of the warres in Affricke, they congratulated likewise, and rejoiced reciprocally with the king. As for *Scipio*, they liked well, and confirmed his act in giving *Masanisa* the name of king: and therein he had done well and justly and according to good reason. And whatsoever he had passed else to the honour of *Masanisa*, the LL. approved and commended the same. Then they decreed certaine presents, that the Embassadors should carry unto the king: to wit, two purple souldiers cassocks, each of them with a clasp of golde; and as many rich coates embroidered and betudded with purple. Also two courfers barbed and trapped, with their rich caparisons; two complete armours for horses, with their cuiraces: likewise pavillions, with all their militarie furniture, in as full and ample manner as a Consull is allowed. These presents (I say) had the Pretor direction to send unto the king. As for the Embassadors themselves, there was bestowed upon them no lesse than 5000 Asles a peece; and upon their followers in the traine, each of them 1000 Asles. Also a double sute of apparell for either of the Embassadors, and one single sute to everie one throughout their traine; as also to those Numidians, who being set at large out of prison, were to be delivered againe to the king. Over and besides, there was appointed for the Embassadors, lodging of free-cost; gardenage and walking places of pleasure; allowance for their table, and all provision else whatsoever, at the cities expences.

In that somner when these decrees passed at Rome, and those affaires were achieved in Affricke, *P. Quintilius Varus* Pretour, and *M. Cornelius* Viz. consull, fought a set battaile with *Mago* the Carthaginian, in the territorie of the Insubrians, within the province of Fraunce. In the vaward were placed the legions of the Pretour. *Cornelius* kept his legions in the rereward, and himselfe in person rode to the standards in the forefront. And before both wings, the Pretour and Viz. consull encouraged all that ever they could, the souldiers for to advance their ensignes, and give a charge upon the enemy. But seeing they could not prevaille nor doe any good, then quoth *Quintilius* to *Cornelius*: You see how the fight slaketh and waxeth cooler, and the enemies that were timorous, are hardened and heartened by this resistance beyond their hope and expectation, yea, and it is to be feared, that they will turne to bee hardie also, and make head against us. Wee must needs raise up a storme of Cavallerie, if wee would disorder them, and put them out of array. And therefore either doe you maintaine fight here in the front, whiles I bring the men of armes into the battaile, or else will I here fight in the vaward, whiles you send out the horsemen of foure legions upon the enemies. And when the vice-consull was willing to accept of whether service the Pretour would, then *Quintilius* the Pretour, with his sonne forenamed *Marcus*, a lustie young gallant, went to the horsemen, commaunded them to mount on horsebacke, and suddainely all at once sent them against the enemy. The tumult and noyse which the horsemen made, was answered and redoubled by a shout that the footmen set up. And verily the enemies battaile had not bene able to have kept their ground, but that *Mago* at the first stirring of the Cavallerie, made out the Elephants forthwith into the battaile, whom he had in readinesse for such a purpose. At the uncouth braying, the strong smell, and hideous sight of which beasts, the horses were affrighted: and so the aid of horse-fight proved vaine. And as the Romane Cavallerie interlaced among the Infanterie was more strong and forcible, where they had the use both of launce point aloofe, and of swords edge close at hand: so when they were transported and caried farre off with their panting and fearefull horses,

the Numidians horsemen had the more rounge to shoot their darts against them with better advantage. Besides this disorder, the twelfth legion of footmen (whereof a great part was beaten downe and slaine, more for shame than upon any strength and valour, kept their place still; but never had bene able to have held out any longer, but that the thirteenth legion drawne forth of the rereward into the vanguard, reenforced the medley that was in hazard and lay a bleeding: and *Mago* withall for his part, came in with the Frenchmen out of the rereward, and opposed them against this fresh legion: but when they were once discomfited and put back (which required no great ado nor long fight) the Hastati or Laveliniers of the eleventh legion gathered round together; and charged upon the Elephants, which now also began to breake the ranks of the footmen. But when they had launced their javelins against them standing thicke together in plumps (and lightly there was not one of them hit amisse but did his errand) they forced them all to turne back upon their owne battaile: so, foure of them were fore wounded and fell downe dead. Then the vaward of the enemies began somewhat to geve ground; and withall, the whole strength of the Romane footmen, seeing the Elephants turne taile, came forward at once for to encrease the disordred tumult, and put them in greater feare. But so long as *Mago* stood stoutly to it, and kept his standing in the forefront of the ensignes, the ranks and files as they went back softly, and retired by little and little, still maintained fight as before in good order: but after that they saw him shot through the thigh and fallen, and therewith caried forth of the battel for dead, incontinently they were all defeated and put to flight. That day were slaine of enemies upon a five thousand, and of militarie ensignes eightene woon and carried away. The Romans likewise bought not this victorie without losse of blood. For of the Pretors armie were lost two thousand and three hundred, and the greater part of them by farre were of the twelfth legion. Whereof two Tribunes militarie or Colonels also lost their lives, *M. Cosconius*, and *M. Menius*. Likewise of the thirteenth legion, which came last to the conflict, *Cn. Helvius* a Colonell, in renuing the fight was slaine, and eighteen men of armes besides, most brave and excellent horsemen, with certain Centurions who were by the Elephants troden down, trampled underfoot, and so perished. And no doubt the medley had continued longer, but that by occasion of the Generall his hurt, the victorie was given away and yielded. *Mago* in the dead time of the next night dislodged and departed; and stretching out his journey so farre as possibly for his wound hee might, hee marched away untill he was come to the sea side, unto the Ingauni in Liguria: where the Embassadors sent from Carthage (who a few daies before were arived in the French gulf) repaired unto him: commaunding him with all speed possible to saile over into Affricke, for as much as his brother *Annibal* likewise (unto whom also there were Embassadors gone with the like message and commission) would doe the same. For the State of Carthage now was not in case, nor upon tearms, to defend and keepe in obedience by force of armes Fraunce and Italie, but to see to home. *Mago* not onely moved with the commaundement of the Senate, and the daunger of his countrie, but fearing also least the enemy following the traine of his victorie, would pursue and set upon him, if hee made long stay; and doubting least the Ligurians likewise, seeing Italie abandoned of the Carthaginians, would revolt and turne unto those, under whose obedience they were like shortly to bee reduced: albeit hee had no hope that his hurt should have lesse shaking at sea by sailing, than on land by travelling, or to find things there more handsome and readie for the cure, embarked his armie and departed. But before hee was well gotten beyond the point and lands end of Sardinia, he died of his wound aforesaid. Certaine ships also of the Carthaginians, being scattered asunder in the deepe sea, were by the Romane Armada that kept about the coasts of Sardinia surprised and boured. These were the Acts performed both by sea and land, on that side of Italie which lieth along the Alpes.

Cn. Servilius the Consull having performed no worthie and memorable exploit, either in his province Hetruria, or in Fraunce (for thither also he went in the end) but onely that he redeemed his father *Cn. Servilius* and his uncle *C. Lucatius*, from servitude and bondage, now sixteene yeares after they had bene taken prisoners by the Boij before the village Tanerum, returned to Rome, with his father going on the one side, and his uncle on the other: a man famous rather for his private deeds, than renowned for any publicke and honourable act & worthie of remembrance. And a bill was preferred unto the people, that it should not bee imputed for a trespassse unto *Cn. Servilius*, that whiles his own father (who had sitten upon the yvorie chaire of estate) was living (and that unknowne to him) hee had been both Tribune and Aedile also of the Commons against

against the lawes in that behalfe provided. This Act being passed and graunted, he returned againe into his province. Vnto *Cn. Servilius* the Consull who was in the Brutians countrey, there revolted Contentia, Vifugum, Vergæ, Besidia, Hetriculum, Syphæum, Argentanum, Dampetia, & many other peeces of small account, upon occasion that they saw the Carthaginians were waxe cold and feeble. The same Consull fought a battaile with *Anniball* in the territorie of Croton: the manner of which fight is darkly and obscurely reported. For *Valerius Antias* saith there were slaine five thousand of the enemies: a thing of such consequence, that either it was meere impudencie to forge it, or great negligence to overslip it. But the truth is, from that time forward nothing was done by *Anniball* in Italie: for to him also there came from Carthage embassadors to cal him home into Affrick, even about the same time that the others did unto *Mago*. And as it is reported of him, all the whiles that he gave audience to the embassadors, he gnashed and grinded his teeth, he kept a sighing and groning, yea and hardly could forbear to shed teares. After they had delivered their message according to their commission, Yea mary, qd he, now they go no more about the bush with me, by covert meanes and under hand to send for me home, but openly are seene in the action: who all this while in suffering no supplies either of men or money to be transported over unto me, sought to draw and hale me from hence. Well then, it is not the people of Rome so often by me defeated and put to flight, that hath by armes overcome *Anniball*, but it is the Senate of Carthage, with their backbiting and malicious envy. Neither will *P. Scipio* rejoyce so much, and beare himselfe proud upon this disgrace of myreturne, as *Hanno* will; who with the ruine and subversion of Carthage, hath overthrowne our house and familie, when by no other meanes he could effect it. Now *Anniball*, whose mind foregave him that such a thing would fall out, had prepared shipping afore-hand. And therefore after he had sent away the multitude of souldiours that were of small or no service, into the townes of the Brutians countrey, under a colour & shew of garisons for defence, which townes were but few, and the same rather held in by awe and feare, than abiding in obedience for love and loyalty, he tooke with him the whole strength & floure of his armie, and crossed over into Affrick. But before he went to sea, many of the Italian nation, who refusing to follow him into Affrick, had taken for sanctuarie the chappell of *Iuno Lacinia*, which never to that day had bene violated and broken; notwithstanding the libertie of the place, he cruelly massacred in the very temple. Seldome by report had ever any man bene knowne to leave his native soile and countrey, and depart into exile with more heave heart, than *Anniball* did when he went out of his enemies land. Oftentimes he looked back to the coasts of Italie, blaming both God and man, yea cursing himselfe and his owne life, for that he led not straightwaies upon his fresh victorie at Cannæ, his souldiours embrued as they were with blood directly even to Rome. *Scipio* (quoth he) had the hart to go to Carthage, who when he was Consull, had never seene in Italie the Carthaginian enemy: and myselfe, having slaine at Thrasymenus and Cannæ 100000 armed men, have sitten still about Casilinum, Cumes, and Nola, wearing and decaying in strength every day more than other. In this manner he blamed himselfe, and complained of his hard hap and cursed fortune: and so he was pulled out of the possession of Italie that he held so long.

Newes came to Rome about one and the same time, that both *Mago* and *Anniball* were departed and onward on their journey: The joy of which twofold gratulation was the lesse in two regards, both for that their owne captaines seemed to have either little courage or small force to stay them behind, and impeach them for going, considering they had expresse order from the Senate so to do: as also because they at Rome were pensive and doubtfull, what would be the issue and end of all, seeing the whole weight of the warre to beare and rest upon the shoulders of one onely Capitaine and armie.

And much about this time came the Saguntine Embassadors, bringing with them certaine Carthaginian prisoners, who were taken with summes of money upon them, and had sayled into Spaine for to levie and wage men for aid. The monie they laid downe in the very port-hall or entrie of the Senate house, amounting to 250 pound weight of gold, and 800 pound weight of silver. The men they received and clapt them up fast in prison: the silver and gold both, they delivered againe to the Embassadors, with many thanks: over and besides they gave them rewards and ships to returne againe into Spaine. Then the grave and auncient Senators began to reason and discourse in this wise, That men naturally have lesse sense of good things than of bad; and feel not so soone their owne weale as their woe. We remember, say they, what feare,

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A what fright and terrour we were put in, when *Anniball* passed over into Italie. Lord, what losses, what lamentable misfortunes hapned thereupon! The enemies camp was discovered and seene from the walls of the citie; what vowing, what praying was there then, both of all and some! How often in assemblies and counsels were men seene to stretch out their hands to heaven, and to utter these words and cry aloud; VVhen will that day come? and will it never be, that we shall see Italie againe cleere of enemies, obtaine repose, and flourish once more, injoying happie peace? Now at length, even at 16 yeeres end and not before, the gods have vouchsafed us this blessing; and no man saith a word, nor maketh a motion of thanksgiving to their divine majestie therefore. And surely, if men know not how to accept with joy and thankfulness a benefite when it first commeth, they will be farre short, and faile much more to remember the same when once it is past. Hereupon they cryed out and called aloud with one voyce from all parts of the Senate-house to *P. Aelius* the Pretor, for to propose the matter to the court there assembled: and a decree was graunted, that for five dayes there should be solemn processions and supplications in every church and chappell before the shrines of all the gods and goddeses: and greater beasts killed for sacrifice to the number of 120.

Now when *Laelius* and the embassadors of *Masaniissa* had their dispatch and were dismissed, tidings were brought that the Carthaginian embassadors comming to the Senate to sue for peace, were seene at Puteoli, and that from thence they would travaile by land unto Rome. Whereupon it was thought good unto the Senat, that *Laelius* should be sent for againe and called back, that he might be present, and at the hearing of the treatie of peace. *Qu. Fulvius Gilla* a Lieutenant of *Scipio* had the conducting of the Carthaginian embassadors to Rome: who being forbidden to set foot within the citie, were lodged without in the great hall named *Villa Publica*, and had audience given them of the Senate, assembled in the temple of *Bellona*. VVho made in manner the very same speech that they had before unto *Scipio*, clearing the whole State and their publick counsell, and laying all the fault and blame upon *Anniball* for making warre: saying that he had no warrant, commission, and commaundement from the Senat to passe over the Alpes, nor so much as over Iberus: and that of his owne head he tooke armes, and warred not upon the Romanes only, but also upon the Saguntines. In consideration whereof, he that would esteeme all things aright, and weigh the truth indeed, must needs judge, that for any thing done by the Senat and people of Carthage, the auncient league made with the people of Rome, hath continued to that day sound and entier. And therefore nothing els had they in commission to sue for and request, but that they might mainteine and remaine still in that accord and league which was last concluded and contracted with *Lutatus* the Consull. Now when the Pretor according to an auncient custome of their forefathers, had given libertie to whomsoever that would, for to put Interrogatories unto the Embassadors; and the elder sort, such as had ben present at the making of the capitulations and covenants concerning the said peace, had demanded of them, some one thing, and some another; and the Embassadors answered againe, that by occasion of their young age (for they were all in manner but young men) they remembred no such thing: the whole court from all parts thereof cryed out and said, that this was but a fraudulent and fainerous Carthaginian trick, to chuse and send such for to sue for the old peace, which they themselves could not remember. And when the Embassadors were voided out of the Senate-house, and the opinions of the LL. demanded, *M. Livius* was of this mind, that *Cn. Servilius* the Consull, who was the neerer of the twaine, should be sent for, that the treatie of peace might in his presence be consulted upon. For since that there could not lightlie a weightier matter than it was, come afore them to be determined of, he thought it stood not with the honor and reputation of the people of Rome, that such a matter should be debated of, without the personall presence of both, or at the leastwise of one of the Consuls. *Qu. Metellus*, (who three yeares before had bene Consull and Dictatour) spake to the cause in this manner. For as much as *P. Scipio* by defeating and putting to the sword whole armies, by wasting and spoiling the territories of the enemies, had driven them to this exigent, that in humble sort they came to crave peace: and considering that no man living was better able to judge with what mind and intent they sued for this peace, than himselfe, who warred even before the gates of Carthage; therefore no mans advise was to be heard, but onely his, either to accept of the said peace in question, or to reject it. *M. Valerius Levinus*, who had bene twice Consull argued, That they were spies and not embassadours, who now were come; and that it

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were a good deed to command them to avaunt and be packing out of the confines of Italie; and to send with them certaine men of purpose to guard them to their ships; yea, and to write unto *Scipio* to go forward with his warres, and not to flake one jote. *Lelius* and *Fulvius* added more over and said, That *Scipio* laid this especially for his ground, to hope there might be peace, in case *Anniball* and *Mago* were not called out of Italie: As for the Carthaginians, they would make semblant of any thing whatsoever, so long as they expected those leaders and those armies: but afterwards without remembrance of covenants, were they never so fresh and new, yea and without respect of all the gods, they would (no doubt) maintaine and continue the warres. In these regards, they inclined the rather to *Lavinus*, and approved his opinion. So the embassadours were sent away without any peace obtained, or certaine answer returned unto them.

Much about that time, *Cn. Servilius* the Consull, who made full reckoning that he should have the honour of bringing Italie into quietnes, made pursute after *Anniball*, as if he had bene coured and driven out by him; and first sailed over into Sicilie, and then into Affricke. Which beeing commonly noised and bruted abroad at Rome, at the first the LL. of the Senat thought good, that the Pretour should write to the Consull to this effect, That the Senate judged it meet and reason for him to returne into Italie. But afterwards upon the Pretour his words, saying that the Consull would set nought by his letters, *P. Sulpitius* was created of purpose Dictatour, who by vertue of that more soveraigne rule and authoritie, called the Consull peremptorily home into Italie. And the rest of that yeare, he together with *M. Servilius* the Generall of the horse, spent in progresse and visiting all the cities of Italie which in time of warre had shaken off their allegiance, and in taking due knowledge of all their causes and reasons severally.

During the time of the truce, there set forth also out of Sardinia from *Lentulus* the Pretour, an hundred hulkes laden with victuals, together with a convoy and guard of twentie gallies of warre, and passed over into Affricke safe, both from the daunger of the enemy, and also from the perill of tempests by sea. But *Cn. Octavius* as he was in his voyage from Sicilie, with a fleet of two hundred hulkes and thirtie strong gallies, had not the like good speed. For as hee sailed (well neare) within the kenning of Affricke, first hee was calmed: then the wind turning South, troubled and disordered his ships, yea and scattered them over the sea one from another. Himselfe with his gallies of war wrought against the wind and the current, and with exceeding toile and labour of the oar-men, doubled the point of the cape of *Apollo*, and there in the bay rode at anchor: but the hulks for the most part fell with the lland *Ægimurus* (which shutteth up the foreland, and lyeth in the very mouth of that creeke from the sea wherein Carthage standeth) almost ten leagues from the citie: and some were driven by wind to a place called the *Hote waters*, over against the citie. All this happened within the sight of Carthage. And therefore out of all parts of the citie, was great running to the market place. The magistrates assembled the Senate; the people at the entrie and porch of the councill house, called upon the Senatours and cryed out, That they should not let slippe so greata bootie out of their eyes and hands. Some alledged against them, the fidelitie of treating for peace: others also objected the faithfull promise of truce (the tearme wherof was not yet expired.) But at last, when both Senate and people were enterningled all in manner together, agreed it was by a generall consent, that *Asdruball* with a fleet of fiftie saile, should cut over to *Ægimurus*; and so from thence rallie and gather together the Romane ships disperfed along the coasts and the havens. And the hulkes (abandoned of their mariners that were fled, fust from the lland *Ægimurus*, and afterwards from the *Hote waters* aforesaid) were drawn and towed as it were at the railes of their owne ships to Carthage. As yet the embassadours were not returned from Rome, neither knew they what the resolution of the Romane Senat was concerning war or peace, nor the day of the truce determined. *Scipio* taking the wrong and indignitie to be more hainous, in that the hope of peace and the assurance of truce should be violat by them first, who sought both for the one and the other; presently dispatched in embassage to Carthage *M. Bebivus*, *L. Servilius*, and *L. Fabius*; who being by the concourse and running together of the people, neare to a shrewd turne and mischief; and foreseeing their returne like to be as dangerous, craved of the magistrates (who saved them from violence) to send certaine ships to waite them. So they were allowed two gallies called *Tritemes*, which having conducted them untill they were arrived at the river *Bagrada*, where they were within sight of the Romane campe, returned backe againe to Carthage. Now the Carthaginian Armada lay in the rode before *Vuca*. From thence there made out three gal-

lies of foure rankes of oares; whether it were upon some secret direction from Carthage so to doe, or that *Asdruball* the Admirall of the fleet, upon his owne head adventured so foule an action (the state having no hand therein, and therefore not to be blamed) and espying the Romani galley of five bankes of oares past the point of the cape, sodainly assailed her from the maine sea. But neither could they invest and strike her with their beake heads, making so good way, and shifting so well by reason of her swiftnes; neither could the armed souldiers from out of their lower vessels boord her, being so tall a ship over them. And right valiantly shee defended her selfe so long as her shot lasted; which when it once failed, and that shee had no other means to helpe her selfe, but onely the nearenes of the land and a number of souldiers who from the camp were run to the shore, with the losse only of the ship all the passengers escaped safe to land.

Thus the truce being doubtlesse broken with one wickednes comming in the necke of another, *Lelius* and *Fulvius* came in the verie nicke from Rome, together with the Carthaginian embassadours; unto whome *Scipio* having given his word, that although the Carthaginians had not onely broken the faith and assurance given of the truce, but also the law of armes, in abusing and evil intreating the persons of his embassadors, yet himselfe would do nothing to them unworthie either the order of the people of Rome, or unfitting his owne manner and custome, dismissed the Embassadours, and made preparation for warre.

When *Anniball* now approached the land of Affricke, one of the mariners was commanded to climbe up to the top of the mast to discover the coast, and to see what part they were directed to: and when he made answer and said, That the prou made head upon a place called, the *Ruinat sepulchre*; he misliked the osse and presage of that place, and commaunded the pilot to passe by, and leave it: and so he put his fleet within the bay of *Leptis*, and there he set his armie ashore. And these were the affaires of Affricke for that yeare. The actes ensuing, reach to that yeare, wherein *M. Servilius Geminus*, who then was Generall of the horse, and *T. Claudius Nero* were made Consuls. But in the end of the former yeare, when the embassadours of the confederate cities of Greece made complaints, that their territories were wasted by the kings garri- sons: and when they sent their embassadors into Macedonia, for demand satisfaction and restitution, they could not be admitted unto the king, nor have audience: and moreover, they gave intelligence, that there were foure thousand armed souldiers transported over into Spaine, under the conduct of *Sopater*, to aid the Carthaginians; and certaine summes of money likewise sent with them: the Senate gave order that embassadours should be addressed unto the king, to give him to understand, that the LL. of the Senate tooke all this to be done against the tenure and forme of the league. So there were sent *C. Terentius Varro*, *Cn. Manlius*, and *M. Aurelius*. And three gallies of five course of oares they were allowed.

This was a yeare of speciall note, for a great skare-fire, whereby the publick cliffe was burnt to ashes down to the ground: also for much abundance of rain & many floods, & exceeding cheapnesse of victuall. For besides that all Italie was open by reason of a generall peace throughout, *M. Valerius Falto*, and *M. Fabius Buteo*, *Ædiles* of the chaire, devided the great store of corne that was sent out of Spain, among the people, street by street, and set the price at **four* Asses the *Modius*. The same yeare *Q. Fabius Maximus* departed this life, a man of great yeeres and exceeding old, if that be true which some writers report, that hee was *Augur* 42 yeeres. But certaine it is that he was a man worthie of so great and honourable a surname, yea, and if it had begun first in himselfe. He surpassed the dignities of his father, hee was equall in honor to his grandfather: *Rullus* his grandfather, I must needs say, had more titles of victories, and of greater battailes; but one enemy of his, *Anniball*, may countervaille them all, as many as they were. Howbeit, this man was counted more warie and advised, than hardie and forward: and as a man may wel doubt whether by natural disposition he loved to take leisure in all his actions, or that it was a policie of his agreeable to the warres properly then in hand; so verily nothing is more certaine than this, that as the Poet *Ennius* saith,

*This onely man by wise delay,
Restor'd our state fall'n to decay.*

His sonne *Q. Fabius Maximus* was invested or installed *Augur* in his place, and for bishop in his room (for two sacerdotal dignities he had) *Ser. Sulpitius Galba* was chosen. The Roman plaies were exhibited one day, and the Plebeian Games thrice wholly renued by the *Ædiles M. Sextius Sabinus*, and *Cn. Tremellius Flaccus*. They both, were made Pretours; and with them *C. Livius Salinator*,

a peece, not only the greatest and bravest captaines of their time, but also equall to the mightiest Kings or Emperours of realme or nation that ever had bene afore them in any age and remembrance of man. For awhile they stood one beholding the other, and said never a word, ravished and astonied with a mutuall admiration: and at last *Anniball* began and spake in this wise. If the gods by destinies have so appointed, that I who first levied warre against the Romanes, and who so often have had the victorie as it were in mine owne hands, must needs of my selfe and mine owne motion, come now first likewise to sue for peace: glad I am and well pleased, that it is my good hap to meete with you above all other men, at whose hands I should seeke the same. And certes you also for your part among many your singular and excellent praises, may skore up this for none of the least, namely, That *Anniball* (unto whom the gods have vouchsafed the upper hand over so many noble captaines of the Romanes) hath yielded the bucklers, and given place unto your selfe; now that you have had the honor to end this warre, more notable and renowned at the first for your losses and overthrowes than ours: and that fortune (as it is fallen out) hath made this pretie sport with me, who at the beginning tooke armes when your father was Consull, gave him battaile first of all other Romanes Generals, and am now come unarmed unto his sonne to crave peace. Verily much better it had bene, and simply the very best, that the gods had inspired into our forefathers this mind, That both you might have contented your selves with the dominion of Italie, and we likewise of Affricke. For surely, Sicilie and Sardinia both, are nothing sufficient to make amends and satisfaction, and it were but only of your part, in recompense of so many brave fleets, so many puissant armies, and so many noble captaines that yee have lost. But faults done and past may well be blamed and reproved, when they can not be corrected and reformed. So greedie were we on both sides to conquer the lands of others, that in the meane time we have hazarded our owne. Neither had ye warre in Italie only, or we againe in Affricke alone: but both ye have seene the ensignes and armies of enemies hard at your gates, and in manner under your owne walls: and we likewise from Carthage have heard the noyse and bruit of the Roman camp. Now then, that which we have cause most to detest and abhorre, and you to wish above all other things in the world, the treatie of peace is fallen out in time of your better prosperitie, and more favourable aspect of fortune unto you. We againe are the agents therein, whom it most standeth upon and importeth that there should be peace; and who are assured, whatsoever we conclude, that the States and cities from whence we come, will approve and ratifie the same. There needs no more but a willing mind, well affected and enclined to those courses which tend to repose and quietnes. For mine owne part, one while age hath taught me, who am returned an old man into my countrey, from whence I came a child: another while prosperitie and adversitie both, hath so schooled me, that I would now rather be ruled by reason, than swayed by fortune. But I feare me greatly that you as well in regard of youth, as also of your continuall felicitie and fortunate traine of successe, are over-hautive and stout, for to yeeld unto any peaceable wayes. For commonly he fore-casteth no variable chaunces, who never tasted of adverse fortune. And the same are you at this day, that sometimes I was at Thrasymentus and at Cannæ. You being hardly come to that age which is meete for war-service, had the charge and command of an armie: and looke what enterprises you tooke in hand most venterously, the same you ever exploited as happily. You pursued the vengeance of fathers and uncles death, and wan by the calamitie of your house and familie a notable name and reputation of singular vertue and pietie. Spaine full and wholly you have recovered and conquered againe: foure armies of Carthaginians you have chased from thence: no sooner were you created Consull, but when all other mens hearts failed them to defend and keepe Italie, you failed neverthelesse hither over into Affricke: and after you had defeated heere two armies, forced and burnt in one houre two camps of your enemies, taken *Syphax* prisoner, a most mightie and puissant prince; wan so many cities both of his kingdom and of our dominion; you pulled me maugre my head out of Italie, whereof I had bene now sixteene yeeres possessed. Well may your hautive mind affect victorie rather than incline to peace. Full well I know of what spirit and stomack you are, more respective to grandeur and honor, than to your good and profit. And the time hath bene, when I also had the lightsome countenance of fortune lovingly smiling and shining upon me. And were we so blessed of God as to have our right wits and perfect senses in time of prosperitie, we would consider and thinke not of things only which have hapned, but of those also that might happen. But if you should

I should forget all other, I alone might serve as a sufficient example and mirror of all accidents of fortune whatsoever. For, whom not long since you either saw or might have seene encamped between the river Anio and your citie, and readie in manner to skale the walls of Rome; you see me now after the losse of my brethren, two right valiant warriours and most renowned Generals, even here before the walls of my countrey little better than besieged, making meanes in humble manner to avert and avoid those daungers from mine owne citie, with which erewhiles I terrified yours. Well, the greatest and happiest fortune is least to be trusted, and never is it worse relying on her, than when she is so free and bountifull. Now that you flourish and we fade, whiles you are afloat and we sinke; a peace, unto you that geveth it, is a glorious and goodly matter; to us that crave it, more necessarie than honorable. Better it is yet and safer of the twaine, to enjoy a certaine peace, than hope for a doubtfull victorie. The one lieth in your hand to effect, the other as it pleaseth the gods to dispose. Beware therefore, how in one houre you hazard the felicitie of so many yeeres. And as you consider your owne strength and forces; so thinke withall upon the power of fortune: set before your eyes the alternative course of *Mars* in warre. You shall see armour and the edge of the sword; you shall see the bodies of men as well of one side as the other: and no where lesse than in warre do events answer to our hope and expectation. And make full account of this, that you shall not gaine so much overplus of honor, (if haply you should win a field) above that which by granting a peace you may presently have in hand and be possessed of; as you shall forgo and loose of the principall, in case you should do amisse and take the foile. One houres misfortune is able to overturne all the honors and triumphant trophæes as well past and gotten already, as in future hope to be obtained. In knitting and concluding a peace, O *P. Cornelius*, all lieth in your power. Refuse that once and come to the triall of a battaile, you must take your hap as God shall appoint. If *M. Atilius* in times past being conquered, would have graunted peace unto our forefathers at their suite and earnest petition; a rare and singular example had he afforded of vertue and felicitie, and few comparable unto him: but not having the grace to see when he was well; not able to set a gage to his prosperitie in some measure and in due time; not willing to restraine and stop the pride and haughtinesse of his good fortune, the higher he was heaved, the fouler was his fall; and the more he mounted, the greater was his overthrow. It is for him (I confesse) that geveth peace, to capitulate and set downe the covenants and conditions, and not for him that craveth the same. And yet peradventure we might not be thought unworthie, to set upon our owne heads a fine and forfeiture. We refuse not therefore but are content, That all shall be yours, for which the quarrell and warre first began: Sicilie, Sardinia, Spaine, all the llands whatsoever lying in the sea betwene Affricke and Italie. And wee Carthaginians holding our selves enclosed within the bounds and coasts of Affricke (since the will and pleasure of God is so) can abide to see you to rule and governe in forein lands and strange seas. I can not denie, but that you have good cause to suspect the Carthaginians for their faith and truth, whose late desire of peace and attendance about the same, was not so plaine and simple as it should have bene: Yet *Scipio*, take this withall; That it importeth much to the assurance of keeping and observing peace once interteined, to consider who the persons be that seeke and crave the same. And even your owne Senators and LL. of the Counsell, as I heare say, were moved not a little to denie and reject the motion of peace, for this cause, that our embassie seemed unto them not so honourable as it ought to have bene. But now I, even I, no worse a man than *Anniball*, do sue for peace; which as I would not seeke, unlesse I thought it profitable; so I will interteine it in regard of that profit for which I sought it. And like as when I had once begun the warre, so long as the gods impeached & envied me not, I mainteined it so, as no man of ours had cause to be weerie thereof: so will I endeavour that none shall repent of the peace obtained by my means. When *Anniball* had thus said; the Roman Generall made answer againe in this sort. I knew full well, O *Anniball*, that the Carthaginians upon the hope of your coming, have both disturbed the assurance of the present truce, and also troubled the hope of the future peace. Neither doe you your selfe dissimule so much, in defalking all out of the former conditions and capitulations of peace, save onely those things which long since have bene in our power and possession. But as you have a great care, that your fellow citizens should know and perceive, what heavie burdens they are by your meanes discharged and eased of; even so must I endeavour and labour, that the points which then they covenanted and agreed upon, they deduct not this day

out of the articles and conditions of peace, for the hire and reward of their falsehood and treacherie. For unworthie you are to have the ouerture and possibility of any peace at all, ye seeke also, that fraud and deceit may turne to your profit and commoditie. Neither began our predeceffours first to make warre for Sicilie, nor we since for Spaine. But as then the daunger wherein our allies the Mamertines stood; so now the ruine and destruction of Saguntum, mooved vs to take armes most iustly, even for pity and compassion. That you began the quarrell and provoked us first, your selfe confesse, and the gods doe witness: who, as in the former warre, they granted and gave the issue, according to right, equitie, and justice: so they doe in this, and so they ever will. For mine owne part, I remember well, and thinke upon the frailtie of mankind, and the ticklishnes of this world: I consider also the power of fortune, and what shee is able to doe: I know likewise, that all our actions whatsoever, are subject to a thousand hazards and inconveniences. But as I would acknowledge my selfe to haue dealt proudly and outrageously, if before I passed over into Affricke, when of your selfe well nigh you abandoned Italie, when you had imbarcked your armie, and came of your owne accord to seeke peace, I had then rejected you and cast you off: even so at this time, when I have haled and drawn you into Affricke by strong armes, as it were to trie an issue in law (all the hasting, all the shifting and resistance you could make to the contrary notwithstanding) I am not bound to have any respective regard at all of you. Wherefore, if besides those points and capitulations, under which the peace at that time was like to be concluded (and what those were you know as well as I can tell you) you bring with you any recompence & amends for our ships, which being charged with victuall and munition, you tooke perforce from us in time of the cessation of armes; as also for the outrage and violence committed upon the persons of our embassadors; there is some reason that I should consider thereupon, and be advised by my counsell. But if you thinke hardly thereof also, as being thereby too sore pressed; look for battell, you that could not like of repose; provide for war, since you would abide no peace. Thus without any conclusion of accord, they left parling; & being returned to their owne companies, they related unto them, how their conference came to nothing, and all their words were but wind, and did no good: and therefore the matter was to be determined and tried by dint of sword, and they to trust to that fortune which the gods had appointed for them. So soone as they were come into their campes, both of them made proclamation, that the soldiers should buckle themselves, make readie their armour, plucke up their spirits, and adresse themselves to a finall triall of the quarrell; where, if they sped well, they were to be victours not for one day, but for ever and aye. For before the morrow next at night, they should know, whether Rome or Carthage should give lawes unto all nations of the earth. And as neither Affricke nor Italie, but the whole world shall be the prize & guerdon of the conquerours; so they whose hap were to loose the field, must make account of daunger and damage, equall to the winnings and gaine of the other. For as the Romanes had no way to escape, nor place of safe retreat, being in a strange and unknown land; so Carthage (having laid all upon this one cast) if they now missed, made accompt that all was gone, and present destruction at hand. So the next day there advanced forward to this doubtfull and daungerous triall, two most noble and renowned capitaines, of two right mightie and puissant states: two most valiant and hardie armies came forth into the field, resolute that day either to winne the spurres or loose the saddle; to gaine more glorie to their former honour, or else to loose all that ever they had gotten. Thus therefore between hope and feare, their minds were perplexed and distracted; and beholding one while their own forces, & another while their enemies power; measuring rather by their eye, than weighing by reason their strength, they had at once presented unto them, objects of joy & content, as well as of sorow and heaviness. And look what the soldiers themselves could not thinke upon, those things their leaders put them in mind of; suggesting unto them by way of admonition and exhortation, whatsoever was thought expedient and good. *Anniball* rehearsed his noble acts achieved in Italie for the space of fixeene yeeres, he reckoned up how many Romane captains he had slaine, how many armies he had defeated and put to the sword: and ever as he met with any souldiers of note and make for some worthie and memorable battaile; he put them in remembrance of their honourable service and good deserts: *Scipio* related the conquest of Spaine, recounted the fresh foughten fields in Affricke, alledged the verie confession of the enemies; who neither for feare could doe other but seeke for peace, nor yet upon an inbred falsehood imprinted in their hearts, continue long in the same. Besides he inferred the communication & speech

of *Anniball* had with him in secret and apart from others: which according as hee was disposed to devise, he might turn at his pleasure to fit his purpose. And forasmuch as the gods had shewed unto them as they went out into the field, the same signes and tokens of birds, by direction whereof their fathers before them fought in times past before the Ilands *Ægates*; hee offered and prefigured that the warre was come to an end, all daungers and troubles overblowne, that the spoile and pillage of Carthage was at their devotion, and they at the point to returne home unto their countrey, their parents, wives, children, and domesticall gods. And this hee spake with such a loslie gesture of his bodie, with so pleasant and lovely a countenance withall, that a man who had seene him, would have thought verily he had achieved the victorie already. Then he embattailed first his *Hastati* (or speares) in the vaward; behind them the *Principes*; and the rereward he guarded and fortified with the *Triarii*. Neither marshalled he whole cohorts thrust thick and close together, in the head of the battaile before their ensignes, but divided them into squadrons, distant a pretie way asunder one from the other: to the end there might be room & space to receive the elephants of the enemies, that they should not breake the arraies and ranks. As for *Lelius* (whom he had employed before as lieutenant, but that yeare in qualitie of a Questor by a speciall order and direction from the Senat, and not by choice of lot) him with the Italian Cavallerie he put in the left point; & *Masaniissa* with the Numidian horsemen in the right. The open waies and void spaces betweene the squadrons aforesaid, placed in the front before the ensignes, hee filled with the *Velites* or *avelotiers*, who at that time were light armed souldiers; with this commandement, that presently upon the violent charge given by the elephants, they should either retire behind the files, or els runne to a side, both on the right hand and the left, and joyne close to the foremost ranks, and make the elephants way to run upon their shot from the one side and the other. *Anniball* to strike a terrour into the enemies, first arraigned the elephants in the front, who were in number foure score, and more than ever he had before in any battaile. Then he embattailed the aid souldiers of the *Ligurians* and *Frenchmen*, with the *Baleare slingers* and the *Mores* intermingled amongst them. In the maine battaile he placed the *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, with the legion of the *Macedonians*: behind whome (leaving a little space betweene) he set in array the battailon of the Italian souldiers in the rereward for succour: & those were most part of them *Brutij*; who followed him more perforce and by constraint, than of any good will, when he departed out of Italie. The Cavallerie also he displayed and spread round like wings about the two points: whereof the *Carthaginians* kept the right, and the *Numidians* the left. Sundry and divers were the exhortations throughout the armie, amongst so many men; whose language was dissonant, whose complexions far unlike, whose manners and conditions were divers, who differed in lawes and customs, whose armours were not all one, whose raiment and apparell not futable, and finally, whose quarrell and cause of war was not one & the same. The auxiliaries & aid-souldiers fed themselves with the hope of ready and present payment and wages for the time past, yea and with a duple & triple augmentation thereof to boot, out of the spoile and pillage. The *Frenchmen* upon a speciall hatred of their own, and the same deeply fedled, were soone kindled and enflamed against the *Romans*. The *Ligurians*, who were brought out of the rough and craggie mountains, and whose teeth watered at the fruitfull and plenteous fields of Italie, were quickly by him mooved to hope after victorie. The *Mores* and *Numidians* he frightened with the proud and tyrannicall rule of *Masaniissa*, under which they should ever after live. Before the *Carthaginians* he presented the walles of their native citie, their houses and house gods, the sepulchres and tombes of their ancestors, their children and parents, yea and their timorous and fearefull wives: hee set before their eyes either finall destruction of all those things and slavery of their persons, or else the empire and soveraigne dominions of the whole world: and no meane betweene these extremities either of feare or hope.

When as the Generall was most busie thus in exhorting the *Carthaginians* and the captains of the strangers, amongst the souldiours of their owne nations, and that for the most part by means of interpreters, intermingled for the same purpose with them; the trumpets sounded, and the homes blew from the Romane hoast. And such a wonderfull shout arose from thence, in that the Elephants turned upon the *Mores* and *Numidians* of their owne side, especially in the left point of the battaile. Whome *Masaniissa* seeing once affrighted, hee soone redoubled their feare; and riding upon them with a hote charge, laid naked the battailon of footmen on that side, and cleane without the aid of their Cavallerie. Howbeit, some few of the Elephants driven

driven without feare full upon the enemye, made foule worke among the ranks of the light armed Velites, and overthrew a number of them, not without many a wound and much hurt done to themselves. For the Velites leaping againe nimble to the Squadrons, after they had made way for the beasts, fearing they should bee troden underfoot by them, let flie their javelins at them from both sides, lying open as they did like butts to the shot on either hand. Neither lost they any time, who were in the vanguard before the ensignes, nor gave over flinging their darts at them, untill they were driven by a volley of shot lighting upon them from all parts, cleane out of the Romane battaile: and then they turned head also upon the very horsemen of the Carthaginians in their owne right point, and forced them to run away. *Lelius* for his part, seeing the enemies in disarray and sore troubled, charged upon them with his horses, & encreased their fright. So as now the Carthaginian battaillon was disurnished and stript of their horsemen on both wings. By which time the Cavallerie joined battaile, whose hope was now quailed and strength abated, and therefore not able to make their parts good. Besides another thing there was, a small matter to speake of, but yet in fighting-time and in the very medley, of great consequence and importance. The shout and crie from the Romans was ever alike and consonant in all parts, and therefore the greater and more terrible; but the enemies made dissonant noises, according as they differed in language, being as they were, of many and sundrie nations. The manner of the Romanes fight was sure and stedfast, by reason of the peise of their owne bodies, and the weight of their armour, bearing still, and preasing hard upon the enemies: but they on the other side, shewed more swiftnesse and agilitie, than force and violence. And therefore at the very first shooke the Romanes incontinently enforced their battaillon to recule and lose their ground. Afterward they fell to shoudering and knocking them with the pikes and bosses of their bucklers: which done, they set foot forward a good round pace, and gained some ground of them, marching on still, and no man seemed to make head against them; whiles they that were hindmost in the files, perceiving once that battaillon to goe on and win ground, still put forward the formost, which was the very thing that availed much, and was of great efficacy to put the enemies to flight. But the second battaillon which consisted of Africanes and Carthaginians, were so farre from seconding and upholding the auxiliarie strangers thus dismarching; that contrariwise, for feare lest the Romanes by killing them in the forefront (who stood to it lustily and made resistance) should come as farre as to them behind, they likewise reculed and gave backward. Whereupon the aid-fouldiours also suddainely shewed their hind-parts and turning their face upon their owne fellows: some of them retired for refuge into the second battaillon; others fell to killing of them that would not receive them within their ranks: & good reason they had, for as a while before they had no helpe at all of them, so then they were altogether excluded and shut out from them. So as now the Carthaginians had to deale at once in two medlies shuffled together, whiles they were compelled to close & come to handfight, both with their enemies, and also with their owne fellowes. Yet notwithstanding, for all they were either so affrighted, or so angrie with them, receive them they would not in no hand into their battaillon: but keeping their ranks and files close together, they cast them ato side to the wings and the void ground without the place of conflict, and all because they would not intermingle any fouldiours thus skared upon running away and many wounds, with that battaillon which stood still sure ynough, and as yet unfoiled. But the place where a little before the auxiliaries were raunged, was so full of slaine bodies, and weapons and armour thrumbled one upon another, that the Romanes had welneere more adoe to passe that way now, than they should have had through the preasse of the enemies standing thicke together. And therefore the formost of the Hastati following after the enemies, every one as well as he could over the heapes of bodies and armour on the earth, and through the slipperie filth of the bloud, made a pelmell of their own ensignes, and confusion of their ranks. Whereupon the ensignes also of the Principes began to wave, when they saw the battaile afore them so wandering and inconstant. Which *Scipio* when hee once perceived, commaunded in all hast to sound the retreat unto the Hastati: and when hee had withdrawn as many of them as were wounded and hurt, and bestowed them in the rereward, hee brought the Principes and the Triarij to the out-wings and flanks thereof; to the end, that the middle battaillon of the Hastati should bee more sure and strong. By this meanes there began a new medley. For now were they come to their verie enemies indeed; such as for armour and weapons of all sorts, for practise and experience of warfare, for fame and renowne of

worthie

A worthie exploits, and last of all for greatnesse either of hope or perill, were equall and comparable unto them. But both in number and also in courage, the Romans were superiour, for that alreadie they had discomfited the Cavallerie, put to flight the elephants, beaten back the vaward, and were readie now to encounter with the maine battaile. Now *Lelius* and *Masaniſſa* having had the horsemen in chase a good way, whom they had compelled to flie as is before said, returned in good time, and charged hotely upon the taile of the enemies battaile. And this assault of theirs it was, that strucke the stroke, this did the deed and amazed the enemies. Many of them were environned and killed in the place, many fled and were scattered over the plains and open fields, and by the horsemen who had taken up all the avenues, & raunged all about, were caught up here and there, and so slaine. Of Carthaginians and their Allies, were killed that day above twenty thousand, and welneere as many taken prisoners: of militarie ensignes there were gotten a hundred thirtie three, and eleven Elephants besides, alive. Of the conquerours there died about two thousand. *Anniball* with some few horsemen made shift to escape out of the tumult and heat of the execution, and fled to * *Adrumetum*, having assaied and tried all meanes possible, both in the very conflict, and also before the battaile, ere he departed and left the fight. And this praise and commendation he woon even by the confession of *Scipio* himselfe, and all others that were expert warriours, that with singular skill that day he ordered the battell, and marshalled the field. For the Elephants he had placed in the forefront, whose adventurous force and intolerable violence in giving the onser, might empeach the Romans from following their colours, and keeping their arraies; the onely thing wherein they reposed their greatest hope and confidence.

C Then, before the maine battaile of the Carthaginians, he set the auxiliaries and aid-fouldiours, of purpose, that being a confused rable and medley of all sorts of nations, such as were not bound by alleageance, but tied onely by gaine and wages, should have no libertie to retire themselves, and escape by running away: who also, as the forlorne hope, bearing the furious heat of the first brunt, might wearie the enemies with charging upon them, & if they did no other good, yet with receiving many a wound in their bodies dull & turne the edge of the enemies sword. After this, in the battell, where all his hope was, he placed the Carthaginian and Africane soldiours; that being otherwise in all things els equall to the enemies, they might in this regard have the ods, in that they were to fight with them wearied and wounded, when they themselves were in heart and lustie. As for the Italians, who also were devided from the rest by a good space betwene, he removed farre off into the rereward, as doubtfull whether they were freinds or enemies. *Anniball* having done this doubtie deed and worke, as it were for the last proove of his vertue and valour, fled to *Adrumetum*, and was from thence sent for to Carthage: whither hee returned in the fixe and thirtieth yeer, after that he first departed thence a very child. Where in the Counsell house he confessed and said, That overcome he was not only in a battell once, but also in the main war for ever hereafter: protesting in plain tearms, that now there was no other way but one to save themselves, and that was peace, if they could obtaine it.

Scipio immediately after this battaile, having forced by assault and rifled the enemies camp, returned with a huge bootie to the sea and his ships, being advertised afore by a messenger that *P. Lentulus* was arrived at *Vtica* with five ships of warre, and a hundred hulks laden with provision of all kinds of victuall. And supposing it good pollicie now that Carthage was troubled and thoroughly affrighted, to come upon them with all terrour on every side: so soone as he had dispatched *Lelius* away to Rome, with tidings of this victorie, hee commaunded *Cn. Octavius* to lead the legions by land against Carthage. Himselfe in proper person, after hee had joined this new fleet of *Lentulus*, unto the old Armada of his owne, weighed anchor and departed from *Vtica*, and sailed directly to the haven of Carthage. Hee was not farre from thence, when there met him a ship of the Carthaginians, garnished with insules, ribbands, and white flags of peace, and beset with branches of Olive; wherein were ten Oratours embarked, the best men of the citie, sent by the advice & motion of *Anniball* to crave peace. Who as they approached the hin-decke and poupe of the Admirall ship, but forth the vailles and tokens of suppliants, praying & beseeching the protection and mercie of *Scipio*. Who had no other answer made them, but that they should repaire to Tunes, whether hee intended to remove. Then himselfe after hee had well viewed the situation of Carthage, not so much to have the full knowledge thereof at this present, as to terrifie the enemies, returned to *Vtica*, whether he had called backe *Octavius* also. As hee marched forward from thence toward Tunes, he had intelligence given him, that *Permina* the sonne of

Anniball defeated by *Scipio*.

* Or *Adrumetum*, now *Masaniſſa*, according to *Merca*

of *Syphax* was coming to aid the Carthaginians with a power of more horsemen than footmen: whereupon, part of the armie together with the whole Cavallerie was sent: whereof the light horse and vancurriers charging the vaward in their march, after a light skirmish discomfited the Numidians: and having stopped all passages every way with the horsemen, so as they could not get out and flye, there were upon a fiftene thousand men of them slaine, 1200 taken prisoners, 1500 Numidian horses also were gotten from them alive, and 72 militarie ensignes. The young Prince himselfe in the mids of the tumult and conflict, with some few escaped. Then encamped *Scipio* neere Tunes, in the same place where he lay before: and thither repaired unto him thirtie ambassadors from Carthage. And they verily, as they were in harder case & greater distresse, made much more pitifull entreating than before; but in their audience found lesse favour and mercie by a great deale, for their late treacherie and falshood so fresh in remembrance. Now albeit when they were set in counsell, all of them had just cause to be angrie, and thereupon were provoked to destroy and rase Carthage: yet upon better advisement & consideration, how great and difficult an enterprize, and what a long peece of service it was to besiege a citie so strong and so well fortified: and for that *Scipio* himselfe was troubled in mind with the expectation of a successeur, who should come to win the credit and honor of finishing the war, which indeed was gotten by the travaile and hazard of another, all their hearts were turned and enclined to peace. The morrow after the Oratours were called againe before them; and after they had bene well checked, rebuked, and plainly told of their treacherie, and warned withall, that after so many losses and overthrowes which they had received, they should now learne to be wise, and at length beleve that there were gods in heaven, and that an oath was to be regarded, these conditions of peace were tendered and offered unto them. *Imprimis*, it was capitulated, That they might live free, according to the forme of their owne laws: *Item*, What cities, what territories (and within what bounds and limits) they held and were possessed of before the warre began, the same they might keepe still. *Item*, That *Scipio* and the Romanes from that day forward should nor waite and spoile the country. *Item*, That the Carthaginians should deliver all renegade traitours, all fugitive persons, all captives and prisoners, yea, and yeeld unto them all ships of warre with bralen heads, above ten tiremes or gales of three ranks of oares. *Item*, That they should put into their hands all those Elephants which they had already tamed and manned, and should breake and tame no more of them. *Item*, They should make warre neither in Affrick, nor without Affrick, but by order and warrant from the people of Rome. *Item*, That they should make restitution and amends to *Masinissa* for all harmes, and enter into league with him. *Item*, That they should find come and money for the maintenance of the aid-souldiours, untill their ambassadors were returned from Rome: yea and tender payment of ten thousand talents of silver by even portions in fittie yeares. *Item*, That they should put in a hundred hostages at the pleasure of *Scipio*, and none of them to be either under fourteene yeeres of age, or above thirtie. Last of all, they would grant a truce upon this condition, That the ships which were taken during the time of the former cessation of armes, should be restored back againe, with all things els that were therein: otherwise, no truce for the present, nor hope of peace hereafter. These articles and conditions the ambassadors were willed to returne home withall. Which after they had related in the generall assemblie of the people, *Gisgo* mounted up the pulpit to dissuade peace, and had audience given him with great applause of the multitude; who as they were heartlesse and unmeet for warre, so they were aspeevisch and unruly, and could not long continue in repose. Heereat, *Annibal* took great indignation, & was highly displeased, that in such a time, those things should either be delivered or heard; and he made no more ado, but stepped to *Gisgo*, laid hand upon him, and pulled him down from the pue out of which he spake: whereat the people were moved and grumbled in great discontent, to see so strange a sight and unusuall, in a free citie. Then *Annibal*, as he was a meere martiall man, and could not skill of civile affaires, nor well away with these citizens libertie. I went, quoth he, from you when I was but nine yeeres old, and now after 36 yeeres I am come againe. All militarie skill and knowledge, which fortune sometime in my private matters, and otherwhiles in publick affaires, hath taught me from my childhood, me thinks I have learned sufficiently: may, for the rights and priviledges, for the lawes, customes, and fashions of the citie and the common hall, I must be informed and instructed by you. Thus having pleaded ignorance for his excuse, he discoursed at large of peace, arguing how reasonable and equall, yea and how necessarie it was. The greatest point of difficultie in all the capitulations

lations ministred unto them was this, That touching the things above said which were taken during the abstinence of armes, there was nothing nowforth-coming and to be seene but the bare vessels; and no easie matter was it to seeke up the rest. Now when as they that gainesaid the peace were convinced and put downe by reason, agreed it was, that the ships should be redelivered, and the men likewise be sought out and found: as for all the rest that was wanting, there should an estimate be made according to the value, at the discretion of *Scipio*, and so the Carthaginians to make all good in money. Writers there be that have delivered, how *Annibal* presently from the field sped him to sea, and there finding a ship readie prepared for him, straightwayes embarke, and went directly to king *Antiochus*: Also, when *Scipio* demanded above all other things that *Annibal* should be yielded into his hands, answer was made, that *Annibal* was not in Affrick. After that the ambassadors were returned to *Scipio*, the Questours or Treasurers were commaunded to draw an extract according to their bookes upon record, of all such things as were in the ships, and appertained to the citie: and looke what belonged to private persons, the owners thereof were willed to declare and testifie. In consideration and recompense whereof, there was a summe of money set downe, amounting to 25000 pound weight of silver, and the same to be paid presently out of hand by the Carthaginians. Thus a truce was graunted to them for three moneths: with this clause annexed over and besides, That during the said terme they should send their embassadours to no other place but only to Rome: and what embassadours soever came to Carthage, they should not let them depart before they had certified the Roman General both who they were, and what their message and errand was. Then with the Carthaginian ambassadors were sent to Rome *L. Veturius Philo*, *M. Martius Ralla*, and *L. Scipio*, brother to the General. At that time there came such store of graine and victuals out of Sicilie and Sardinia, and thereby come was so cheape, that the merchant was faine to leave come behind him to satisfie the shipmen and mariners for the portage and carriage thereof.

Now there had ben much trouble and fear at Rome upon the first news and al'arme, that the Carthaginians had taken arms againe: and *T. Claudius* had commission to conduct a fleet with all speed into Sicilie, and from thence to passe over into Affrike: likewise the other Consull was commaunded to stay still at Rome, untill it were certainly knowne in what terms all matters stood in Affrike. But *T. Claudius* went but slowly to worke, either in preparing and rigging an armada, or in putting it to sea; because the LL. of the Senat were of opinion, that as touching the peace and the conditions thereof, it was rather at the disposition of *Scipio* than of the Consull. Moreover, there were certaine prodigious signs reported even presently before the very rumour of the foresaid rising and insurrection, which caused men to feare greatly. At Cumes, the circle and compasse of the sunne appeared lesse: and it rained a good shewe of stones. Also in the territorie of Velutre, the earth sciled and sunke, and made huge hollow chinks, in so much as trees were quite swallowed up under the ground. At Aricia the market-place and the shops all about, likewise at Frusino the wall of the citie in divers places, yea and the gate, were smitten with lightning from heaven: and in mount Palatine it rained stones. This wondrous sight last rehearsed, was expiat after the ancient custome, by keeping a Novendiall sacrifice and feast for nine daies; the rest by killing of greater sacrifices. Among all, there were unusual deluges and inundations of waters, which troubled the minds and consciences of men: for the Tyber so swelled and rose so high, that by reason that the shew-place of the Circus was overflowne, preparation was made for the setting forth of the games Apollinaires, without the gate Collina, neere the chappell of *Veneris Ergina*. But upon the very day when the plaies should be exhibited, it grew to be so fair weather of a sodain, that the pageant and pompous traine of the shew, which was a going to the gate Collina, was called backe and conveyed into the Circus; and word brought, that the water was fallen and gone cleane out from thence: so the people were more joious, and the pastimes celebrated with greater resort, for that the usuall and ordinarie place served againe for the solemnities to be performed.

F *Claudius* the Consull at last departed from the citie of Rome, and went to sea; where betwene the havens of Cossa and Lauretum, he was overtaken with a terrible and fearefull tempest that arose and put him in exceeding feare. From thence he came to the Populonij, and there stayed untill the tempest was overblowne and gone. Then hee fell with the yle * Ilua, and from Ilua hee sailed to Corsica, and from Corsica he passed over to Sardinia; where, as he doubled the point and

and was passing the race of the mountaines called * Infani, there arose a farre more cruell ghust, and in places of more perill and hazard, which scattered the fleet. Many of the ships were wa-

therbeaten & sore shaken, many lost their tackling quite, yea and some were crackt and split. Thus the Armada being much tossed and torne, arrived at length at Carales; where, whiles the ships were drawne up into the docke to drie land, and there a repairing, the winter came upon them, and the yeare turned about. And so *T. Claudius* (as a private person, by reason that no man renewed his commission for a farther time) brought the Armada backe to Rome. But *M. Servilius* because he should not be called home to the citie for the solemne election of magistrates, after he had declared Dictatour, *Cn. Servilius Geminus*, departed into his province. And the Dictatour chose *P. Aelius Patus* Generall of the horsemen. Oftentimes went the writs out for publishing of the election, but by reason of tempests it held not, nor was performed. And therefore when the old magistrates left their office after the Ides of March, and no new substituted in their roome, the citie was cleane without any magistrates of state to sit in the yvorie chaire. *L. Manlius Torquatus* a bishop that yeere died. In his place was invested *C. Sulpitius Galba*. The Romane games were thrice exhibited a new by *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *Q. Fulvius*, Ediles of the chaire. The clarks and scribes belonging to the Ediles, together with their beades and summoners, were detected for carrying forth certaine money out of the treasure and chamber of the citie: and being thereof convicted, were therefore condemned, not without some touch and discredit of *Lucullus* himself the Edile. *P. Aelius Tubero* and *L. Lætorius* Ediles of the commons, for that there was some error and default in their election, resigned up their places, after they had represented the playes, and in regard thereof solemnized the feast of Iupiter, and set up besides in the Capitoll three images made of the silver that was forfeited and raised upon the fines of the persons condemned aforesaid. The Dictatour and Generall over the horsemen, by order from the Senat exhibited the games called Cereales, to the honour of *Ceres*.

When the Romane ambassadors and Carthaginians together, were come out of Affricke to Rome, the Senate assembled to give them audience in the temple of Bellona: where *L. Veturius Philo* after he had declared (to the exceeding joy of the LL. of the Senate) that they had fought a battaile with *Anniball*, (the last that ever the Carthaginians were like to fight) and that this grievous and lamentable warre was now come to an end, he went on still and related, that *Permina* also the sonne of *Syphax* was vanquished and subdued; which was no small increase of the other exploits so happily atchieved. Then he was commanded to go forth from thence directly to the assembly of the people, there to impart these glad some newes unto the multitude. Whereupon (for exceeding joy and in token of thanksgiving) all the temples in the citie were fetopen, and solemne processions decreed for three daies. Now when as the embassadours of the Carthaginians and king *Philip* (for they also were arrived) required to have a day of audience in the Senate; the Dictatour by direction from the Senate, returned them this answer, That the new Consuls should satisfie their request. After this, was the solemne assembly holden for the election of magistrates; and Consuls were created *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Aelius Patus*: for Pretours, first *M. Junius Pennus*, who was allotted to have the civill jurisdiction in the citie: then *M. Valerius Falto*, unto whom the Brutians country fell by lot to governe: next, *M. Fabius Bute*, whose hap was to rule Sardinia, and *P. Aelius Tubero* to be L. depute of Sardinia. Concerning the provinces wherein the Consuls were to be employed, it was not thought good to determine any thing, before the embassadours of king *Philip* and likewise of the Carthaginians, had delivered their embassages: for as they saw the end of one warre, so they foresaw the beginning of another. *Cn. Lentulus* the Consull was inflamed with an ardent desire of the province of Affricke: for if the warre continued, he aimed at an easie victorie: and if it were at the point of an end, he gaped at the honour of finishing the same, and hoped to have the name, That determined it was whiles he was Consull. And therefore he protested plainly, that he would suffer nothing to passe before that the province of Affricke were assigned to him. His colleague (a sober, temperate, and discrete man) gave his consent; for he saw full well, that as the contending for that glorie with *Scipio*, was unjust and unreasonable, so in it hee would be overmatched, and never able to import and carrie it away from him. *Q. Minutius Thermus* and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, two Tribunes of the commons, gave out and said, That *Cn. Cornelius* went about to compasse that, which was commenced and assayed in vaine the yeare before by *T. Claudius* the Consull. For when by warrant from the Senate a bill was propofed unto the people, whome their pleasure was to nominate

A nate for government of Affricke, all the 35 Tribes gave their voices and awarded that province to *P. Scipio*. Much contention there passed and many bickerments both in Senat-house and before the people, in the debating of this question: but in the end they grew to this point, to refer all to the judgement of the Senate. So the LL. of the Senate having taken their oath (for so it was agreed upon) thus concluded and gave this order. First, that the two Consuls should either agree together betweene themselves, or else cast lots for their provinces; namely, which of them should have the rule of Italie, and who the charge of a fleet of fiftie saile. Item, to whether of them twaine besell the navie, he should saile over into Sicilie: and if peace might not be fully concluded with the Carthaginians, then to crosse over into Affricke; where the Consull should warre by sea, and *Scipio* by land, by vertue of the same commission and authoritie that he had alreadye. Moreover, if the conditions of peace were accepted of both parts, that then the Tribunes of the Commons should propound unto the people, as touching their wil and pleasure, whether the Consull or *P. Scipio* should conclude the peace; and which of them (if the victorious armie after conquest obtained, were to be brought backe out of Affricke) should have the conduct thereof home againe. Also, if they nominated *Scipio* for to make the peace, and bring away the armie likewise, then the Consull should not cut over from Sicilie to Affricke. As for the other Consull who had the government of Italie, he should receive of *M. Sestius* the Pretour, two legions. So *P. Scipio* had his commission sealed againe for to remaine in the province of Sicilie, with the same forces which he there had. *M. Valerius Falco* the Pretour in the Brutians country was allowed those legions whereof *C. Livius* had the commaund the yeare before. It was furthermore agreed, that *P. Aelius* the Pretour should take the two legions in Sicilie of *Cn. Tremellus*: and that one legion which *P. Lentulus* the Propretour had under his conduct, was appointed to *M. Fabius* for Sardinia. And *M. Servilius* the Consull of the former yeare, continued also in his government with his owne two legions for Hetruria. As concerning the provinces of Spaine, sith *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Manlius Acidinus* had bene there for certaine years, the said Consuls were to deale with the Tribunes, that if they thought it good, they should propound unto the Commons, for to know their minds whome they would appoint to govern Spaine: and that he whosoever it was, should out of two armies enroll one entire legion of Romane souldiers, and of the allies of the Latine nation make up fiftene cohorts or regiments, and with the strength of them joyntly, keepe in obedience and defend the province. Item, that *L. Cornelius* and *L. Manlius* should bring over the old souldiers into Italie. Unto *Cornelius* the Consull was assigned a fleet of fiftie ships, to be deducted and drawne out of two other Armadaes; the one of *Cn. Octavius* which was in Affricke, the other of *P. Villius* which guarded the coasts of Sicilie; and to choose thereout what ships he would: and that *P. Scipio* should keepe those fiftie ships of warre which he had alreadye. And in case his pleasure was that *Cn. Octavius* should be Admirall over them still, like as heretofore; then *Octavius* was to continue in government for that yeare as Viz-pretour: but if he made *Lalios* the admirall, then *Octavius* should depart and come home to Rome, and bring backe with him those ships that the Viz-consull had no use or need of. *M. Fabius* likewise had ten gallies of service allowed him into Sardinia. And the Consuls were appointed to muster and enroll two legions of citizens, that with the power of fourteene legions, and an hundred ships of warre, the affaires of Rome that yeare might be managed.

These things thus ordered, they began to debate in counsell about the embassadours of *Philip* and the Carthaginians: and thought good it was to admit the Macedonians into place for to have audience. Divers and sundrie speeches they made, whiles they laboured partly to cleere that point as touching the complaints that the embassadours sent from Rome made before the king, for the forraying and spoiling of their confederates: and partly complained themselves of the allies of the people of Rome, laying much to their charge: but farre more bitterly accusing *M. Aurelius*, for that he being one of the three embassadours sent unto them, staied behind and took musters of souldiers; yea and against the covenant comprised in the league, made warre upon them, and oftentimes gave battaile unto their captains and governors in open field: partly also they demanded, that the Macedonians and their captaine *Sopater*, who had served in the warres of *Anniball* for wages, and were taken prisoners and kept bound in prison, might be enlarged and set at libertie.

To these points *M. Furius*, sent of purpose from *Aurelius* out of Macedonia, made answer briefly

briefely in this wise, That *Aurelius* who was left behind, for feare that the affociats of the people G of Rome, wearied with rodes and incursions into their territories & other injurious oppressions, might revolt unto the king; never departed out of the confines of the affociates aforesaid, and endeavoured onely, that those robbers and forraiers of the cuntry should not invade and overrun their lands, and goe cleare away without any harme. As for *Sopater*, hee was a state and peere of the realme, and one neerely allied unto the king, who lately was sent into Affricke with foure thousand Macedonians and with money, to aid & assist *Anniball* and the Carthaginians. When as the Macedonians being required what they could say to these challenges, framed but a doubtful and intricate defence, before they had well made an end they received this for their answer: That since the king fought warre, if he proceeded and went on still, hee should shortly have his hands full: but forasmuch as he had broken the league in two points, first in offering wrong to the allies of the people of Rome, and molesting them by way of warre and hostilitie; and secondly in helping their enemies with men and money, they deemed thus much of it, that not only *P. Scipio* both did and doth well and justly, in keeping them still in prison as enemies, who bare arms against the people of Rome, and were taken captive; but also *M. Aurelius* performed good service to the State, and a great pleasure to the Senate, in defending the Allies of the people of Rome by force of armes, when by right of league hee could not. VVhen the Macedonians had their dispatch, and were sent away with this heavey answer, then the Carthaginian embassadors were called in.

The Orations of
Anniball, heard
down the Senat
of Rome.

VVhen they beheld their reverent age, and the dignitie of their personage (for they were the best and principal men simply of their citie) then every man was fully perswaded for his own part and said, That now they dallied no longer, but meant in deed and good earnest to crave & have peace. But the cheefe and most portly person of them all was one *Asdruball*, in his cuntry and among his citizens surnamed *Hedus*, a man that ever perswaded peace, & opposed himself against the Barchine faction. And therefore he had the more credite and authoritie, when hee derived the blame from the Commonweale, and laid all the fault upon the wilfulness and greedieavarice of some few. Who after hee had used diverse and sundrie speeches, one while excusing and clearing the crimes, another while confessing some things objected, least if they had denied certain truths, they should with more difficultie have obtained pardon and peace: now and then also giving the LL. of the Senate an admonition and warning by the way, to use their prosperitie and good fortune modestly and with moderation, he added moreover and said, That if the Carthaginians would have been ruled by him and *Hanno*, and had been so wise as to have taken their time and the opportunitie when it was, they should themselves have given those conditions of peace, which now they are constrained to crave. But for men to bee fortunate and wise both at once, it is a rare and speciall gift, and sildome seene. And here it is that the people of Rome (qd. he) is invincible, because in prosperitie they can remember to bee wise, and to take the best way for themselves. And certes a wonder it were, if ever they should doe otherwise. For those commonly who happen to meet with some new good chevance, and have not beene used thereto before, overshoot and passe themselves too much in excessive joy, which they have not the grace to governe with sobrietie and discretion: whereas the people of Rome have ever beene accustomed to the continuall felicitie of joyous victories, inso much as they are growne into a disuse of taking pleasure and delight in them (so common they are) and have encreased their dominion and Empire, more (in manner) by sparing and pardoning those whom they have conquered, than by the very conquest of them indeed.

The speech that the other embassadors made, was more pittiful and lamentable, whiles they recounted before the Senat from what high estate, & to how base condition they were fallen: who but a while since held by force of arms, as it were the whole world, & had nothing left them now but the bare walls of the citie of Carthage, within which they were shut up, & could see nothing either by land or sea, which they might rightfully claime as their owne. Nay the very citie it selfe and their houses, they were to enjoy no longer than the people of Rome is unwilling, & forbearth to proceed by rigour and extremitie against the same, since there is nothing else behind to worke upon. Now when as the LL. of the Senate seemed to incline to mercie and compassion, one Senator there was amongst them (by report) who upon a deepe and inveterate hatred of the Carthaginians trecherie, spake out aloud and said, VVhat gods will they regard and swear by, in making of a new league, who have broken their oth, and taken their name in vaine whom they called

A called to witness in the former? *Marrie* (qd. *Asdruball*) even those and no other that are so sharpe revengers and heavey enemies to the breakers of league and covenant. So when all their minds were inclined to peace, *Cn. Lentulus* the Consull, who had the government of the navie, opposed himselfe against the decree of the Senate for to crosse the same. Then *M. Atilius*, & *Q. Minutius*, Tribunes of the Commons, preferred a solemne bill unto the people, in this forme: Pleaseth it you, and will you graunt, That the Senate shall resolve and determine, that peace may bee concluded with the Carthaginians: Pleaseth it you to chuse and appoint who shall be the man to make that peace, and who shall bring the armie out of Affricke? As concerning peace, the tribes every one as they were demanded their voices, graunted affirmatively (*Vti rogatis*) that *Scipio* should conclude it, and also bring away the armie. By vertue of this Act passed by the people, the Senate made a decree, that *P. Scipio* by the advise & counsell of ten Commissioners, should contract an accord with the people of Carthage, under what conditions he thought good. After this the Carthaginians rendered thanks to the LL. of the Senat, and requested that they might enter into the citie, and talke with their fellow citizens and countriemen, who had beene taken captives aforesime, and lay in the common gaole and prison. For there were amongst them some of their kinsfolke and friends, noblemen of birth & of good qualitie; others also, unto whom they were to deliver some message and credence from their kinsmen. VVhen they had spoken & communed with them, they came with a new petition and made earnest suite, to give them leave to raunsome and redeeme as many of them as they would: wherupon they were willed to give them their names; and when they had named fast upon two hundred, an order was graunted out of the Senate, that the Romane Commissioners should take over with them into Affricke unto *Scipio* two hundred of those captives whom the Carthaginians would make choise of; and declare unto him from the Senate, that in case the peace were fully agreed upon and finished, he should deliver those two hundred to the Carthaginians, freely without paying any raunsome. Now when the heralds of armes were appointed to goe into Affricke, for to confirme and establish the peace according to the solemne order, at their owne request there passed an act of the Senate framed in this forme and tenure. *Imprimis*, That they should carrie with them every one by himselfe, certaine flint stones of their owne, and likewise Vervens. *Item*, That the Roman Pretors should commaund them solemne to pronounce the league, and then they to aske of the Pretour sacred hearbes or Vervens. A kind of grasse or hearbe this is, which was wont to be gathered from off the Capitoll hill, and given to the Heralds.

D Thus were the Carthaginians dismissed and sent from Rome: who being come into Affricke to *Scipio*, concluded peace with the same capitulations as is above said. And so they delivered up their gallies and ships of warre, their Elephants, the renegade traitours, the vagrant fugitives, and foure thousand prisoners. Among whom was *Q. Terentius Culleo*, a Senator by his calling. As for the ships, so soone as they were launced forth into the deepe, *Scipio* caused them to bee set on fire and burnt. Some report that they were five hundred in number, one with another, of every sort, and all directed and guided by oares. Presently were they set a burning: a dolorous sight and heavey spectacle (no doubt) to the Carthaginians for to behold, as if Carthage it selfe had been on a light fire. The renegade traitours and rebels were punished more greevously than the fugitives. As many of them as were of the Latine nation lost their heads: all that were naturall Romanes, were crucified and roundly trussed up on the gallows. Fortie years before was the peace last made with the Carthaginians, when *Q. Lucatius* and *A. Manlius* were Consuls. The warre began three and twentie yeares after, whiles *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. And the same ended in the eighteenth yeare after, *P. Cornelius*, and *P. Aelius Pætus* being Consuls. Many a time after, *Scipio* by report, would say, that the wilfull and covetous desire of *T. Claudius* first, and afterwards of *Cn. Cornelius*, was the onely stay and let, that this warre ended not with the small ruine and utter destruction of Carthage.

F When as the Carthaginians, who by long and continuall warres were growne bare and poor, thought the levie and contribution of money for to furnish out the first paiment, lay heavey and sore upon them, inso much as in their Senate house, there was great sorrow and heaviness, yea, and pittous weeping; it is said, that *Anniball* was seene to laugh agood. And when *Asdruball* rebuked him for laughing in that publick lamentation of the citie, considering that himselfe was the cause of those tears, If (qd. *Anniball*) as we see by our eie the outward disposition of the face and countenance, so wee could looke withinforth and behold the affection of the mind, we

ye might soone perceive, that this laughter of mine, which ye so much blame, proceedeth not G
from an heart that is glad and joyfull, but rather senselesse, stupified, and astonied with the ex-
ceeding greeces and calamities that have happened. Yet is not it so unseasonable and inperu-
nent to our present condition, as these teares of yours, and weeping that you make, is absurd and
nothing to the purpose. Then should yee have wept and shed teares, when our armour and wea-
pons were taken from us, when our ships were set on fire, when wee were interdicted and forbid-
den to make warre with forraigne nations: for then had wee our deadly blow, then our backs and
hearts were broken. And never thinke that the Romanes have proceeded hardly against you, in
comparison of the hatred that ye bare one to another. No great citie & mightie State can long
continue and rest in quiet. If it have no enemies abroad, it findeth some at home: much like un-
to strong and lustie bodies, which seeming sure ynough against all outward accidents and cau-
ses of sicknesse, are overcharged with their owne strength and fulnesse of humours, and thereby
subject to most deadly maladies. So much, forsooth, and no more we feele of the publicke mis-
eries and common calamities, as toucheth and concerneth our selves in particular: wherein no-
thing pincheth us more, nor goeth neerer to the quicke, than to forgo our monie, and part with
our pence. And therefore when Carthage was conquered and despoiled of all her auncient ho-
nours, when yee saw her disarmed and stripped naked, when yee saw her forlorne of all the armed
nations of Affricke; no man then sighed, no man grieved thereat: but now when the tribute im-
posed, is to be paid out of your private purses, yee keepe a weeping and wailing, as in some pub-
licke funerall and mortuarie carried forth. But alas, I feare me greatly, that ere it be long, yee shall
find and feele, That your weeping this day hath been for the least losse of all the rest. Thus spake
Anniball to the Carthaginians.

Scipio having assembled his whole armie together, before them all, restored Masinissa to his
fathers kingdom: and over and besides, endued him with the possession of the citie Cirtha, and
other townes and territories which belonged to the realme of Syphax, and were now in subjec-
tion to the people of Rome. Vnto Cn. Octavius he gave order to conduct the fleet into Sicilie, and
there to make it over to Cn. Cornelius the Consull. The Carthaginian embassadours he willed to
goe to Rome, that those acts and capitulations which were concluded by him with the advise of
the ten Commissioners, might likewise passe under the approbation of the Senat, & the consent
of the people, and so be ratified and confirmed for ever.

Thus Scipio having obtained peace both by sea and land, and embarked his armie, sailed toward
Sicilie, and arrived at Lilybaeum. From whence he sent away a great part of his armie by sea, and
himselfe passed by land through Italie, which now was joyfull as well for the peace concluded, as
the victorie achieved. Where all the way as hee went, not onely the people came forth in multi-
tudes out of the cities to do him honor, but numbers also of the countie peafants out of the vil-
lages, filled all the high waies along, untill he came to Rome: where he entred the citie, riding in
the most stately and magnificent triumph that ever had been. Hee brought into the citie cham-
ber 100033 pound weight of silver. He devided among his souldiours out of the spoile *four hun-
dred Asses apeece. Syphax by his death rather disappointed the people of a goodly shew & pa-
geant in the triumph, than diminished any whit the glorie of the triumph: hee died at Tybur
not long afore, to which place he had been removed from Alba: howbeit his death was not ob-
scure, by reason that he was solemnly caried to his buriall, with the pompe of a publicke funerall
at the charges of the citie. But Polybius a writer of good account, reporteth, That this K. was led
in the very triumph. As Scipio rode triumphant Q. Terentius Culleo, followed after with a cap of
libertie set upon his head; and ever after, so long as hee lived, hee honoured him (as becomming it
was) and acknowledged him the author of his freedome. But as concerning his surname *Africa-
nus*, I cannot for certaine learne, whether it were the favour of his souldiours first, or the affection-
ate love of the people afterwards that brought it up, or rather began upon some of his owne
house and linage that courted and flattered him therewith: like as in our fathers daies *Sulla* was
furnamed **Felix*, and *Pompeius*, **Magnus*. This is certaine that he was the first Generali that ever
tooke his name of the countie and nation by himselfe subdued, and thereby was renowned. But
by his example afterwards, others nothing comparable to him in victorie and conquest woon
goodly titles and glorious inscriptions to their images, and honoured their houses with noble
tiles and additions.

**Four* to *four*
the *four* which
came to be two
thousand three
hundred.

**Happy*.
**Great*.

THE

THE XXXI. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the one and thirtieth Booke.

The causes of the warre begun againe with Philip king of Macedonia, which had discontinued,
are set downe to be these. In the time of the holie feast of Ceres, two young men of Acarnania, who
had not been professed in these sacred mysteries, came to Athens, and chanced among others of
their countymen to goe into the chappel of Ceres. For which, as if they had committed some bas-
inous fault in the highest degree, they were by the Athenians executed. The Acarnanians moved
with indignation for the death of their neighbors, required aid of Philip to be revenged for them:
Some few moneths after peace granted to the Carthaginians in the five hundred and fiftieth year
from the foundation of the citie of Rome, when the Embassadours of the Athenians, who now
were besieged by Philip, craved aid of the Senate, and they were of advise and resolved to helpe them, not withstanding
the Commons gainesaid it (by reason that they thought the continuall troubles of so many wars were grievous and beavie
unto them) yet so have prevailed the authoritie of the nobles, that the people also gave their consent to incomm their conside-
rate citie. This warre was committed to the managing of P. Sulpitius the Consull: who led an armie into Macedonia, and
fought certaine battailes fortunatly against Philip, which were performed by horse service. The Abydens being invested
and beleaguered round about by Philip, following the example of the Saguntines, slew their wives and children, and
their owne selves after them. L. Furius the Pretour overthrew in a pight field the Gauls called Insubres that rebelled, and
likewise Amilcar the Carthaginian, who began to make war in those parts, where Amilcar was slaine, and with him five
and thirtie thousand men. Moreover, this booke containeth the expeditions and voiajes of king Philip and Sulpitius the
Consull, and the winning of certaine cities by them both. Sulpitius the Consull warred with the helpe of king Attalus and
the Rhodians. L. Furius the Pretor triumphed over the Gauls.



Vill well apaied am I likewise, that I am now come to an
end once of the Punicke warre, as if my selfe had been
in person there, and borne my part in the toile and dan-
ger thereof. For albeit unfitting it is for mee (who have
undertaken and professed so boldly to write a com-
plete and full storie of the Romanes) to bee wearied in
the severall parts of so great a worke: yet when I thinke
and consider, how threescore yeares and three (for so
many are reckoned from the first Punicke warre, to the
end of the second) have taken up no fewer bookes of
mine, than foure hundred eightie eight yeares before,
even from the foundation of Rome, unto the Consul-
ship of that Appius Clandius, who was the first that war-
red upon the Carthaginians; mee thinkes I foresee a treadie, that like as they who being once
entred into the shallowes neere the shore, are trained on still, and venture to wade into the
F sea, even so I, the farther I goe forward, the deeper I step, and am carried away into a vast Ocean,
and bottomlesse gulfe (as it were) which cannot be founded; and that my worke groweth
still upon me in my hands, which as I went away apace, and rid matters at the first, I would have
thought by this time should have decreased.

The Carthaginian peace was no sooner concluded, but the Macedonian warre straightwaies
ensued:

T t t iij

ensued: nothing comparable to the Punicke, if ye regard the hazard and danger, the vertue of the captaines for direction, or prowess of the souldiours: but if a man consider the nobilitie and reputation of the auncient kings, the fame and antiquitie of the nation, the greatness of their seignorie and dominion, who in times past had conquered and held by the sword much in Europe and the better part of Asia, I dare well say, as noble and renowned, if not more. But the warre commenced against *Philip* ten yeeres almost before, had ere three yeeres end bene laid downe and discontinued by meanes of the *Ætolians*: who as they gave occasion to enter into armes, so they wrought a composition of peace. But afterwards in processe of time, when the Romanes by reason of peace with the Carthaginians, had nothing to doe and were at leisure; and yet bearing an inward grudge and owing a displeasure to *Philip*, as well for his faithlesse peace with the *Ætolians* and other allies and confederates of that countrey, as also for aid both of men and money lately sent into Affricke to *Anniball* and the Carthaginians: behold, the Athenians, whose territories hee had cleane wasted and spoiled, and whome he had driven within their citie walls, importuned them with their prayers, and perswaded them to take armes and renew the warre aforesaid. And much about the same time, there arrived embassadours from king *Attalus*, as also from the Rhodians, giving notice that divers cities and states of Asia were solicited likewise by *Philip* to band against the Romanes. These embassadours had their dispatch, and received this answer, That the Senate would have a carefull eye to the affaires of Asia. But the entier treatie and consultation concerning the Macedonian warre, was wholly reserved and referred unto the Consuls, who then were, employed in the warre with the Boij. In the meane season three embassadours were addressed unto *Ptolomus* the king of Egypt, to wit, *C. Claudius Nero*, *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, with this commission: First, to signifie and let him understand, that *Anniball* & the Carthaginians were subdued: secondly, to give thanks unto the king for continuing so fast and faithfull unto the Romans in their distress and adversitie, when other of their allies, and even their next neighbours forsooke and abandoned them: last of all, to request him, that in case they should be forced by wrongs and injuries offered, to wage warre against *Philip*, hee would vouchsafe the same mind still and his wonted affectionate favour toward the people of Rome.

Neare about this time, *P. Aelius* the Consull being in Fraunce, advertised that the Boians before his coming had made rodes into the lands of the friends and allies of the Romanes, presently in all hast levied and enrolled two legions upon the rumour of this tumult and trouble; and joyning thereunto foure cohorts of footmen out of his own armie, sent *C. Appius* a colonell or captaine of the confederates, with this power so sodainly raised, and with commandement to march through that part of Vmbria which is called, the Tribe Sappinia, and to invade the territories of the Boij, whiles himselfe in person led his forces the open way traversing through the mountaines, and came thither. *Appius* being entred into the confines of the enemies, at the first had a good hand, and sped well in forraying the country with safetie of himselfe. But afterwards, having made choice of a meet place neere unto a castle called * Mutilum, for to cut downe and reape the corne, (for now the fields were ready for harvest) but yet, without espials sent out to discover the coasts about, without setting strong and sufficient guards, which being well appointed and armed, might defend the unarmed that were busie in their harvest worke; hee chaunced himselfe and all his forragers and reapers to be surprisid at unawares by the Frenchmen, and assailed on every side. Whereupon they also that were armed, fled in great fright; and 7000 men stragling here and there over the corne fields, were slaine; and among them, *C. Appius* himselfe their leader. The rest for feare were driven to put themselves within their campe: from whence without direction and guidance of any certaine captaine, and onely upon a generall consent of the souldiers, the night next following they abandoned their hold, lest much of their baggage behind them, and through blind Forrests, chafes, and wild mountaines (in manner unpassable) they came in the end to the Consull: who, after he had perfourmed in his province no memorable act, save only that hee wasted the borders and frontiers of the Boij, and made a league with the Ingauni (a nation of the Ligurians) returned to Rome. So soone as hee had assembled the Senate, all the whole house with one voice called upon him, to treat and consult upon no other matter before they had determined of king *Philip*, and the complaints made by their allies: so he proposed that out of hand to be debated in councill. And the Senate in a frequent number there met, passed a decree, that *P. Aelius* the Consull, should send whome he thought

A good with commission & authoritie, for to receive the Armada which *Cn. Octavius* was to bring out of Sicilie, and therewith to crosse over into Macedonia. So *M. Valerius Levinus* the Vicepretour was sent; and when hee had taken the charge of the fleet, consisting of eight and thirtie saile, at the hands of *Cn. Octavius* about Vibo, hee passed the seas to Macedonia. Now when *M. Aurelius* the lieutenant was come, and had enformed and advertised him, what puissant armies, what numbers of ships the king had prepared and gotten together; how partly himselfe in person by going about not onely to all the cities of the continent, but also the ylands in the sea; and partly by sending his embassadours every way, had solicited unto warre and raised much people to take armes: shewing moreover, that the Romanes were not to enterprife that war without preparation of greater forces; and that more speedily, for feare least if they made slow hast and lingered, *Philip* might enterprife that adventure, which *Pyrrhus* (apotentate & prince of a farre lesser dominion) had done before: it was thought meet that *Aurelius* should dispatch his letters to the same effect, unto the Consuls and the Senate.

In the end of this yeare, when a motion was propounded in the Senate-house, as concerning the setting out of lands unto the old souldiers for recompence of their good service, who, under the conduct and fortunate government of *Scipio* the Proconsull, had brought the warre in Affricke to an end: the LL. enacted a decree, that *M. Iunius* the Pretor of the citie, if he thought so good, should create ten Decemvirs as surveyours, for to measure out and divide among them the lands in Samnium and Apulia, so much as had bene forfeit and confiscate to the people of Rome. And these were they: namely, *P. Servilius*, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, *Cneus* and *Marcus* named *Servilij*, and both surnamed *Gemini*. *Lucius* and *Aulus* both *Hæstiliij*, and surnamed *Catoes* likewise, *P. Villius Tappulus*, *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, *P. Aelius Pætus*, and *Q. Flaminius*.

At the same time *P. Aelius* the Cof. called the assembly and high court of Parliament for election of magistrates: and for Cof. were created *P. Sulpitius Galba*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. After them were the Pretours chosen, to wit, *Q. Minutius Rufus*, *L. Furius Purpureo*, *Q. Fulvius Gilla*, and *C. Sergius Plancus*. The Romane stage playes were that yeere exhibited with great state and magnificence most sumptuously, by *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *T. Quintius Flaminius*, *Ædiles* of the chaire, and for two dayes together were represented anew. These *Ædiles* distributed and divided most faithfully among the people a mightie deale of corne, which *Scipio* the Proconsull had sent out of Affricke, at foure asses the Modius: whereby they wan great love and favour of all men. Also the Plebeian playes were thrice set forth all whole againe, by the *Ædiles* of the Commons, *L. Apustius Fullo*, and *Q. Minutius Rufus*. This man from his *Ædileship* stepped to the Pretours place. And by occasion of those playes, there was a solemne feast celebrated in the honour of *Iupiter*.

In the 544 yeere from the foundation of the citie, when *P. Sulpitius Galba*, & *C. Aurelius* were Cof. the warre with king *Philip* began, within foure moneths after peace granted to the Carthaginians. And before all other matters, this affaire was propounded in the Senate by *P. Sulpitius* the Cof. upon the Ides of March, the very day on which at that time they used to enter upon the Consulship. Where, by the Senate it was decreed, *Imprimis*, That the Consuls should sacrifice with greater beasts to what gods themselves thought good, with a solemne prayer in this forme: That whatsoever the Senate and people of Rome minded and intended to do, either concerning the affaires of Common-wealth, or the undertaking and enterprife of this new warre, the same might speed well and happily in the end, to the behoufe of the people of Rome, their allies, and namely the nation of the Latines. *Item*, That after sacrifice and divine prayer, they should consult with the Senate about the state of the citie, and the government of the provinces. At the same time, it fell out very fitly to provoke and stirre up their minds unto the warre, that not only letters were brought from *M. Aurelius* the lieutenant, and from *M. Valerius Levinus* the Viz-pretour: but also a new Embassie of the Atheniens arrived, the one importing, and the other reporting, that the king drew neere and approached their confines, and within a while would be not only lord of their lands and territories, but also maister of their citie, unless the Romanes set too their helping hand. After that the Consuls had openly pronounced and declared, that the sacrifices were performed rightly and according to order, and that the gods gave care unto their prayer, and accepted thereof: and the Soothsayers and bowell-priars likewise out of their learning made answer and shewed, that the inwards of the beasts were as they should be, and signified happinesse, namely, the enlarging of their confines and frontiers,

with

with the atchieving of victorie and triumph. Then were the letters abovesaid of *Valerius* and *G. Aurelius* read, and the Athenien embassadours had a day of audience. After this, there passed an Act of the Senate, That thanks should be rendred unto their allies, for that they being long-tempted and sollicit for to revolt, yet notwithstanding had not failed in their allegiance, nor forsaken their fealtie, no nor for feare of a present siege. As touching sending aid unto them, it was thought good to geve answer when the Consuls had their provinces allotted unto them; and when that Consull whose hap it should be for to go into Macedonie, had proposed unto the people, That defiance should be geven to *Philip* king of Macedonie, and open warre proclaimed against him. Now it fell by lot unto *P. Sulpitius* to take that charge in Macedonie, who preferred and presented a bill unto the people in this manner: Pleaseth it you, and is it your will, that warre be proclaimed and denounced against king *Philip* and the Macedonians within his realme and dominion, for the wrongs offered and the warre levied by them upon the friends and allies of the people of Rome? Vnto the other Consull *Aurelius*, befell the province of Italie. Then upon this the Pretours cast lots for their provinces. *Cn. Sergius Plancus* had the jurisdiction of the citie; *Q. Fulvius Gillo* was to governe the province of Sicilie, *Q. Minutius Rufus* of the Brutij, and *L. Furius Purpurio* of Fraunce. The foresaid bill as concerning the Macedonian warre, in the first parliament assembled about it, was in maner by all the centuries in the formost scrutinies nipped and flatly denied. Which thing, partly men of themselves were forward enough to do, as being overwreied with long and sore warres, and wome out for very yrkfomnesse of tedious travaile, and painfull perils: and partly *Q. Fabius* a Tribune of the Commons, failed not to set them on: who taking the old course and way of blaming and accusing the nobles, had laid to their charge, that they sowed the seeds of warre still, and ceased not to raise warre upon warre, to the end, that the commons might never be at rest, and enjoy the repose of peace. The LL. of the Senate tooke this to the heart, in such sort, that the Tribune was shaken up and all to reviled in the Senate houle with most opprobrious and reprochfull tearmes; and every man did his part to encourage the Consull to publish a new assembly and scrutinie, for the proposing of the same bill; to chastise and rebuke the sloth and idlenes of the people; yea, and to open and shew unto them, what great damage and losse, how much shame and dishonour they should incur by these delaies before the warre began. Then the Consull having assembled the people for this purpose in *Mars* field, before that he cited the Centuries to give their voices, called them all together and made a speech unto them in this wise. It seemeth (quoth he) that you are ignorant, my masters and citizens of Rome, that the matter put to question is not, whether ye would have warre or peace, (for *Philip* will not permit that to be at your disposition and pleasure, who already prepareth mortall warre both by sea and land) but whether ye would rather choose to transport the legions into Macedonie, or receive your enemy here within Italie. And what difference there is betwene the one and the other, you have had sufficient proove and experience (if ever at any time before) even in this last warre, especially with the Carthaginians. For who is he that maketh doubtr, but if we had with speed relieved the Saguntines besieged, who fled unto us for helpe and earnestly craved for our protection, like as our ancestors and progenitors in due time assisted the Mamertines; we should have turned the whole violence and force of the warre into Spaine, which by our long driving off and lingering delaies we entertained in Italie, to our great losse and grievous calamitie. Neither need we to doubt of this, but that that we have hiderto staied *Philip* in Macedonie, (who without question had combined with *Anniball* by means of letters and intercourse of embassadours, for to have passed over into Italie before this time) only by sending of *Levinus* with a fleet, to begin with him at home, and to make warre in his owne kingdome. Deserre we then to doe that now, when *Anniball* is chased out of Italie and the Carthaginians defeated; which then wee did, when wee had the same *Anniball* our enemy within Italie? Go we on still and suffer the king by winning the citie of Athens (like as wee permitted *Anniball* by forcing of Saguntum) to trie and see our slacknes and cowardise: we shall have him I warrant you arrived in Italie, not at five moneths end, as *Anniball* was after his departure from Saguntum; but within 5 daies, after he is disankered once & under saile from Corinth. Set case ye will not compare *Philip* with *Anniball*, no nor the Macedonians with the Carthaginians; yet I am sure ye will make them matches, & equall with king *Pyrhus*: so far forth I say, as one man excelleth another in valour, and one nation surpasseth another in power. Epirus hath never bene accounted, nor is at this day, but the smallest appendant to the kingdome of Macedonie,

And of least importance. But as for *Philip*, the whole and entier seignorie of Peloponnesus is under him, and lord he is of Argos it selfe, a citie enobled as well by the death of *Pyrhus*, as the auncient name and renowne that goeth of it. Compare now againe the times of our state. How much flourished Italie in those dayes more than now? Our affaires were then much more sound and unsoiled: our captaines safe, our armies all, so many as they were, untainted; whom he put us to trouble and sorrow enough, yea and came in traine of victorie to shake out Italie, which they call the greater Greece, banded with him in such sort, as a man would have thought they had followed the very language and those of their name: but the Lucanes also and the Brutians, yea and the Samnites revolted from us and rebelled. And are ye of beleeve that these will be quiet and remaine in loyaltie and obedience, if *Philip* once were passed over into Italie? Yes many will they, there is no question: for they stood fast afterwards, and continued true in the Punick warre. Nay, nay, never make reckning that these States will not revolt from us, so long as they know any one, unto whom they may turne and raunge themselves. If ye had thought much of it, and bene loth to passe over into Affricke; in good faith at this day ye should have had *Anniball* and the Carthaginians your enemies still in Italie. Let Macedonie therefore be the seate of warre, rather than Italie: let our enemies cities and lands be destroyed with fire and sword. We have found full well by good experience, that our fortune is better, and our forces more puissant abroad in forain parts, than at home in our owne countrey. Go to therefore in the name of God, to the Scrutinie and give your voices; and those things that the LL. of the Senate have devised to do, graunt ye the same, and yeeld your assent. Ye have not only the Consul author of this advise and counsell, but also the immortal gods (who as I offered sacrifice and prayed devoutly unto them, that this warre might redound to the good and benefit of my selfe, of the Senate, of you, of our allies, of the Latine nation, and finally of our armies and armadaes) have vouchsafed me all the signes and tokens of comfort and joy, and assured me that all shall be well, and according to our hearts desire. This Oration of his once ended, they went presently to deliver up their voyces, and gave affirmatively for the warre, and suffred it to passe, according as he had propounded. Then by an order from the Senat there was a solemne supplication for three dayes proclaimed: and in all churches and chappels, and before every shrine and altar the gods were prayed unto, that the warre (which the people had allowed of against king *Philip*, might be well atchieved, and have an happie end. Moreover, the Consull *Sulpitius* conferred with the heralds, and asked their advise, Whether they would ordeine, that the warre to be denounced against king *Philip*, should be intimated to himselfe in person: or thought it sufficient to be proclaimed within the confines of his dominion, at the next frontier towne of all, where he kept a garison and guard: they pronounced againe, That it mattered not, but the Consull should please himselfe, and do full well in the one and the other. Then the Consull was permitted by the LL. of the Senate, to chuse whom he would, so he were not a Senatour, for to send as a messenger or pursevant of armes, to geve the king defiance, and to publish warre. After this it was debated in counsell, how the armies should be disposed as well of Consuls as Pretors. The Consuls were commaunded to enroll two legions, and to discharge and casse the old armies. *Sulpitius* who by a decree was to manage this new warre of so great name and consequence, was allowed to take with him out of that armie which *Scipio* the Viz-consull had brought out of Affricke, as many voluntaries as he could procure: but in no case to urge any old fouldiour against his will. Also it was decreed, that the Consull should allow unto the Pretours *L. Furius Purpurio*, and *Quintus Minutius Rufus* 5000 men apeece of the associates of the Latine nation: whom they should employ, the one in the province of Gallia, and the other in the Brutians countrey, to defend those parts & keepe them in obedience. *Q. Fulvius Gillo* was himselfe likewise commaunded to chuse out of that armie which *P. Aelius* the Consull commaunded, as many as had served fewest yeeres, untill he made up the number of 5000 also of allies & Latines; which should be a garison to keepe in order and safetie the province of Sicilie. *M. Valerius Falto*, Pretor the yeere before, and *L. deputie* of the province of Campanie, had his commission signed anew, to continue for the terme of one yeere longer, and as Viz-pretour to passe over into Sardinia, with direction to chuse out of the armie there five thousand of allies and Latines, such as had served least time. And the Consuls were commaunded to take up two legions of citizens, which might be sent to any

any place, as need should require, considering that many nations in Italie tainted and infected G with the fellowship and companie of the Carthaginians during the warres and ever since, were swelled with anger and despite against the Romanes. Thus the Common-weale for that yeere was to use the employment of fixe Romane Legions.

Amids these preparations for warre, there arrived embassadours from king *Ptolomeus*, giving intelligence, that the Athenians had craved aid of their king and maister, against *Philip*. And although they were confederate as well with him as the Romanes, yet the king would send into Greece neither a flecte of ships, nor an armie of men, defensive, or offensive to any, but by authoritie and consent of the people of Rome. In case therefore the Romanes were resolved, and sufficient withall of themselves to defend their allies, he would be willing to sit still & take his repose at home. Otherwise, if the Romanes were rather disposed to rest and take their ease, he would himselfe be well content to send such forces to the aid of the Athenians, as should defend them easily against all the power of *Philip*. The Senate returned great thanks unto the king, with this answer, That the people of Rome were purposed to protect their owne allies: but if during this warre they stood in need, upon any occurrence that might happen, they would give knowledge thereof to the king: as being assured and making full accompt, that all the puissance and wealth of his kingdome was a sure prop and trustie pillar of their State and Common-wealth. This done, by order from the Senate the embassadours had given them for a reward * five thousand Asses apeece. Now whiles the Consuls were busie in taking musters, and providing all things meete for the warre; the citie very devout and geven much to religion, in the beginnings especially of all new warres, after they had performed their supplications aforesaid, and done I their devotions at every altar and thrine: because nothing might be for-let and left out, that at any time heretofore had bene done; ordeined that the Consull unto whom the province of Macedonia fell, should vow solemnly to exhibit to the honor of *Jupiter*, the great games and plaies, and a rich present beside. But *Licinius* the high-priest, stayed this publick vow for the time that it went not forward, alleading that it was not lawfull to make a vow of an uncerteine summe of money not determined: and if such money might not serve for the use of warre, it ought presently to be set by and laid up safe, and not be mingled and shuffled with other monies: and unlesse that were duly done, the vow could not be paid and performed according to the order of holy rites. Albeit the thing itselfe and the person of the man that moved this scruple, touched and troubled them much, yet they would needs that the Consull should propound the matter K to the colledge of the Priests and Bishops, to know their resolution, whether a vow might not directly be made of an uncerteine peece of money. The Bishops set downe their opinion and judgement, that it might be well enough, yea and better than otherwise. Whereupon the Consull pronounced the vow, according to the very same forme of words (as the high priest endited and spake before him) which aforesaid they were wont to use, in making the quinquennall vowes from five yeeres to five: save onely thus much, that he vowed and promised to represent the playes, and to present oblations unto *Jupiter*, amounting to such a summe of money, as the Senate should set downe when the vow was to be performed. So many times before had the great games bene vowed, and a determinate summe of money ever assigned: but these were the first L that were not limited within any certaine flint and compasse.

Now when all mens minds were wholly bent upon the Macedonian warre, behold on a sodaine, when they feared nothing lesse than such a thing, there arose a rumor of French troubles and tumults: for the Insulians, the Cenomans and Boij, having solicited and raised up by way of insurrection the Sallij, the Illuitions, and other states of Liguria, under the conduct of *Amilcar* the Carthaginian, who in those parts stayed behind with the remnant of *Asdruball* his armie, were seized of Placentia: and after they had sacked the citie, and for very despiteous anger burnt a great part of it, leaving hardly two thousand persons of all sorts, which amid the fire and ruines thereof chaunced to save themselves, crossed the river Po, and advanced forward to the spoile and pillage of Cremona. But the inhabitants of that colonie, having heard of the miserie M and calamitie befallen upon their neighbour-citie, had some respite and time to shut their gates, and to bestow their guards upon the walls: so as, they should at leastwise be first besieged or ever they were forced; and might be able to dispatch messengers unto the people of Rome. *L. Furius Purpureo* was governor of that province for the time; who having by order from the Senate discharged all the rest of the armie but only five thousand of allies and those Latines, abode with that

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A that power in the next countrey to that province, about Ariminum. He then addressed his letters unto the Senate, signifying in how bad termes the province stood, namely, that of those two colonies, which all the time of the Punick warre had escaped those great stormes and tempests of troubles, the one was won by the enemies & put to the sackage, the other now besieged, and at hand to be lost: neither would his forces be sufficient and able to help the distressed Cremonians, unlesse he should wilfully cast away five thousand allies, and expose them as a prey unto fortie thousand of the enemies (for so many they were strong) to have their throates cut, and to be hewen in peeces; and by so great a losse and overthrow of his, to give more hart and courage to the enemies, who are now in their ruffe, and puffed up with pride for the ruine of one Romane colonie already. Upon the reading of these letters, there went forth a decree from the LL. of the B Senat, that *C. Aurelius* the Consull should send out precepts for the armie to be readie at Ariminum that very day, on which he appointed them to the *Rendez-vous* in Hetruria: and that either himselfe in his own person, if it might stand with the good of the State, would go with a power to suppress these French commotions, or els write to *L. Furius* the Pretor, that when the Rom. Legions presented themselves unto him out of Hetruria, he should send in their steed his owne five thousand allies for the guard of Hetruria in the meane time, and make a journey himselfe in person to levie the siege before Cremona, and to set the colonie free that now was beleaguered. They thought good besides to dispatch embassadours into Affrick, who first should go to Carthage, and afterwards to *Masaniissa* in Numidia. To Carthage, for to intimate unto them, That *Amilcar* a citizen of theirs, left behind in Fraunce, (and whether he were of the armie of *Asdruball* before, or afterwards of *Mago*, they knew not for certein) waged warre there, against the C covenants in the league contained: that he had assembled certain forces of French and Ligurians, to enter into armes against the people of Rome: and therefore, if they had any love to intertein peace, they should call him home, and deliver him to the people of Rome. Over and besides they had in commission to give them to understand, that delivery was not yet made of all the renegade rebels, but many of them, by report, were retired to Carthage, and there went up and downe, and conversed openly; which persons were after diligent search made, to be attached and apprehended, that they might according to the tenure of the accord, be sent home againe and delivered into the hands of the Romanes. And thus much concerning their message to the Carthaginians. Now they had in charge besides to congratulate with *Masaniissa*, and to D declare what joy they tooke in his behalfe, namely, for that he had not only recovered the inheritance of his fathers kingdome, but also enlarged his dominion, by conquest of the most flourishing part of the realme of *Syphax*. Moreover, commaunded they were to signifie unto him, that they had undertaken to warre upon king *Philip*, because he had friended and aided the Carthaginians; and by offering and doing wrong to the friends of the people of Rome, even at what time as all Italie was full of troubles and warres, enforced and put them to it; for to send their armies and their armadaes into Greece, and so by dismembring and deviding their forces into sundry places, was the principall cause that they were so late ere they passed over into Affrick: requesting him for the maintenance of this warre, to send over certain aids of Numidian horsemen. These orators had great gifts and honorable presents given them for to eary unto the E king, to wit, divers peeces of plate both of gold and silver, a purple robe of State, with a rich caslock or cote wrought in palme tree worke, with a royall scepter of yvorie; also a robe embroidered before with purple, with an yvory chaire of estate. Last of all, they were willed to make promise unto the king, that if he could thinke upon anything needfull and expedient either to establish his kingdome, or to advance his royall estate, the people of Rome would endeavour respectively for his good demerits to compasse the same to the uttermost of their power.

There arrived also about that time, embassadours from *Vermis* the sonne of *Syphax*, and presented themselves unto the Senate, excusing the error & pretending the youth of the prince, clearing him of all fault, and laying the whole blame upon the fraud and faiterie of the Carthaginians, promising for their king and master in this wise, That like as *Masaniissa* of a professed enemy was become a sworn friend to the Romanes, even so would *Vermis* doe his best and straine F himselfe, that in all offices of friendship toward the people of Rome, neither *Masaniissa* nor any other should surpass him; and making petition in his name, that the Senat would vouchsafe to give him the titles of King, of Allie, and Friend unto the Romans. These orators had this for their answer, That not onely *Syphax*, his father before him, of a confederate and friend,

friend, suddenly without any cause at all proved an enemy to the people of Rome; but also G himselfe had practised already in his young yeeres, and laid the first ground of his warfare in annoying and troubling the Romanes by warre; and therefore he was to seeke pardon and crave peace at their hands, before he might be invested by them with the tearmes of King, of Ally, and Friend: for the honour of that stile, the people of Rome were wont to vouchsafe to none, but those kings onely who had deserved singularly well of them. Many there should be certaine Romane Legats in Affricke, unto whome the Senate would give order, to minister and tender unto *Vermina* certaine conditions of peace, according to a large and absolute commission that they had from the people of Rome, To doe what they thought good. And in case the king misliked ought in those capitulations, and were desirous to have any article added, put out, or altered, he must have recourse againe to the Senate, and demaund the same. So there were Legats H or commissioners sent into Affricke with such a commission abovesaid, namely *C. Terentius Varro*, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *Cn. Octavius*, and ech of them had allowed a galleace directed with five rowes of oares.

After this were the letters read of *Q. Minutius* Pretour in the province of the Brutij, importing thus much, That the consecrated money of *Proserpina* at *Locri*, was by night stolen out of her treasure; but to say who should doe the deed, they had no presumptions to give light and lead them directly. The Senate tooke the matter in very ill part, and grieved exceedingly, That sacrilegious men fell still to church-robbing, and would not give over: and that the late & fresh example of *Plinius* (so notorious as well for the heinous fact as the fearefull punishment) was not able to terrifie them and give them warning. So *C. Aurelius* the Consull was enjoined to write I unto the Pretour into the Brutians country, to this effect: That it was the Senats pleasure, that due enquire and examination should be had of the treasure thus robbed, after the same precedent and course that *M. Pomponius* the Pretour tooke three yeeres before. And looke what money could be found, it should be laid up duly in the place; and what was not forth-coming, it should be supplied and made good againe. Also (if he thought meet) that there should be certaine purgatorie sacrifices, according as the bishops before ordained in the like case, for the expiation and satisfaction of the violating and defiling of the temple. Moreover, there chanced about the same time divers prodigious tokens from many places to be reported. In the Lucanes country the rumor and voice went, that the welkin was on fire; and at *Privernum*, while the skie was bright and faire, the sunne appeared red all day long. At *Lanuvium* in the temple of *Iuno Sospita*, there was heard in the night season a mightie great noise. Nay and more than this, in sundry places (as men say) were many monstrous and straunge births seene. In the Sabines country one child was borne, and no man knew what to make of it, male or female: and another likewise was found of sixteen yeeres of age, a very Hermaphrodite of doubtfull sex between both. At *Frusino* there was a lambe yeaned with a swines head: and at *Sinuessa* a sow farrowed a pig with the head of a man. In the Lucanes country there was foled upon the common ground a colt with five feet. All these monsters were ugly to see and abominable, and holden for great defects and errors of nature working strangely out of kind. But above all others, those birthes both male and female, (or rather neuter) were most abhorred and detested, and order was given presently, that they should be cast into the sea; even as of late daies when *C. Claudius* and *M. Livius* were Consuls the like deformed monster was thither had away and drowned. Nevertheless the Decemvirs were commaunded to turne over and peruse the bookes of *Sibylla*, to know what such prodigious monsters might portend: who by their learning and out of those bookes, gave direction to make the same sacrifices which last of all for the like uncouth sights were made. Moreover, they gave commaundement, that certaine hymnes and songs should be chaunted throughout the citie by three severall quires, of nine virgins in every one; and an oblation to be offered by them with all devotion to queene *Iuno*. *C. Aurelius* the Consull caused all this to be perfourmed according to the order and direction of the Decemvirs. And as in our fathers daies *Livius* composed the dittie of the hymne, so at that time *P. Licinius* *Tegula* framed and set downe a forme of song which they should sing. Thus when all things were expiate, and satisfaction made accordingly for the appeasing of the wrath of the gods, (for even at *Locri* also the sacrilege was found out by *Q. Minutius*, and the mony missing was raised out of the goods of the offenders and guiltie persons, and bestowed there againe in the treasure) as the Consuls were minded to take their journey into their provinces, there repaired many privat citizens unto

A unto the Senat, unto whom the third paiment was due that yeere for the loane of mony which in the time of *M. Valerius* and *M. Claudius* Consuls they had lent out and disbursed, because that the Consuls had made them answere, That the stocke of the citie chamber was hardly able to defray the charges of a new warre, which required maintenance of a mightie navie and of puissant armies, and therefore flatly denyed them and said, That they had not wherewith to satisfie and make present paiment. The Senate could not endure that they should have this occasion to make complaint; considering, that if the commonwealth would still employ the money upon the Macedonian warre also, which was granted in loane for the Punicke warre, this would be the end of it, that (one warre following thus in the necke of another) their owne money which was lent upon a curtesie and benevolence out of their privat purses, should be little better than confiscate for some forfeiture, and fall to the exchequer and common chest of the citie. These private persons demanding nothing but reason and right, and the citie withall not able to discharge her debt, the LL. set downe a middle and indifferent course betweene honestie and profit; and that was this: That foras much as many of these men said, that the citie had much land upon sale, and they were to buy and make purchase, therefore the common grounds lying and being within fiftie miles of Rome every way, should be granted unto them in fee farme, and the Consuls to set downe an estimate of their value and worth, and charge them with a chiefe rent or tribute of 3 farthings an acre by the yeere, to testifie only that they were the cities lands; to the end that if any man hereafter (when the citie should be aforehand and in case to repay the former debt) were desirous to have money rather than land, he should restore the lands and possessions againe into the cities hands and receive his money. These private citizens (who were the foresaid creditours) accepted gladly of this offer and condition. And hereupon this land was called by the name of *Trientius* and *Tributus*, because it was set out & granted in lieu of a third part of the lone money. Then *P. Sulpitius* after he had pronounced his vowes abovesaid in the Capitoll, and departed out of the citie in his coat of armes, with the Lictors & huihers afore him, arrived at *Brundisium*; and so with the old voluntary soldiers drawne out of the army that was returned from Affricke, (whom he had enrolled into legions) and ships chosen out of the fleet of *Corneilius* the Consull; he loosed from *Brundisium*, and the next day after landed in Macedonia: where there attended him the embassadours of the Athenians; who humbly besought him to deliver them from the siege that invested their citie. So *C. D. Clau. Cento* was incontinently sent to Athens, furnished with 20 long ships of war, & a strength of men for the king himself in person besieged not Athens, but even then made hot assault upon the town *Abydos*, as having already given prooffe of his forces in sea fight, both with the Rhodians and king *Attalus*, and in neither battell had good successe. But besides the ordinarie stoutnesse and pride engraffed in him by nature, hee was aloft now and looked high, by reason of the alliance made betweene him and *Antiochus* king of Syria, with whom he had parted the richesse and realme of *Egypt*, unto which they both aspired, upon the newes they heard of the death of king *Ptolomeus*. Now the Athenians had drawne upon themselves the warre against king *Philip*, upon a small occasion and of no importance; who of all their auncient estate and glorie, retained nothing els but great heart and haucie spirit. It fortuned that two young men of *Acarnania*, who had taken no orders and were not consecrate, entred among the other multitude into the temple of *Ceres*, in the time of the feastivall daies, and celebration of sacrifices to that goddesse belonging: and being altogether ignorant in the custome of that solemnitie and religion, and asking some foolish absurd questions, nothing fit for that time or place, were soone bewaied by their speech and language: who being convented before the Prelats of the said temple, notwithstanding it was evidently proved and knowne, that upon an error onely and oversight, and not for any ill intent they were come into the church, yet were they put to death as fellows, and guiltie of some hainous fact in the highest degree. The people of *Acarnania* complained unto king *Philip*, and enformed him of this villanous part and hostile act by them committed; and obtained a graunt from him, that they might be permitted with the aid of the Macedonians, to make warre upon the Athenians. This armie at first invaded the territories of Athens, and with fire and sword made wast and havocke of all, and so with a rich bootie of all sorts returned into *Acarnania*. These were the first quarels on both sides, that stirred coales and kindled fire betweene them. Afterwards was defiance given, and open warre proclaimed, by the generall decrees of both States. For when king *Attalus* and the Rhodians pursued after *Philip*, as he retired into Macedonia,

nie, and were come as farre as *Ægina*, then the said king passed over to *Pyreæum*, for to renewe and G
confirm the league with the Athenians. Against his comming the whole citie went forth with
their wives and children to meet him on the way: the Clergie with their rich vestiments & good-
ly ornaments were readie to receive him as hee entred the citie: the very gods themselves in a
manner abandoned their shrines to give him entertainment. Immediately was the people sum-
moned to a generall assembly, that the king might deliver his mind before them all: but after-
wards upon more sage advise, it was thought to stand better with the honour and majestie of a
prince, that he should set downe in writing what he thought good, rather than in open place, ei-
ther to blush himselfe in recounting his favours and good turnes done unto the citie, or in hea-
ring the acclamations of the multitude in token of joy, to be abashed & ashamed of their grosse
and unmeasurable flatterie. But in his letters which hee sent unto the assemblee, and were there H
openly read and published, first he made a rehearfall of the benefices that this confederate citie
had received at his hands. Secondly he discoursed of the worthie exploits which he had perfor-
med against *Philip*. And finally he knit up all with an exhortation, that whiles they had himselfe,
the Rhodians, and especially the Romanes to friend them, they should put themselves in armes
and begin warre; as who, if they now forslow the enterprise, and let slip the present opportuni-
tie, should hereafter seeke in vaine to find it, which once they had so retchlesly lost. Then had the
Rhodian Embassadours audience given them, who lately had done the Athenians a great plea-
sure, in recovering and sending home unto Athens foure long foists, which newly had been bor-
ded and taken by the Macedonians. Hereupon with generall accord they decreed to denounce
and wage warre upon king *Philip*. But first they did king *Attalus* incredible honour beyond all I
measure, and then likewise to the Rhodians. Then and never before there was some speech mo-
ved of adjoining unto the ten auncient tribes, one other tribe, which of the kings name should
be called *Attalus*. Vnto the citie of the Rhodians they gave in token of vertue, a crown of beaten
gold. And like as beforetime the men of Rhodes had granted free Burgeoisie of their citie to the
Athenians, so they of Athens now endued the Rhodians with their liberties and franchises. This
done, king *Attalus* returned to his fleet in the roade of *Ægina*. The Rhodians then weighed an-
ker, & from *Ægina* sailed to **Cea*. From whence along the *islands, they passed to the Rhodes:
& in their voyage confedered themselves with them all, excepting **Andros*, **Paros*, & **Cythus*,
which were guarded by garrisons of the Macedonians. In *Ægina* king *Attalus* made his abode K
acertain time, & entred into no action, by occasion of messengers whom he had sent into *Æto-*
lia, and embassadours that were expected from thence. But as he could not prevaile with the *Æto-*
lians, & perswade them to take arms, contenting themselves with the peace that in some sort they
had concluded with *Philip*: so himselfe, and the Rhodians (who, no doubt, if they had pressed and
followed hard upon *Philip*, might have gained and enjoied this glorious tide, That they alone of
themselves had delivered Greece from servitude) by suffering him once againe to crosse the seas
as farre as **Hellespontus*, and to possesse himselfe of the commodious and important townes of
Greece, thereby to reenforce his power and gather more strength, gave food and nourishment
to the warre, and in the end let the Romanes goe away with the honour, both of managing and L
also of finishing the same. *Philip* carried with him yet a more princely mind and kingly courage:
who, although he was not able to match and make his part good so much as with *Attalus* and the
Rhodians his enemies, yet was hee nothing at all daunted with the thundering threats of the Ro-
mane warre; but sent *Philotes*, a captaine of his, with a power of two thousand foot and two hun-
dred horse, to invade and spoile the territorie of the Atheniens, committed his Armada to the
charge of *Hersclides*, to set saile for **Maronea*, and himselfe in person marched by land thither
with another regiment of two thousand footmen lightly appointed, and two hundred men of
armes. *Maronea* he forced at the first assault. But as for *Ænus*, after he had with much labor and
travaille laid siege thereto a long time, in the end he was maister thereof, through the treason of
Ganymedes, deputed L. Governor there for king *Ptolomeus*. After this he surprised & woon other
castles, as *Cypela*, *Doriscon*, and *Serrheum*. From thence hee advanced forward to *Chersones-*
us, where he gained *Eleus* and *Alopeconnesus*, which willingly surrendered: *Callipolis* also & *Ma-* M
dytos, with some other peeces of base account and reckoning. But the Abydenes shut their
gates against the king, and would not suffer so much as his embassadours to set foot within their
cities. There lay *Philip* a long time before the town and beleaguered it: and surely had not *Atta-*
lus and the Rhodians forelacked the time, it might have beene saved and the siege raised. *Atta-*
lus

**Zia*.
**Calid Cyclades*
in the *Ægean*
sea, or *Archis*
Islands.
**Andros*.
**Paros*.
**Cythus*, or
Cairus.

**Sireto de Cal-*
lipolis. *Brachinus*.
S. *Georgij*.
S. *Georgij* a. m.

**Maronea*, vel
Maronia.

Attalus sent thither three hundred souldiours and no more to lie in garrison, and the Rhodians one
galley onely with foure bankes of oares out of the navie when it rode at *Tenedos*. And after-
wards when as *Attalus* himselfe was thither come, at what time as the townesmen could hardly
hold out any longer against the siege, he made them a shew onely neare at hand of some helpe:
other reliefe would he afford none to his allies either by land or sea. The Abydens at first plan-
ted their engines and artillerie along the walles, and with shot from thence not onely distressed
their enemies, and kept them from approach and entrance, but also annoyed them as they lay in
harbour with their ships: but afterwards, seeing part of their walles ruinate and laid open; and
perceiving besides that the enemies had undermined and were come under the ground as farre
as the inner countermure, which the inhabitants in great hast had raised within; forthwith
they sent embassadours to the king to treat and article about some conditions for delivering up
the citie. The townesmen capitulated and demanded, that the Rhodian galley aforesaid, with
all her mariners, and the garrison also of king *Attalus*, might be sent away in safetie, and them-
selves permitted to depart the towne every one with a single suite onely of apparell. But *Philip*
made answer againe, that he had no peace for them at all, unlesse they would quire the place,
and simply commit themselves unto his mercy. This embassage related unto them, set them in
such an heat and choler, that partly for spight and indignation, and partly upon despaire, they
fell into the semblable rage that the Saguntines did in times past. All the dames and wives of
the citie they commaunded to be shut up within the temple of *Diana*: their young boies and
maidens that were free borne, the sucking babes, together with their nourses, they caused to be
C
bestowed within the common place of publicke exercise: their gold and silver they tooke order
to be brought into the market place: their rich attire, their costly apparell and furniture, to bee
cast into the two gallies, the one of Rhodes, and the other of *Cyzicum*, which rid in the haven:
and last of all, that their priests should be brought forth with their beasts for sacrifice, and altars
erected in the midst of the place. There, first were certaine men chosen of purpose: who
so soone as they perceived the battailon of their countymen defeated and slaine, fighting be-
fore the breaches of the wall, immediately should run upon their wives and children, & kill them
without mercie, cast away into the sea their gold and silver, and all the furniture aforesaid that
was in the gallies, and set the edifices and houses afire, as well publicke as private, in as many
places as possibly they could. For the performing and execution of these premisses, they were
D
bound by an oth ministred unto them; the forme whereof, with a cursed malediction thereto an-
nexed, they pronounced word for word from the Priests mouth. Then, as many as were of lawfull
age to beare armes, sware likewise, That not one of them would depart out of the battaile alive,
but with victorie. Thus remembering the oth they had taken, and how they called the gods to
witness, they fought so resolutely, that whereas the night would have parted the combate, the
king terrified with their furious rage, first gave over the conflict. The cheefe and principal men of
the citie, whose charge was to play the more cruell and horrible part in this tragical act, see-
ing there remained but few alive after this skirmish, and those grievously wounded and tired out
of heart for wearinesse; the next morning early by day-break, sent their priests with their insules
and veiles of peace, to render the citie unto *Philip*. Before the towne was fully yeilded, *M. Amy-*
E
lius the youngest of those three Roman embassadours which were sent to *Alexandria*, hearing of
the streight siege of the Abydenes, came by the consent of the other two unto *Philip*. Where he
laid open his greivances, & made complaint, That he had warred upon *Attalus* & the Rhodians,
and namely even then besieged & assailed Abydus most forcibly. And when the king answered
that *Attalus* and the Rhodians without just cause on his part offered, began first to molest and
trouble him. What! (quoth *Amylius* againe) were you molested and troubled first by the Aby-
denes too? *Philip* who was not wont to be told the truth so plainly, thinking this rejoindre of
his, more bold and malapert, than to be offered to a king, Your youthfull age, quoth he, and faire
face, and above all, the Romane name maketh you hardie and audacious. But I would advise
F
you all, first to remember your covenants, and to intertaine peace with me. For in case ye once
begin with me, and put me to it: I do you to understand, that I also am fully resolved to make
you feeble the smart, and know, that the realme and nation of the Macedonians, is no lesse renow-
med for feates of armes than the Romanes. *Philip* having dismissed the embassador, and seized up-
on all the gold and silver that lay on an heap together, lost all the bootie of men of qualitie, that
might have yeilded him a round ransom. For the multitude of common people fell into such
a fit
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a fit of rage and madnesse, that all of a sodaine they imagined those who let their lives in the conflict were betrayed: and so casting one in anothers teeth their perjurie, and charging the priests especially that they were foresworne, in delivering them alive unto the enemy whom they had devoted & appointed to death: they ran at once from all parts to the pitiful massacre of their own wives & children: and when they had so done, they made no more ado, but by fire, by sword, by drowning, hanging, and one way or other, they wrought a quick dispatch and cleane riddance of themselves all. The king amazed and astonied to see them thus horne-wood, slayed the bloudie hand of his owne souldiours, saying that he would allow the Abydenes three daies to dye in. During which terme of time, the conquered Abydenes exercised more fearefull crueltie upon their owne persons, than ever the conquerours would have put in practise in the heigh of their heate and cholerick furie. In so much as there was not one of them came alive into the enemies hands; but such as either fast tyed with bonds, or otherwise by some forcible meanes, were stayed from being their own hangmen, and the butchers of their proper bodies. *Philip* after he had placed a garison at *Abydus*, returned into his owne realme. Now when this miserable calamitie of the Abydenes had fished *Philip* to enterprise warre against the Romanes, like as *Anniball* afore him tooke hart by the wofull destruction of *Saguntum* to do the semblable: behold, he was encountered with poits that brought newes, how the Consull was in *Epirus* already, and had withdrawn his land-forces to *Apollonia*, and bestowed his servitours at sea in *Corcyra*, there to winter.

In this while, the embassadours who were sent into *Africa*, had their dispatch and this answer from the *Carthaginians*. First as touching *Amilcar* the Generall of the armie and forces in *Fraunce*, they could do no more but banish his person, and confiscate his goods. Then concerning the fugitive traitours and rebels which were run from the Romanes, they had sent home againe unto them as many as they could search out and come by: and to that purpose they would addresse embassadours themselves unto the Romanes, to satisfie the Senate in that behalfe. And presently they sent to Rome two hundred thousand Modij of wheate, and other two hundred thousand into *Macedonie* to the armie there. From thence the *Romane* Embassadours went forward to the kings in *Numidia*. To king *Masaniissa* they delivered the presents which the Romanes sent, and declared unto him their commission: at whose hands they received a thousand *Numidian* horse, whereas he offered them two thousand: himselfe tooke order for their embarking, & so dispatched them into *Macedonie*, with provision of two hundred thousand measures of wheate, and as many of barley. A third embassage they had to *Vermine*, who met the embassadours as farre as the utmost marches of his realme, and to their disposition and discretion referred the drawing and penning of all conditions of peace as they would themselves: saying withall, that he held any peace whatsoever, that he should have with the people of Rome, for good and just. So there were presented unto him certaine articles and conditions of peace, and for the ratifying thereof, he was enjoyned to send his embassadours to Rome.

Much about the very same time *L. Cornelius Lentulus* the Viz-pretor returned out of *Spaine*: who having declared in the Senate his valiant and fortunate exploits, that for many yeeres together he had achieved in *Spaine*; and in consideration thereof, demanded that it might be lawfull for him to enter the citie in triumph: the Senate judged that his noble acts deserved no lesse than he sued for: but they had no such precedent from their auncestours, that he should be allowed to triumph, who had warred, neither as Dictatour, nor Consull, nor Pretour: and as for *Lentulus*, in qualitie of Viz-pretour only, and not of Consull or Pretour, he tooke upon him the charge of the province of *Spaine*. Howbeit, in the end they came downe to this point, that he should ride into the citie on horseback as Ovant. But *T. Sempronius Longus* a Tribune of the Com. interposed his negative, alleading that they had as little example to shew for that; and no practise or custome at all of their aunient predecessours. But in fine, the Tribune gave place to the generall accord of the LL. and was content to be over-ruled. So after the order set down by the Senat, *L. Lentulus* entered Rome in that solemnitie & pomp before named. He presented in shew, of the pillage that he had gotten, * 44000 pound weight of silver, * 2450 pound weight of gold. To his souldiours he distributed out of the spoile * 120 Asles apeece.

Now was the armie of the Consull translated already from *Arretium* to *Ariminum*, and five thousand Latin allies were passed out of *France* into *Etruria*: Therefore *L. Furius* departed from *Ariminum*, made hast by taking great journeis to come against the *Gauls*, who then laid siege

A to *Cremona*, and encamped within a mile and an halfe from the enemy. Meanes and opportunitie he had to do a notable exploit, and win a good hand of the enemies, if immediately upon his first coming he might have assailed their campe: for they vagued to and fro in fearing wile up and downe the countrey a foraging, and had left no sufficient guard for the defence of their camp. But he feared greatly that his souldiours were wearie and tired: because the companies marched apace thither in exceeding great hast. Howbeit the *Gauls* being called back by the hooping & hollaing of their fellowes, let go their bootie which they had in manner as good as in their hands, and returned to the camp, and the morrow after ranged themselves in battaile ray. The Romanes were not behind for their parts, albeit they had hardly time enough to set themselves in order, the enemies ran so sodainly, and made such hast to fight. The right wing (for the armie of the allies was divided into wings) was placed in the vanguard: the two Roman legions in the rereward; *M. Furius* led the right wing, *M. Cecilius* had the conduct of the legions; and *L. Valerius Flaccus* (all three Lieutenants) commanded the Cavallerie. The Pretour kept with him two Lieutenants, *Cn. Leliorius*, and *P. Titinius*, by whose meanes he might looke about from every part, and be readie to oppose himself against all sodaine attempts whatsoever of the enemies. At the first, the *Gauls* hoped that with their numbers they should be able to tread downe and trample under their feet, that right wing of allies which was in the forefront: and to that effect they reduced their multitudes into one place, & charged upon it with all their might & maine together. But seeing that enterprise sped not well, they endeavoured to environ the corners & sides, & to compass the enemies round about: which they thought they might soone do, being so many as they were in comparison of so few: which when the Pretor perceived, to the end that he also might spread out his battalions at large, he displayed the two legions in the rereward, so as he compassed on both hands that wing which fought in the vaward: and therewith vowed two chappels to *Jupiter*, if that day he might be so fortunate as to vanquish his enemies. To *L. Valerius* he gave direction, that of one side he should with the Cavallerie of the two legions, & on the other side with the horie belonging to the allies charge upon the wings of the enemies, & not suffer them in any case to enclose the battaile about. Herewithal himself also, epying the middle battalion of the *Gauls* to be but thin, by reason they were stretched out from thence to the corners & points of each hand, commanded his souldiers to keepe close together, to advance forward and break through their ranks. So were the wings of the *Gauls* by the horie men discomfited, and they in the mids repulsed backe and chafed by the footmen: and when the enemies thus at once on every hand were beaten downe and killed, they shewed their backs, and fled as fast as they could to the campe. The horse pursued them in the rout and chase; and anon the legionarie footmen made after also, and gave an assault upon their campe. There escaped from thence not all out fixe thousand: slain there were and taken prisoners above 35000, with sevenie banners and ensignes, and more than two hundred French wagons, charged and laden with much pillage. In this conflict, *Amilcar* the Generall of the *Carthaginians* lost his life, and three noble men of the French, leaders of marke and name. The *Placentine* captives to the number of two thousand men of free condition, were delivered againe to them of their owne colonie. This was a goodly victorie; and upon the letters which came with tidings thereof to Rome, received there with great joy; and ordained it was, that a solemnne procession should be held for the space of three daies. Of Romanes and allies one with another, there died in this battaile two thousand: most of them were of that right wing, upon which the enemies in the beginning of the conflict most of all discharged their furie.

Albeit the Pretour had brought the warre to a good passe and in manner finished it, yet the Consull also *C. Aurelius*, having accomplished his necessarie affaires at Rome, made no stay but took his journey into *Fraunce*, and received the victorious armie of the Pretor. The other Consull who came into his province but a little before the end of Autumne, wintered about *Apollonia*. The *Roman* gallies which from the Armada that lay in dock at *Corcyra*, were sent as is aforesaid, to Athens with *C. Claudius*, were no sooner arrived at *Pyreæum*, but they mightily comforted the allies, whose harts were welnigh done: for neither wer there any more inrodes now by land as there were wont to be from *Corinth* side by the way of *Megara* along into their territories: and the men of warre and pyrats ships which from *Chalcis* had made not onely the seas dangerous to the Athenians, but also the maritime and sea coasts, durst not now approach nearer than to the cape of *Sunium*, no nor venture into the open maine sea from out of the freights of *Euripus*.

* 137500 pound
sterl. after 5 shill.
the ounce.
* 88200 pound
sterl. at 5 pound
an ounce.
* 7 shill. 6 pen.
English.

* Copied.

Euripus. Over and besides, there came in to them three Rhodian galleys with foure bankes of oares: there were also three open ships of Athens well rigged and appointed, for to keepe the quarters that lay along the river. *Claudius* was well appayed, and thought he had gotten enough for the present, in case the citie and territorie of Athens might be sufficiently guarded by this fleet. But see, there presented unto him an occurrent besides of far greater importance and consequence. Certaine banished persons of Chalcis, expelled from thence by the wrongs and violence of those that sided with king *Philip*, advertised him, that the citie of Chalcis might be easily surpris'd without any conflict or resistance at all: for, not onely the Macedonians ranged abroad every where up and downe, because there were no enemies neare at hand to feare; but also the townesmen presuming upon the garrison of the Macedonians, neglected the guard of the citie. Vpon the assurance of their words, he set forward: and although he was arriv'd at *Sir-
nium* with so good speed, that he might with ease have failed to the entrance of the streights of Euboea, yet for feare of being discovered (when he was got once past the cape) he kept his fleet within the bay still untill night: and at the shutting in of the evening, he weighed anchor and launched forth, and having a calme sea, he arriv'd before Chalcis a little before the breake of day, and presented his forces against those parts of the citie that were least peopled: and with the helpe of some few souldiours, he scaled and got the towre that stood next, with the wall about it, whiles in some places the warders were sound asleepe; and in others, not at all to be found. Then they advanced forward unto those parts that were more inhabited, and stood thicker with houses; where, after they had killed the guard and broken open a gate, they received into the towne all the rest of their souldiours. Whereupon, there was running now on every hand into all parts of the citie, and much hurrie and confusion; which was the greater, because the enemies had set fire on the houses about the market place. The kings garners also were of a light fire, together with the arcanall and annorie, where there was exceeding store of provision, of engines, of artillerie and other ordnance and instruments for warre. After this they fell to execution and to massacre in every place, as well those that fled as those that made head; so as they missed not one that was of age meet to beare armes, but either he was killed or put to flight. *Sopater* likewise the Acarnanian captaine of the garrison, was there slaine. All the pillage was first brought and piled up together in the common place of the citie, and afterwards embarked. The common goale besides was broke open by the Rhodians, and the prisoners and captives let out, whome *Philip* had there lodged as in a place of surest guard and custodie. Then they overthrow the Images and statues of the king, and brake their neckes: which done, they founded the retreat, went a shipboord, and returned to *Pyreæum*, from whence they came. But if the number of Romane souldiers had bene such, that they might have kept Chalcis still with a garrison, without quitting and abandoning the defence of Athens, a great matter had been gotten in the very beginning of the warre: to wit, the citie of Chalcis and the passage of Euripus, had bene taken from the king. For as the narrow passe of Thermopyle stoppeth the way into Greece by land, so the streights of Euripus maketh all sure by sea. *Philip* at that time lay in the citie *Demetrias*; where, after he heard the newes of the calamitie befallne upon a confederate citie, albeit now it was too late to helpe when all was lost; yet because he would be revenged (which is a thing that cometh neare to the nature of aid and succour) he went forth immediately with five thousand footmen lightly appointed and deliver, and three thousand horsemen, with all the speed and hast he could to reach nere unto Chalcis; making full reckoning that the Romans might be surpris'd on a foddaine: but being disappointed of this hope, and thither come where he could see nothing els but a piteous spectacle of a friend-citie halfe ruinate and still smoking, and so few people left alive, that they hardly were able to bury their dead, he returned as hastily as he came; and having passed over Euripus at a bridge, hee lead straight to Athens by the way of *Bacotia*, with a deepe perswasion and hope, that a like enterprise unto the Romanes should have the like issue. And verily he had not mislead of the semblable effect, correspondent to his designes, but that a certaine watchman (one of those whome the Greekes call *Hemerodromos*, that is, posts and carriers that in one daies space will run and rid a mightie deale of ground) descried from a watch-towre the kings troups marching: whereupon hee ran out afore, and came to Athens ere midnight. There were they all asleepe too, and as retchlesse as they of Chalcis were a few daies past, which was the losse of their towne. The Pretor of the Athenians, and *Dioxippus* the captaine of a regiment of hired strangers and aid-souldiers, awoke at this so fearfull and foddaine tidings and

A gat up, assembled the souldiers into the market-stead, & commanded to sound alarme from the highest place of the citie, that all men might take knowledge that the enemies were nere at hand. By which meanes they ran every man from all parts to the gates and up the walls. Within few houres after, and somewhat before day light, he approached the citie: and seeing many lights everywhere, hearing also a noise of people running to and fro (as in time of such a tumult) he staied his march, and commaunded his souldiours to sit them downe and rest themselves, intending to proceed by overt and open forces, since covert and craftie courses, sped no better: and so at length he came before *Dipylos*. This *Dipylos* is a gate, standing in the very front of the citie, greater and wider a good deale than the rest. Both within and without that gate, are large and broad streets, so that both the inhabitants within-forth may marshall an armie, and lead in battaile ray from the common place directly to the gate, and also the enemies without, have roume at will to conduct a power, as well of horse as foot, by meanes of a spacious cauley or high way, which reacheth out almost a mile in length from the foresaid gate, and leadeth to the place of exercise or schoole called *Academia*. At this quarter of the citie, the Athenians, together with the garrison of *Attalus*, and the regiment of *Dioxippus*, issued forth, & entred the cauley above-named, having first within the gate set their men in order of battaile. Which when *Philip* saw, he made full account, That he had his enemies as he would himselfe to doe his pleasure with them, and that now he should have his fill of a massacre and carnage that he had wished for so long (for there was not a State or citie in all Greece that he maliced more than this of Athens.) And therefore he exhorted and encouraged his souldiours, that they should have their eie upon him ever as they fought, and know well this, that where the king was, there should the banners & guidons be displayed, there should the strength and force of the battaile be: and so he set spurs to his horse, and ran with full carriere to charge the enemies. Thus was he not onely carried away with heat of choler, but ravished also with a desire of glorie, esteeming it a goodly thing, and a matter tending to his great honour, for to be seene fighting in the view of a great multitude of people that had taken up and filled the battlements of the walls (as it were) to behold a solemne spectacle. Thus being advanced a good way before the maine battaile, accompanied with some few men of armes, he rode among the mids of the enemies, where he bare himselfe so valiantly, that as he mightily heartened his own men, so he affrighted no lesse his enemies. Many a one he wounded with his owne hand, reaching at them that were neere, levelling at those that were farther off, and drave them afore him like sheep, and followed hard upon them in person to the very gate; where he made foule worke among them, thronged and crouded as they were together in the streight of the passage, for hast they made to escape, and committed a greivous slaughter. And albeit this was but an unwise & rash adventure of his, yet he retired himselfe in safetie, without farther danger of his person, by reason that they who were placed in the turrets of the gate, forbore to shoot and launce their darts, because they would not hurt their own side, intermingled among the enemies. But after this, when the Athenians kept their souldiours within the walls, *Philip* founded the retreat, and pitched his tents at *Cynosarges*, where there was a temple of *Hercules*, and a schoole of learning, and a grove standing about it. As for *Cynosarges*, and the school Lyceum, and whatsoever was either religious, or pleasant and delectable about the citie, was burned. And not onely the edifices, but the sepulchres also and monuments of the dead were defaced and cast downe: in which furious heat of anger, nothing was spared, were it sacred or profane, without regard of God and man. The next morrow, when the gates were first kept shut, and afterwards set open againe upon a suddaine, because the garrison of *Attalus* entred into the citie from *Ægina*, and the Romane from *Pyreæum* side; *Philip* dislodged and remooved backe from the citie almost three miles. From whence he went to *Eleusine*, hoping to surpris the temple at unwares, together with the towne and castle, which both environneth the temple, and commaundeth the same. But when he perceived that the corps de guard was not neglected, and that a fleet besides was coming from *Pyreæum* to succour them, he gave over this designe, and led his armie to *Megara*, and so streight forward immediately to *Corinth*: and having intelligence, that the Achæi held a generall Diet and counsell at *Argos*, thither hee came unlockedgion there was, about waging warre with *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedemonians: Who seeing, that the seignorie of Achæa was taken from *Philopemenes* and conferred upon *Cycliades*, a captaine not to bee named and compared with him, and perceiving also that the aids which the Achæans

Achæans had, were fallen from them and gone, took their vantage, renewed the old quarrell, and made fresh war upon them, waisting the villages and territories of the borderers, yea, and threatening the good towns and cities also. Now whiles they sat devising and conferring together what number of souldiours should be levied and enrolled out of every severall state and citie, for to withstand this common enemy, *Philip* frankly promised to ease them all of that care as touching *Nabis* and the Lacedæmonians; and not onely to impeach them for spoiling the lands of their Allies, but also to lead his armie out of hand into the very territorie of Laconica and Sparta, and thither to turne the whole terror of this warre. This kind speech and friendly offer of his, being with a generall applause of them all accepted. Marrie, this you must (quoth he) take with all, that good reason it is, whiles I my selfe am content to defend and maintaine your countrie by my forces, mine owne territories in the meane time bee not disurnished of their garriſons, and left naked: and therefore, if yee thinke good, provide me as many souldiours as may suffice for the guard of *Oreum*, *Chalcis*, and *Corinth*, that thus making all sure behind me, I may be secured from daunger that way, and with more resolution prosecute the war against *Nabis* and the Lacedæmonians. The Achæans smelled him quickly, and knew full well, to what end this gracious promise of his & frank offer of aid against the Lacedæmonians tended. His only drift was to draw forth of Peloponnesus the youth and floure of the Achæans, as a pledge and sure hostage, for to engage the whole nation, so farre as they should be interested in the warre that he had with the Romanes. *Cyclades* the Pretor of the Achæans, thinking it bootlesse, and no good policie, to discover so much and to enforce that point against him, inserted onely this speech and said, That it was not lawfull by the customes and ordnances of the Achæans, to propose other matters to parle of, than those for which they were assembled together: & so after the order enacted for levying & waging an armie against *Nabis*, he dissolved & brake up the assembly, which he now had held right stoutly and with the libertie of the place, who otherwise, before that time was taken ever for no better than one of the kings flatterers and favorites. Thus *Philip* put besides the great hopes that he had conceived, levied some small number of voluntarie souldiours, and returned to *Corinth* and the land of *Attica*.

During the time that *Philip* was in Achæa, *Philocles* a captain under the king, departed out of Eubœa with two thousand Thracians and Macedonians, for to waite and spoile the confines of the Athenians; and over against Eleusina passed over the Forrest and hill *Cytheron*, from whence having sent out the one halfe of his forces every way to prey upon the plain country, he sat himselfe downe close with the other halfe in a convenient place for an ambush, to the end, that if peradventure they should make out from the fort at Eleusina, and set upon his souldiours as they drave booties, hee might suddainly arise and charge upon the enemies at unawares, spread and scattered all abroad. But this ambushment was discovered. And therefore after he had called the soldiers back who were run al abroad a boothaling, he put them in order well armed & appointed to besiege and assault the fort of Eleusina, against which he led all his forces: but after much hurt and many a wound received from them he retired, and joined with *Philip* as he returned out of Achæa. The king also himselfe in person, assailed to force and batter the said hold: but the Roman ships comming from *Pyreæum*, and a fresh garriſon received into the place, caused him perforce to give over the enterprise. After this the king divided his power, and sent one part thereof against Athens, under the conduct of *Philocles*, & himselfe with the other marched to *Pyreæum*: that whiles *Philocles* kept the Athenians within the citie, by approaching their walls, and threatening to besiege and assault it, he might himselfe with facilitie win and gaine *Pyreæum*, wherein there was left but a smal & slight guard. But he found as hot a peece of service about the assailing of *Pyreæum*, as before at Eleusina, by reason of the saine souldiours in manner, that defended as well the one as the other. So on a suddaine he departed from *Pyreæum*, and marched directly toward Athens. From whence he was repulsed and chased by a suddain fallie both of horse and foot, made from the streights of the wall halfe ruinate; which wall stretching out, as it were, two arms, joyneth the port *Pyreæum* to Athens. So he left battering and assaulting the citie, and parting againe his armie with *Philocles*, he went out to forrey and spoile the countrie: and as in his former sackage he exercised himselfe in demolishing the temples all about the citie, so because he would leave nothing entire and safe, he commaunded the chappels of the gods, which were consecrate in every village and hamlet, to be pulled downe, rased, and burnt.

The countrie of *Attica* was mervailously beautified and embellished (as it were) with goodly peeces

A peece of worke in that kind, (by reason as well of the store they had of native marble, as also of their industrious and excellent workemen) which ministred matter and occasion unto him of this outrage and madnesse. For not contented and satisfied with the ruine of the temples, and casting downe of images, he commaunded that the very stones should be broken and hattered in peeces, that least being whole and sound they might serve to make up and stop the breaches of the ruines. And after that his fell mood and anger was not so much satisfied and satiate, as it wanted matter to worke upon in that place, he departed out of his enemies countrie into *Boeotia*, and performed no other deed in Greece worthy of remembrance.

Sulpitius the Consull at that time lay in camp betwene **Apollonia* and **Dyrrachium*, neere the river *Apfus*: and having caused *T. Apustius* the Lieutenant to come thither, he sent him with part of his forces to waite the borders of his enemies. *Apustius* after he had forraied the frontiers of *Macedonie*, and forced at the first assault certaine holds, as *Corrhagum*, *Gerrhenium*, and *Orgeſsum*, came with his armie before *Antipatria*, a citie seated in the narrow streights of a certaine passage. And first he called forth the principall and chiefe citizens to a parlie, and assayed to persuade and induce them for to commit themselves under the protection and savaeguard of the Romanes: but afterwards, seeing they trusted upon the greatnes, the strong walls and situation of the towne, and therefore made no reckning of his motives, but rejected them, he assailed it by force of armes, and wan it in the end. All that were above fourteene yeeres of age he put to the sword; the whole pillage he dealt amongst the souldiours; the walls he rased, and set fire on the towne. The feare of like miserie was the cause that *Codrio*, a towne of good strength and well fortified, was yeelded to the Romanes without assault, or any sword drawne. There he left a garriſon: and after that, he forced *Ilium*, a towne better knowne for the name that it carieth of the other famous *Ilium* in Asia, than for any thing els. As the Lieutenant returned with a great bootie to the Consull, one *Athenagoras* a captain under the king, charged upon the taile of the arriergard, disordered the hindmost, and impeached their passage over the river: but the Lieutenant, at their crie and sodaine affright rode in all hast back, caused them to turne againe and make head, set them in battaile ray, and bestowed all their bag and baggage in the mids upon a heape. The kings souldiours not able to abide the violence of the Romanes, were many of them slaine, and more taken prisoners. So, the Lieutenant having retired his armie in safetie, was immediately sent back unto the Consull to the Armada.

D The warre being thus begun, and the exploit of this first expedition happily performed, the princes, potentates, and LL. that bordered upon the Macedonians, repaired into the Roman camp, to wit, *Pleuratus* the sonne of *Scerdiletus*, *Aminander* king of the Athamanes: and from *Dardania*, *Bato* the sonne of *Longarus*. This *Longarus* had waged warre aforetime in his owne name and quarell, with *Demetrius* the father of this *Philip*. These States offering and promising their aids unto the Consull, had this answer from him, That for the *Dardanians* and *Pleuratus*, he would use them, when hee entred with an host into *Macedonie*. As for *Aminander*, hee gave him in charge the while to sollicite the *Ætolians* to warre. The Embassadors of king *Attalus* (for they also were come at the same time) hee dispatched with this order, That their king should attend the comming of the Roman fleet at *Egina*, where hee wintered; with which & his owne jointly together, he should assaile *Philip* at sea, like as he had done beforetime. Embassadors also were addrested to the *Rhodians*, that they likewise should have their hand and be seene in this warre. *Philip* for his part foreslowed not to make preparation (for now by this time was he come into *Macedonie*) & sent with part of his forces for to keep the streights of the passage of *Pelagonia*, his son *Perseus*, a very child of yong yeers, having chosen certain of his trustie friends, to direct and govern his tender age. As for **Sciathus* & **Peparethus*, two towns of no smal importance he destroyed, for fear the enemies fleet should seize upon them, & with their pillage content & pay themselves. He sent likewise embassadors to the *Ætolians* (a nation inconstant & unquiet by nature) that they should not upon the arrivall of the Romanes, change their alleageance. Now the Diet or generall councill of all the states of *Ætolia*, which they call *Panætolium*, was to be held at a certaine day appointed. And therefore to prevent and meet with all dangers, both the kings embassadors made hast to bee present thereat; and also *L. Furius Purpurio* presented himselfe there, as sent embassador from the Consull. The Athenian embassadors likewise were at this assembly. And first the Macedonians (with whome a league was but lately concluded, and therefore freshest in remembrance) had audience, who said, They had no new matter to speake

The Orator of the Macedonians of Embassadors.

of, seeing there was no new occurrent and business fallen out: onely this, that upon what motives and considerations they were entred into an accord and peace with king *Philip*, (as having experience that the alliance with the Romanes never did them good) for the very same they should maintaine it still, being once concluded & confirmed. Or love ye rather (qd. one above the rest of the embassadours) to imitate the Romanes licentiousnes or their levitie, I know not whether? who, as they gave order & commaundement, that your embassadours being at Rome, should receive their dispatch & answer in these termes: Come ye now to us indeed my masters of *Ætolia*, when without our consent and warrant ye have made peace with *Philip*? so likewise at this present are readie to require that ye should band with them, and warre upon *Philip*. They pretended aforetime that they tooke armes against him, by occasion of you, in your quarell and defence; and now they forbid you to be in peace with *Philip*. At first, they entred into Sicilie for to aid and succor *Messana*. A second time they went thither to set free and deliver *Syracusa* out of the oppression of the Carthaginians. And now at this time they hold in possession both *Messana* and *Syracusa*: and all Sicilie entier they have made it tributarie, yea and reduced it into the forme of a province, to be ruled under their sword, and the jurisdiction of their deputies and magistrates. In good faith, I assure you, that as ye according to your lawes and customes hold your Diets & Counsels at *Naupactum*, by your own magistrates elected & created among your selves, wherein ye have libertie to make choise both of friends and enemies whom ye wil, and to entertaine either peace or warre at your pleasure: so, writs are sent out to the States of Sicilie for their knights and burgeses, to assemble in Parlement at *Saracose*, at *Messana*, or *Lilybæum*. And the Romane Pretor it is and no other that summoneth them thither, as also to their Assises and Sessions: at his commaundement & not otherwise they are cited to generall Counsels. Him they see sitting on high in his tribunall seate, guarded with Lictors, attended upon with Vthers, there to heare & determine causes, & from aloft to pronounce hard sentences & proud awards. His rods threaten their backs and sides, his axes are readie to chop their heads from their shoulders: and from yeere to yeere new lords still they choose & send among them. And this dealing, none of them either can or ought to mervaile at: for why? they see cities of *Italie*, by name *Rhegyum*, *Tarentum*, and *Capua*, (to speake nothing of their neighbour townes, by whose fall they arose, by whose ruines Rome grew mightie) subject likewise to the same rule and government. As for *Capua*, the very sepulcher and tombe of the *Campane* nation (now that the naturall people thereof are either dead and buried, or driven out as exiled persons) remaineth at this day as a monster and wonder in nature, resembling a headlesse and limlesse dismembred trunk of a bodie: a towne (I say) without Senate, without Comminaltie, without magistrates: where more crueltie was shewed, in leaving it to it selfe thus abandoned, and in this manner to be inhabited, than if it had bene cleane rased and laid even with the ground. Meere folly it is and without all sense and reason, to beleve or hope, that if these strangers and aliens borne (who differ more from us in language, in customes and lawes, than they are distant and disjoyned by space betwene of land and sea) be once seized and possessed of these places, that anything will continue long entier in the present state. The kingdome of *Philip* (ye will say) is a block in your way, and seemeth to prejudice your freedome and liberties: yet he being made your heavie friend, and that through your owne fault and desert, required no other thing at your hands for amends, but peace; and even now desireth nought els but your alliance, and the faithfull observance of the same. Acquaint foreign legions once with this your country: you take the yoke of servitude upon your necks for ever. Accept the Romanes once for your lords: too late it will be then and in vaine for you, to seeke *Philip* againe, and wish him your allie. Small matters and momentanie occasions may well cause the *Ætoliens*, *Acarnanians* and *Macedonians*, (men of one language) to fall out, and as slender motives, will soone make them friends againe: a little thing setteth them at a jarre, and as little bringeth them in tune. But all Grecians both are and ever will be at warre with Barbarians: enemies they are by nature, which is perpetuall and immutable; and not by occasions which alter every day. But where I began my speech, there will I leave and make an end. In this very place you the same men, agreed three yeeres past to have peace with *Philip*: and the selfesame Romanes as they misliked then and disfavoured that peace, so now they will needs disquiet and trouble it after it is once passed and accorded. And since the case still is all one, and fortune hath made no alteration, I see no reason why ye should varie and change your minds.

After

After the *Macedonians*, the *Atheniens* entred in place, for the Romanes were wel contented therewith, and would needs have it so: These *Atheniens* having suffered many wrongs and indignities at the kings hands, had juster cause of complaint, and more reason to inveigh and aggravate matter against his crueltie and outrageous dealings. First, they bewailed the piteous spoile and miserable sackage of their territories: neither complained they so much and found themselves grieved, in that they had sustained harmes and suffered hostilitie from an enemy, (for there be certain lawes and rights belonging unto warre, by vertue whereof, to geve and take, to suffer harme and to do harme interchangeably, is an ordinarie matter and allowable: As for example, the burning of standing corne in the field, rasing and pulling downe of houses, harrying and driving of booties both of men and cattaille, rather pitefull calamities, than shamefull indignities to endure.) But this is the point say they, and hereof we complaine, That he who termed the Romanes, strangers borne, & barbarous, hath so polluted and violated at once all lawes of God and man: so as in his former rode and expedition he seemed to make most impious war with the infernall gods and spirits beneath: and in the second, with the heavenly powres and gods above. All the monuments and tombes within their confines are defaced and destroyed: the dead in their graves are all laid bare, not so much as the bones of any one lye covered with mould. Temples we had and chappells, which, as in times past when our auncestors inhabited those small holts, hamlets and villages, they consecrated and hallowed: so when they were reduced into one citie, and enrolled into wards and parishes, they forooke not nor abandoned altogether. Round about these sacred churches hath *Philip* set fire, and consumed all: the holy images of the gods, lye some scorched and halfe burnt: others headlesse & dismembred, among the pillars & poits of the temples throwne along on the ground. And looke what foule work he hath made in the country of *Attica*, so rich & so bewtifully adorned in times past, the like havock he if he might be let alone, would he make in *Ætolia* and in all Greece throughout. For had not the Romanes come in time to succour, our very citie also had bene so served, and piteously disfigured. For with like mischievous intent came he to the citie which worshipped those gods, not sparing the goddesse *Minerva*, the patronesse and protectresse of our towne and castle: the same wicked mind he caried against the temple of *Ceres Eleusina*: and no better affected was he to *Julia* and *Minerva* in *Pyreæum*. But being repulsed by force and armes not only from our temples, but also from the walls of our citie, he wreaked his anger and raged, against those chapels and religious houses, which had nothing for their defence, but only the reverent regard of the gods, whereof he had none. Hereupon, they prayed and humbly besought the *Ætoliens*, to have compassion of the *Atheniens*, and to enterprise the warre, under the conduct first of the immortal gods, and then of the Romanes, who next to the gods are most powfull and mighty. Then the Romane embassadour spake in this wise. The *Macedonians* first, & after them the *Atheniens*, have altered the whole course & forme of my speech. For, whereas my comming hither was to complaine of the injuries done by *Philip* to so many cities of our allies and associates: ther was to complaine of the injuries done by *Philip* to so many cities of our allies and associates: rather to employ my wits in making a defence of our selves, than in framing an accusation against others. The *Atheniens* againe in reckning up and recounting the impious, abominable, and inhumane parts of king *Philip* committed against the gods, both above and beneath, what have they left behind for me or any man els to object against him besides? What they have said, you may well thinke, and truly suppose, that the men of *Chios*, *Abydus*, *Aenus*, *Maronea*, *Thasos*, *Paros*, *Samos*, *Larissa* and *Messene*; those also heere of *Achaia*, *Complaine* of the same, yea and of more grievous and cruell enormities; as whom he had grea- ter meanes to annoy and hurt. As for such things as hee hath laid to our charge, if they deserve not honor and glorie, I confesse they can not be answered and defended. Reproched us he hath with *Rhegyum*, with *Capua*, and *Saracose*. I cannot denie, but, during the warre of *Pyrrhus* wee sent a legion to *Rhegyum*, there to lye in garison at the instant prayer of the *Rhégines* themselves, who requested us to send them. This legion I confesse, most wickedly and treacherously seized upon the citie, and possessed it to their owne use, for the guard and defence whereof they were first sent. Avowed wee (I pray you) that act of theirs? Nay, pursued wee not by armes that leaud legion and ungratious? and when wee had them in our power and at our devotion, forced not wee them to make amends and satisfaction to our allies, with the smart of their backe and sides, and with the losse of their heads in the end?

And when wee had so done, restored wee not unto the Rhegynes their citie, their lands, G
all their goods whatsoever, together with their liberties, franchises, and lawes? As for the
Syracusians, when they were oppressed by straunge and forraigne tyrants, wee judging it to be a
great indignitie, relieved and succoured them: and after we had bene (for three yeeeres space
almost) wearied and toiled out with continuall siege and uncessant assault both by land and sea
of their citie, so exceeding strong and so well fortified, we seeing that the Syracusians themselves
made choice rather to be in servitude under those tyrants, than to be taken by us, gave them
their citie againe, both forced and freed by the same armies. Neither denie we that Sicilie is our
province; and that the cities which took part and sided with the Carthaginians, and joyntly with
them accorded to wage warre against us, are tributaries unto us and pay us yearly rents and pen-
sions: nay we are so farre from not taking this upon us, that contrariwise wee would, that both H
you and all nations besides well knew, that every one received at our hands that measure of for-
tune that he duly deserved. And now as touching the Capuans, should we repent that wee have
chastised them in such sort, whereof they themselves verily can not complaine? These men, af-
ter we had maintained warre against the Samnites in their quarrell and defence, for the space
well neare of seventie yeeeres, to no small dispende of ours, and with many a losse and overthrow,
after we had linked them unto us, first by league and alliance, then by marriage and affinitie, and
last of all, by freedome and burgeoise of our citie: these men I say, in our adversitie, were the first
of all other nations of Italie, that vilanously massacred our garrison there, and revolted unto An-
nibal: and then for very spight and indignation that they were by us besieged, sent Annibal to
assault the citie of Rome. And if we had proceeded in that rigour against them, that we had left I
neither citie standing nor any one person of them living, who could take offence thereat, and
justly say, That they had bene more hardly entreated and dealt withall than they deserved? There
were more of them, that upon touch and pricke of guiltie conscience for their leaud and wicked
deeds, made themselves away and so perished, than were by us executed and put to death. As for
the rest, we took from them indeed their town, we deprived them of their possessions and livings,
yet so, as we left them both lands to occupie, and place to dwell in: the guiltlesse towne it selfe
we suffered to stand still safe and sound, that whosoever at this day seeth it, can not find the least
token or shew of a citie either forced or wooen. But what speake I of Capua? seeing wee have af-
flooded unto Carthage (a citie conquered and subdued) both peace and also libertie: In so much K
as we have cause rather to be afraid, least by remissenesse and over-willingnes to pardon those
whome we have vanquished, we give occasion to many more to be so bold as to trie the hazard
and fortune of warre against vs. And thus much I had to say in defence of our selves. Now
somewhat I have to speake against king Philip; whose horrible murders committed upon those
of his owne house, even his neerest kinsfolke and friends; whose loose life and unbridled lust
(more unkind and inhumane in manner than his crueltie) yee know better than are neerer unto
Macedon. As for you, my masters of Aetolia, we have for your sakes begun warre with Philip,
and you againe without us have concluded peace with him. It may be you will alledge, that
whiles we were occupied in the Punicke warre, yee were forced and compelled for feare, to take
such contritions of peace at his hands, who was the stronger: we likewise (pressed with greater
affaires and troubles) forbore to prosecute and follow that warre, which by you first was laid L
downe and given over. At this present, seeing by the grace and goodnesse of the gods the Pu-
nicke warre is come to an end, both we have employed and bent all our forces against Macedo-
nie, and ye also have good occasion and opportunitie offered to reenter into amitie and alliance
with us, unlesse ye had rather perish with Philip, than vanquish with the Romanes.

When the Romane Embassadour had ended this Oration, the Aetolians generally were en-
clined and affected to the Romanes: but Damocritus their Pretor (corrupted as the speech went
with a summe of money received from king Philip, and made for him) gave assent neither to the
one partie nor the other, but said, That in counsels of great weight and importance, there was no-
thing more hurtfull and prejudiciall, than hast: for repentance (qd. he) follow it never so soone,
when a thing is once done, yet it commeth too late and booteth not: considering, that rash M
counsels can not be revoked, haltie and headlong courses cannot possibly be recalled, nor mat-
ters once past be reduced againe to their former state. As for the proper time of that resolution
now in hand, whereof my selfe am of advise, that the due maturitie and full ripenesse should be ex-
pected, it might now at this present be set downe and concluded upon. For seeing that by our
lawes

A lawes and ordinances provided it is, that we may not treat of any affaires concerning peace or
warre, but in the generall counsels called Panætolaik or Pylaik: therefore for the present I would
have you to ordaine and decree, that your Pretour without fraud or covin might call and hold a
Diet or court of Parliament, whensoever he is minded to treat of warre or peace; and whatsoe-
ver then and there shall be propofed and determined, it may stand in as good force, strength,
and vertue, as if it had passed in a full Panætolaik or Pylaik counsell. Thus the embassadours be-
ing dismissed and sent away in suspence, and nothing decided and concluded, he said, That hee
had performed a singular peece of service to his nation and countrey. For now they would side
and take part with those, whose fortune it were to speed better in the field. Thus went matters in
the assembly of the Aetolians.

Now Philip with all diligence prepared for warre both by sea and land. His sea forces hee as-
sembled together unto Demetrias, a port in Thessalie; making account, that Attalus and the Ro-
mane flect would in the beginning of the next spring depart from Aegina. Over his navie and all
the sea coasts he appointed Heraclides Admirall, like as he had done aforetime. Him selfe levied
and gathered his land-forces, supposing verily that hee had debarred and bereft the Romanes
of two great meanes of aid, to wit, the Aetolians of the one side, & the Dardaniens of the other;
in that the narrow streights and passage of Pelagonia, was stopped and made sure against them
by his sonne Persus. The Consull on the other side made not preparations for warre, but was on
foot and in action already, conducting his armie through the confines of the Dassaretiens, and
transporting with him out of his wintering harbor all the provision of grain, whereof the country
C yielded him sufficient to the maintenance of his soldiers. The great towns and villages were sur-
rendred unto him, partly for love and partly for feare: some were forced by assault, others aban-
doned by the inhabitants, and were found desolate, by reason that the barbarous people were
retired into the mountaines neare by, to save themselves: and at Lingum neare the river Bevus
he encamped; from whence hee sent to purvey for corne out of the garners and barnes of the
Dassaretiens. Philip saw well enough that the country all about was in an hurrie, and the people
in great feare and fright; but being uncertaine to what place the Consull intended to march, he
sent out a cornet of light horsemen as espials to discover what way the enemies tooke, and whi-
ther they pretended to goe. The Consull likewise for his part was as doubtfull: well hee wist that
Philip was dislodged from the places where he had wintered, but in what quarter he journeyed, he
D knew not: and therefore hee also had set forth certaine horse in espiall to scoure the coasts. These
two bands or troupes from divers and contrarie parts, encountered in the end in one way, after
they had a long time wandered at adventure through the countrey of the Dassaretiens. Both
parties knew well by the noise they heard a farre off, as well of men as horse, that enemies ap-
proched; and therefore they had both horse and armour in readines, before they were in sight
one of another: for so soone as ever they were within their entervieu, they made no stay, but
charged immediatly and joyned issue. It fortuned, that for number and valour both, they were
equally matched, as being choice and elect men of either side: whereupon they fought for cer-
taine houres alike, untill such time as their owne wearines and the faintnesse of their horses par-
ted the battaile in doubtfull victorie. Of the Macedonians there died 40 horsemen: and of the
E Romans, five & thirty. And for all this, neither brought the Macedonians any better intelligence
to their king, nor the Romans to their Consull, of the place where the enemies were incamped.
But certaine fugitive traitours gave advertisement thereof: who commonly in all warres, upon
a running head and light humour that naturally they have, are given to hearken after news, and
to enquire in what tearmes enemies stand. Philip imagining that it would avails somewhat
both to purchase the affectionate love of his souldiours, and also to induce them more cheere-
fully and readily to undertake all hazards for his sake, in case hee seemed to have a carefull regard
to burie those horsemen which were slaine in the journey and expedition afore said; commaun-
ded their bodies to be brought into the campe, to the end, that all men might see what honour
hee did them in their funerals. But see how nothing is more uncertaine, nor whereof a man may
F make lesse reckoning than the minds and affections of the multitude! That which was thought
would have made them more willing and forward to enter into any daunger and jeopardie what-
soever, even that, wrought a contrarie effect, and caused them to be most fearefull and backward.
For they who were used to fight with Greeks and Illyrians, and to see mens bodies wounded with
push of pike, galled with arrowes, and pierced with launce here and there, in this or that part;
Y y y after

after they beheld once their fellowes so butcherly mangled with the Spanish curtelaes and arming swords, the armes cut away from the bodie, the heads either smitten clean off by the neck, or cloven down right, and lying on the shoulders; their paunches ript with the bowels open, and guts drawing after; with other deepe wounds and broad slashes, most hideous and fearefull to behold; then they saw all full well (fearefull creatures as they were) what manner of weapons, and what kind of men they were to deale against. Nay the king himselfe was terribly afraid, who had not as yet encountered with the Romanes in any set field. Whereupon he sent for his son, to come backe with the garrison that he had in the streights of Pelagonia, thereby to encrease and strengthen his owne forces: and so laid open the way into Macedonia, for *Pleuratus* & the Dardaniens. Himselfe in person with a power of twentie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, guided by the fugitives abovesaid, marched toward the enemy, and about a quarter of a mile or somewhat lesse from the Romane campe, possessed himselfe of a little hill neere to Athacum, which he fortified with trench and rampier. From whence, when he beheld the Romanes encamped hard under him, he wondered (by report) to see not only the whole bodie of the camp, with the form and order thereof in generall, but also how every part was raunged and set out in severall, both in the manner of quartering and pitching their pavilions, and also in the proportion of the waies for breadth and length betweene. And having viewed and considered every thing accordingly: Beleeve me (quoth he) there is no man who seeth this, that can either thinke or say, it is the campe of a barbarous nation. For two daies space the Consull and the king (expecting one anothers attempts and enterprises) kept their souldiours close within their holds. When the third day was come, the Romane Generall brought forth his whole power into the field. But the king fearing to hazard all so soone upon a cast, drew forth foure hundred Triballians (which were, as we have said elsewhere, of the Illyrian nation) and three hundred Cretensians, all footmen, accompanied with the like number of horsemen; and sent them under the conduct of *Athenagoras*, one of his courtiers and gallants, for to brave the Cavallerie of the enemies, and to challenge them to fight. The Romanes, whose maine battaile was little above halfe a mile off, put out against them their light armed vantage-curriers, & as it were, two companies or cornets of horsemen: to the end, that they might be equall with the enemy in number, both of foot and horse. They of the kings part supposed verily, that they should fight after their old and accustomed manner: namely, that the horsemen should by turnes, one while ride forward in the face of the enemy, other while retire againe; sometime follow in chase and have use of their darts and weapons, and sometime turne and shew their backe parts; that the nimblenesse and activitie of the Illyrians would stand in good steed to make excursions and suddaine skirmishes; also that the Cretensian archers should be employed in shooting arrowes aloofe at the enemies, as they advanced and came forward, or flung out all abroad on every side: but the violent charge of the Romanes, no lesse continuall and obstinate, than fierce and eager, put them quite out of this manner of service, and disordered all. For no otherwise than if it had been a set battaile betweene two entier armies, their footmen lightly armed, so soone as they had launced and let goe their javelins from them, tooke them to their swords, and came to hand fight: the horsemen likewise, no sooner affronted the enemies, but either staying their horses they fought on horsebacke, or els alighted on foot, and among the footmen maintained the medley. By this means neither the kings Cavallerie could match the Romanes, because they had not been used to a steadie battell; nor his footmen who were wont to traverse their ground, and skirmish, never standing still, and withall in manner halfe naked for any harness they had, was able to make their parts good with the Roman light appointed footmen, who had their swords and bucklers, and were furnished with armour, as well defensive as offensive. So they could not endure long to maintaine fight, but were forced to retire into their campe, and by nothing els saved themselves but by good footmanship and riding apace. There passed one day betweene, when the king minding to trie a conflict with all his forces of Cavallerie, and footmen lightly appointed, had laid in await by night certaine targatiers, whom they call *Pelastae*, in a convenient place betweene both campes, and given direction and charge unto *Athenagoras* and his men of armes, That if they sped well in open battell & plaine fight, they should on still and follow their good fortune: but if they went by the worse, and were too weak, they should give ground by little and little, and traine the enemy to the place of ambush. Well, it fell out so, that the horsemen indeed reculed accordingly, but the leaders of that cohort aforesaid of targatiers, not attending the signall long ynough, but raising their men out

A of ambush before due time, lost the opportunitee of playing their part, and performing a good peece of service.

The Romane Consull having both obtained victorie in ouvert battell, and escaped the danger of a covert traine, retired himselfe into his campe. The morrow after, he came down into the plaine field with all his forces, and put them in battell array, having arraigned his elephants in the forefront of the vaward. And this was the first time that ever the Romanes had use in their warres, of this beast; by occasion, that in the late Punicke war, they had taken some of them alive from their enemies. But perceiving that *Philip* kept himselfe close within his campe, hee approached under the very rampier, yea, and reproched him for his cowardise. And seeing for all that, he could not even then be drawne to a battell: considering also, that if he kept there a standing campe long, so neere unto the enemy, his provision of corne should bee exposed to dangers; B for no sooner should the purveyors and forragers be gone abroad into the countrey, and spread over the fields, but the enemies light horsemen would be readie at their heeles to fetch them in, and cause them to come short home: therefore he removed his campe to a place almost eight miles off, called *Octolophum*, where he might make his provision with lesse danger. Now when the Romanes purveied for corne and victuals in the territorie thereabout, and were come upon a time somewhat neere and within danger of *Philip*, at first the king let them alone, and kept his men within their campe, to the end, that they might be more bold and venturous, and withall, lesse warie and circumspect: but espying them once stragling asunder here and there out of order, he set forward with all his Cavallerie, and the auxiliaries of the Candiotes, and marched so fast, as the swiftest of his footmen by running might keepe pace with the horsemen: thus having gotten betweene them and home, he pitched downe his ensignes betwix the Romane camp and the forragers. Then divided he his forces in two companies, the one he sent forth to course and chase them, so dispersed as they were; giving speciall charge and direction, not to leave any of them alive that they could reach: with the other he staid himselfe behind, and beset all the waies, and stopped the passages by which the enemies were like to retire and have recourse unto their campe. Soone were they killed or put to flight in every place, and as yet not one escaped to the Romane campe, for to bring newes of this discomfiture: for, as many as fled backe, chaunced upon the guard that the king had set: and more were slaine by them that beset the waies, than those that were sent out to the pursuite and execution. At length some happened to escape through the midst of the kings *corps de guard*, and in great hast and fearefull manner came into the campe with a troublesome noise and tumult, rather than any certaine tidings. D The Consull, after order given to the horsemen, that every man should succour and rescue what way soever hee could, their distressed fellowes in this extremitie, himselfe led forth the legions out of the campe, and marching in a fouresquare battaillon advanced toward the enemies. The horsemen being spread over the fields in divers places, some lost their right way, being deceived by other outcries heard from a contrary part: otherwise met with their enemies, and at one instant, the skirmish began in many and sundrie places. The band that guarded about the king, fought most fiercely and cruelly: for both they were for their owne number as well of horse as foote, a full armie welneere; and also most of the Romanes light upon them, because they kept the very port and rodeway in the middes. In this regard also were the Macedonians the better and had the vantage, because the king himselfe was present in person to encourage and exhort them: and withall the auxiliarie Candiotes wounded many of the Romanes ere they were aware of them: for why, they were well prepared aforehand, raunged thicke and close together, and so fought against them that rode skattering abroad one from another, and without array. And verily, if they could have kept any mean and measure in their chase, they had mightily advanced themselves, not onely in winning the honor of that day, but also, in the maine point of the whole warre. But pursuing them beyond all reason, and without discretion, upon a bloudthirstie desire that they had of massacre, they chaunced upon the Romane squadrons which were gone before with the Tribunes and Colonels: in so much as the horsemen aforesaid, who before fled, when they once saw the ensignes of their owne infanterie, reined their horse heads, and turned againe upon the enemy that ran with bridle in horse neck: and so in the turning of an hand, the fortune of the battaile chaunged and came about, and they that erewhile made pursute, now shewed their backs, and fled amaine. Many of them were slaine that came to close handfight, many likewise of those that ran away. Neither fell they all upon the edge of

the sword, for some there were who plunged into bogs and marishes, where both horse and man G
sunke in the deep mud & mire, & so were swallowed up & perished. The king himselfe also was in
great daunger: for his horse being wounded under him and fallen, he also came headlong down
to the ground, and hardly escaped, but hee had been troden under foot, and mischeved as hee
lay along. One horseman above the rest saved his life, who hastily leapt himselfe from horsebacke,
and withall mounted the king (so skared as he was) upon his owne horse: who being now on
foote, and not able to run as fast as the horsemen that fled away, was with many a stab and thrust
soone dispatched by the enemies that came running together to the king when he was seene to
fall. And the king after he had ridden in fearefull flight about the fenny meeres, one while where
there was some way, and otherwhiles where there was none at all to be seene, chaunced at length
to come to his camp, when most men were in despaire that he could possibly escape in safetie. H
In this skirmish there were two hundred Macedonians slaine, a hundred almost taken prisoners:
four-score brave and goodly courfers, with rich caparisons and other furniture, together with
the spoile of faire armours caried away.

There were that blamed the king for being too rash that day, and the Consull for his slack-
nesse. For *Philip*, say they, should have kept him quiet in rest and repose, knowing, as he did, that
the enemies within few dayes would have bene brought to extreame want and penurie, now that
the territorie all about was cleane spoiled and wasted. And the Consull for his part, when he had
foiled the Cavallerie and light armed souldiours of the enemies, and as good as taken the king
prisoner, ought presently to have advanced against the kings camp: for never would the ene-
mies so discomfited have stood to it: and so in the minute of an houre, they had bene vanqu-
ished for ever. This is soone said, but (as most things els) not so soone done. For in case that the
king had likewise brought forth into the field all his Infanterie, peradventure in that tumult,
when all his men were discomfited and driven to flie out of the field to their camp, yea and to
keepe within the rampiar, for feare of the enemy, readie upon his victorie to get over the
counterescarp and other fortifications, the king might have bene defeized of his hold, and lost
all. Again considering, that the whole power of *Philip* his footmen remained still intier within
the camp, the *corps de garde* before the gates warding the sentinels & watch set in convenient pla-
ces of the rampiar attending: what other good should the Consull have done in advancing
thither, but imitated the rash foolhardinesse of the king, who a little before so hotely follo-
wed the chase of the horsemen discomfited? Neither was the kings first designement to be re-
proved and found fault with, when he charged upon the foragers, skattered as they were over all
the fields: if he could have seene when he was well, and have used his good hand in measure and
moderation. Lesse mervail it is besides, that he was willing to trie the fortune of a battaile; be-
cause there ran a rumor, that *Pleuratus* and the Dardanians were departed from home, and with
a puissant power entred already into Macedonie: And if hee thus were beset round about
with these armies, there was no doubt but the Romanes might have vanquished and subdued
him, and never stirred foote for the matter. *Philip* therefore supposing that upon these two late
received foiles of the horsemen, he should have but unquiet and dangerous sitting in the same
standing camp still: and minding to dislodge from thence, and in his remove to beguile the
enemie and not be seene, dispatched a Pursivant at armes or herald unto the Consull, a little be-
fore sunne setting, to crave surcease of armes, untill he had buried his horsemen that were slaine:
and at the reliefe of the second watch he deceived the enemy; for leaving many fires through all
his camp, he marched without any noyse and departed. The Consull had newly supped, and
was going to rest, when he was advertised that a Pursivant was come, and what his errand was.
And for the present, he made the messenger no other answer but this, that the next morning
he would talke with him, and geve him audience. But *Philip* by this meanes got the advantage
of that whole night, and part of the next day, to gaine riddance of way in his journey, which was
the only thing he sought for. And toward the mountaines he tooke his flight, for that way he
with well the Romanes would not follow after, with an armie so heavie and charged as it was. M
The Consull by day breake, graunted the Pursivant a cessation of armes, and gave him his dis-
patch: but it was not long after that he was advertised how the enemy was gone: and not know-
ing which way to follow after, he passed some few dayes in foraging and purveying provision
all about the place where he lay encamped.

After this he marched to Strubera, and gathered together all the graine that was to be had
about

A about Pellagonia. From thence he went forward as farr as to Pluvina, and all this while knew
not for certeine into what quarter of the countrey the enemies were retired. *Philip* having first
set him downe and encamped before Bruana, and departed from thence by crosse and croo-
ked wayes, strucke a sodaine feare into the enemy, whereupon the Romanes dislodged from
Pluvina, and neere unto the river *Ospagus* pitched their pavilions. The king likewise rested
himselfe not farr from thence, and had cast a trench and rayed a rampiar along the banks
of the river, which the inhabitants call *Erigonus*. And after he was for certein advertised, that
the Romanes intended to goe to *Erduea*, he marched afore to seize upon the streights, and to
empeach the enemies, that they should not gaine the passage that lyeth as it were in a nar-
row gullet, barred and enclosed on each side. There hee raised in one place a rampier, and
B cast a trench in another; made barricadoes heere and there, partly by piling stones up on
heapes in steed of a wall, partly by felling of trees acrosse, according as either the ground
would geve leave, or the place afforded matter: And thus stopping up all the wayes by sun-
drie devises and meanes, hee made the place (to his thinking) both unpassable and imprena-
ble, which of it selfe by nature was hard enough and troublesome. The countrey all about
was for the most part Forrests, and full of wood, verie incommodious, especially for that
manner of battailons and ordinance of array, which the Macedonians call *Phalanx*: which
serveth them in small or no steed at all, unlesse with their long pikes they may make a palli-
sade, or hay (as it were) and oppose them before their shields: which they cannot well doe,
unlesse they have free scope and libertie of plaine and open ground. The Thracians also were
C foully troubled and combed with their speares named *Rhomphaea*, which were likewise of a
mightie length, and by reason thereof (catching as they did, and snarling within the boughes
and branches of trees that grew in their way every where about) hindered them verie much.
There remained the Cohort or band of the *Candiot*es, that seemed of some use for to be
employed. And yet the same also as it was able to discharge arrowes against both horse and
man, and to annoy them so long as they lay open and exposed to shot, if happily they offe-
red to charge; so they were not of strength sufficient to drive their shafts level, and to pierce thro-
ugh the Roman targets: for otherwise there was no part of the bodie offered it selfe unar-
med and naked for to aime at. And therefore so soone as they perceived that kind of shot to serve
them to little or no purpose, they caught up stones which lay all over the valley, and let them
D flie at the enemy. Which stones, as they light and beat upon their bucklers, kept a great clatte-
ring, and with the sound they made (rather than with any hurt besides) kept the Romanes for a
time from mounting up the banke. But the Romanes making no reckoning of these stones nei-
ther, partly by pavoises and target-fences over their heads, made way directly through the thic-
kest of their enemies; and partly by wheeling a little and fetching some compasse about, gained
the pitch of the hill, and were gotten up to the very top: from whence they drave the Macedo-
nians (all affrighted as they were) downe the hill, and chased them from their holds and guards:
and by reason they had much adoe to flie (the ground was so rough and uneven) most of them
were killed and cut in peeces. Thus the difficultie of the streights was overcome, and they
were possessed thereof, with farre lesse trouble and conflict than they looked for and made ac-
count of. Then they marched on forward as farr as to *Erduea*, where the Consull after he had
E put the fields all over to the wast, retired himselfe to *Elimæa*. From thence he forced *Orestides*,
and assailed the towne *Celerum*, situate as it were, in a demie-land: there is a lake that envi-
roneth the walls, and but one way by land that leadeth to the towne from the maine, and the same
very streight and narrow, in forme of a gullet. At the first when the towne was summoned, the
inhabitants trusting to the naturall strength of the place, kept their gates shut against the Con-
sull, and refused his summons. But after they saw once the ensignes displayed and marching against
them, when they perceived the enemies defended under a pavoise to approach close to the gate,
and the narrow streight and avenue afore said, beset with a band of them; before they would en-
counter & fight, they yielded themselves for very fear. From *Celerum* he marched on towards
F the *Dassaretians*, & wan by assault the cite *Pelium*. From thence he caried away the bondslaves,
with the rest of the pillage; but all persons whatsoever free borne, hee let goe at libertie without
paying ranfome. The towne he gave them againe, after hee had planted in it a strong garrison:
for it stood well, and in a verie good place, for to make rodes, and incursions into Macedonia.
Thus the Consull having raunged over the countrey of the enemies, brought his armie backe
Yyy iij through

through the peaceable parts into Apollonia, where he began first to make warre.

Now the Ætoliens, the Athamans, and Dardaniens, and many other warres rising sodainly at once, some from one place and some from another, had diverted and turned *Philip* a contrary way. Against the Dardaniens (as they returned out of Macedonia) he sent *Athenagoras* with the footmen lightly armed and appointed, and the greater part also of the horse, giving him in charge and direction to follow them hard at their heeles as they departed, and to play upon their backs, and cut off the raile of their reeward; to teach them against another time, not to be so hasty to come abroad with an armie againe. *Democritus* the Pretour of the Ætoliens (who in the Dict aforesaid held at Naupactum, perswaded to take a longer time for to consult about this warre) had in the next councell or parliament following, mooved the Ætoliens to enter into armes; namely upon the fame that was spread abroad of the horsemens fight before Ocolophus; and also upon the coming of the Dardaniens, and *Pleuratus* with the Illyrians into Macedony: besides the arrivall of the Romane fleet at Oream, and the generall voice and bruit that went, how Macedonia should shortly be assailed also by sea, over and above so many nations that from all parts about were come already by land. These motives regained *Democritus* & the Ætoliens to friend the Romanes againe. Who joyning unto them *Aminander* the king of the Athamans, went forth together for to besiege Cercinium. They within the towne had shut their gates, whether by constraint or willingly of themselves, it was not knowne: for they had the kings garrison within among them. However it was, within few daies Cercinium was taken and burnt. As many as remained alive after that great defeature, as well bond as free one with another, were with the rest of the pillage carried away. This fearefull example caused all the people inhabiting about the marish of Boebe, to abandon their cities, and to retire themselves for securitie into the mountaines. The Ætoliens for want of rich prey and boocie (which they could not find there) turned from them and marched toward Perthebia. In that quarter they woon by force the citie Cyretie, & cruelly put it to the ransack. The inhabitants of Malloea surrendered of themselves without compulsion, and were received into protection as allies. Out of Perthebia *Aminander* was of advice and desirous to march against Gomphos, by reason that the countrey of Athamania bordered so neere upon that citie, and seemed easie to be forced without much trouble. But the Ætoliens fingers tickled and itched againe to be doing with the rich and fertile fields of Thessalie, and thither went they to raise booties and seeke pillage. *Aminander* followed still for companie, albeit he liked well neither of these fashions of the Ætoliens thus outrageously to make rodes and to spoile every where; nor of their manner of encamping at adventure, in what places soever they chanced to come, without all discretion, regard, and care of fortifying and guarding the armie. Fearing therefore least their inconsiderate rashnes and supine negligence, might be an occasion that he or his should come to a shrewd turne, and incurre some damage, tpyed his time; and seeing them to incampe in a plaine neere to the citie Phrecadum, he tooke a little hill little above halfe a mile off, where both he and his, might with the helpe of any small guard, lie in securitie. Now when as the Ætoliens seemed in manner to have forgotten that they were in the enemies countrey, but that they drave some booties: whiles they were some of them wandring and stragling, disbanded and halfe armed, others within their campe without any *corps du guard*, swilling and sleeping all night and day long, and made no difference of the times, *Philip* came upon them before they looked for him. And it being once known by the report of some that fled out of the fields in great affright, that he approached, then *Democritus* and the rest of the captaines began to quake for feare. Now was it about noone tide of the day, at what time as most of them having taken their full lode of wine and viands, lay along fast asleepe. Then they fell to awake and raise one another, and to give the alarme: anon they sent out every way to call in those that were preading abroad in the fields. So much they were astonied, that for hast many of the horsemen went forth without their swords, and most of them forgot to put on their cuiraces. Thus being led out in post hast, and hardly in all (foot and horse together) able to make up the number of fixe hundred, they light upon the kings Caval-
lerie, for number, armour, and courage much better than themselves. And therefore at the first push were discomfited: for before they were well entered into skirmish, they fled shamefully away toward their campe. Some of them came short thither, and were either slaine or taken prisoners, even as many as the kings horsemen overtooke, and gat betweene them and their other companies that fled. *Philip* when he saw his men approach neere unto their campe, com-
maunded

A maunded to sound the retreat: for both horse and man was wearie, not so much with fight as with their long journey and the exceeding speed that they made. Whereupon hee gave commaundement, that the horsemen by troups, and the light armed footmen by their companies and squadrons should water their horses one after another, and go to their dinner and repast. Others he kept still in armour for a guard attending the regiment of the footmen, that came but slowly forward, by reason they were heavily armed at all peeces; who being come, they also were enjoined to pitch downe their ensignes, and lay their weapons before them, and to take a short bait and hasty pittance, sending two or three at the most out of every band for to water the horses. All this while the horsemen, together with the light armed souldiours, stood well appointed and in readinesse, if happily the enemy would have given any attempt.

B The Ætoliens bestowed armed men all about the gates and the rampier, intending to guard and defend their strength and fortifications, for now by this time they also that were scattered over the fields, had retired themselves into the campe. And so long as they beheld the enemies to keepe quiet, and not stirre, and were themselves in a sure hold, they made their bravadoes, and were very lustie: but after that the ensignes of the Macedonians began to advance forward, and march in order of battell well appointed, close unto their trench; all at once they abandoned their guards and quarters, and ran out at the backe part of their campe, and fled to the foresaid hill, where the Athamaniens were encamped. Many of the Ætoliens were likewise in this hasty flight killed or taken prisoners. *Philip* made no doubt, but that the Athamaniens also might have been driven from their hold, if there had beene day ynough behind: but the day being spent al-
readie first in the skirmish, and afterward in the ransacking of their campe, he set him downe upon the next plaine, hard at the foot of the hill aforesaid, intending very early the next morning to assaile the enemy. The Ætoliens skared as much now, as they were before when they quit their owne campe, fled scattering away the night following. Here *Aminander* stood them in very good stead, by whose good guidance and direction, the Athamaniens being skilful in the coasts of the countrey, conducted them into Ætolia, over the high mountaines, whereas the enemies followed after them in blind and unknowne by-waies. Some few of them happened in this confused and scattered flight to loose their way, and stumble upon the Macedonian horsemen, whom *Philip* by day light, had sent to cut off the taile of the enemies, so soone as he perceived the hill abandoned. About the very same time, *Athenagoras* a capraine under the king, overtooke the Dardaniens as they returned into their countrey, and at the first put their arrierward in disaray. But afterwards the Dardaniens turned head againe, & embattelled themselves: so they fought on even hand, & nothing was woon nor lost on any side. The Dardaniens began not so soone to advance forward and march on againe, but the kings power, with their horsemen and light armed souldiours came upon them afresh, and put them to great trouble. For they had no such meanes of helpe, and were besides surcharged with heaveie armour, and withall, the place gave great advantage to those of the kings part. Very few were slaine, more wounded, none at all taken prisoners: for the manner of the Dardaniens, is not to breake out of their ranks and arraies for a litle, and upon small occasions; but as they fight close, so they retire together, and part not. Thus *Philip* having restrained these 2 nations, by 2 brave exploits, which were as happily performed as bravely enterprised, recovered the losses againe, by him received in the Romane warre. There happened besides, another occurrent, which diminished the number of his enemies the Ætoliens. For *Scopas*, one of the cheefe noblemen of that nation, being sent from Alexandria by king *Ptolomeus*, with a mightie masse of gold, caried away with him into Ægypt fixe thousand footmen, & certaine horsemen, waged for mony to serve. Neither had he left behind him any of the floure and youth of Ætolia, if *Democritus* had not chastised and rebuked them, and so by that means kept some of them at home; making remonstrances unto them, one while of the warre that was toward, and another while of the desolation which was like to ensue thereupon. But whether he did this upon a good zeale and care that he had of his countrey, or only to crosse *Scopas*, because he had not fed him well with rich rewards and fat presents, it is not known. And thus much concerning the affaires passed betweene *Philip* and the Romanes for that summer.

The Romane fleet having in the beginning of the same summer committed to sea from Corcyra, together with the lieutenant *An. Apusius* passed beyond the point of the cape Malca, and joined with king *Attalus*, neere Scyllaum in the territorie of Hermione. Then the whole citie and State of Athens, upon hope of present aid and succour, brake out and poured forth at once
all

all the hatred and malice which they had conceived against *Philip*, and which a long time for-
 C very feare they had held in, and therefore kept themselves in good and reasonable tearmes with
 him. Now in this citie there never want prompt and readie tongues to stirre up and provoke the
 common people to a commotion. And as in all free States generally such kind of men are en-
 tertained and borne out by the favor of the multitude, so in Athens especially, where eloquence
 is in most request, and beareth greatest sway. Presently therfore an Act was put up and proposed
 unto the common people, and by them graunted and confirmed, That all the Statues and ima-
 ges of king *Philip*, together with their titles and stiles, likewise of all his progenitors and prede-
 cessors, as well men as women, should be defaced, pulled downe, and destroyed. *Item*, That all the
 festivall daies, the sacrifices and sacrificers, which had been instituted and ordained for the honor
 of him, should bee profaned and unhallowed againe. *Item*, That the very places, wherein ought
 H had been erected, or inscriptions graven to his honour, should be held as detestable and accur-
 sed: and that from thenceforward, it might not bee lawfull to set up there any of those things
 that ought to stand, and be dedicated in a pure and cleane place. *Item*, That the publicke priests
 of the citie, in all their prayers, and so often as they prayed for the good estate of the people of
 Athens and their allies, for the preservation of their armies and armadaes; should detest and
 curse by name king *Philip*, his children and realme, his forces both by land and sea, with all the
 race and name of the Macedonian nation. Moreover, it ran on in the decree, That if any man
 from that time forward, would preferre and propound any thing that might tend to the disgrace
 and infamie of *Philip*, the whole people of Athens should approve and allow the same what-
 soever, and make an act thereof. Contrariwise, if any person say or doe any thing for his ho-
 I nour, or to impeach and checke his dishonour, whosoever should happen to kill the said partie,
 he should be deemed and reputed, that he had killed him justly and lawfully. Finally, this branch
 was comprised within the decree, That all things ordained in times past against *Pissistratus* his
 line and progenie, should bee observed and stand in force against *Philip*. Thus verily warned the
 Athenians against *Philip* with letters and words: wherein they are right valiant, and to say truth,
 good at nothing els. But *Attalus* and the Romans, having from *Hermionæ* shaped their course
 for *Pyreæum*, arrived there. And after they had sojourned some few daies in Athens, & were lo-
 den with a number of decrees, wherein the Athenians recounted the praises and commendati-
 ons of their allies beyond all measure, like as they had before exceeded in shewing their malice
 against their enemy: they set saile from *Pyreæum* to *Andros*. Where, riding at anker in the bay
 K called *Gaureleon*, they sent certaine men to sound the minds of the inhabitants, Whether they
 would chuse to yeeld the towne willingly, or rather abide the hazard of a forcible assault. Who
 answered againe, that the kings garrison being possessed of the castle, and keeping it for *Philip*,
 they were not their owne maisters. Whereupon the king and the Roman lieutenant set their for-
 ces on land, and with all preparation of engines & artillerie fit for an assault, approached the citie
 divers waies. The Roman standards and their armes, not seen before in those parts, the resolute
 courage also of the souldiours, who so lustily and nimbly came neere to skale the walls, terrified
 and amased the Greekes, much more than any thing els. Therefore immediately they fled into
 the castle, and the enemies were LL. of the citie. Now, after they had for two daies space held out
 in the fortresse, presuming more upon the strength of the place, than the force of their armour
 and weapons; they and the garrison together, compounded upon the third day to quit the place,
 so they might be brought with a convoy to *Delium*, a towne in *Boeotia*, and every man to have
 one single suite of apparell. Then the Romanes leaving the bare citie unto king *Attalus*, ran-
 sacked it themselves, and tooke away with them all the pillage and ornaments that beautified the
 same. And to the end, that the Isle should not lie wast and desart, *Attalus* perswaded the Macedo-
 nians in manner all, and certaine also of the *Andrians*, there to remain. Afterwards, they also who
 by composition were transported to *Delium*, were by the faire promises of the king drawn away
 from thence: which they gave eare & credit unto the sooner, for the love of their native country,
 the misse whereof they might hardly brooke. From *Andros* they crossed to *Cythus*. There they
 spent certaine daies in assaulting the citie, to no purpose: and seeing the gaines would hardly
 M quit their paines, they departed from thence. Neere unto *Prasæ* (which is a place of *Attica* with-
 in the maine) there joined unto the Roman fleet twentie pinnasses of the *Issæans*, who were sent
 to rob & spoile the territorie of the *Carystians*: the rest of the fleet remained at *Cerestum*, a no-
 ble rode and port of *Euboea*, untill such time as the *Issæi* were returned from *Carystum*. Then all
 together

A together they made saile, & passing the mids of the maine sea, they fell with the isle of *Icus*, neer
 unto *Scyrus*. There they were staied for certaine daies, by reason of the raging Northwind: which
 being once laid and the sea calme againe, they passed to *Scythos*, a citie lately pill'd & ran-
 sacked by *K. Philip*. The soldiers raunged over the cuntry, and brought corn with them to their ships,
 and whatsoever else was fit for mans food. Other bootie neither was there any, nor deserved had
 the Greekes to be spoiled at their hands. Thence they bent their course for *Calandrea*; & first they
 rode at anker neer unto *Mendis*, a village situate by the sea side, & belonging to that State. From
 whence having sailed beyond the cape, and desirous to come about with their vessels for to ap-
 proch the verie walles of the citie, there arose a tempest and sodaine ghust; wherein they had
 like to have bene cast away: but scattered they were asunder; and having for the most part lost
 B the tackling of their ships, they escaped with much adoe to land. This tempest at sea, was also
 a fore-token presaging unto them, that they were to follow the warre by land, and to give over
 sea service. For when they had brought all their ships together and set their men a shore, they
 assailed the towne: but they had the repulse with many a bloudie blow besides (for there was
 within, a strong garison of the kings) whereupon they gave over their enterprise, returned backe,
 and sailed over to *Canastæum* a citie of *Pallæne*. And having doubled the point of *Torona*, they
 set their course for *Acanthus*. There at first they forraied the territorie; then forced the towne, and
 ran-acked it. And for that their ships had their fulfraught & charge of pillage, they sailed no far-
 ther forward, but returned from whence they came to *Scyathus*, and from thence to *Eubæa*:
 where leaving behind them their maine navie, they put in with ten ships lightly appointed,
 C to the Bay or gulf of *Malca*, for to parley with the *Ætolians* about the whole counse and mana-
 ging of the warres. The chiefe of this embassage sent from the State, was one *Sipyrrhicus* an
Ætolian, who came to *Heraclea* for to treat and conferre about these affaires together with
 the king and the Roman Lieutenant. They demanded of *Attalus* by vertue of the accord
 and agreement before made, to furnish them with a thousand souldiours: for so many ought
 hee by right to set out and mainteine, whensoever they were to wage warre against *Philip*. But
 this demand was denied to the *Ætolians*; in regard that aforetime they likewise thought
 much to make a rode to spoile Macedonia, at what time as *Philip* kept foule worke about *Per-
 garius*, burning all edifices before him, as well sacred as prophane, when they mought have
 drawne him perforce from thence into his owne realme to looke unto his proper affaires there.
 D Thus the *Ætolians* were dismissed with more hope than helpe: for the Romanes fed them on-
 ly with faire words, and large promises of all things. Then *Apustius* with king *Attalus* returned
 to the fleet.

After this they laid their heads together, and began to consult about the siege and assault of
 Oream. A strong citie this was both in regard of the walls, and also of a good garison, by reason
 that heretofore it had ben once assailed. Now there were 20 saile of *Rhodian* ships all close co-
 vered with hatches and decks, which under the conduct of captaine *Agessimbratus*, had joynd
 with the fleet of *Attalus* and the Romanes, after the winning and conquest of *Andros*. These
 ships they sent to lye in the Bay of *Zelasium*, (a promontorie or cape above the citie *Deme-
 trias*, lying very conveniently over against *Isthmia*) for this intent, that if the Macedonian ships
 E should come abroad from thence, they might be readie in gard to make saile against them.
Heracles an admirall for king *Philip*, lay there at rode with the navie, attending rather some en-
 terprise by opportunitie and vantage of the enemies negligence, than by plaine and open force.
 The Romanes and *Attalus* in the meane time planted their ordinance against *Oream* at divers
 parts. The Romanes at the castle side that standeth upon the sea: The king from the vale that
 lieth betwene two forts, where as the citie is enclosed also with a wall. And as they assailed in
 sundrie places; so their manner of assailing was much different, and their engines divers. The Ro-
 manes assayed to approach the wall with tortoisies, pavoises and mantlers, and to shake it with
 the Ram: They of the kings part used Crossebows, Balists, Catapults, and all manner of engines to
 shoot forth quarels and darts, yea and to levell and weigh mightie stones of exceeding great
 F weight. They undermined also: and in summe, they practised all meanes which they saw by ex-
 perience did good during the former assault and siege. But the Macedonians were not only
 more in number than the time before to defend the citie, but also of better courage and reso-
 lution: by reason that the king had rebuked them sharply for their fault passed: and they re-
 membered well both his menaces, and also his promises for the time to come: in so much as the
 assai-

assailants had small hope to win the towne in hast. Meane while the Romane Lieutenant, suppo-
 sing that some other exploit might be performed, leaving a sufficient number (as he thought) for
 the finishing of the fabricks begun, and other engins of assault, put over to the next places of the
 continent: where he surprisid on a fodaine Larissa (not that noble and renowned citie in The-
 salie, but another, which they call Cremaste) and woon it, all but the fortresse. *Attalus* in like
 sort tooke *Ægeleon*, fearing nothing lesse than such an accident from them that were busie in
 besieging another towne. By this time, as the engins and other fabricks without *Oreum* were
 at the point of finishing, and readie to performe the batterie for which they were made: so the
 garison within was overtoiled with continuall paine and travaile, spent with watching night and
 day, and faint with many a grievous wound. Moreover, part of the wall, shaken underneath with
 a butt and push of the Ram, was already fallen downe in sundrie places, in so much as the Ro-
 manes entred by night at the open breaches, and all the way above the Key, and so were posses-
 sed of the castle. *Attalus* likewise by the breake of day, after he saw the banner reared upon the
 fortresse, and the signall which the Romanes put forth, entred the citie; for now the walls in
 many places lay along. The garison and the townesmen fled to a second citadell that they had,
 from whence alter two dayes they yeilded. The citie was the kings lot: the bodies of the priso-
 ners, were the Romanes share. Now drew the sunne neere unto the *Æquinoctiall* line in Au-
 tumne, at what time the Euboean gulf called *Coela* is dangerous, and not well trusted of mari-
 ners. Therefore being desirous to be gone into a place of safe retreat, before the troublesome
 winter weather overtooke them, they turned their course and made head to *Pyræum*, from
 whence they came: where *Apollonius* leaving behind him thirtie ships, set a compasse about the
 cape of *Malca*, and sailed to *Corcyra*. But the king stayed still so long as the festivall dayes of
Ceres continued, because he would be present at the celebration of those solemnities. After the
 feast ended, himselfe likewise retired into Asia: but first he sent *Agemimbron* and the Rhodians
 home againe. These were the affaires and exploits performed this summer by sea and land, by
 the Romane Consull and the Lieutenant generall, with the aid of king *Attalus* and the Rho-
 dians, against king *Philip* and his allies.

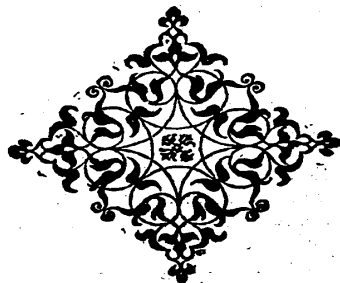
The other Consull *C. Aurelius* being come into his province when the warre was brought to
 an end, could not smoulder and conceale his anger conceived against the Pretour for fighting
 in his absence. When he had taken order therefore to send him into Etruria, himselfe with the
 legions invaded the country of the enemies: where by way of robbing and spoiling he warred
 so as he got more prey then praise. But *L. Furius*, seeing there was little to do in Etruria, and
 withall desirous rather than his life of a triumph over the Gaules (which he supposed to obtaine
 with more ease, whiles the Consull was absent, who was both angrie with him, and also envied at
 him) arrived at Rome before any man looked for him, and assembled the Senate in the temple
 of *Bellona*. Where, after he had declared what acts he had achieved, he requested that he
 might be permitted to ride into the citie with triumph. In great credit and account he was
 with many of the Senatours, both for his noble and worthie deeds, in which regard they honou-
 red him: and also for a speciall favour and love, in which respect they affected him. But the
 more auncient and elder Senatours denied him triumph, as well for that he had warred with
 the armie of another, as also because he had abandoned his owne province and government,
 upon a greedie desire to catch a triumph, by waiting his opportunitie, and taking advantage:
 a thing not warrantable by any former precedent or example. And as many of them as had
 bene Consuls laid moreover, That above all things he ought to attend upon the Consull his re-
 turne. For well might he (say they) being encamped neere unto the citie, have defended and
 guarded the Colonie only, and so have drawn the time out untill his coming, and never
 needed to have fought a set battaile for the matter. And although the Pretour have omitted
 so to do, yet ought not the Senate to follow his example, but expect the Consull. When as
 therefore they shall have heard the Consull and Pretour discoursing and arguing the matter
 both together face to face, then they should be able to judge better and more soundly of the
 cause. A great part of the house was of opinion that they ought to looke unto nothing els but
 the good service done, and whether he were lawfully called thereunto, as a magistrate of him-
 selfe, to manage his affaires by his proper conduct and the guidance of his owne fortune. For,
 of the two Colonies (say they) which were oppossed as two forts and bulwarks to restrain the
 fodaine impressions and tumults of the French; when the one was sacked and burnt, and the
 same

A same fire like to leape from it to the other so neere, (as from house to house that joyne toge-
 ther) what could the Pretour have done otherwise in that case? For if there might be nothing
 attempted without the Consull, it must needs follow, that either the Senate did amisse in ge-
 ving the Pretour the charge of an armie (for if their will was that the warre should be mana-
 ged not by the Pretours armie, but by the Consuls, they might have limited it in the Commis-
 sion by speciall words, expressly forbidding the service to be done by the Pretour, but onely
 by the Consull) or else the Consull hath committed a fault, who having commaunded the
 armie to go out of Tuskane into Fraunce, came not himselfe in person to *Ariminum* to en-
 counter the enemy, and be present in that warre, which without him might not be lawfully
 fought. Over and besides, the occasions and seasons of warre attend no stayes, and tarie for no
 politick delayes of Generals. And otherwhiles, fight a man must, not because he is willing there-
 to, but because his enemy puts him to it. To conclude, the very battaile it selfe, and the hap-
 pie issue thereof, ought onely to be considered and regarded. The enemies are defeated and
 slaine; their camp taken and ransacked; the siege raised from the one Colonie, and it preserved;
 the captives of the other recovered and restored to their friends; and to be brieve, in one battaile
 the quarell is decided, and the warre finished. And not onely men have rejoiced for this victo-
 rie, but also there have bene processions for three dayes space to the honor of the immortal
 gods: For that *Lu. Furius* hath managed the COMMONWEALE WELL AND
 HAPPILY, AND NOT ILL AND RASHLY. Finally, these French warres fall by a fatall destenie
 to the house and race of the *Furij*. By these and such like remonstrances alleaged by himselfe
 C and his friends, the majestie of the Consull absent was overweighed with the favour borne
 to the Pretour present. And so in a frequent assembly of Senatours, a decree was graunted, That
L. Furius should ride in triumph. Thus triumphed over the Gaules *L. Furius* Pretour, whiles he
 was in office. He brought into the common treasure 320000 *Asses*, 170000 pound weight of
 silver. But neither were there any prisoners led captives in shew, nor spoiles caried in pomp be-
 fore his chariot, nor yet his souldiers followed after. So as it appeared, that all other things be-
 sides victorie alone, pertained properly to the Consull.

After this were the plaies exhibited with great magnificence, by *P. Cornel. Scipio*, which hee
 had vowed in Affricke, during his Consulship. Also there passed an order for the lands of his
 souldiours; That for so long as each one had served in Spaine or Affricke, hee should have two
 D acres for every yere: and that these lands should be set out and assigned unto them by ten De-
 centvirs for the purpose deputed. Then were certaine Triumvirs created for to supply and make
 up the number of Romane inhabitants in *Venusia*, by reason that during the time of *Annibal*
 his warre, the strength of that colonie was much enfeebled and impaired. *C. Terentius Varro*,
T. Quintus Flaminius, and *P. Cornelius Scipio* the sonne of *Cneius*, enrolled new coloners to in-
 habite *Venusia*.

The same yeece *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, who governed Spaine as Proconsull, discomfited a
 great host of the enemies in the country of the *Sederanes*. In which battaile, by report, were
 slaine 15000 Spaniards, and 78 militarie ensignes taken. *C. Aurelius* the Consull, when hee was
 returned out of his province to Rome against the solemn election of magistrates, complained,
 E nor as men made reckoning he would have done. That the Senate expected not for his com-
 ming, nor that the Consull was not permitted to debate the matter with the Pretour) but found
 himselfe grieved, That the Senate had decreed him triumph so, as the partie onely was suffered to
 speake who was to triumph, and none of them might be heard who were present at the battaile.
 And whereas our forefathers ordained, that lieutenants, colonels, marshals, and centurians, &c
 yea, and in one word, the souldiours should be at a triumph; for this end and purpose, that the
 truth might appeare to the world, of all things achieved by him unto whom so great honor
 was to be done: Was there any one (quoth he) of all that armie which fought with the Gaules,
 I say not a souldier, but so much as a lackey or horseboy following the campe, of whom the Se-
 nate might enquire, whether the Pretour spake true or false? This done and said, he published
 F the day of assembly for the election above said: wherein were created Consuls *L. Cornelius Len-
 tulus*, and *P. Villius Tappulus*. After them were Pretors chosen *L. Quintus Flaminius*, *L. Valerius
 Flaccus*, *L. Villius Tappulus*, and *C. Bibius Pampilius*. Graine and other victuals that yeece were
 cheape. Great store of corne was brought out of Affricke, which the *Ædiles* of the chaire distri-
 buted to the people, at two *Asses* a Modius. They also set forth the Roman games and pastimes
 right

right sumptuously; yea and represented them one day more than ordinarie, Moreover, of the
 G
 which raised by fines and forfeitures, they made seven brassen statues, which they set up in the
 measure house of the city. The Plebeian plaies likewise were thrice renewed all over by the *Ædiles*
 of the commons *L. Terentius Mafaliota*, and *C. Sebius Pamphilus* Pretour elect. Finally, the fu-
 neral games that yeere were four daies together exhibited in the common place of the citie,
 occasioned by the death of *M. Valerius Levinus*: and celebrated they were by his two sonnes
P. and *M.* who also shewed unto the people a brave spectacle of fencers at the sharpe: wherein
 there were five and twentie couples that entred the lists & performed combat. *M. Aurelius Cotta*
 one of the Decemvirs, that yeer departed this life; and in his place *M. Acilius Glabrio* was sub-
 ordained. In the solemne assembly for electing *Ædiles* of the chaire, it chaunced that those two
 which were chosen, might not immediatly enter into office: for *C. Cornelius Cethegus* was crea- H
 ted in his absence, while he governed the province of Spaine. And *C. Valerius Flaccus* who was
 present at his owne election, might not be sworne to maintaine the lawes, because hee was the
 Flamin or priett of *Jupiter*. For lawfull it was not for any magistrate to exercise his place above
 five daies, untill he were sworne to the lawes. Then *Flaccus* preferred a petition that he might
 be dispensed with: wherupon the Senat ordained, That if the *Ædile* would find one to sweare in
 his name at the good pleasure and discretion of the Consuls, then the Consuls (if they thought
 it meet) should deale with the Tribunes of the Commons, to propound it unto the people
 that it might passe under their graunt. So *L. Valerius Flaccus* (the Pretour elect for the yeere
 following) was presented to take the oath for his brother. Then the Tribunes put it to a canvass
 before the people, and they enacted, That the oath of his brother should be of the same validitie
 as if the *Ædile* himselfe had taken it in his own person. Concerning the other *Ædiles* also, there
 passed an act of the commons. For when the Tribunes propofed unto the people, Which two
 they would have to go into Spaine as *LL.* deputies, with commaund over the armies; to the
 end, that *C. Cornelius* the *Ædile* of the chaire might come home to beare his office,
 and *L. Manlius* also after so many yeeres, depart out of his province: the
 people ordained, that *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Ster-*
tinus should have the conduct and government
 in Spaine, in qualitie and title of
 Proconsuls.



THE

THE XXXII. BOOKE OF THE
 HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS
 of Padua, from the foundation of the
 Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the two and thirtieth Booke.



Any strange and prodigious sights (as they were reported from divers countries) are here re-
 lated and set downe: among which, this is one, that in Macedonia there was a bay nee
 sprung up of it selfe in the ponne of a galley. *T. Quintius Flaminius* the Consull fought
 fortunately against *Philip* in the heights of *Epirus*: and having put him to flight, hee
 compelled him to retorne into his owne kingdom. Himselfe, with the assistance of the *Æto-*
lians and *Atbamans*, infested sore and plagued *Thessalie*, which bordereth upon *Macedo-*
nie. *L. Quintius Flaminius* the Consull his brother, by the aid of king *Attalus* and the
Rhodiens, made conquest by war at sea, of *Eubœa* and all the sea coast. The *Achai* were re-
 ceived into amitie. The conspiracie of slaves, that plotted to deliver and set at large the
 hostages of the *Carthaginians*, was detected and took no effect. The number of Pretours was increased to sixe. The Con-
 sull *Cornelius Cethegus* defeated the *French Insulbrians* in battaile. League and amitie was concluded betwene the Ro-
 mans and the *Lacedemonians*, with their tyrant *Nabis*. Over and besides, there is contained in this booke, the winning
 of many cities in *Macedonie*.



When the Consuls and Pretors were entred into office upon the * Ides of March, * 15 of March.
 they cast lots for the government of the provinces. To *L. Lentulus*, fell *Italic*,
 and to *P. Villius*, *Macedonie*. As for the Pretours, *L. Quintius* had the juris-
 diction of the citie of Rome, & *C. Babius* the government of *Ariminum*. *L. Va-*
lerius ruled *Sicilie*, and *L. Villius* his lot was to commaund *Sardinia*. *Lentu-*
lus the Consull had order given him to levie new legions, and *Villius* to re-
 ceive the armie of *P. Sulpitius*, with commission and licence to take up as many souldiers as hee
 thought good himselfe to furnish the same with a fresh supply. Those legions which *C. Aurelius*
 Consull had in charge, were assigned over to *Babius* the Pretour, with condition to keepe them
 with him, untill the Consull were arrived in Fraunce with a new armie; and so soone as hee
 came, to discharge and dismiss all the souldiours home to their houses except 5000 allies:
 E for as much as this number was thought sufficient to governe the province about *Ariminum*.
 The Pretours of the former yeere continued still Commanders of their armies. *Cn. Sergius*
 was enjoined to see and take order, that certaine lands should be set out for those souldiers who
 had served many yeeres together in Spaine, *Sicilie*, and *Sardinia*. And *Q. Ariminius* had in
 charge to goe through with that inquisition of certaine conspiratours and traitours in the *Bru-*
tians countrie, upon which hee had sitten already, as Pretour with great fidelitie and diligence;
 and also to send unto *Locri* for to receive due punishment of those prisoners, whom being at-
 tainted and convicted of sacrilege, hee had sent bound to Rome. And finally, to cause
 all the treasure taken out of the temple of *Proserpina*, to bee restored thither againe, with an
 over-encrease, to make satisfaction and to raise out the wicked part committed. The Laun feasts
 and holydaies were solemnised againe by vertue of an ordinance of the bishops, upon this oc-
 casion, That certaine embassadors from *Ardea*, complained in the Senat, how they had not their
 ordinarie allowance of flesh at the Latine feasts aforesaid in the mount *Alba*, according to the
 old custome. Newes came from *Suessa*, that two of their citie gates, and all the wall between, was
 smitten with lightning. Messengers also from *Formia* reported, that their temple of *Jupiter*
 was

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was

was likewise blasted. Moreover, they of Ostia brought word of the semblable mischance with G them in the church of *Iupiter*. And from Velitrae tidings came of the like mishap, fallen upon the temples of *Apollo* and *Sangus*. And that in the temple of *Hercules* there sprung up a bush of haire. Letters came also from *Q. Minutius* the Propetour out of the Brutians country, that there was a colt toled with five feet, and three chickens hatched with three feet apeece. After all this, *P. Sulpitius* the Propetor sent letters from out of Macedonia, containing among other matters this newes, that there was a lawrell tree grew of it selfe in the poupe of a galley.

The Senate in regard of all the former prodigious sights, ordained, that the Consull should sacrifice greater beasts, unto what gods hee thought good: but about this last rehearsed, the Soothsayers that prie into beasts inwards, were sent for into the Senate house; and by the direction of their answer, an edict went forth, That the people should goe in procession, and make supplications one day, and in all temples and alters of the gods, there was sacrifice celebrated with great devotion.

The Carthaginians this yeere came to Rome with the first payment of the tribute imposed upon them: and for as much as the treasurers & receivers of the citie made report, that the silver was not good and lawfull, and being brought to the triall, was found too light by one fourth part washed away, those Carthaginians were constrained to take up money of the bankers of Rome, and to make good the defect and losse of the silver above said. They put up a petition besides unto the Senate, that it might stand with their good pleasure to redeliver now their hostages. Whereupon an hundred of them were rendered backe, and good hope there was of the rest, if so be they continued loial and fast in their allegiance. And when they made a farther request in behalfe of those hostages which were not delivered, that they might be transported from *Notba* (where they were not to their good liking and ease) to some other place, graunted it was, that they might remoove to *Signia* and *Ferentinum*. In like sort, the *Gaditanes* made humble suite, and obtained this libertie, that there should not be sent from the Romanes a captain to govern *Gades*, any thing to the contrarie, in their covenant (concluded with *L. Martius Septimius*, when they yeelded themselves under the subjection of the Romanes) notwithstanding. Moreover, for as much as the embassadours of *Narnia* made complaint, that they had not their full number of inhabitants, and that there were certain straungers entermingled among them, not of their own nation, who bare themselves as Coloners; therefore *L. Cornelius* the Consull was commaunded to create three Deputies or Commissioners, called *Triumvirs*, for to reforme this disorder. And chosen there were for this purpose, *Publius* & *Sestius Aelius*, who had both of them the surname of *Patris*, and *C. Cornelius Lentulus*. This that was graunted to them of *Narnia*, was denied to the embassadours of *Cosla*, who likewise requested that the number of their inhabitants might be increased.

The affaires thus finished at Rome that there were to be done, the Consuls went into their severall provinces. *P. Villius* so soone as he was arrived in Macedonia, was welcommed at his first comming with a dangerous mutinie of the souldiours, which long afore being kindled, was not well quenched at the first beginning. These were those thousand, which after the deaturation of *Anniball*, were sent out of *Affricke* into *Sicilie*, and from thence, a yeere after almost, transported into Macedonia for voluntarie souldiours; but they themselves stood stoutly to it, that it was no voluntarie act of theirs, but that they were shipped by their Colonels & Tribunes full against their wils. And howsoever it was, whether they served willingly or unwillingly, it was but meet and good reason, that the time of their souldierie should run out, and their service have an end at length. Alledging, that for these many yeers they had not seen Italie, that they waxed old men under their harness, having borne armes in *Sicilie*, in *Affricke*, and in Macedonia; that with toile and travell so tedious, they were weak and feeble, and after so many wounds and hurts received, they had no more blood to loose. The Consull made them answer, that their cause was good and reasonable, but marred in the handling; and meet he thought it, that they should bee dismissed, if they could have requested in modest terms: but neither it, nor any cause els whatsoever was warrantable to make a mutinie and sedition. Therefore, if they could bee content to keepe to their colours, and bee at commaund as loial souldiours, hee would in their behalfe write his letters unto the Senate, as touching their conge and dismissal: for bee they well assured, that they shall get more by sober and gentle behaviour, than by any such stubborne, froward, and wilfull demeanure.

At

A At the same time *Philip* assailed the citie of *Thaumaci* with terraces and mantelets in all forcible manner, so that he was now at the point to batter and shake the wall with the ram. But the sodaine arrivall of the *Ætolians* enforced him to surcease his enterprife; who by the conduct of *Archidamus* having passed through the mids of the Macedonian guards, and entered the towne, never ceased day nor night to make sallies forth, one while upon their standing watch, otherwhils upon their fabricks & engines. The naturall situation of the place yeelded them good helpe and vantage: for the towne of *Thaumaci* is seated on high to a mans thinking as he goeth from *Pylæ* and the gulf of *Malea* by the way of *Lamia*, & sheweth it selfe aloft, seeming to overlooke and command the streight passage of the forrests called *Cœle*. Again, when one travaileth and passeth over the craggie rough places, and the crooked waies entangled with so many windings and turnings in the vallies of *Thessalie*, & is approached once neer to the citie, all on a sodain he may discover and discern before him a mightie large and open plain, as it were a wide and vast sea, so as aman shall have much adoe to reach with his eye so farre as these downes lye out everie way under him, and see all over them. And hereupon, by reason of this strange and marvailous prospect, the citie is called **Thaumaci*. Over and besides that, the high ground affourdeth it security, it standeth also upon a huge rocke; divided into divers crags and broken cliffes. These difficulties forced *Philip* to give over his attempt, and namely, when he considered and weighed withall, that the towne it selfe when it was woon, would not quit the painefull labour, and pay for the danger about it. Besides, the winter was now at hand, when hee departed from thence, and reined his forces into Macedonia, there to harbor. Where, when all others, during the time that they could catch any repose and rest, refreshed their spirits and bodies with some recreations and sports; *Philip* onely, how much respit soever hee had, either of intermission or remission from continuall labour of marching in journey, & fighting in battell; so much more trouble he had in his mind, whiles he coured & discoursed with himselfe, what the total & finall issue might be of this warre: whiles he stood not onely in feare of the enemies, which persecuted him by sea and land, but also in doubt, as well of the hearts of his allies, as of the affections of his own subjects: least the one in hope of the Romanes friendship should revolt, and the other (even the Macedonians themselves) desire novelties, and long for a change. Therefore hee addressed his embassadours into *Achaëa*, both to exact an oth of the *Achaëans* for their allegiance (for they had capitulated in the accord and agreement made, yeerely to sweare fealtie unto *Philip*) and also to deliver into their hands, *Orchomenus*, *Herea*, & *Triphylia*. And when they demaunded also *Aliphera*, the embassadours answered, that the citie never pertained to *Triphylia*, but that of right it ought to bee restored unto *Philip*: as being one of them, which in the generall counsell and assembly of the *Arcadians*, were assigned and set out for the building of *Megalopolis*. And thus verily he entertained firme alliance with the *Achaëans*. As for the Macedonians he gained their hearts unto him, by occasion of *Heractides*: for seeing that by meanes of him he incurred their exceeding ill will and hard conceit, and that he was charged with many greivous crimes, he cast him in prison, to gratifie his owne subjects: whereat the people took great joy, and hearts content. Then made he preparation for war, with as earnest endeavor, as at any time before: he exercised as well the Macedonians as mercenarie souldiours in pay, namely, to wear their armor, and handle their weapons; and in the very prime of spring, he sent all his forraigne aids and light armed souldiours, under the leading of *Athenagoras* into *Chazonia* by the way of *Epirus*, to seize upon the streight passage neere to *Antigonie*, which the Greekes call *Stena*. Him selfe a few daies after followed with his maine armie more heavily appointed. And when hee had well viewed and considered the situation of the countrey, & how it lay, he judged that the quarter coasting upon the river *Aous* was the meetest place to fortifie and encampe in. This river between two hills, the one by the peasants of the countrey called *Æropus*, the other *Asinaus*, runneth within a narrow vale and yeeldeth but a small passage upon the bancke side. Hee commaunded *Athenagoras* to gaine and fortifie *Asinaus* with his light armed souldiours: him selfe encamped upon *Æropus*. And looke what way as the hill was fenced with broken and craggd rockes, there he kept a small guard of some few souldiours: but whereas there was more danger, and easier access for the enemy, he fortified with trenches, rampiers, and bulwarkes. He planted also, and disposed in convenient places a great number of engines to send out quarrels and other shot, for to keepe the enemies aloofe. The roiall pavillion of the king him selfe, was pitcht before the rampier upon a banke, in a most conspicuous place of open sight, for to terrifie the enemy, and also to encour-

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The site of the
citie Thaumaci.
Admirable, or
wonderfull.

rage and harten his owne men, when they should see him so confident and resolute. The Consul advertised by *Charopus* the Epirote, what passages the king with his armie was possessed of, after he had passed the winter in Corcyra, himselfe likewise in the beginning of Spring, went up into the maine land, and held on his march toward the enemy. And being advanced almost within five miles of the kings camp, he left his legions in a strong fenced place, and went himselfe in person forward with certain lightly appointed in espiall to discover the quarters: and the morrow after held a consultation, Whether he might do better to assay to passe through the place which the enemy kept (notwithstanding he saw evidently before his eyes great trouble and hazard in that adventure) or to bring his armie about and fetch a compasse the same way, whereas the yeare before *Sulpitius* entred into Macedonie. This deliberation held him for certain dayes in even balance and suspence, untill newes came unto him that *T. Quintius* was created Consul; and having the province of Macedonie allotted unto him, made hast thither, and was alreadye passed to Corcyra.

Valerius Antias writeth, how *Villius* was entred the passe aforesaid, and because he could not take the streight and direct way (by reason that the king and his forces had beset all places) followed the valley along, through the middle whereof the river *Aous* runneth: and having made a bridge over it, in great hast passed over to the banke, whereas the king was encamped, and there fought a battaile: wherein the king was discomfited and put to flight, and driven out of his camp: that twelve thousand enemies were slaine in that conflict, 2200 taken prisoners, 132 ensignes woon and caried away, besides 230 horse. Also that during the combat, there was a temple vowed unto *Iupiter*, in case the Consul sped well in the battaile. But all other writers both Greeke and Latin, at leastwise whose Annales I have red, report that *Villius* performed no memorable act, and that the Consul *T. Quintius* who next succeeded, tooke in hand the whole and entier warre himselfe.

Whiles things thus passed in Macedonie, the other Consul *L. Lentulus* who staid behind at Rome, held a generall assembly for the election of Censors: And among many famous and noble personages who sued for that dignitie, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, and *P. Aelius Patus* were created Censors. These two agreeing together in great concord, both elected a Senat without diffaming any person; and also fermed out the toll for portage of all things that were sold at Capua: Item, they set and to ferme let, the custome for passage that way whereas the camp stood, and where now there is a towne built: and enrolled three hundred coloners (for that number was limited by the Senat) there to inhabit. They sold also the lands of Capua lying under the hill *Tifata*.

About the same time *L. Manlius Acidinus* departed out of Spaine, and was prohibited by *M. Porcius Lecca* a tribune of the Commons, to enter at his returne into the cite with the solemne pomp of an Ovation, notwithstanding he had that honor granted by the Senat. So he came into Rome as a private person, and brought into the chamber of the cite 1200 pound weight of silver, and thirtie pound weight welneere of gold. The same yeere *Gn. Babius Tamphilus*, who had received the province of Fraunce from *C. Aurelius* the Consul of the former yeere, engaged himselfe rashly within the marches of the French Insulbrians, and was environed and enclosed round about, both he, and in manner his whole armie. He lost above 6600 men. See what an overthrow was received in a warre, whereof there was no reckning made, and from whence no danger was feared any more. This caused *L. Lentulus* the Consul to come out of the cite of Rome, who being arrived into a province full of trouble and tumult, after he had received the charge of a frightened and dismayed armie, gave the Pretour a great check and rebuke, and tooke him up roundly with reprochfull termes, yea and commaunded him to get him gone out of the province, and to repaire to Rome. Neither performed the Consul himselfe any exploit worthie of remembrance, by reason that he was called home to Rome for to hold the solemne election of Magistrates: which also was stayed by *M. Pulvius*, and *M. Curius* Tribunes of the Commons: who likewise would not suffer *T. Quintius Flamininus*, having ben but Quæstor, for to stand for a Consulship. Now adayes say they, the dignities of Ediles and Pretours are nought set by, and not worth the seeking for: and these noblemen will needs mount into the Consuls place, not by steps and degrees of other offices, wherein they should make proffe and geve good testimonie what their carriage is, but leaping over those in the mid, joynd the lowest, and highest together. This debate which began in *Mars* field in the assemble of the people, came

A came at length to be decided before the Senat. And the LL. ordeined, That for as much as he which sued for that dignitie, was by law capable thereof, it was reason that the people should have plenarie and absolute power to create him, or whomsoever els they pleased. So the Tribunes submitted themselves under the authoritie of the Senatours. And for Coss. were elected *Sex. Aelius Patus*, and *T. Quintius Flamininus*. Then ensued the election of the Pretours. In which were created *L. Cornelius Merula*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, *M. Porcius Cato*, and *C. Helvius*, who had bene Ediles of the Commons. By whom the Plebeian playes were renewed; and a solemne feast made in the honor of *Iupiter*, in regard of those playes. The Curule Ediles likewise *C. Valerius Flaccus*, who also was the Flamine Dialis or Priest of *Iupiter*, and *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, exhibited the Romane games with great magnificence. The great Pontifes or Bishops *Servius Sulpitius* and *L. Calpurnius* dyed that yeere: In whose places were enstalled *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, and *Gn. Cornelius Scipio*. Now when *Sex. Aelius Patus* and *Titus Quintius Flamininus* the Coss. were entred into their Magistracie, they assembled the Senat in the Capitoll: where the LL. gave order, that concerning the two provinces of Macedonie and Italie, the Consuls should either agree between themselves, or els cast lots whether of them should governe the one or the other: And that he, whose hap was to have the charge of Macedonie, should enroll of Romanes three thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen: Also of Latin allies five thousand foote, and five hundred horse, for to supplic and furnish out the legions. And for the other Consul it was decreed, that he should have an armie, all entier and new. *L. Lentulus* the Consul of the former yeere, continued still Governor in the province, with expresse commaundement, that neither himselfe should leave the government, nor withdraw his forces from thence, before the Consul were come with the new legions. So the Consuls referred themselves to the direction of the lots. To *Aelius* fell Italie and Macedonie to *Quintius*. As for the Pretours, who also were guided by lots, *L. Cornelius Merula* had the jurisdiction of the cite of Rome. *M. Claudius* governed Sicilie. To *M. Porcius* was allotted Sardinia, and *C. Helvius* his lot was to be *L. Deputie* in Gaule. After this, they began to take musters. For over and besides the Consular armies, the Pretours also were charged to levie souldiours. To *Marcellus* were assigned foure thousand footmen of Latin allies, and three hundred horsemen, to go into Sicilie. And for *Cato* three thousand foote of the same kind of souldiours with two hundred horse, to serve in Sardinia: upon condition, that when both these Pretours were come into their provinces, they should discharge all the old souldiers there, as well footmen as horsemen.

Then the Consuls graunted the Embassadours of king *Attalus* leave to come into the Senate house: where having audience given them, after they had declared how their king and maister had assisted the State of Rome with his forces as well by sea as land, and shewed himselfe cheerefull, readie and obedient to his present day for to execute and performe whatsoever the Romane Consuls had enjoined him to do, they said how, that they much feared least from hence forward he should not be able to do the same; by reason he was impeached by *Antiochus*. For *Antiochus* taking his vantage, and finding the realme of *Attalus* disurnished of garisons, and unprovided of forces both by sea and land, had invaded the same. For which occasion *Attalus* besought the LL. of the Senat there assembled; that if they minded to use his navie, and employ the means that he could make, in the service of the Macedonian warre, they would then send him a sufficient garison to defend his kingdom: but if they thought not well thereof, his request was to permit himselfe to returne with his fleet and other forces, to the defence of his owne. The Senat gave order to returne this answer unto the Embassadours: Whereas king *Attalus* had succored the Romane Captaines with his Armada, and other meynes of warre, the Senat accepted thereof in the best part: But as touching *Antiochus* the king, an alie and friend of the people of Rome, they neither would send any aid against him: nor yet deteine the aiding *Attalus* in any service of theirs, longer than the king himselfe should thinke it stood with his owne commoditie. For the manner of the people of Rome hath alwayes been, to serve their owne turne with the help & assistance of others, but yet at the good pleasure and discretion of others. And whosoever were willing to relieve the Romanes, they were at their owne libertie to begin and end when they would themselves. Howbeit, they purposed to address their Embassadours unto *Antiochus*, to adverte him: and let him understand, that the people of Rome employed the help of *Attalus* his ships and souldiers against *Philip*, a common enemy: and the Senat would take it kindly at his hands, if for their sakes he forbore the realm of *Attalus*, & abstained from

from warre. For meet and reason it was, that the KK. who were friends and allies to the people of Rome, should likewise entertaine peace and amitie among themselves.

T. *Quintius* the Consull made halt to be gone into his province: and when he had levied and mustered his souldiours so, as that he had enrolled those old experienced servitours for the most part, who had given good proof of their valour in the service of Spaine and Affricke, he was deteined so long at Rome by occasion of certaine prodigious signes reported, untill he had taken order for the appeasing of the gods, and expiation of them. The lightning scorched and blasted the great port way from Veij; the common hall likewise of publicke assemblies, and the temple of *Jupiter* in Lanuvium: also the temple of *Hercules* in Ardea: the walls besides and turrets of Capua, and the temple there which is called Alba. At Arretium the skie appeared to be on a light fire. At Velitrae the earth setled and sunke downe, leaving a great gaping chinke for the compasse of three acres of ground. Word moreover was brought that in Suessa Aurunca a lamb was yeened with two heads; and in Sinuessa a porket with a mans head. In regard of these prodigies, there was a procession and supplication one whole day, and the Consuls intended devoutly to their sacrifices: and after they had pacified the gods, they tooke their journey into their provinces. *Aelius*, together with *C. Helvius* the Pretor went into Fraunce, and gave unto the said Pretor the armie which he received of *L. Lentulus*, and should have dismissed and discharged of their service; because he purposed himselfe to employ in his owne wars the fresh and new legions which hee brought with him: but hee performed no action worth the report. The other Consull *T. Quimius* having taken the sea, and departed from Brundisium sooner than other Consuls were wont, arrived at Corcyra with eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse. From thence hee crossed the seas with a galleace of five rankes of oares, directing his course for the nearest coasts of Epirus, and by great journeyes made halt untill he was come to the Romane campe: from whence after he had licensed *Villius* to depart, and staid there some few daies, untill his forces which were at Corcyra could overtake him, he called his counsell together to resolve, Whether hee should keepe on his journey directly, and make way through the midst of his enemies where they lay encamped, or rather without any such attempt (which could not but carrie with it great paine and perill) fetch a compasse about with safetie, and so enter into Macedonie by the way of the Dassaretians countrey and Lingus. And verily, this latter course of the twaine had taken place, but that hee feared, when hee were retired once farre from the sea, and had let the enemy slip out of his hands, if the king happily were minded (as he had done before) to defend himselfe within the desarts and forests, that he should spend all the long sommer and doe no good. Therefore come what would of it, he resolved to assaile the enemy in that verie place as difficult as it was, with all the disadvantage whatsoever. But as they determined in their intention thus to doe, so they were not so readie in the meanes to execute and effect the same. Thus they sate still and spent fortie daies within the eye of the enemy, and made no attempt. Then *Philip* conceived some hope to assaye a peace, by the means and intercession of the Epirote nation. And after consultation had, there were certaine agents chosen for that purpose, to wit, *Pansianus* the Pretour, and *Alexander* Generall of the horse, who brought the Consull and the king together for to parle, unto a place whereas the river Aous is narrowest and the bankes nearest together. The demaunds of the Consull in summe were these, That *Philip* should remoove his garrisons out of the cities: That whose territories or townes he had pilld and spoiled, he should make restitution againe unto them all those things that were extant and to be found: as for the rest, they should be prized and valued indifferently to their worth. *Philip* made answer againe, That all those peeces were nor of like qualitie and condition. As for such as hee had taken himselfe, he would be content to set them at libertie: but for those that were left unto him by his progenitors and predecessors, he would not forgoe the possession thereof, since hee held them lawfully in right of inheritance. Finally, if those cities wherewith hee had warred made complaint, that they were ever endamaged by him, hee would repaire them selfe to what cities and states they would themselves, and stand to their award; so they were neighbours, or in peace as well with the one side as the other. The Consull hereunto replied and said, That for this matter it was needlesse to referre themselves to the arbitrement or doome of any. For who seeth not evidently (quoth he) that he hath done the wrong, who first tooke arms? And that *Philip* before ever that he was molested and troubled by any war from others, offered violence first unto all? After, when it was debated what cities should be set free, the Consull named

A first of all Thessalonica: at which word the king was in such a heat of choller, that he cryed out aloud, What harder condition *Quintius*, would you impose upon him that you had vanquished? and withall, he flang away in a chafe from off the place of meeting and entervue, & would no longer parle. And much adoe they had on both sides to hold their hands from shooting one at another, for the river ran in the midst betweene them, that they could not trie it out by the eares. The morrow after, there passed many light skirmishes betweene the corps de guard on both parts by way of excursions, first in a plaine that lay out broad enough for that purpose: but afterwards as the kings men retired themselves into the narrow streights and rough rugged places, the Romanes of an ardent desire to be fighting, entred thither soone after. The Romanes had on their side the benefite of good order and militarie discipline, and were furnished with such kind of weapons as were fit for to maintaine a medly in a set battaile. The enemies againe for their parts had the vantage of the ground, and the helpe of sundry engins to cast forth shot farre off (as balists and catapults) planted and raunged almost upon every cliffe and rocke as it had bene upon the walles of a citie. After they had on both sides given and taken many a wound, so as divers of them were left slaine on the earth, as if they had fought in a full battaile, the night at length parted them asunder.

Things thus standing in these tearmes, there happened a certaine heardman sent from *Charopus* a Prince of the Epirotes to be brought before the Consull: who gave him to understand, that he kept cattell a grasing in that forest (which then was overspread with the kings pavillion) and knew all the cranks, all the windings, turnings, and blind wayes of those mountaines; promising, that if he would send out a band of souldiours with him, he would conduct them thorough a place that was neither dangerous, nor yet difficult and hard of ascent: which if they had once gained, they should be over their enemies heads and able to commaund them. And these things (quoth he) you may surely trust upon; for *Charopus* willed me to make declaration, That he could wish you the Consull were master of all, rather than any other. The Consull was desirous to beleve all, but durst not credit him. And thus being troubled in spirit, while hee entertained in his heart both joy and feare together, at length the authoritie of *Charopus* induced him to resolve and give the adventure of this hope thus offered and presented unto him. And to the end that the enemy might distrust and suspect nothing, for two daies following hee never ceased to assaile and provoke him, setting companies of armed souldiours in every place, to charge upon him, and ever seconding them with fresh men to succed in the place of the wearied. After this, he delivered to a Tribune or Colonell foure thousand chosen footmen, and three hundred horsemen; with this direction, to lead forward the Cavallerie, as farre as the ground would give leave: and when they were come once to a place where the horsemen could not passe nor march farther, then to plant them in some plain and even ground: willing the footmen to march on as the guide should lead them, and point out their way: but after they were mounted above the enemies heads, according as he undertooke and made promise, then to give a sign by smoke, and not to shout and set up a crie, untill one might guesse, that upon signall of battell by him given, the medley was begun. And the Consull gave commaundement to march by night (for as good hap was, the moone was at full, and shone all night long) and take their rest and sleepe in the day time. As for the guide aforesaid, hee made unto him many faire and large promises, if it might appeare, that he meant truth, and dealt faithfully: howbeit in the mean time he delivered him bound to the custodie of the said Colonell. When these companies were thus sent away, the Roman Generall travelled and endeavoured so much the more to gain vantage of the enemies guards. All this while, the Romanes that were sent out with the Colonell, marched forward: & upon the third day, when they had given token by smoke, that they had won the pitch of the hill as they intended, and held it still: then the Consull divided his forces into three squadrons, and entred the midst of the valley with the main strength of his armie, but he led forth the wings of his battell, both the right and the left, against the very campe of the enemies. Who also for their parts were not behind to reencounter and receive him. And all the whiles that they advanced without their fortifications of defence upon a hote desire of conflict, it fell out, that the Romane souldiour had the better a good deale, as being more valorous, more skilfull, & better appointed with weapons for that kind of service. But after that the kings souldiours, whereof many were sore wounded or killed outright, retired themselves to places of safetie, either by naturall situation, or by art of man, the danger returned upon the Romanes heads, who incon-

sidderately

considerably were engaged into places of disadvantage, and into narrow streights, from whence they could not retire with ease. And surely they had not returned backe againe unpunished for their rashnesse, but that the kings men hearing first an outcrie behind their backs, and seeing also a skirmish begun, were astonished at the suddaine terror, and put besides themselves. Some fled here and there away; others that made a stand and taried still, for that they rather wanted ground to flie than had heart ynough to fight it out, were environned by their enemies both before and behind. The whole armie might have beene utterly defeated, if the winners had lustily followed the chase. But the streights and the roughnesse of the waies hindered the horse, and the weight of armour combed the footmen. At first the king rode amaine with bridle in horse neck, without regard of any thing, or looking behind him: but after he was gotten five miles before, and guessing (as it was indeed) that by reason of the disadvantage of the place, the enemy could not possible make way after; he rested upon a certaine mount, and sent his people all abroad over hills & dales, to rallie his souldiours together, that were disparked. Thus with the losse not all out of two thousand men, the rest of the multitude met together, as if they had repaired to a *Rendez-vous* upon some signall given, & so marched with a great traine into Theffalie. The Romanes pursued them as farre as they might with safetie, killing them, and tising the dead; yea, and ransacked the kings campe, which though it were naked without defendants, yet for the difficult accesse unto it, they had much trouble to win; and that night they lodged in their own camp. The next day the Confull made pursue after the enemy along the streight, whereas the river runneth among the valleys. The king came the first day unto the hold or campe of *Pyrhus* (a place so called) in Triphylia, belonging to the territorie of Melotis. From whence the morrow after hee marched a nightie journey with his whole armie (for needs he must goe that feare drives) & approached the mountaine Lingos. These mountaines are in Epirus, situate betwene Macedonie and Theffalie. The side that lieth to Theffalie regardeth the East: that which butteth upon Macedonie, hath the North directly before it. Covered they are and overspread with abundance of woods; yet so as the very tops doe afford open plaines and running waters. The king keeping his campe there for certaine daies, was much troubled and perplexed in his mind, casting and revolving, whether it were expedient for him to returne immediately into his owne kingdome, or possible to retire himselfe into Theffalie. In summe, his resolution was to bring downe his armie into Theffalie. And so to Tricca he marched, the next way hee possibly could. From thence hee passed in great hast through all the cities that were in his way. As many men as were able to follow, he forced to quit their habitations and dwelling houses. The townes he set on fire: yet he permitted every one to carrie away with him as much as he could of his owne goods; all the rest fell to the souldiours share. No manner of crueltie there was, that the very enemy could exercise, but hee practised among his owne allies. And *Philip* himselfe in the execution thereof, greeved not a little, and was vexed at the heart; but alas, he could do no other: yet his desire was, in that country which within a while should be possessed by the enemy, to save the bodies at leastwise of his associates. In this manner were ransacked and spoiled these townes following, Phacium, Iressæ, Euhydrium, Eretia, and Palæphatus. Against his comming to Pheræ, the gates were shut upon him. And because it would aske some time to win that towne by assault, and no leisure he had thereto, he gave over that enterprise, and passed into Macedonie: for the bruit went, that the *Ætoliens* also approached. Who having heard of the issue of the battell fought by the river Aous, first waited and ransacked all the countrey neere unto Sperchia and Macra-Come (as they call it) and having from thence passed over into Theffalie, wan Cymines & Angeas with the first assault. Howbeit, a repulse they tooke at Metropolis, whiles they harried the fields about it, by reason, that the townesmen ran together to the defence of their walls. After this, they gave the attempt upon Callithera, where they found the like resistance and violence of the enemies, but there they persisted longer, and gave not over, nay, they drave the enemies that issued forth, within their walls, and contenting themselves with that victorie, they departed thence, seeing no great hope to force the towne. Then they wan and pilld two villages, Theuma and Calathana. As for Acharæ, it was surrendered by composition. And upon the like feare Xynia also was abandoned of her owne inhabitants. These citizens thus driven out of their owne houses, stumbled at a venture upon a garrison which was a leading into Athamania, for the better guard of the forragers that were to purvey com. This multitude, I say, marching disorderly without armour, pell mell together, with a fort that were unmeet for warre, was hewen in peeces by the armed souldiours, and

Xynia

A Xynia was sacked, thus left and forsaken as it was. After this, the *Ætoliens* woon Cyphara, a fort and towne of strength, well seated for to empeach and command **Dolopia*. These exploits performed the *Ætoliens* hastily, all in few daies.

Neither rested *Aminander* nor the Athamans quiet and still, after they heard the newes of the prosperous battaile which the Romanes had fought. But *Aminander* reposing small trust in his owne souldiours, craved of the Confull a small supply of other forces: and as he marched toward Gomphi, hee surprized forthwith and forced a towne named Pheca, situate betwene Gomphi and the streights that divide Theffalie from Athamania. From thence hee advanced before Gomphi, & assailed the town, which was defended right valiantly for certaine daies: but after that he had erected scaling ladders against it, hee forced the townesmen within, for very feare to yeeld and render all into his hands. The surrender of this cite testified the Theffalians exceedingly: in such sort, that the citizens of Argenta, Pherinum, Thimarum, Lissinas, Stimon and Lamplum, one after another submitted themselves, with other pieces thereby of small importance.

Whiles the Athamanians and *Ætoliens* (secured from all daunger of the Macedonians) made spoile and raised gaine to themselves by the victorie of others: whiles Theffalie was pilld and sacked by three armies at once, and knew not their friends from their foes, nor whom to trust: the Confull passed over into the countrey of **Epirus*, by the way of the streights which hee had opened and made cleere by reason that the enemies were fled. And albeit he knew full well which way all the Epirotes in generall went, and with whom they had sided, excepting onely

C prince *Charopus*, yet because he saw them not onely carefull to make amends and satisfaction, but also willing and forward to do whatsoever he commaunded, he esteemed and regarded them by their present state, more than by their demeanour past; and so by shewing himselfe inclined to mercie and ease to pardon a fault, he woon their hearts, and gained them unto him for the time to come. After this he dispatched messengers to Corcyra, to will that the hulkes and ships of burden should put into the gulfes of **Ambracia*, whiles himselfe travailed by easie journeyes; and the fourth day after pitched his tents upon the hill **Cercetius*: and thither he sent for *Aminander* to repaire with his aids, not for any need hee had of his forces, so as much as of his guidance to direct him in his journey for Theffalie. Most of the Epirotes also, for the same intent were received, who voluntarily offered their helpe and assistance. The first cite that hee assaulted

D in Theffalie, was Phaleria, wherein there lay a garrison of two thousand Macedonians. Who at first held out and resisted most manfully, and as much as either armour or the walls were able to doe, defended themselves. But the assault and batterie continuing uncessantly both night & day; overcame at length the constant and resolute valour of the Macedonians. For the Confull made this reckoning, That upon this point depended the hearts and dispositions of all the other Theffalians, if the first should not bee able to abide the violence and force of the Romanes. Phaleria was no sooner woon, but there came embassadours from **Metropolis* & *Piera*, to render up their cities into his hands, who craved pardon; and obtained it. Phaleria was burnt and sacked. From thence he set forward to *Æginium*; but seeing the place defensible with any small garrison; and in manner imprenable, he bestowed some small shot of darts upon the next *corps de guard*, and

E turned his armie toward the countrey about Gomphi, and from thence he marched downe into the plaines of Theffalie. And because his armie was disurnished of all necessaries (for that hee had forborne to make spoile in the territories of the Epirotes) after he had sent out espials afore, to discover whether the hulkes above said were arrived at **Leucas* or *Ambracia*, he sent out his companies one after another to *Ambracia*, sort to purvey com and victuals. The way betwene Gomphi and *Ambracia*, as it is comberous and hard for passage, so againe, it is but short and very compendious. So that within few daies he had transported certaine convoies of victuals from the port of *Ambracia*, whereby the campe was stored with plentie of all provision. From thence he passed to Rhages, a towne almost ten miles distant from Larissa. The citizens thereof are defended from *Perthæbia*, and the cite it selfe seated upon the river **Peneus*. The Theffalians were nothing afraid at the first comming of the Romanes. As for *Philip*, like as hee durst not himselfe in person march forward into Theffalie, so having taken a place within **Tempe*, which he held with a standing campe, he espied into what quarters the enemies intended to go, and ever as he could find any opportunitie and advantage, sent underhand succour and reliefe thither accordingly.

Much

Much about the same time that the Consull first encamped against *Philip* in the streights of Epirus, *L. Quintius* also, the Consull his brother, who by commission from the Senat had the charge of the fleet and the government of all the sea coasts, sailed beyond Corcyra with two Gallies of five banks of oars: and hearing that the navie was departed from thence, seeing also there was no staying there, he made saile after apace, and having overtaken them at the Ile Zamma, he dismissed *Apollonius*, in whose place he succeeded: from whence he went saile and softly, haling after him the most part of the ships which followed with the provision of victuals, until he came to Malca. From whence, when he had given order, that the rest should make as good speed as possibly they could after him, he went with three Quinquereines lightly appointed, and arrived before at Pyraeum, where he received the other ships that *L. Apollonius* the Lieutenant had left there for the guard and defence of Athens.

At the same time there were two Armadaes set out of Asia, the one conducted by king *Attalus*, consisting of foure and twentie saile of Quinquereines: the other were of Rhodians, and stood of twentie covert ships with decks and hatches, commaunded by *Agelimbrotus*, the Admirall. These fleets joyning together about the island Andros, crossed the narrow seas from thence to Euboea. And first they torraited the territorie of the Carystians: afterwards seeing *Carystus* strong enough against them, by reason of a garison sent to them in all hast from Chalcis, they approached to Eretria. *L. Quintius* having intelligence that king *Attalus* was come, repaired thither also with those vessels which had bene at Pyraeum, and gave commaundement, that as many ships as arrived thither belonging to his fleet, should bend their course for Euboea. Now was Eretria by all forcible meanes assaulted, for not only the vessels of three joynt navies had brought thither all sorts of engins and artillerie devised for to shake and batter the walls of cities, but also the fields and country hard by, yeilded them plentie of timber, and other matter to make new. The townes-men from the very first day shewed no valour and courage in defending their walls: and afterwards when they were wearied, and some of them hurt, and saw withall a part of their wall overthrowne by the ordinance and engins of the enemy, enclined to yeeld: but they had amongst them a garison of Macedonians, whom they feared no lesse than the Romans. Moreover, *Philoctetes* a captaine under the king, sent messengers unto them from Chalcis, assuring them, that if they could hold out still and endure the siege, he would in good time be with them, and bring reliefe. Thus hope and feare together constrained them to drive off longer than either they were willing or well able to do. But when they heard once that *Philoctetes* had a repulse by the way, and in great hast and feare was retired and fled to Chalcis again, then immediately they sent their embassadors unto *Attalus*, to crave pardon and protection. Whiles they were wholly bent to seeke peace (whereof they had some hope) and forelacked the affaires of warre-service, opposing their *corps de gard* on that side only of the wall where the breaches were, and neglecting all besides, behold, *Quintius* in the night season gaue a camissado in that quarter which was least suspected, and with skaling ladders woon the towne. The whole multitude of the inhabitants fled with their wives and children into the Castle, which also afterwards was rendered up. As for money, gold and silver, there was no great store to speake of: but images, and painted tables of antique worke, artificially wrought, and such like ornaments, there were more found, than for the proportion of the bignesse, or other wealth besides, of such a citie as that was. From thence they set saile once againe for Carystus, where the whole multitude, before the enemies were put aland, having abandoned the citie, were fled into their fortress: from whence they sent their oratours unto the Romane Generall, humbly craving their mercifull protection. The townes-men presently had their lives and libertie graunted them. But the Macedonians were put to their ransom, and they compounded to pay * three hundred silver sesterces apiece, and to give up their armour and weapons, and so to depart: With this summe of money having redeemed themselves they were set over disarmed into Boeotia. These forces at sea having in few dayes gained two noble and renowned cities in Euboea, coasted about Sunium, a promontorie or cape within the territorie of Attica, and arrived before Cenchreae, a towne of merchandise and trafficke belonging to the Corinthians.

The Consull all this while had a longer and more dangerous peece of service in the siege (of Rhages) than all men looked for. And the enemies within made resistance, where he would have least of all suspected. For he supposed verily that all the trouble and difficultie would be in battering downe the wall, and making some breach. For thus he thought, that if he had once

A opened way for his armed souldiours to enter into the towne, the enemies afterwards would either see or be slaine, as it falleth out commonly in cities when they are forced. Howbeit, when part of the wall by the battery of the Ram lay flat along, and the enemies were gotten over at the breaches and ruines thereof: then began their labour and paines anew, as if they had had no trouble nor toile afore. For the Macedonians in garison, who were many in number, and those approved and select souldiours, thinking how honourable a service it would be to defend the citie by valour and dent of sword, rather than by the strength of walls, had raunged themselves in a battaile within forth, strongly marshalled into many ranks and files close together: and when they perceived the Romanes were mounting over the breaches to enter the citie, they repelled & beat them back in that place of great disadvantage, where they had much ado to recover and retire themselves. The Consull hereat was much displeased, and vexed in himselfe: and making this accompr, that such a foule soile and disgrace was not only an occasion of a longer tract of time, before he could force that one citie; but also materiall and important for the maine progresse and proceeding of the whole warre, which commonly dependeth upon the occurrences of light matters and of small moment in the beginning: after he had rid and cleared the place which was choked up with the ruines of the halfe broken wall lying there upon heapes, he reared a towre or frame of timber of a huge height to overtop the walls, consisting of many stories and floores one over another, which contained and carried a mightie number of armed men, and drave the same upon wheelles and rollers close to the wall. More over he sent out certaine ensignes one after another by turnes, to breake through by force (if it were possible) that strong and close battailon of the Macedonians (which they themselves call Phalanx.) But the place being so streight (for that the breach of the wall was nothing broad): the enemies had the vantage both in regard of the weapons which they used, and of the forme of battaile wherein they were raunged. For when the Macedonians standing close one to another with a continued roufe or fence of targuets over their heads, opposed their pikes before them which were of an exceeding length: the Romanes neither with their darts could hurt them as farre off, nor with their swords drawn come neere them to fight close at hand, or cut their pikes atwo: and if it chaunced that they whipt off or snapt any asunder, yet the Steele and truncheon thereof being sharp still at the point (headlesse though it were) among the other pikes that were headed, served to make a fence as it were an haie or palaifade. Over and besides, that part of the wall that stood whole and sound still, was a sure defence unto both flankes of the enemies: neither had the Romanes any large roume at length to returne, and from thence to fetch their beire, and so geve a violent charge, which is the thing that usually breaketh and disordereth ranks. Moreover there chaunced one thing by meere fortune that encouraged them within: for as the towre aforesaid was in driving over a terrasse or banke whereof the floore was not fast and soundly hardened with the rammer, one of the wheelles hapned to sinke in and make a deepe rut in the ground, whereby the whole frame nodded so forward, that the enemies without thought verily it was readie to fall; and the armed souldiours standing upon it within, quaked for feare, and were put welneere besides their wits. Thus when nothing that was provided might availe and come to any great effect, the Consull was vexed at the heart, to see himselfe so much overmarched in souldiours, in armour, and in manner of service; and withall hee considered, that hee had no helpe to force the citie and to win it in any short time, nor could make meanes to passe the winter in those parts so farrre from sea, and left naked alreadie and wast by those calamities that follow warres. Whereupon hee raised the siege: and because there was no haven in all the tract and coast of Acarnania and Aetolia, which was able both to receive and harbour all his hulkes that brought victuals for his armie, and also to yeeld winter lodging for his legions; he thought upon the Isle Anticyra within the countrey of Phocis; which lying toward the gulfes of Corinth, seemed to him most fit & commodious for his purpose; because they should not remove far from Thessalie; & the territorie belonging to the enemies; having besides Peloponnesus affront even over against them, divided but by a small arme of the sea: at their backe Aetolia and Acarnania: and of each side Locris and Boeotia. At the first assault, the Consull without any resistance wan Panopea in Phocis. Anticyra likewise long endured not the siege. Then Ambrysus and Hyampolis were received by composition. Daulis by reason that it was situate upon an high hill, could neither be scaled nor forced by instruments and engins of batterie. But the Romanes by launching their darts and shooting arrows

* 39 Phil. 7. pence
enlightning
a Sesterce (which
is two asses and
a halfe) is two d.
farthing.

rowes against them that were in guard, trained them forth to skirmish; and after some light G scuffings to no effect, whiles one while they seemed to flie, and other whiles to pursue, they brought them to be so carelesse, so negligent and so little respectiue, that when the enemies fled backe within the gate, they entered pellmell with them, and so were masters of the towne. Other small forts likewise of Phocis yeelded rather for feare than any force offered unto them. Elatia kept their gates shut, and made a countenance, that unless they were driven thereunto, they would receive within their walles neither Romane captaine nor armie.

While the Consull lay at the siege before Elatia, there was presented unto him the hope of a greater matter, namely, of withdrawing the nation of the Achæi from the kings alliance to the amitie of the Romanes. For they had expelled and banished *Cycliadas* the chiefe of that faction that sided with *Philip*: and *Aristhenus* who friended the Romanes and fought to be confedered H with them, was Pretour for the time.

Now the Romane Armada, together with *Attalus* and the Rhodians, rode at ancre in the haven of Cenchreæ, & they all were agreed in common to assail Corinth. But the Consull thought good, before that they should put that designment in action, to send embassadours to the State of Achaia, promising, if they would revolt from the king and turne to them, to deliver Corinth into their hands, for to be incorporate into the auncient league and councell of their nation. And so by the aduise of the Consull, there were embassadours addressed to the Achæans from his brother *L. Quintius*, from *Attalus*, the Rhodians, and the Athenians. And at *Sicyone* was there a counsell and Diet held, for to give them audience. Now the Achæans were not all of one mind and alike affected. The Athenians (a dangerous, an ordinarie, and continuall enemy of theirs) put them in feare of one side: the Romanes they had in dread and horrore of another. To the Macedonians they were obliged and bound by many good turnes and favours, as well old as new. The king himselfe they held in jealousie for his crueltie and treacherie: and casting a prooffe and conjecture by those courses which he then tooke, and by his practises for the time, they foresaw well, that after the war ended, he would be intollerable and a very tyrant over them. They were besides not onely ignorant, what every man had said in the severall councells of every particular State, and in the generall Diets of the whole nation, when they were required to deliver their opinions; but also uncertaine and unresolute among themselves in their owne minds what to will or wish. Vnto men thus doubtfully disposed and unsetled, the embassadours above said were admitted, and license was given them to deliver their message. First, the Romane K embassadour *L. Calpurnius*; after him, those that were for king *Attalus*: and in the third place, the Rhodians spake and made discourse: and consequently, the embassadours of *Philip* were permitted to parle. The Athenians had audience given them last of all, and were reserved of purpose to confute whatsoever should be spoken and alledged by the Macedonians. And these Athenians inveighed most sharply & bitterly against the king, for none had received either more wrongs, or suffered the like indignities at his hands as they had. So this assembly verily for that time (by reason that the day was spent in hearing the continued orations of so many embassadours) brake up about sun-setting. The morrow after, they assembled againe: where the magistrates by the voice of the Bedle or publique cryer (after the custome of the Greekes) gave libertie to every person to deliver his mind, and no man stepped forth. Great silence there was, L and not a word among them for a long time, looking wistly one upon another who should begin first. And no marvaile, if they whose spirits were astonished in some sort within them, when they of their owne accord cast and tossed in their minds things so different and contrarie, were now more troubled and perplexed by those orations besides that had lasted all the long day, broaching, uttering, and advising many matters so harsh, so difficult, and unpleasant unto them. At length because the Councell should not be dissolved without some speech and parle, *Aristhenus* the Pretor of the Achæans began to speak, and said: What is become (my masters of Achæa) of those hearts of yours and couragious stomacks, whereby at all your assises and in your privat meetings (when talk is ministred of *Philip* and the Romanes) you can hardly hold your hands, but are ready to flie one in anothers face? And now, when as this honourable court of parliament is M published and holden for the same purpose only; when ye have heard the reasons and allegations of the embassadours of all parts; when the magistrats propound the matter to be debated in councell; when the publique cryer calleth you to give your opinions, ye are mute and dumb: If the regard of the common good and welfare of us all, will not cause you to open your lips; cannot the

A the privat respects and affections neither (which have inclined and caried your minds to the one side or the other) fetch out a word from any of your mouthes? Considering especially, that no man is so grosse and blockish, who can be ignorant that now is the very time or never, for each one to say and deliver his mind as he will himselfe, and as he thinketh best, before we resolve and determine of any course: and when a decree or act is once passed, that all men are bound (even they themselves that before misliked it) to defend and maintaine the same, as a good and profitable accord. This admonition of the Pretour was so farr short of drawing any one of them to utter his opinion, that it caused not so much as the least noise or humming in so frequent an audiorie and congregation of so many States together. Then *Aristhenus* the Pretour began againe and followed his speech in this manner. It seemeth (my masters and friends of Achæa here assembled) that ye are not so much to seeke for counsell and aduise, but ye are as short of your tongues and loth to speake. And every one here is unwilling to provide for their generall good, for feare least hee should incur some particular perill. My selfe likewise peradventure would be silent and hold my peace if I were a privat person: But now being Pretour, I see thus much, That either there should have no audience at all beene given unto the Embassadours, or else, that they ought not to be sent away from hence without an answere: and answere them how can I, without your ordinance? Now seeing that there is none of you all, who have beene summoned hither to this Councell, that either will or dare say a word to the cause: let us examine thoroughly and consider well in lieu of your opinions, those speeches which yesterday were pronounced by the embassadours: let us (I say) revise them so, as if they had not demanded C those things which concerned their owne good and commoditie, but as though they proposed such points as they esteemed profitable and expedient for us all. The Romanes, the Rhodians, and king *Attalus* require our alliance and amitie: and in that warre which they wage against *Philip*, they thinke it reason to be aided from us. *Philip* againe, putteth us in mind of our societie with him, and of our oath. Once while he requireth us to stand and band with him: otherwhiles, hee saith hee will be content that wee should sit still, and meddle neither one way nor other. Is there no man here knoweth the reason, why they that are not yet our allies, demand and crave more than hee that is our allie already? It is neither the modestie of *Philip*, nor the impudencie of the Romanes that is the cause hereof. The ports and haven-townes they be of Achæa, which minister confidence and assurance to those demanders, and take away the same from D them againe. From *Philip* wee see nothing but only an Embassadour. The sea-forces of the Romanes and their fleet, ride in the harborough of Cenchreæ: they carrie afore them in shew, the spoiles of the cities in *Eubœa*. The Consull himselfe with his land armie of the legions, we see disjoined from us by a small arme onely of the sea, raunging at their pleasure all over Phocis and Locris. Marvell now longer if you can, why *Cleomedon* the embassadour of *Philip* demanded erewhile so coldly and diffidently, that wee should take armes for the king against the Romanes: who, if we by vertue of the same league and oth, wherewith hee seemed to charge us in conscience, required of him againe, that *Philip* should defend us both from *Nabis* and the Lacedemonians, and also from the Romanes; would bee to seeke not onely of a garrison and power of armed men to shield us, but likewise of a very answere to shape us. And verily hee E would be no more ready to satisfie us, than *Philip* was himselfe the last yeere; who notwithstanding hee frankly promised to levie warre against *Nabis*, and thereby assaied to traine and draw the flower of our youth from hence into *Eubœa*: after that hee saw once that we neither agreed to send him that power, nor yet were willing to entangle our selves, and be interested in the Romane warre, forgot soone that societie that now hee standeth and vaunteth so much of, and left us to the mercie and devotion of *Nabis* and the Lacedemonians, to bee spoiled, pilld, and waited at their pleasures. And certes, so much as I can conceive of *Cleomedon* his Oration, methinks it hangeth not well together, and one peece thereof sorteth not well with another. He seemed to speake of the Romane warre contemptuously, as if it were a matter of nothing; saying the event and issue thereof would be like the former, which they maintained with *Philip*. How is it then, that he keepeth himselfe away, and in his absence demandeth our helpe, rather than with his personall F presence protecteth us both from *Nabis* and the Romanes? Vnto I say, his auncient Allies? But what speake I of us? Why hath he suffered them to force and win *Eretria* and *Carystum*? why endured he, that so many cities of Thessalie should bee lost? How could hee abide Locris and Phocis to be overrun so, as they are? and Elatia now at this day so streightly besieged, and horly assaulted?

assaulted? Why quit he the streights of Epirus, and abandoned those imprenable holds upon the river Aous, by force, for feare, of his owne accord, or howsoever? and when hee had forgone and disleis himselfe of that passe which hee held, why retired hee into the inland parts of his realme for his safetie? If willingly and of his owne accord hee abandoned so many of his allies, and left them to be spoiled and ransacked by the enemye, what can hee alleadge or say for himselfe, why those allies aforesaid may not provide for themselves the best they can? If for feare, let him pardon us likewise, if we be afraid. But if he were vanquished by force of armes, and therefore retired backe, shall wee, good *Cleomedon*, sustaine and endure the Romane puissance and their mightie armies, against which yee Macedonians were not able to stand? Or would you have us to beleve you, that beare us in hand, how the Romanes warre not at this present, either with greater numbers or stronger forces than they have done heretofore, rather than trust our owne eyes, and that which daily wee see before our faces? In those daies they succoured the *Ætolians* with their navie, and warred neither under the conduct, nor with the armie of a Consull. The maritime cities of the confederates of *Philip*, were then in trouble and tumult, but all the mediterranean parts within the continent, were so secure and warisied from the Romane forces, that *Philip* spoiled and forraied the *Ætolians*, imploring and seeking for helpe of the Romanes, but all in vaine. But now at this day the Romanes having finished the Carthaginian warre, which for sixteene yeares space they supported in the very heart and bowels of Italie, have not sent a garison to succour and maintaine the *Ætolians* in their warres, but are come themselves, as leaders and commanders Generall, and by land and sea at once have warred upon Macedonie. And this is the third Consull of theirs, who at this present maintaineth mortall warre upon it, to the uttermost of his power. *Sulpitius* hath encountred the king in the midst of Macedonie, bidden him battell, discomfited and put him to flight, after hee had laid wast and desolate the wealthiest quarter of all his kingdom. *Quintius* lately hath driven him out of campe and field, notwithstanding he were possessed of the streight avenues of Epirus, and bare himselfe boldly and confidently upon the naturall situation of the ground, of his strong defences, and force of a complete armie: and having pursued him as hee fled into Thessalie, hath taken the garison townes of the king, and in manner within his owne sight, woon by fine force his confederat cities. Suppose and say, that all those things which the Athenians erewhile have alleadged concerning the crueltie, the avarice, and unbridled lust of the king, bee not true, but supposed slaunders; admit that those enormities and wicked parts committed within the Atticke land, against the gods of heaven above, of the infernall spirits beneath, touch not us at all, and are much lesse pertinent, than those outrages which the *Elæuntij* and the *Abydenes*, so far remote from us, have endured. Forget we our selves, if yee will, the hurts, the wounds, and losses that we have received, the murders, the pilling and rising of the goods of *Messenia* in the midst of *Peloponnesus*. Likewise, how his friend and host *Garitenes* at *Cyparissia*, was killed against all law of god and man, even in a manner sitting at the board with meat in his month. Say we nothing also of *Attalus* the father and sonne, both *Sicyonians*, who were cruelly massacred, and yet he was wont to call the slie and wretched old man, Father. Also forbear we to speake of the sonnes wife, who was carried away into Macedonie, to make her his harlot and concubine, & to abuse her at his pleasure. Let other rapes of virgines, forcings of honourable dames be forgotten: let us imagine that wee have nothing to doe, nor to meddle with *Philip*, for feare of whose crueltie ye were all so mute, and could not open your mouth. For what other cause of silence had yee, being called hither to this counsell? Let us put the case, that we were to debate the matter with *Antigonus*, that most mild and just prince, at whose gracious hands wee have received so many favours and pleasures above all other kings: would he demaund, thinke ye, that wee should doe that which possibly then could not be done? *Peloponnesus* is a demie island, joined to the firme continent and maine land, by the narrow streight or banke of *Isthmus*, lying open and exposed to nothing more than to sea forces. If one hundred covert and decked ships with hatches, and fiftie lighter vessels which are open, together with thirtie Brigantines or foists of *Iffa*, should come to pill and spoile our sea coasts, and begin to assaile our townes and citties that lie open upon the river, even on the very strand, and sea bankes; should we retire our selves, thinke yee, into our cities within the land? Why? what els? As though we were not already afflicted and plagued with intestine war, which sticketh even within our ribs and bowels? When *Nabis* and the *Lacedæmonians* by land, the Romane navie by sea shall lie upon us, to doe us all annoy, how should it call upon the kings societie, or for the helpe

A helpe of the Macedonians? Or shall wee of our selves, by our owne strength and meanes save our cities which shall be assaulted, against the puissance & power of the Romanes? For in the former war we bravely defended (did we not) the citie of *Dymæ*. We have examples ynough of the fearful calamities and losses of others, that we need not to make our selves examples unto others. Take heed (I beseech you) how you set light and disdain, that the Romanes have of their owne motive offered their friendship and alliance, which indeed yee were to with for, and seeke all that everye could. It is for very feare (no doubt) that they are driven, being in a strange land, to flie unto you for your alliance, because they would gladly shroud themselves under the shadow of your wings, be harboured within your havens, and sustained by your victuall and provision. No, no, lords they are first of the seas, who can denie it? there is not a land they set foot into, but immediately it is their owne, and in subjection unto them: whatsoever they seeme to request, they can commaund if they list. And because they are willing to spare and forbear you, therefore it is that they suffer you not to enter into any action that might be cause of your ruine & overthrow. For whereas *Cleomedon* erewhile seemed to shew and lay before you a meane and indifferent course, and that forsooth, which should be the safest way that you could take, namely to enter into no armes at all, to sit still and sleepe in a hole skinn, that, I say, is no middle way, no nor (to speak truth) any way at all. For besides this, that yee must either accept or refuse the alliance with the Romanes, what els will become of us, but to be a prey unto the conquerour, having lost the grace and favour both of the one and the other? as men that like neutres, expecting the issue of the warre, frame our designements and counsels to the blind direction of fortune. Well, once again I say, take heed you thinke not scorne of that which with all your heart you should wish and pray for, onely for that it is tendered and presented unto you. And never thinke, that because to day you have the choise of both in your owne hands, therefore yee shall ever have the same libertie hereafter. Occasions and opportunities are not alwaies the same, neither do they continue long. All this whiles have yee had a desire to save and free your selves from *Philip*, but evermore by wiles & paires in secret heart, rather than by taking armes in open hand. Now there are those which with great armies and armadaes have passed the seas, who without your paine and perill are ready to deliver you from his hands. These men, if yee reject and refuse for your allies, yee are not well in your wits, and have them you must either your allies or your enemies, there is no remedie.

D After this Oration of the Pretour, there arose a muttering and noise in the assemblie, whiles some approved and gave assent unto that which he said, others rebuked in churlish wise those that accorded. In so much, as they jangled not one with another in particular, but the very States there assembled were at variance, yea, and this debate betweene the magistrats of the whole nation (whom they call *Demiurgi*, and ten they are in number) was as hotely maintained, as among the multitude. Five of them said, they would propound unto the people, and debate with them in counsell about accepting the alliance of the people of Rome, & put it to voyces. The other five protested, that this was directly against a law, in that case provided, forbidding expressly that no magistrats should either propound or determine ought in any Diet, prejudiciall to the societie and league with *Philip*. Thus was this day also spent in debating & wrangling, and nothing done. There remained one day yet of a full Diet and counsell, for by law they were to conclude and decree somewhat within three dayes at the farthest. Against that time, the parties were so hotely bent one against the other, that the fathers could hardly forbear to offer violence to their very children. There was one *Rhissasus* of *Pellenæ*, who had a sonne named *Memnon*, and he was a *Demiurgus*, who tooke part and sided with them that would not permit the matter to be put to question, and determined by a scrutinie of voyces. This *Rhissasus* having instantly a long time importuned his sonne, and besought him to suffer the *Acheans* to provide for their weale publick, and not by his peevish frowardnes undo the state of the whole nation: when he saw once that all his prayers prevailed nothing, he sware a great oath that he would kill him with his owne hands, and not take him for his sonne, but for an errant enemy. By which his menaces, he gained thus much in the end, that content he was the next day to joyne with them that put the matter to question: who now being more in number than the other, made a report, and proposed the cause to the assemblie: and when all the States in manner there met, enclined thereto, and approved thereof, so as they avowed openly what they would ordeine; the *Dymæans*, *Megapolitans*, and certeine *Argives*, before the decree was enacted, rose up all at once, and departed

ted out of the assembly, and no man either wondered at it, or blamed them for it. As for the Megapolitanes, no longer ago than in their grandfires dayes, at what time as they were expelled out of their country by the Lacedemonians, K. *Antigonus* had restored them again. The Dymeans being but lately taken prisoners, and rancked by the Romane armie, *Philip* having given order that they should be redeemed wheresoever they were in slavery and bondage, he not only set free, but also replanted in their owne country. The Argives last of all, besides that they are of a settled opinion and beliefe, that the Macedonian kings are descended from them, were for the most part linked unto *Philip* in the right and regard of private hospitalitie, and familiar friendship. In these respects, they went out of that assembly which inclined to the contract of alliance with the Romanes, and were held excused for this departure; being thus obliged unto *Philip* the adverse part, by great favours and benefices, yea and those newly received at his hands. All the other States of the Achæans, when they were demaunded their opinions, without delay confirmed by their immediat decree, the societie with *Attalus* and the Rhodians: but the league with the people of Rome, because it could not be ratified and established without the Act of the people, was referred and put off untill the time that embassadours might be sent unto Rome. But for the present it was thought good that three embassadours should be addressed unto *L. Quintius*, and that all the forces of the Achæans should march toward Corinth, for that *Quintius* having woon the port of Cenchreæ, was already at the siege and assault of that citie.

These Achæans encamped themselves over against that gate that openeth toward Sicyone: the Romanes lay against that part of the citie which looketh toward Cenchreæ, and *Attalus* having led his armie through the narrow streight of Isthmus, assailed them of Lechæus side, which is an haven of the other sea. At the first they made no hore assault, hoping that there would be some mutinie betweene the townes-men and the kings garison. But perceiving they were all of one mind and resolution, and that both the Macedonians defended the citie, as their owne native countrie: and also the Corinthians were content to be at the full command and direction of *Androphæus* the captaine of the garison, as well as if he had bene their fellow-citizen, and lawfully chosen by their owne election and suffrages: then the assailants had no other hope but in the violent force of armes and engines. And of all sides they had raised banks and mures, and were come close to the walls, although with hard access thereto. Now had the Ram from that quarter where the Romanes lay, beaten downe a good part of the wall. To which breach, because it lay naked without defence, all the Macedonians ran to guard and defend it by strength of armes: where there was a cruell fight between them and the Romanes. At the first the Romanes were soone repulsed by meanes of the great numbers of defendants: but after the succours of the Achæi and *Attalus* came unto them, they received them with equall valour: neither doubted they but to be able with ease to drive the Macedonians and the Greeks from their standings, and force them to recule. But there were within the towne a multitude of Italian fugitives revolted and fled from the Romanes: part of them, a residue left of *Anniball* his armie; who having transgressed the lawes, for feare of punishment were fled from the Romanes, and tooke part with *Philip*: part also were mariners and seafaring men, who for hope of more honorable intertainment and service, had abandoned their ships, and were gotten into the citie of Corinth. These fellows past all hope of life, if the Romanes happily should have the better hand, fared more like mad men than hardie and audacious souldiours. Now there is over against Sicyone a promontorie of *Iuno*, which they call the cape of Acree, and it runneth into the sea: from whence the passage over to Corinth is a cut almost of seven miles. Thither *Philocles*, a captaine also under king *Philip*, had conducted through Boeotia 1500 souldiours: and certaine Brigantines of Corinth were there ready to embarke that supplie of aid, and to transport them to Lechæus. By this time *Attalus* advised to set on fire the engines and fabricks that they had made, and presenly to geve over the siege. *Quintius* persisted yet more obstinately in his enterprize begun. But he also seeing the kings guards raunged and quartered at every gate, and that if they should happen to fallie out, their violence would hardly be sustained, was of the same mind with *Attalus*. So without effecting anything, the Achæans were dismissed, and the rest returned to their ships, *Attalus* to Piræcum, the Romanes to Corcyra.

During this service by sea forces, the (other) Consull who lay in camp before Elatia in Phocis, first assayed to gaine the citie by conference and parlie with the principall citizens thereof: but after answer made, that it lay not in their hands, and that they who were for the king, out-

A went the townes-men both in number and strength: then at once from all parts he gave an assault unto the citie both by force of armes, and also by engines of artillerie. The Ram was bent against the walls, and as much thereof beaten downe with a mightie crash and fearefull noyse, as stood between the towres: whereupon the towne was dismanicled and laid naked; and withall a cohort of Romane souldiours entred at the open breach; so as from all parts the defendants abandoned their guards, and ran to that place that thus was distressed by the enemies. And at one instant the Romanes advanced themselves over the breach, and set up skaling ladders against the wall which was standing: and whiles the enemies were amused wholie, and had their eie only upon that one place where the conflict was, the wall in many parts was scaled, and armed souldiours mounted into the citie. At which sodaine tumult and alarme, the armed men having B quit the place which they guarded with a thick troupe, fled all into the castell for feare, and the unarmed and naked multitude followed after. Thus the Consull was maister of the citie: which being rancked, he sent unto the castell certaine messengers, promising life to as many of the kings garison as would depart away without armes, and offering libertie to the Elatians: and after securitie given hereof, within few dayes the castle also was rendred into his hands. Moreover, by the arrivall of *Philocles* (a commander for the king) in Achæa, not Corinth only was delivered from siege, but the citie also of the Argives, was by certaine of the principall rulers betrayed unto *Philocles*, who before had founded and sollicitated the minds and affections of the common people. There was a custome in this citie, that upon the first day of their generall assemblies, the Pretor should in token of good luck pronounce the names of *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*: and C afterwards ordeined it was besides by a law, that the name of *Philip* should make up the fourth. Now after the alliance accorded betweene them and the Romanes, it hapned that the beadle or publick cryer left out the name of *Philip*: whereat the multitude first began to mutter & grumble: then arose a loud cry of those that put him in mind to name the king, willing him to geve him his honor due by law: untill at last his name was also pronounced with great applause & consent. Vpon the confidence & assurance of this favour, *Philocles* was sent for, who by night seised upon an hill that commaundeth the citie, which commonly is called the fort of *Larissa*; and having put a garison there, the next morning betimes he advanced forward with banner displaid, and came downe toward the common place, lying under the fortresse aforesaid: where there encountered him a band of armed men well appointed in order of battaile. These were the garison of the D Achæi lately there placed, to the number of five hundred elect men chosen forth of all the States of Achæa: and one *Anefidemus* a Dymeian was their commander. Vnto him *Philocles* (one of the kings captaines aforesaid) addressed a speciall messenger to persuade and exhort him to quit the citie; giving him to understand, That hee and his companie were not able to match the townesmen alone, who caried the same mind that the Macedonians had done: much lesse then should they stand out when the Macedonians were joined unto them; the Macedonians (I say) whome the verie Romanes themselves could not sustaine at Corinth. At first he did no good either with leader or souldiour: yea and when within a while they beheld the Argives also marching armed against them with a great troupe from another part, and saw present death before their eies, yet it seemed they would have put it to the hazard of a conflict, and E sought to the last man, in case their captaine would have stucke to it, and not relented. But *Anefidemus* for feare lest together with the citie, the floure of all the youth of Achæa should perish, capitulated with *Philocles*, that they might be permitted to depart and goe their way: but himselfe kept his ground still in his armour, with some few of his followers and vassals, and remooved not a foot. Then *Philocles* sent out unto him, to demaund, What he meant thereby? Vnto whom he gave no other words, but holding forth his shield before him made answer, That armed as he was he would live and die in the guard and defence of that citie which was committed to his charge. Then by the commandement of the captaines, the Thracians launced their darts and shot at him, and so both he and the companie about him were slaine every one. Thus after the accord of alliance betweene the Achæans and Romanes, two most noble and famous cities (Argi and Corinth) came under the subjection of the king. These were the actes achieved F by the Romanes as well by land as sea this summer.

In Fraunce there was no exploit performed worth remembrance by *Sext. Atilius* the Consull, notwithstanding he had under his government two entire armies: the one that he retained still with him, which by order hee should have discharged, and was the same that had before bene

commanded by *L. Cornelius* the Proconsull, and now by him was committed to the charge of *C. Aelius*: the other, that he brought himselfe with him into the province. So that hee employed the whole yeere almost in compelling the men of *Cremona* and *Placentia* to returne into their colonies, from whence by sundry casualties of warre they were chased and dispersed. As Fraunce that yeere was in quiet beyond all hope and expectation, so about the citie of Rome there had like to have beene a commotion and tumult of bondslaves. The Carthaginian hostages were in guard and kept at Setia, where they had attending about them (as meet was for the children of the chiefe nobles and princes of Carthage) a mightie traine and retinue of servants. The number of them was the greater by occasion of the late Africane warre; during which time and presently after, the *Setines* also themselves had bought up many of that nation which were taken captives, and came in pott-sale with the rest of the prizes. These having conspired together, sent out certaine of their owne companie to sollicite also the other slaves that were in the territoire of Setia, and so forth, as many as they could find about *Norba* and *Circij*. Their plot was, that when all things were provided aforehand, they should upon the very day of the solemne games and plaies (which shortly were to be exhibited and set forth in Setia) take the opportunistic of the time, when as the people were busie in beholding the spectacle and shew represented unto their eye, and to run upon them: and when they had by inasacre in this sodaine hurlyburly possessed themselves of Setia, then to go forward and surpris *Norba* and *Circij*. This horrible complot and conspiracie was detected, and information given at Rome to *L. Cornelius Merula* Pretour at that time of the citie. For two bondslaves early in a morning before day, presented themselves unto him, and opened from point to point in order, namely, what had ben contrived and done, and what remained yet to do. The Pretor having taken order for their safe custodie at home within his own house, called the Senat together; where, after he had recounted and declared unto them what these enformers had revealed, he was commanded to goe abroad to search out and repress this conspiracie. Forth he marched with five lieutenants of the campe, & looke how many he could meet with in his way all over the fields, villages, and hamlets, he rendered unto them a militarie ord, and constrained them to arme and follow him. Thus in this hastie manner of levie, he armed well neere two thousand, and with them all together (who knew not whether he meant to goe nor to what peece of service he led them) to Setia he came. At his first entrance, he sodainly in great hast apprehended the principall heads of the conspiracie; whereupon the slaves fled out of the towne. Then were sent out certaine into the fields, to trace and to find them out by their tracks. In this businesse there were two bondslaves and one free man that performed singular good service. Unto him the LL. of the Senate gave order, that there should be paid 100000 Asles in brasse coine: but unto the slaves 25000 & their freedom. For the redemption of whom, their masters were contented their full price out of the chamber of the citie. Not long after, it was reported that the remnant of this conspiracie purposed to surpris *Preneste*. Thither marched *L. Cornelius* the Pretour of the citie, where he executed about five hundred persons who were found guiltie. The citie was in great feare to see how the hostages and captives of the Carthaginians practised such troubles. Therefore in Rome a standing watch was kept in every street: and the inferior magistrates were charged to see to it and to walke the round, and the *Triumvirs* likewise (or three Sheriffes) to have a better eye and looke to the Quartie-prison. The Pretour also directed his letters into all quarters of the Latine nation to this effect, That all the hostages should be kept within doores, and not suffered to goe abroad into the streets: that all captives and prisoners should have gyves about their heeles of ten pound weight at least, and be kept in no other ward but in the common goale.

The same yeere came embassadours from king *Attalus*, who presented in the Capitoll a golden crowne of 246 pound weight, with great thanksgiving unto the Senat, that king *Antiochus* in regard of the autoritie and countenance of the Romane Embassadours, had withdrawn his forces out of the confines of *Attalus*. The same sommer two hundred men of armes, ten Elephants, and 200000 Modij of wheat sent from king *Masiniissa*, arrived at the campe in Greece. Likewise out of Sicilie and Sardinia, there was sent great store of victuall and liveries for the armie. In Sicilie *M. Marcellus* was L. governour, and in Sardinia *M. Porcius Cato*, an upright man and living without touch and reproch, save onely he was thought somewhat too severe in restraining of usurie. Hee banished out of that Iland all usurers: hee abridged also and cut off cleane the charges which the allies were wont to defray for the entertainment of the Pretour.

Sax.

Sax. Aelius the Consull being returned to Rome out of Fraunce in regard of the generall assembly for election of magistrates, created Consuls *Cn. Cornelius Cethegus* and *Q. Minutius Rufus*. And two daies after, the election was held for Pretours. This yeere first were chosen six Pretours, by reason that the number of provinces encreased, and the Romane Empire and seignorie extended farther. And these were they, to wit, *L. Manlius Volsus*, *Cn. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *M. Sergius Silus*, *M. Helvius*, *M. Minutius Rufus*, and *L. Aclius*. Of these, *Sempronius* and *Helvius* were *Aediles* of the Commons; *Q. Minutius Thermus* and *T. Sempronius Longus* *Aediles* of the chaire. The Romane games this yeere were four times renewed. *Cn. Cornelius* and *Q. Minutius* being Consuls, above all things went in hand with the provinces of Consuls and Pretours: and first they dispatched those that concerned the Pretours (a matter that might be decided by calling lots.) To *Sergius* fell the jurisdiction of the citie, and to *Minutius* the foreine, over strangers. *Aclius* was appointed to Sardinia, *Manlius* to Sicilie, *Sempronius* to that part of Spaine betwene Italie and Iberus; and *Helvius* unto the other beyond the river.

When the Consuls were upon the point to cast lots likewise for their provinces, namely, Italie and Macedonie, *L. Oppius*, and *Q. Fulvius* Tribunes of the Commons, interposed themselves and staid them, alleading, That Macedonie was a province lying farre off, and there was no one thing that had more impeached and hindered the proceeding of warres to that day than this, That in so remote parts, the Consull ever of the former yeere was called home before hee were settled in his affaires, and when hee should bee employed most in warres. Now have there foure yeeres already gone over our heads, since we decreed and concluded to follow the Macedonian warre; during which time, *Sulpitius* spent the greater part of his yeer, in seeking after the king and his armie; *Villius*, when hee should encounter the enemy, was called away before hee had effected any exploit; as for *Quintius*, he was kept at Rome still for the most part of the yeer, in attendance about church matters and sacrifices: howbeit the affaires of warres under his conduct were managed so well, that if either he had gone sooner into his province, or the winter had been later, he might have dispatched the warres there: and now, that he is ready to retire into his standing campe and wintering harbours, the report is, that hee hath brought the warre to that good passe and forwardnesse, that unlesse hee bee not hindered by a new successe, in all likely hood and apparence, he will make a small end thereof the next summer.

With these speeches they prevailed so much, that the Consuls for their part promised to be ordered and set downe by the Senat in this behalfe, upon condition, that the Tribunes would be content to doe the like. Now when of both sides they had referred themselves to a free and absolute consultation, the LL. of the Senat assigned to both the Consuls the government of Italie, and continued the command of the armie still with *T. Quintius*, untill there came another to succeed him. Two legions were appointed for the Consull, with commission to war upon the Gauls betwene Rome and the Alps, who had revolted from the people of Rome. And for *Quintius* ordained it was, that there should be sent into Macedonie unto him, a new supplie of five thousand foot, three hundred horse, and three thousand sea-servitours and mariners. And likewise, that the same *L. Quintius Flamininus* should be Admirall of the navie, as before. For the Pretors who were to go into Spaine, there was an allowance of eight thousand footmen out of the allies of the Latine nation, and foure hundred horsemen, so that they dismissed the old soldiours out of Spaine: and enjoined they were to limit and set out the bonds of their severall provinces, whereas the higher Spaine and the lower should part. And for Macedonie there were two lieutenants more for the armie appointed, to wit, *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Villius*, who had ben Consuls both, and in that province.

Before that either Consuls or Pretours went out into their provinces, it was thought good to take order for the prodigious tokens which happened. For at Rome the temple of *Vulcanus* and *Samnanus*; at Fregellæ, the wall and a gate of the citie, were stricken with lightning. At Frusino it appeared light (as it had been cleare day) in the night season. At Asculum a lamb was yeened having two heads and five feet. Also at Formiæ two wolves entred into the towne, and worried some that were in their way. Last of all, at Rome there was a wolfe, that not onely came into the citie, but went forward as far as to the Capitoll.

C. Aclius a Tribune of the Commons proposed a law, that there should bee five colonies conducted to the sea side, and there planted: two at the mouth of the rivers *Vulturinus* and *Liter-* *Puzzele*
nus, one at *Putcoli*, another in the Burrough town of *Salernum*, & to make the fift *Buxentum* *Discenta Ni-*
gro, or *Festia*,
was *Ligorio*.

See the account
of the first Consull
in the 1. b.

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was adjoined to the rest. Into every Colonie order was taken, that there should bee thirtie households sent. The three Commissaries, called Triumvirs, for the conducting of these colonies were created, namely, *M. Servilius Geminus*, *Q. Minutius Thermus*, & *T. Sempronius Longus*. These three had commission to continue in the charge of this office three years. After the muster, and all other matters accomplished, pertaining to God and man, that were by the Consuls to be performed, then they set forward both into their provinces. *Cornelius* took his way directly against the Insubrians, who accompanied with the Cenomanes, were entered at that time into annes: *Q. Minutius* in his journey bare on the left hand of Italie toward the nether seas; and conducting his armie to Genua, began with the Ligurians to make warre. *Clasidium* and *Litubium*, townes both of the Ligurians, likewise two States of the same nation, the Celelates and the Cerdiciates surrendered unto him; insomuch as all the countie on this side the Po, were in subjection to the Romanes, except the Boians among the Gaules, and the Iuates among the Ligurians. By report there were fiftene townes containing twentie thousand men, which yeelded unto them. From thence he led the legions into the territorie of the Boians. The armie of the Boians had passed over the Po a little before, and joined with the Insubrians and Cenomanes: for hearing that the Consuls would warre jointly with both their forces, they intended likewise to make themselves more strong, by uniting and bringing their power together. But the bruit being blowne abroad, that one of the Consuls invaded and fired the countie of the Boians, presently there arose a tumult. For the Boians demanded, that they all in generall would helpe them in their distresse. The Insubrians refused and said, That they would not abandon their own confines: by which occasion they disbanded. The Boians went to the defence of their owne countie, and the Insubrians with the Cenomanes, sat them downe upon the bankes of the river *Mincius*. Five miles beneath that place, the Consull *Cornelius* also encamped himselfe neere the said river: from whence he sent certaine messengers all about the villages, and to *Brixia*, the head citie of that nation: and being advertised sufficiently that the youth was up in arms, without the warrant and consent of their auncients; and that the Cenomanes joined not with the Insubrians in their rebellion by vertue of publick counsell and authoritie; he sent for the principall persons among them, and began to labour and deale with them, that the Cenomanes would forsake the Insubrians, and openly with their ensignes advaunced, either to returne into their owne countie, or turne to the Romanes. This they could not bring them to: howbeit they assured the Consull, that in the field they would either sit still and doe nothing, or els, if any good opportunitie was presented unto them, they would aid the Romanes. The Insubrians knew nothing of this comploit: and yet, some doubt & suspicion they had, that their allies halted, and were not sound of heart: and therefore when there was occasion to lead forth to fight a field, they durst not trust them with either of the two wings and points of the battell, for fear if they reculed like false brethren, they should hazard the maine chaunce: but placed them behind the ensignes in the arriergard. The Consull in the beginning of the battell vowed a temple to *Iuno Sospita*, in case he discomfited the enemies that day, and put them to the rout. The souldiours set up a shout, & cried aloud that they would bring it to passe that the Consull should have his desire, and therewith charged the enemy right fiercely. The Insubrians could not abide the first shooke. Some write, that in the very conflict the Cenomanes also suddainely set upon their backe, whereby they were distressed and in daunger both before and behind; and that there were slaine enclosed in the mids five and thirtie thousand of the enemies, and seven hundred taken prisoners, and among them *Amilcar* the Generall of the Carthaginians, who was the cause of this war: also that there were a hundred and thirtie ensignes carried away, and of chariots above two hundred. All the townes that followed this revolt, yeelded to the Romanes.

Minutius the Consull, at the beginning made excursions into the countie of the Boians, wasting and spoiling it all over: but afterwards when they had forsaken the Insubrians, & were retired home to defend and save their own, he kept himselfe within campe, making full account to trie a set battell with the enemy. Neither would the Boians for their part have been behind, but ready to have answered them, had not the rumor of the Insubrians overthrow, daunted & broken their hearts. Whereupon they forsooke their leader, quit the campe, and bestowed themselves in the townes and villages to guard every man his owne, and quite altered the course of their enemy his warre, and put him besides his account. For the Consull past all hope now to determine the quarrell in one ranged battell, began againe to forray the fields, burne all buildings, and

and force townes by assault. Much about the same time *Clasidium* was set on fire. And from thence the legions were conducted against the Iuates among the Ligurians, who onely stood out and would not come in, and yeeld obedience. Which nation likewise hearing that the Insubrians were defeated in a battell, and that the Boians were so scared, that they durst not venture the fortune of a field, submitted themselves. At the same time the letters of the Consuls, containing their happie affaires in Fraunce, were brought to Rome. *M. Sergius* the Pretour of the citie first red them in the Senate, and afterwards by the advise of the Senate, rehearsed them in a full audience and assembly of the people. And a proceession was decreed for the space of foure daies.

Now was winter come, and whiles *T. Quintius* after the winning of *Elatia*, wintered his armies in divers harbors within *Phocis* and *Locris*, there arose a mutinie in *Opus*. The one faction sent for the *Ætolians* their neere neighbours to side with them: and the other for the Romanes. The *Ætolians* came first, but the mightier faction would not suffer them to enter in: for having dispatched a messenger to the Romanes Generall, they held the town untill his coming. The kings garrison kept the fortresse, neither could they be brought to abandon it either with the menaces of the *Opuntians*, or the authoritie and countenance of the Romanes commaunder. The onely let and stay why it was not immediatly assaulted was this: Because there was come an herald from the king, requesting time and place of a parle, which with much ado was graunted to the king: not because *Quintius* of himselfe was not desirous and wished that hee might bee thought to have ended this warre, either by force of armes or conditions of peace; for as yet he knew not whether one of the new Consuls should be sent to succede him, or his government continued still unto him (according as he had given his friends and kinsfolks in charge to bring that about by all the endeavour and meanes that he could make: but hee supposed verily, that this parling would be to good purpose for him, if it might be in his libertie to drive matters unto warre if he stayed still, or draw to a peace if he departed home. So upon the strond and shore of the gulf *Malea*, they chose a place neere unto *Nicea*. Thither came the king by water from *Demetrias* with five brigantines or pinnaces, & one ship of war with a brasse beake-head: There accompanied him the chiefe LL. of *Macedonie*, and *Cyclidas* a noble personage of great mark among the *Æthians*, and one that was from thence banished. With the Romanes Generall were king *Amintor*, *Dionysidorus* an embassador of king *Attalus*, and *Agelimbrotus* Admiral of the *Rhodian* fleet, *Phaneas* the chiefe & principal magistrat of the *Ætolians*, and two *Achæans* *Aristhenus* and *Xenophon*. The Romanes Generall in the mids of these, advanced himselfe forward to the edge of the very shore, even to the banke side, whiles the king came forward to the foredeck of his ship standing at anker: and thus he began & said unto the king, Sir, you may do better to come ashore, that wee may commune and conferre together close, and both speake and heare one another, more easily. The king refused so to do: and why forquoth *Quintius*, who is it that you feare, if a man may know? Then with an haucie spirit and kinglike: I feare none (quoth he) but the immortall gods; but I trust not the fidelitie of all that I see heere about you, and namely the *Ætolians* least of all other. Why (saith *Quintius* againe) this is the common case of all them that come to parlie with enemies, namely, to be in danger one of another. Yea mary, quoth the king, but by your leave *Quintius*, the price and recompence of trecherie & falshead (if it should come to that) is not all one for killing *Philip* and *Phaneas*: for the *Ætolians* should not find it so hard a matter to substitute another Pretor, as the *Macedonians* to create another king in my routine. This said, there was not a word more to the point: while the Romanes generall thought it reason that he should begin who sought for a parle; and the king supposed it meet that it was his part to speake first who should give conditions, and not for him that stood at receipt, and was to accept thereof. Then *Quintius* began and said, that his speech should be plain & simple: for he would say no more, but propose only those points, which if they might not be performed, there would be no peace upon any condition at all. First, that the king must withdraw his garrisons out of all the cities of Greece. Item, That he is to deliver up all the prisoners and fugitive revolts that hee hath unto the allies of the people of Rome. Item, That he restore againe to the Romanes all those peeces in *Illyricum*, which after the peace concluded in *Epirus*, he had seized upon. Last of all, that he surrender unto *Ptolomeus* king of *Ægypt*, all those cities which he possessed himselfe of, after the death of *Ptolome Philopator*. These (saith he) are the conditions, that I and the people of Rome doe demand: but meet it is besides, that you heare the demands also of the allies. Then the

Embassadour

Embassadour or agent for king *Attalus* required, that the ships and captives which had been taken in the sea-fight before *Chius*, should be rendered, and that *Nicephorium* and the temple of *Venus*, which hee had pill'd and spoiled, should be restored as good and entier, as they were before. After him, the Rhodians made claime to *Peræa* (a countie in the continent right over-against their Isle, and an auncient appertenance of their siegnorie) and demanded withall, that the garrisons should quit *Iassus*, *Bargyllæ*, and the citie of the *Euromensians*, and about *Hellepontus*, likewise the cities of *Sestos* and *Abydos*. *Item*, that *Panopolis* should be restored unto the *Bizantines*, with the auncient chartre of their franchises and liberties. Finally, that all the Merchant townes and Ports in *Asia* might be freed from paying custome. Then came upon him the *Achæi*, and chalenged *Corinth* and *Argi* as their owne. After them, when as *Phaneas* (the Pretour of the *Ætolians*) had demanded in a manner the same that the Romanes had before, namely, that the kings forces should depart out of Greece, adding moreover, that those cities should be rendered unto the *Ætolians* which in times past belonged to their dominion and jurisdiction: then one of the heads of the *Ætolians* named *Alexander*, an eloquent man among them, as any other, presently inferred and said, That he had a long time sitten still, and opened not his mouth, not because he thought that in all this conference they would grow to any point or conclusion, but for that he would not interrupt any of his allies in their speech. And as for *Philip* quoth he, he dealeth not foundly and *bona fide* in treaties of peace, no more than ever heretofore he hath managed his warres with vertue and true valour. For in all these parties and conferences he layeth traines, and lieth to catch advantages: in warre he never striketh a battaile in plaine field, nor commeth to close fight hand to hand; but in his retreats and flights, bur-
neth and sacketh cities: and thus being himselfe vanquished, spoileth and maketh havock of that which by right is the due reward and recompence of conquerours. But the noble Macedonian kings in old time, tooke no such courses. Their manner was to fight it out in open field, and to spare cities and townes, all that ever possibly they could; to the end that their dominion might be more wealthy and puissant. For what kind of pollicie is it, for him to ruinate and destroy utterly that, about the possession whereof he is in question, and reserve nothing for himselfe but only warre? This *Philip* the yere past hath laid desolate in *Theffalie* more cities of his allies there, than all the enemies have done that ever *Theffalie* had: and hath taken more from the *Ætolians* themselves, while he was a confederate friend with them, than all the time that he was their professed enemy. Hee hath seized upon *Lyfimachia*, expelled their Pretour, and chalenged out the garison of the *Ætolians*. *Chios* also, a citie under his owne subjection he hath rased subverted and quite destroyed. By semblable falshood and deceit he is possessed of *Thebes* in *Phthia*, *Echinum*, *Larissa*, and *Pharalus*. *Philip* netled and galled at these words of *Alexander*, commaunded that his ship should approach neerer to the banke, to the end that himselfe might be better heard. And as he began to frame bitter invectives against the *Ætolians* principally, *Phaneas* cut him off, saying, That the quarell was not to be decided by word, but with the sword: and either he must win it by fine force, or yeeld obedience to the mightier. That is true quoth *Philip*, and so evident, that a blind man may see it; jesting merily at *Phaneas*, who was troubled with a paire of bad eyes. And geven he was by nature to be pleasantly conceited, yea and fuller of his trumps ywis, than befecmed the majestic of a king: so as many times even in treatie of serious matters and of great consequence, he could not forbear but make himselfe merry and laugh a good. Afterwards he fell to a fit of choler and indignation, that the *Ætolians* should take upon them like Romanes to commaund him out of Greece, who if they were put to it, were not able upon their knowledge to set downe the bounds of Greece, and limit how far it reached. For as much as the *Agrei*, the *Apodeotes* and *Amphilochi*, which take up a great part of *Ætolia*, are not within Greece. And what just cause (quoth he) of complaint have they, in that I have not spared some of their allies? Why? even they themselves hold this old custome for a law, namely, to permit their youth to take armes and serve against their owne allies, so they do it without the publick order and warrant from the State: and very often a man may see *Ætolians* in contrarie armies, and come to aid as well the one side as the other: As for *Chius*, it was not I that forced it; I did no more but aid *Prusias* my friend and ally, in the siege and assault thereof. And as touching *Lyfimachia*, I defended it against the *Thracians*: but for as much as of necessity I was called away from the guard thereof unto this warre, the *Thracians* now hold it. Thus much by way of answer to the *Ætolians*. Now concerning *Attalus* and the Rhodians, by right I owe them

them nothing: for it was not I but they, that began the warre. Howbeit, for the honor that I beare to the Romanes, I will make restitution to the Rhodians of *Peræa*, and restore I will to *Attalus* the ships and the captives as many as are forthcomting and may be found. As for the restitution and making good againe of *Nicephorium* & the temple of *Venus*, what answer should I returne to them that demand it; but this, that I will endeavour and be at charge of planting new trees (which is the onely way and meanes whereby groves and woods that are cut downe and fallen, may be recovered againe) seeing that ye will needs have it, that kings (forsooth) must commun and reason to and fro about such matters as these. In the last place, he framed his speech to answer the *Achæans*: wherein, first he began with the benefites and pleasures that *Antigonus* had done unto that nation; then, of the favours and good turnes they had received from his owne selfe; and withall he commaunded their decrees and edicts to be red, containing all kind of honors as well divine as humane: adding moreover the late and fresh revolt of their armie from him: and albeit he inveighed sharply against their disloyaltie and treacherie, yet he promised to render *Argos* unto them. As for *Corinth*, he would conferre and consult with the *Romane* Generall, and demand of him, whither he thought it reason that he should depart from those cities which he wan by armes, and held by right of conquest, or dispossesse himselfe of those also, which he received from his progenitours as his lawfull inheritance? The *Achæans* and *Ætolians* addressed themselves to answer those points; but the sunne was welneere downe: whereupon the conference was adjourned untill the morrow, *Philip* retired to the harborough from whence he came, and the Romanes with their allies to their camp. The day following, *Quintius* at the time appointed was readie before the citie of *Nicea* (for that was thought a convenient place.) But *Philip* appeared not, nor for the space of certaine houres came there any at all from him, nor so much as a messenger. Now when they were out of all hope of his repaire thither, behold of a sodaine his ships were descried. For himselfe he said by way of excuse, that considering how hard, how grievous and intollerable indignities were imposed upon him, he had employed all that day time untill then in consultation, and could not resolve. But it was generally thought among them all, that he had of purpose prolonged the time, and made it so late even toward evening, because the *Achæans* and *Ætolians* should have no leisure to answer unto him. And this opinion of theirs himselfe confirmed, in that he requested that he alone might parlie with the *Romane* Generall himselfe, and that all others should go aside and absent themselves; to the end they two might spend and loose no more time in debate and wrangling, but briefly to the point, and make an end one way or other. This petition of his would not at first be accepted by *Quintius*, pretending that he would not have it seene that the allies were excluded out of the conference. But afterwards upon his importunate suite, by the advise of them all, the *Romane* Generall together with *Ap. Claudius* a Colonell, when the rest were voided away, advanced forward to the banke side: the king with the other two whom he had with him the day before came aland. Thereafter they had parled in secret together a certaine time, they parted: What *Philip* related unto his companie is not certainly knowne: but *Quintius* made report unto his allies of their conference in this wise: namely, that *Philip* was content to quiet the whole coast and tract of *Illyricum*, for the Romanes to enter upon. *Item*, to send back all the traitorous renegates, and as many captives as were to be found. *Item*, to redeliver unto *Attalus* the ships and the mariners taken prisoner therein. *Item*, to render unto the Rhodians the countie of *Peræa*: but in no wise to be seized of *Iassus* and *Bargyllæ*. *Item*, to deliver unto the *Ætolians* *Pharalus* and *Larissa*, but not *Thebes* in any case. Last of all, to part not onely with *Argos*, but with *Corinth* also, for the behoufe of the *Achæans*. There was not one of them all well pleased at this limitation and setting out of particular parts, which hee would deliver, and which he would not. For in this reckning and account they should be more losers than winners. For unless (say they) hee remove his forces and garrisons out of all Greece throughout, he will never cease to give or take occasions of quarrell. As they all cried out from the whole assembly to this effect, their high voice was heard of *Philip*, albeit he stood aloof. Whereupon he requested *Quintius* to referre the whole matter once more unto the next day, and then certainly without faile, he would either persuaue him and his allies and bring them to his mind, or else would come off and suffer himselfe to be persuaued and overruled by them. The place of meeting was appointed upon the strand neare *Thronium*; and thither they repaired on both parts betimes. There *Philip* first and foremost, besought both *Quintius* and all those

those that were present, not to disturbe the hope of peace; but that it might come to some effect: and in conclusion, craved time wherein he might send his embassadours unto the Senate of Rome; assuring them, that if he could not obtaine peace under those articles above said, hee would accept of any other conditions, which it should please the Senate to put upon him. All the rest misliked hereof, supposing that he sought for nothing else but delays and tract of time, whiles he might gather his forces together. But *Quintius* interred againe, That well it might so be, and a truth indeed that they alledged, if it were some time and a season fit for warre and marriall exploits: but now, considering winter was at hand, they could loofe nothing by granting him respite to adresse an embassage. For neither (quoth hee) will any capitulation and composition which wee should make with *Philip* stand good and firme without the approbation of the Senat: and in this one winter (when of necessity we must surcease from warre) it may be knowne what the Senate by their authoritie will approve. To this advise the chiefe of the confederates accorded, and therein rested. So there was a cessation of armes for two moneths granted: in which meane time it was thought good, that each of them likewise should dispatch one embassadour to advertise the Senate, to take heed they were not over-raught by the subtiltie and fraud of the king. But provided it was in the covenant of the truce aforesaid, That incontinently the kings garrisons should void the territories of Phocis and Locris. *Quintius* also himselfe sent (together with the Embassadours of the allies) *Aminander* king of the Athamans; and to make the embassage more honourable, *Q. Fabius* (his owne wives sisters sonne) *Q. Fulvius* and *P. Claudius* accompanied the king.

When they were arrived at Rome, the Embassadours of the allies had audience given them before those that were sent from king *Philip*. Most of their speeches were spent in railing against the king: but in this one point they most of all mooved the Senat to give care unto them, namely, when they described by demonstration (as in a map) the situation of those countries as well by land as sea, that all men might plainly see, that if the king might hold in his hands the citie Demetrias in Thessalie, Chalcis in Euboea, and Corinth in Achaia, Greece could not possibly be at libertie, considering that *Philip* himselfe was wont to tearme them (no lesse truly than rauntingly) The shackles and fetters of Greece. After them were the kings embassadours permitted to enter into the Senat house: and having begun to make a long oration, their speech was cut off with this one brieve and short interrogatorie, Whether *Philip* would quit those three cities aforesaid or no? Whereunto they made this answer, That they had no expresse warrant in their commission touching that matter by name. So the kings Embassadours were sent away without conclusion of any peace: and *Quintius* had full authoritie to determine of war or peace at his pleasure. Who seeing plainly by this, that the Senate was not wearie of warre, and being himselfe more desirous of victorie than peace, he would never after graunt *Philip* any more parties, but gave him to understand, that he would admit no other embassage from him; but that which should bring him newes of his departure quite out of Greece.

Philip seeing no other way now but that he must needs fight and trie the issue by a maine battail, and that hee was to gather his forces together from all parts: being perplexed most of all for the cities of Achaia (a countrey farre remote from him) and yet more careful in regard of Argi than Corinth; he thought it best pollicie to make it over (as it were upon trust) into the hands of *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedemonians; upon condition, That if hee obtained the victorie, *Nabis* should deliver it up unto him againe; but if hee should come to him himselfe, then *Nabis* himselfe to have and hold it as his owne. Unto *Philip*, governor of Corinth and Argi, he dispatcheth his letters, That hee should himselfe in person commune with the tyrant above-named about it. *Philocles*, besides that hee came now with a present, added moreover of his owne head (for the better assurance and pawne of amitie betwene the tyrant and the king) That *Philip* would give his daughters in marriage to *Nabis* his sonnes. The tyrant refused at the first to accept of that citie, unless hee were sent for, by a decree of the Argives themselves to come for to aid the citie. But afterwards when he heard say, That in a frequence assembly there they not onely rejected him, but also detested and abhorred the very name of a tyrant, as an execrable abomination; supposing now that he had a good occasion and quaine offered to make a spoile of them, he willed *Philocles* to deliver the citie unto him when hee would. So the tyrant was received into the town in the night season, without the privitie and knowledge of any person: and by breake of day hee seized upon all the higher places. The gates were shut, and few

of the principall heads in the beginning of the tumult made shift to escape. Those that were absent had their houses ransacked and their goods pilled: as many as were present, had all their gold and silver taken from them; besides, great summes of money were imposed upon them to be paid. They that made speed and were not long about it, but tendered readie coine, were let goe without any outrage or hurt done unto their bodies: but such as were suspected either to hide or keepe ought backe, were mangled and tortured like bondslaves. After this, hee assembled the people together and published two lawes; the one, for crossing all debt-bookes and cancelling obligations: the other, for division of lands among the people by the poll: two firebrands to serve their turne that seeke for change and alteration in a State; enough to set on fire the Commons against the Nobles and chiefe of a citie.

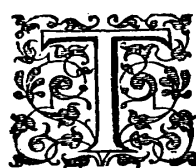
When the citie of Argos was thus brought in subjection under *Nabis*, the tyrant never remembering at whose hands, nor upon what condition he had received it, sent Embassadours to Elatia unto *Quintius*, likewise to *Attalus* wintering then in Aegina, certifying them, That Argos was in his hands and at his devotion; and if *Quintius* would repaire thither to parle with him, he doubted not but they two should agree well enough in every point. *Quintius* granted to come thither, to the end, that by this meanes he might disfigure *Philip* of that garrison: and he sent likewise to *Attalus*, willing him, that he would depart from Aegina and meet him at Siccyone: himselfe loosed from Anticyra, and with ten galeaces called Quinqueremes; which (as hap was) *L. Quintius* his brother some dayes before had put to sea out of the wintering harbour of Corcyra, crossed over to Siccyone. Now was *Attalus* there already, who making remembrance unto *Quintius*, That it became a tyrant to come unto a Romane Generall, and not a Romane Generall to goe unto a tyrant, induced *Quintius* to condescend unto his opinion, and not to enter the citie of Argos. Not farre from the citie is a place called Mycenica, where they agreed to meet and commune together. *Quintius* came to the place, accompanied with his brother & certaine colonels. *Attalus* was guarded with his princely and roiall traine. *Nicofratus* the Pretour of the Achæans repaired thither, attended with some few auxiliarie souldiours: and there they found the tyrant expecting their comming with all his forces. And armed as he was, with his guard likewise armed, he advanced himselfe into the middest (well nere) of the plaine that lay betwene. *Quintius* unarmed, came forward with his brother and two colonels. King *Attalus* likewise betwene the Pretour of the Achæans of the one hand, and a courteour of his on the other, both unarmed. The tyrant began the speech with an excuse, That being in armes and attended with a guard of armed men, he presented himselfe to a parle, seeing the Generall of the Romans and king *Attalus* unarmed: and said, that he stood not in feare of them, but of certaine exiled persons of the Argives. After this, when they came to treat as touching the conditions and covenants for the contract of an amitie, *Quintius* the Generall demanded two things: the one, That *Nabis* would make an end of warring with the Achæi: the other, That he would send with him certain aids against *Philip*. And verily to send succour he granted: and in lieu of peace hee was content there should be a truce, untill the warre with *Philip* was dispatched. Also about Argos king *Attalus* began to enter into some question, saying: That having the citie treacherously betrayed unto him by *Philocles*, hee now held it by force of armes: but hee answered againe, That hee was sent for by the Argives themselves, for to protect them. Then the king required that the Argives might be assembled together, that he might know the truth. The tyrant made no denial thereof. The king replied againe, that the assembly should be free, and at their libertie to speake, and to that effect the garrisons were to be removed out of the city, & no Lacedemonians intermingled among them; to the end that the Argives might frankly speake their mind. But the tyrant flatly denied to withdraw from thence the guards. So this arguing came to no conclusion, and the conference brake up, after that the tyrant had given the Romane Generall sixe hundred Candiores, and a truce made for the tearme of foure moneths, betwene *Nicofratus* Pretour of the Achæans, & *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedemonians. From thence *Quintius* departed to Corinth, and approached the gate with a regiment of Cretensians, that it might appeare to *Philocles* the kings captain there, that the tyrant was revolted from *Philip*. *Philocles* also entred into a parle with the Romane Generall, and when hee was exhorted by him to depart out of hand and yeeld the citie, he returned such an answer unto him, that hee seemed rather to deferre, than to denie the thing. From Corinth *Quintius* crossed the sea to Anticyra, from whence he sent his brother to sound the nation of the Acarnanians. And *Atta-*

lus departed directly from Argos to Sicyone. Where the citie not onely encreased the auncient G honours of the king, with the addition of new: but also the king over and besides that hee had purchased for them in time past, the sacred land of *Apollo*, with a great summe of money; because hee would not seeme now also to passe by this friend citie allied unto him, without some roiall bountie and munificence, he gave freely unto them sixe talents of silver, and ten thousand Medimnes of corne: and so returned to his ships at Cenchreæ. *Nabis* also having strengthened the garison in Argi, returned to Lacedæmon: and after himselfe had robbed the men of their monie and goods, hee sent his wife thither to doe the like by the women. VWho sending for the honourable and worshipfull dames of the citie, inviting them one by one to her house, & otherwhiles many together at once, such as were of kin one to another, by flattering and by threatening gat from them not only all the gold that they had, but in the end stript off their apparell also, and all the jewels and ornaments that they ware. H



THE XXXIII. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIVS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the three and thirtieth Booke.



Iteus *Quintius Flamininus* the Proconsull, ended the warre with *Philip*, after hee had vanquished him in a pight field neere *Cynocephale* in *Thessalie*. *L. Quintius Flamininus*, brother to the said Proconsull, having forced *Leucas* the head citie of *Acarnania*, received the *Acarnanians* upon their submission and surrender. *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* the Pretor was slaine, and his armie defeated by the *Celtiberians*. *Attalus* being fallen suddainly sicke, was removed from *Thebes* to *Pergamus*, and there departed this life. Peace was granted to *Philip* upon his suite, and libertie restored to *Greece*. *L. Furius* and *C. Claudius Marcellus*, the two Consuls, subdued the *Boians* and *Insubrians* in *Gaul*, *Marcellus* triumphed. *Annibal* having intruded in *Affricke* to raise war, but to no effect, was thereupon accused unto the *Romanes*, by letters sent from the principall of the adverse faction: but for feare of the *Romanes*, who had dispatched their embassadors to the *Carthaginian* Senate about him, he fled unto *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, who also prepared then to make warre upon the *Romanes*. L

The beginning is not extant in the Latine.

adjoining in those quarters to *Acarnania*. There was a streight passe or gullet there, halfe a mile almost in length, but not halfe a mile in breadth: at the end of this streight standeth the citie *Leucas* planted against an hill that turneth to the East, & looketh toward *Acarnania*. The base town is built upon a plain, reaching along the sea that divideth *Leucadia* from *Acarnania*. Whereupon the citie, as well on the land side as by sea is easie to be forced. For the foulds of the water resemble a standing lake rather than a sea, and the whole soile is a light earth, minable and easie to be wrought into, so that in many places at once the wals either undermined or shaken with the ram, came tumbling down. But as the town it selfe was assailable, so the hearts of the townsmen were invincible. For night and day they gave not over, to repaire the cracks of the shaken wal, to fill up the open breaches and ruines, to make head lustily, and skirmish with the enemy, and rather to defend the wals by force of armes, than to save themselves by strength of their wals. And surely a longer

A longer siege they would have made of it than the *Romanes* hoped, but that certaine banished persons, *Italians* borne, dwelling in *Leucas*, let in and received armed soldiors on the castle side. Howbeit, the *Leucadians* embattelling themselves in their market place, encountered them as they ran downe from the higher ground with a great cry and noise, and maintained battell with them for a long time. In this meane while, the wals in diverse places were scaled with ladders, and the enemies mounting over the heapes of stones that lay at the breaches, entred the towne. And now by this time the lieutenant in person, with many companies environed them as they fought: some were slaine in the midst, others flung away their weapons, and yielded to the conquest. After few daies, upon the newes of the field fought at *Cynocephala*, all the States of *Acarnania* came in, and submitted themselves to the lieutenant.

B At the same time, whiles fortune turned thus about, and bare downe a side all at once; the *Rhodians* also sent out *Pausistratus* their Pretor, with eight hundred footmen of *Achaia*, and about 1900 souldiours well armed, gathered out of all sorts of auxiliaries, to regaine and reconquer from *Philip* the country of *Peræa*, lying in the maine and firme land, which had been held sometime, and possessed by their aunceltours. And these aids were compounded and mixed of *French*, *Nisietes*, *Pisietes*, *Tanians*, and *Areens* of *Affricke*, and *Laodiceans* of *Asia*. With these forces *Pausistratus* encamped in the territorie of *Stratonicea*, and there hee seized of a commodious place, and very good for his purpose, unwares to the kings companie that had holden the same. Thither came also to aid them in very good time, a regiment of a thousand foot and a hundred horse of *Achaens*, levied for that purpose, and were commaunded by *Theoxenus*. *Dinocrates* a captaine under the king, willing to recover the said hold againe, first pitched his tents, hard against the enemies campe. But afterwards hee removed to another fort in the territorie likewise of *Stratonicea*, which they call *Astragon*: and having rallied together all the garisons, dispersed asunder in divers places, and sent for the auxiliarie bands also of *Thessalians*, even from *Stratonicea*, he took his way and marched toward *Alabanda*, where the enemies were. The *Rhodians* likewise for their part were readie for battell, and after they were encamped of both sides neere together, immediately they entred into the field to fight it out. *Dinocrates* placed in the right point five hundred *Macedonians*, and the *Agrians* he put in the left, in the maine battell he bestowed all those that hee had gathered together out of the garisons belonging to the forts abovesaid, who for the most part were *Carians*, the points he flanked round about with his D corners of horse. The *Rhodian* cohort was marshalled in this manner: The auxiliaries of the *Candidotes* and *Thracians* kept the right point, the hired souldiours (and they were a power of cleet footmen) stood in the left, in the midst were the aids (a medley of many nations:) the *Cavallerie* and all the light armed souldiours that were, compassed the corners like wings. All that day the two armies stood only upon the banke of a brooke which ran between them with a small and shallow water: and after some loose shot discharged, they retired into their tents. The next day they were raunged in like order, and stricke a battaile exceeding the proportion of their number; for on each side there were not above three thousand foot, and upon a hundred horse: but they were even matched not in number only and armour, but also in equall courage and hope alike. The *Achaens* first passed over the said brooke, and charged upon the *Agrians*: afterwards the whole armie ran as one would say, over the river. The fight continued long doubtfull. The *Achaens* being of themselves in number a thousand, disordred some four hundred of the other, and forced them to recule, and afterwards the entier right point of the battaile began to shrink and geve ground. As for the *Macedonians*, so long as their battailon called *Phalanx*, kept their array and stood close together, could not possibly be stirred or removed; but after their left side was laid naked, and they began to reach out on all hands their long pikes against the enemy, charging them acrosse upon the flanke, they were presently troubled: and first they put themselves in disaray, afterwards they turned their backs, and last of all flung their weapons from them, and ran away for life, untill they were come to *Bargilia*. Thither also was *Dinocrates* fled. The *Rhodians* having followed the chase as long as they had any day to see, F setted into their camp. And for certeine it is knowne, if in this traine of victorie they had presently made speede to *Stratonicea*, they might have bene maisters of the towne, and never drawne sword for it: but whiles they spent time in recovering the burrough townes and forts of *Peræa*, they let this opportunitie slip out of their hands, and lost it for ever. For in the meane space, they that lay in garison and held *Stratonicea*, were encouraged, and tooke better heart.

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Dinocrates

Dinocrates also anon with those forces of his that remained, put himselfe within the walls. Then *G* was the towre besieged and assailed, all in vaine, neither could it be forced and woon but by *Antiochus*, a certeine time after. Thus went the affaires in Theffalie, in Achaza, and in Asia, much about one and the selfsame time.

Philip being advertised that the Dardanians were entred within the confines of his realme, and wasted the high countrie of Macedonie, albeit he saw that almost in all parts of the world unhappie fortune still followed and cousted both him and his wherefoever they were: yet esteeming it more grievous and heavey than death it selfe to be disseized of the possession of Macedonie also, he made a levie in great hast out of all his cities of fixe thousand foote, and 500 horse; with which power of Macedonians, he sodainly surprised the enemy (unprovided and not ware of his coming) about *Stobi* in *Pelagonia. Great numbers of men were slaine in conflict, but more in the fields, such as were disbanded, and raunged abroad for greedinesse of bootie and pillage. But as many as could make meanes to flie more readily and easily away, never stood out the triall of a battaile, but returned home into their owne countrey. Having thus put life as it were againe into his men by this one expedition and exploit (a matter of no consequence to the totall adventure of his whole estate) he retired himselfe to Theffalonica.

The Punick warre was not atchieved and brought to an end so happily and in so good a time for the Romanes (who otherwise should have warred at once both against the Carthaginians and *Philip*) but it fel out as well and in as fit a season, that *Philip* was now vanquished; just against the time that *Antiochus* in Syria prepared to levie warre against them. For besides that the service was much more easily managed against them single and apart, than it would have bene if they had banded both at once, and brought their forces together, it chaunced also that Spaine about the very same instant brake out to a tumultuous insurrection.

Antiochus being returned to Antioch there to winter, after he had the summer before brought under his subjection all the cities belonging to *Ptolomæus*, within the country of *Coele-Syria, was yet never the more at quiet, & mindfull of peace afterwards. For when he had assembled a puissant power both of land and also of sea-forces, and purposed to employ the whole strength of his realme, he sent afore by land in the beginning of the spring, his two sonnes *Arades* and *Mithridates* with a mightie armie, commanding them to attend him at Sardis: himselfe in person set forth a voyage by sea, with a flecte of a hundred saile of couvert ships with decks and hatches, besides two hundred lighter vessels, as Galions and Brigantines, purposing at one time to assaie all the cities in *Cilicia & Caria, coasting along the sea side, which were within the dominion of *Ptolomæus*: and withall to aid *Philip* as well with shipping as souldiours, for as yet *Philip* was not utterly subdued, nor the warre with him brought to a finall end. Many brave and worthie exploits enterprised the Rhodians both by sea and land, in their loyaltie and faithfulness to the Romanes, and for the safegard and defence of all the Greekish nation. But no one thing shewed their magnificence more than this, that being nothing terrified at that time with such a world of warres threatned against them, they sent ambassadors to the king, to let him understand, that if he sailed forward and stayed not his Armada, they would encounter him at the Bay of Nephelis (which is a promontorie or cape of Cilicia, renowned for the auncient league of the Atheniens.) And this they did, not upon any hatred they bare to his person, but to impeach him only for comming to joine with *Philip*, thereby to hinder the Romanes in their good course of setting Greece at libertie. At the same time *Antiochus* was busied in the siege and assault of Coraceium, against which he had placed all ordinance and engines of batterie: for he was alreadye master of the cities of *Zephyrium, Soli, *Aphrodisias and *Corycus, and having doubled the point of *Anemurium (a cape or forland also of Cilicia) he had woon likewise the citie of *Selinus. All these, and many other forts of that coast being yielded unto him by composition, either for feare or willingly, without any assault, only Coraceium shut their gates against him, and staid his progresse beyond his expectation. There the embassadours of the Rhodians had audience. And albeit that embassie was such as might have set a king into a fit of choler and chafed his bloud, yet he tempered his anger, and made answer that he would send his embassadours to Rhodes, and give them in charge to renew the auncient rights and privileges as well of his owne as of his auncestours with that citie and State, and to will them not to stand in feare of the kings comming, for that neither they nor any allies of theirs should susteine harme or damage by him. For it was no part of his meaning to infringe and breake the amitie which he had

A with the Romanes, as it may appeere as well by his late embassie sent unto them, as also by the honorable decrees and answers made by the Senate and sent unto him. For it fortunied that even then the embassadours of king *Antiochus* were returned from Rome, having had a friendly audience there, and a gracious dispatch, according as the time required: for as yet the issue of the warre against *Philip* was uncerteine. Whiles the kings embassadours delivered these points in the assemblie of the Rhodians, there arrived a post with newes, that the warre was ended by meanes of a victorie atchieved by the Romanes against *Philip* at Cynosephale. These tidings being once heard, the Rhodians past all feare now of *Philip* were of advise to meet *Antiochus* at sea with their navie. For they had a second care besides which they neglected not, to maintaine the libertie of those allied cities pertaining to king *Ptolome*, against which, warre was menaced from *Antiochus*. Some they succoured with sending aid unto them, and others by fore-cast and geving them warning of the designements and enterprises of their enemies: whereby they were a cause, that the Caunij, Myndij, they of Halicarnassus and Samos enjoyed still their entier freedome. But needlesse it is for me, to prosecute all the occurrents and affaires that passed in these parts, considering how I shall have enough to do, and hardly be able to set downe and go through with those that properly concerne the Romanes warre. At the same time also king *Attalus* was brought sick from Thebes to Pergamus, and there departed this world in the 71 yeere of his age, when he had reigned 44. This man was beholden to fortune for nothing els but riches, that might commend him to the hope of a kingdome. He employed the same with such wisdom and magnificence, that first in his owne conceipt, and afterwards in the judgement of others, he was not thought unworthie to be a king. Afterwards when he had vanquished in one battaile the Gaules (a nation at that time newly arrived in Asia, and therefore the more dread and terrible) he tooke upon him to be titled king, and ever after caried a mind answerable to the grandeur and majestie of that name. His owne subjects he governed with singular justice. To his allies he shewed himselfe most fast and faithfull. His friends he used with all kindnes and bountie. A wife and foure children he had living when himselfe died: and left his kingdome so sure and well settled, that the possession thereof continued firme to the third discent and generation after him.

Whiles things stood thus in Asia, Greece and Macedonie, and the warre with *Philip* scarcely ended, or at leastwise, peace not fully concluded, there arose a mightie warre in the province of Spaine beyond the river Iberus. *M. Helvius* at that time was governour there, who by his letters advertised the Senate, That *Colcas* and *Lusinus*, two princes in those parts, were gone out, and had taken armes; that with *Colcas* there banded seventene townes, and with *Lusinus* the strong and puissant cities Cardo and Bardo; that the whole sea-coast, which hitherto by open revolt shewed not their rebellious heart, would doublelesse upon the commotion of those their neighbours, make likewise an insurrection together with them. After these letters were red by *M. Sergius* the Pretour, who had the jurisdiction betwene citizens and aliens, the LL. of the Senate ordeined, that after the election of new Pretours was past, he to whose lot the government of Spaine fell, should propose unto the Senate in all convenient speede as touching the warre in Spaine.

E About that very time the Consuls repaired to Rome, (from their provinces) who held an assembly of the Senate in the temple of *Bellona*: and when they demanded triumph in consideration of their good service, and happy exploits in warre atchieved: *C. Atinius Labeo* and *C. Virginius*, Tribunes of the Commons required, That the Consuls should speake severally by themselves concerning triumph: for suffer them they would not jointly to propound that thing in the house, to the end, that equall and semblable honour should not be conferred upon persons of unlike qualitie, worth, and desert. And when *Minutius* interred againe and said, That the province of Italie fell unto them both in one commission, and *Cornelius* seconded him withall, averring, That hee and his companion in government had managed all their affaires with one mind by common counsell and advise; that the Boians who passed over the river Po against him for to succour the Insubrians and Cænomans, were forced to turne backe againe to defend their owne, by reason that the other Consull his colleague made such wast and pillage in their fields and villages. The Tribunes confessed, that *Cornelius* indeed had atchieved so worthy exploits in warre, that there was no more doubt to be made of his triumph, than of rendring praise and thanks to the immortall gods: but neither hee nor any other citizen stood ever at any time in

such grace, favour and credit, that having obtained the honour of a triumph for himselfe, hee should impart that glorie unto his colleague and fellow, if hee were so shamelesse as to crave it. As for *Q. Minutius* (say they) he made some sleight skirmishes with the Ligurians not worth the talking of: many in Fraunce he lost a good number of his souldiers. And with that they named *T. Iuvenius* and *Cn. Catus* the brother of *Labeo*, two colonels or Tribunes of the campe, who were slaine in an unfortunate battaile, with many a brave and hardie man besides, as well citizens as allies. And to conclude, there were some few towns and villages colourably yeelded and rendered up for the time, without any assurance and securitie. These janglings and debates betweene the Consuls and the Tribunes continued for two daies: but in the end, the Consuls being overcome with the importunitie of the Tribunes, were content to propose the matter distinctly by themselves. And with the generall voice and accord of all, a triumph was decreed for *Cn. Cornelius*. The Placentines also and men of Cremona, were a great cause that this Consul found more favour; by reason that they gave him thanks, and reported on his behalfe, that they were delivered by his good meanes from the siege, yea and most of them recovered from servitude out of the hands of their enemies. *Q. Minutius* having only cast a proffer and made an assay of proposing his cause to the Senate, seeing them wholly banded and set against him, said aloud, That in maintenance of Consular authoritie, and by vertue of that place, yea and according to the good example of divers noble and renowned personages, he would triumph, and aske them no leave, in the mount Albane. But *Cn. Cornelius* while he was still in office, triumphed over the Insubrians and Cænomanes. He carried in pompe before him a number of militarie ensignes: he caused great store of French spoile and pillage to passe in a pageant upon charriots taken from the enemies. Many noble men of Fraunce were led in a shew before his owne triumphant chariot: among whom (as some write) was *Amilcar* Generall of the Carthaginians. But above all others, the goodliest sight was, a number of coloners & inhabitants of Cremona and Placentia, who with * bonets or caps of liberie on their heads, followed his chariot. Hee bare in triumph 237500 Sesterces, 79000 Bigates of silver coine. He divided among his footmen severie Asces apeece, to every horsman he gave double, and to ech Centurian triple so much. *Q. Minutius* likewise triumphed in mount Albane over the Ligurians and the Boians in Gaule. The honor of this triumph as it was lesse, in regard of the place, and of the name that went of his actes, as also because all men knew full well, that the charges went not out of the common chest or chamber of the citie: so for number of ensignes, of chariots and spoiles gained from the enemies, it was in manner equall and comparable to the other. And of money hee brought well nere as much as *Cornelius*: for of brasse coine hee had in shew 254000 Asces, of silver coine in bigate pieces 3200. To common souldiours or footmen, to Centurians and horsmen, he gave as much as his colleague. After this triumph, there was a generall assembly held for the election of magistrates: wherein were created Consuls; *L. Furius Purpurio*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. The next day after, these Pretours were chosen, *Q. Fabius Buteo*, *T. Sempronius Longus*, *Q. Minutius Thermus*, *M. Acilius Glabrio*, *L. Apustius Fullo*, and *C. Lelius*.

In the end of that former yeere, letters came from *T. Quintius* with this intelligence, That he had fought in battaile raunged with king *Philip* within Theffalie, where the armie of the enemies was defeated and put to rout. These letters were first read in the Senate by *Sergius* the Pretour, and then by order from the LL. in the publicke assembly of the people. For this happie successe, it was ordained, That there should be solemne processions for five daies. Shordy after, there arrived embassadours both from *T. Quintius* and also from the king. The Macedonian embassadours were brought without the citie to the place or hamlet called *Villa publica*, where they were appointed their lodging, rich presents were given them, & allowed they were the charges for themselves and their traine. In the temple of *Bellona* the Senate was assembled; where there passed not many words by reason that the Macedonians promised, That the king should performe whatsoever the Senate would set downe: So (according to the aunient custome and manner) there were appointed ten Committees or Delegates, by whose advise and counsell *T. Quintius* the General, was to present and tender unto *Philip*, articles and conditions of peace: provided, that in the said number of Delegates, *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Valerius* should be comprised by name; who when they were Consuls governed the province of Macedonie. The same day, the Cossanes demanded and made suite, That the number of their coloners or inhabitants might be augmented: wherupon an order was graunted, That there should be a thousand new enrolled

A enrolled to the former: with this proviso, that in this number none of them should be matriculated, who after the Consulship of *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Villius* had bene enemies to the people of Rome. The Roimane games and plaies were that yeer exhibited, as well in the Circus as upon the stage in the Theatre, by the *Ædiles Curule L. Cornelius Scipio*, & *Cn. Manlius Volso*: which, as they were set out with more state and magnificence than ever before, so they were beheld with more joy, contentment, and pleasure, in regard that all things fell out so fortunately in the warres: and they were renewed and represented all thrice over. As for the plaies called *Plæbeij*, they were set forth no lesse than seven times one after another. *Acilius Glabrio* and *C. Lelius* exhibited those pastimes: who also of their silver that arose of fines and forfeitures, caused three cast images of brasse to be made, and erected them to the honour of *Ceres*, *Liber*, and * *Libera*. * *Venus*.

B Now when *L. Furius* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were entred into their magistracie, and after question made concerning their provinces, the Senate passed a decree, That both of them jointly should governe Italie; they requested that they might cast lots for Macedonie and Italie together. *Marcellus* more desirous of the twaine of the province of Macedonie, alleadged, that the peace was not found, but counterfeit, pretended, and deceitfull; and that the king would take arms and war againe, in case the armie were withdrawne from thence: by which words he put the LL. of the Senate into a deepe studie and suspence, what to doe; or to thinke of it. And haply the Consuls had obtained their request, but that *Q. Martius Rex*, and *C. Atinius Labeo*, two Tribunes of the Commons, protested, that they would oppose themselves and crosse it by their negative voice, unless they might first propose unto the people to know, Whether C their will and pleasure was to entertaine peace with king *Philip*, or no? This bill being preferred and read in the Capitoll before the people, was graunted, and all the tribes or wards, even five and thirtie, every one gave their affirmative voice, *Ut rogatis* [i. So bee it as yee demand.] And to the end, that all men might have more cause to reioice that peace was confirmed with Macedonie, there came heavie newes out of Spaine, and letters were divulged abroad, containing thus much, That *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* the Viz-pretour in the hither province of Spaine, was vanquished in battell, that his armie was discomfited and put to flight, and diyers men of name and marke slaine. That *Tuditanus* himselfe was carried forth of the medley greivously wounded; and soone after died. The province Italie was assigned for both the Consuls with those two legions which the former Consuls had in charge, and order graunted; that they should levie and enroll foure new legions, whereof two should bee sent whether it pleased the Senate to appoint. D And *T. Quintius Flamininus* was commaunded to rule his province still with the same armie, and his commission of longer government was renewed. After this, the Pretours cast lots for the parting of their provinces. *L. Apustius Fullo* obtained the jurisdiction of the citizens of Rome, and *M. Acilius Glabrio* was lord cheefe justice betweene citizens and forrainers. *Q. Fabius Buteo* had the government of the base or farther Spaine, and *Q. Minutius Thermus* of the higher or hither Spaine. To *C. Lelius* fell Sicilie, and Sardinia to *T. Sempronius Longus*. And ordained it was, that unto *Q. Fabius Buteo*, and *Q. Minutius*, to whom the rule of the provinces in Spaine befall, the Consuls should out of those foure legions which they had enrolled, deliver one legion apeece, which they thought good, and of allies and of the Latin nation, foure thousand footmen E besides, and three hundred horsmen to either of them. And these Pretours were enjoined to go to their charges with all speed possible.

The warre in Spaine began afresh, in the fift after that the former together with the Punicke war was ended. But before that these Pretours went forth to this warre (which may be counted as it were new; in regard that the Spaniards now first, and never before, warred in their own proper name, without either leader or armie of Carthage) and before that the Consuls themselves departed out of the citie, order was given, that according to the old custome, they should provide for the prodigious tokens that were reported; *L. Iulius* as he rode on horsebacke into the Sabines countrie, was both himselfe and his horse under him stricken dead with lightning. The temple of *Feronia* in the territorie of Capena; was likewise smitten and blasted from heaven. At the temple of *Minerva*, the yron heads of two speares were scene to burie on a light fire. A Wolfe happened to enter into the citie at the gate Esquilina, and ran through the most populous part thereof as farre as unto the market place, and so forward to the Tuscan street, and from thence through the Melium; and passed forth againe at the gate Capena untouched, and in manner without taking any harme.

These

These prodigious signes were purged by the sacrifices of greater beasts. At the same time *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, who had governed the province of high Spaine before *Tuditanus*, entered the citie by order from the Senate in a kind of triumph, and carried before him in pompe 1515 pound weight of gold: of silver likewise in bullion 20000 pound weight: and in coine, 34550 deniers. *L. Stertinus* from the nether Spaine, brought into the treasure 50000 pound weight of silver, and never pretended any hope that he had to obtaine a triumph. Moreover, of the prizes and spoiles woon from the enemies, he caused two arches to bee erected in the beast market, even before the temple of *Fortune*, and the goddesse *Matula*: and one besides in the grand Cirque or shew place. And upon these arches he set up gilded Statues. These were all the affairs, to speake of, that passed this winter season.

There wintered at that time in Athens, *Quintius*. And among many other suiters that came unto him with their petitions, the Boeotians exhibited a request, and obtained the same, to wit, that as many of their nation as had served in the warres under *Philip*, might bee restored and sent home againe unto them: which was easily graunted by *Quintius*, not so much, for that hee thought them worthe of that favour, but because hee was to win the love and affections of the States in Greece unto the Romane name, now especially that he had some doubt of king *Antiochus*. They were not delivered so soone, but seene it was, how little the Boeotians would, bee beholden to him for it. For they sent presently unto *Philip*, and gave him thanks for the rendering of those men, as if they had, beene delivered by him, and not by *Quintius* and the Romanes. And in their next assembly generall for their solemne election, they chose one *Barcillus* for their Boeotarches, or lord governour of Boeotia; for no other reason, but because hee had beene the Colonell of those Boeotians that bare armes for the king: but they passed by *Zeusippus*, *Pisistratus*, and others, that had perswaded to make a league with the Romanes. This wrought discontentment in these persons for the present, and feare for the time to come. For thus they reasoned with themselves, If they would doe thus whiles the Romane armie lay encamped nere to their gates, what should become of them when the Romanes were departed into Italie, and whiles *Philip* was so nere at hand to assist those that sided with him, and to annoy those of the adverse part and faction? Therefore they conspired and concluded in the end to make away *Barcillus*, the head of the kings bend, whiles the Romane forces were at hand. And so chusing a convenient and fit opportunitie for their purpose, at what time as he returned homeward drunk from a publicke solemne feast, accompanied with certaine pleasant and effeminate persons, who to make sport and mirth had been at that great feast, he was forsaied and beset with sixe armed men, whereof three were Italians, and three Aetolians, and so murdered. His traine that attended him ran away, and raised hui and crye, and called for helpe. Much trouble & hurlyburly there was through out the citie, much running to and fro with torch-light. But they that did the deed, were escaped out at the next gate. In the morning betimes the people in great number assembled in the Theater, being called together by the voice of the common bedle, as if the murderers had beene detected. Openly it was in every mans mouth, that he was killed by his owne retinue, even those filthie wanton persons that he had about him: but secretly in their minds they deemed *Zeusippus* the author of the murder. For the present, it was thought good to apprehend them that were in his traine, and that they should be examined. While search was made for them, *Zeusippus* came forth into the assembly, with the like intent to avert all suspicion of crime from himselfe, saying, that men were much deceived to thinke, that so horrible and straunge a murder was committed by such weaklings and persons as they were. This hee argued and discoursed by many likelihoods and probabilities to the same effect: by which meanes some were verily perswaded, that if himselfe had beene guiltie of the fact, hee would never have offered and presented himselfe in the face of the assembly, or broched any words at all of the murder: especially when no man urged him thereto. Others there were againe, who made no doubt, but by this impudent face, his drift was to prevent an accusation, and to turne away all suspicion from himselfe. The innocent and guiltlesse creatures within a while after, being examined upon the racke and tortured, knowing what was the generall opinion and conceit of men, made their best of the same for to bolt out and reveale the fact; and so they named *Zeusippus* and *Pisistratus* for the principals; without any presumption or light given how they should seeme to come to the knowledge of anything. Howbeit *Zeusippus* (accompanied with one *Stratonicus*) fled by night to Tanagra, fearing the remorse and pricke of his owne conscience more than the apprehending and information

A information of those persons who neither were partie nor privie to any thing. But *Pisistratus* making no regard of these accusers, remained still at Thebes. Now had *Zeusippus* one bondslave, (whose hand was in all this action, and had beene a courriour betweene) whome *Pisistratus* feared that he would bewray him, and by that very feare caused him to open and declare the whole matter. He dispatched therefore his letters unto *Zeusippus*, advising him to rid that slave out of the way, who was privie to their dealing; advertising him, that in his conceit he was not so meet to conceale the thing now done, as he was a fit instrument at the time to execute the same. The bearer of these letters hee straightly charged to deliver them unto *Zeusippus* immediately with all speed. But he because he could not spie a convenient time to meet with him himselfe, gave the letters to the verie same slave, whom he supposed to be most fast and trustie to his master: adding moreover and saying, That they came from *Pisistratus* unto *Zeusippus*, and imported matter of great consequence. The bondslave promised to deliver them incontinently, but being touched in conscience, hee was so bold as to breake them open; and when hee had read them through, he fled backe in great feare to Thebes (where he bewrayed *Pisistratus*). *Zeusippus* troubled in spirit for the flight of his bondman, retired himselfe to Athens, supposing it a place of more securitie to live in, as a banished man. As for *Pisistratus*, after he had beene divers times examined upon the racke, was put to death in the end. This murder wonderfully estranged the Thebans and Boeotians, and set their hearts against the Romanes; in so much as they hated and detested them to death, taking great indignation that *Zeusippus* (a principall & chiefe personage of their nation) had committed so foule and heinous a fact. To rebell in open tearmes, they had neither force sufficient to maintain them, nor a principall head to direct and lead them. Whereupon they fell to that which is next cousin to plaine warre, even to theeving and robbing by the high waies side, in such sort, as they surprised as well some souldiours who lodged nere unto them, and were their guests, as others that wandred and ranged abroad from the garisons in winter time, and travailed about their affaires, who otherwhiles were caught up by the way, and came short home. Some passengers were killed in the port-rode-waies, by those that lay in wait for them in notorious theevish corners: others were trained, and led deceitfully through by-lanes into desert places, there to take up their innes and lodging, and then were murdered. At length they played these pranks, not only of malice unto them, but also for greedie desire of bootie and spoile, by reason that commonly these waifaring men went about their trade & merchandise, and therefore had some charge about them, and caried silver in their belts. Now when as at first there were some out of the way, and every day more than other many men missing, and no man knew what was become of them, all Boeotia began to have an ill name, and the souldiers were more afraid to travaile there, than in the enemies country. Then *Quintius* sent certaine embassadors to all the cities for to make complaint of these robberies and enormities. Many footmen there were found dead about the meere or lake Copais, where their carkasses were raked forth of the mud and mire, and drawne out of the standing water, tied and fastened as they were to heave stones or some great vessels, that by their poise they might be plunged, and sinke to the bottome. Many such like outrages were found to have beene committed at Acrepheia and Coronea. *Quintius* at the first demanded to have the offenders delivered unto him, and for five hundred souldiours (for so many were caught up by the way and murdered) he enjoined the Boeotians to make payment of five hundred talents of silver. But the cities would doe neither the one nor the other: onely they paid them with bare words, and excused themselves in that nothing had beene done by publicke warrant or counsell from the State. Whereupon the embassadors were sent to Athens, and into Achæa, to make protestation unto their allies, that they would pursue the Boeotians with open warre, upon good ground and just cause offered. And so after hee had given commaundement unto *P. Claudius* to goe unto Acrepheia with one part of his forces, himselfe with the other for him down about Coronea, & planted siege unto it. But first the territorie was laid waste all the way as the two armies marched from Elatia in divers quarters. The Boeotians plagued with these losses and calamities, seeing nothing but feare and flight in every place, sent their embassadors unto him: but when they could not be admitted into the campe, the Achæans and the Athenians were faine to come with them. The Achæans were of greater credite, to entreat in their behalfe: for unlesse they might obtaine pardon and peace for the Boeotians, they determined also to enter into the quarrel, and to make war themselves. By whose mediation the Boeotians had accessse unto the Romane generall, and audience

ence graunted. Who after they were enjoined to deliver up the offenders and malefactors to G
Iustice, and to pay thirtie talents for amends and satisfaction, obtained peace: and so the siege
was raised.

After some few dayes, the ten Delegates or Committees from Rome were arrived, by whose
advise and counsell peace was articulated and capitulated with king *Philip*, upon these conditions:
Imprimis, That all the Greeke cities, as well in Europe as in Asia, should enjoy their libertie, and
live under their owne lawes. *Item*, That *Philip* should withdraw his garisons out of as many of
them as had bin in subjection under him. *Item*, That he do the like by those which were in Asia,
to wit, Euromos, Pedasie, Bargyllæ, Iassus, Myrina, Abydus, Thassus, and Perinthus: all which,
the Romanes required to be free. As concerning the libertie and freedom of the Cyani, it was
covenanted, That *Quintius* should write his letters to *Pratiæ* the king of the Bithynians, giving H
him to understand the advise and pleasure of the Senate, and the ten Delegates aforesaid. *Item*,
That *Philip* render all the prisoners and fugitive traitours, to the Romanes, and yeeld up all the
covered ships with hatches: and over and besides, one huge roiall Galiee, or Argosy, which by
reason of the exceeding bignesse was unweldie and of little use, and was directed with 16 banks
of ores on a side. *Item*, That he should not have above five hundred men in armes, nor one Ele-
phant at all. *Item*, That he should not waite (but by leave and permission of the Senate) without
the marches of Macedonie. *Item*, That he pay unto the people of Rome a thousand talents, the
one halfe in hand, and the other at ten payments, within the terme of ten yeeres. *Valerius An-*
tias writeth moreover, that there was imposed upon him a tribute of foure thousand pound
weight of silver yeerely, for ten yeeres: and besides, twentie thousand pound weight presently. I
The same author saith, that expressly it was capitulated, that *Philip* should not warre at all with
Eumenes the sonne of *Attalus*, who was newly come to the crowne. For the assurance of these
covenants, there were received hostages, and amongst them *Demetrius* king *Philip* his sonne.
Valerius Antias hath written moreover, that the Iland *Ægina*, and certein Elephants were given
in pure gift to *Attalus* in his absence: and that upon the Rhodians was bestowed *Stratonice*,
a citie in Caria, with other cities also which *Philip* had possessed. To conclude, that the Athe-
nians received of free gift these Iles following, to wit, *Paros*, *Imbros*, *Delos*, and *Scyros*.

When all the States of Greece approved and thought well of this peace; only the *Ætolians*
secretly muttered and found fault with this order set downe by the ten Delegates aforesaid:
giving out, that they were but bare letters, and vaine words, shadowed with a counterfet appa- K
reance of libertie. For to what end, say they, should some cities be delivered to the Romanes,
and thosenot named? others againe be named, and yet order taken, that the without deliverie
should be free? but only for this purpose, that those cities which are in Asia should be free,
because they beare off and therefore in more safetie; but those that are in Greece, being not
precisely named, should be seized upon by them, to wit, *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Oreum*, with
Eretrias and *Demetrias*. And to say a truth, this finding fault of theirs was not altogether frivo-
lous, and without occasion given for some doubt there was of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*:
because in the order and act of the Senate, by vertue whereof those ten Delegates aforesaid
were sent from the citie, all other cities of Asia and of Greece were doubtlesse in plain termes
freed: but as touching these three before named, the Delegates had in commission to take or- L
der, as they should see it stand with the good of the Common-wealth; according to their
owne judgement and discretion, and the trust that was committed unto them. For well they wist
that king *Antiochus* would passe over into Europe, so soone as ever he could bring his affaires
about to his mind, and unwilling they were on any hand, that these cities so commodious for his
designes, should lye open and readie to his hand for to seize upon at his pleasure. So *Quintius*
together with the ten Delegates, sailed from *Elatia* to *Anticyra*, and from thence to *Corinth*,
where they held their counsaile and consulted of their affaires. *Quintius* would chuse to say
unto them, That all Greece might be delivered and set at libertie, if they could reduce the
tongues of the *Ætolians*: if they were willing that their good affection should be deemed sin-
cere, and the majestie of the Roman name maintained among all: finally, if they would pretend M
and make it knowne abroad, that they were passed the seas to set Greece free, and not alter they
had shaken off the feignorie of *Philip*, to translate it unto themselves. The other againe, con-
dicted nothing as touching the libertie of those cities: howbeit, they made remonstrance, that
it was the safer course for them, to remaine awhile under the protection and safeguard of the
Romanes,

A Romanes, than that in steed of *Philip* they should receive *Antiochus* for their Lord. In conclu-
sion decreed it was, That *Corinth* should be rendred to the Achæans, but yet so, that there
should be a Roman garison in the highest quarter of the citie called *Acrocorinthus*. *Item*,
That *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* should be retained still, untill such time as they were no more in
feare and doubt of *Antiochus*.

Now approached the ordinarie solemnitie of the Isthmian games, unto which at all times
usually there was great recourse of people, as well in regard of the naturall disposition of that
nation (desirous to see such sports and pastimes, wherein was represented the triall of maistries in
all kind of arts, in all feates either of cleane strength, or of agilitie and nimbleness of the bodie)
as also in respect of the commodious seate of the place: whereunto from all parts of Greece
they repaired thither by two divers and sundrie seas. But being amused in expectation to know
B what the estate of Greece, and what their owne particular condition would be hereafter, divers
men not only devised secretly with themselves, but also gave out and whispered in their speech
and talke. Well, the Romanes were set to behold this solemnitie: and the publick Crier with a
trumpeter went forth into the mids of the Cirque or shew place, from whence the manner was
to proclaime the sports and games aforesaid in a solemne set forme of words: and after he had
by found of trumpet made silence, he pronounced with a loud voice in this maner, Be it knowne
C unto all men, that the Senate of Rome, and *T. Quintius* the Generall of their armie, having van-
quished king *Philip* and the Macedonians, do ordeine, that the *Corinthians*, the *Phocensians*,
and the *Locrenians*, be all free, and delivered from all taxes whatsoever, and to live according to
their owne lawes. *Item*, That the Iles *Euboea*, the *Magnesians*, the *Thessalians*, the *Perthæbians*, the
cheans, and *Phthiotes* do enjoy the like freedom and immunitie. And consequently he re-
herfed all the nations which had bene in subjection to *Philip*. Vpon this proclamation of the
beadle, there was such joy, that men were notable to conceive and comprehend it. Every man
could hardly believe that he had heard the thing which he so wished and desired afore to heare:
one looked upon another wondering at the matter as if it had ben a vain vision or illusion of some
dreme: and well they trusted not their own eares in hearing that which particularly concerned
everyone, but enquired of them that stood next unto them. The crier was called back againe:
such a desire had each one not only to heare the glad tidings, but also to behold the happie mes-
senger of this their libertie: and no remedie there was, but once againe he must publish & pro-
nomce the same. Now when their joy was once confirmed, they set up such a shout, & followed
it so with clapping of hands, redoubling the same so often, as evidently it appeared, how there is
no earthly good in the world more pleasing and welcome unto a multitude, than is libertie.
After this, the games were performed in such hast, that neither the mind of any man was bent
to intend, nor the eye busied to behold the sight thereof, so wholly had that one joy possessed
them and forestalled the sence of all other pleasures and delights. But when the pastimes were
once ended, they all in manner ran apace to the Roman Generall, in such sort, that his person
was in some daunger of the multitude, crowding so hard upon him alone, for desire they had to
come unto him, to touch his right hand, and to cast garlands of flowers and labels of sundrie
colours upon him: but being a man fast upon three and thirtie yeeres of age, both the vigour
of youth, and also the joy that he took for the accomplishment of so glorious an act, afforded
him strength enough to abide the prease of the people. This gladnes of all men, shewed it selfe
not onely for the present, but continued also for many daies space, entertained not onely in
thankful minds, but expressed also in joyfull discourses: namely, That there was one nation yet in
the world, which at their proper cost and charges, with their owne paine and perill, made warre
for the freedom of others: who afforded this favour and pleasure not to neighbours and bor-
ders onely, or to those that were joyned neere to them in the continent and firme land, but
passed over the seas to the end, that throughout the whole world, there should be no unjust and
tyrannicall government, but in all places, right, reason, and law, might prevaile most and carry
the greatest sway. Lo, how by the onely voice of one Beadle all the cities of Greece and Asia are set
free: To conceive and enterprife so great a thing, proceedeth from a brave mind and noble
heart: but to effect the same, is a singular vertue and rare felicitie.

This done, *Quintius* and the ten Delegates gave audience to the embassages of divers kings
and princes, nations and states. And first of all others were the embassadours of king *Antiochus*
called in: who used the same speech in manner that they had at Rome, vaunting great words
without

without any ground and substance of credit. But answer was returned unto them, not covertly G by way of circumstance as aforetime (when *Philip* was on foot and things stood doubtfull) but openly in plaine tearmes. *Inprimis*, That *Antiochus* must quit and abandon all the cities of Asia, which belonged at any time either to king *Philip* or king *Ptolomæus*. *Item*, That he medle not with any free citie or state, and especially with those of Greece: but above all, warned he was and forbidden, either to passe over himselfe, or to send any forces into Europe. After the kings embassadours were licensed to depart, all the nations and states had a generall session and meeting together, which was the sooner dispatched, for that in the decrees of the ten Delegates all the cities and states were pronounced by name. Vnto the Orestians (a people in Macedonie) for that they revolted first from the king, their own lands and privileges were restored. The Magne- H nesiens, the Perræbians and Dolopians were likewise declared free. Vnto the people of Thessalie over and above the graunt of their libertie, the Phthiotian Achæans were annexed, excepting the citie of Thebes in Phthia and Pharsalus. As for the Ætolians who required, that according to covenant Pharsalus and Leucas should be rendred unto them, they were put over unto the Senat. But they awarded them the Phocenses and Locrenses, with other appertinances adjoined before by vertue of the decree. Corinth, Triphylia, and Herea (which also is a citie of Peloponnesus) were rendred unto the Achæans. Moreover, these ten Delegates gave Oreum and Eretria unto *Eumenes* the sonne of *Attalus*, but by reason that *Quintius* would not agree thereto, the matter was referred over to the Senat for to be decided: and the Senate graunted freedome unto these cities, together with Caristus. Vnto *Pleuratus* were freely given Lingus and Parthenius, which were two nations in * Illyricum, and had beene hoth subject to *Philip*. It was ordain- I ed also, that *Aminander* should hold those castles stil, which during the warres he had won from *Philip*. When the assembly was dissolved, the ten Delegates having divided betwene themselves their severall charges, departed every man to set free the cities of their particular regions and quarters. *P. Lentulus* to Bargyllæ, *L. Stertinus* to Hephæstra, Thassus, and other cities of Thracia; *P. Villius* & *L. Terentius* toward king *Antiochus*; and *Cn. Cornelius* toward *Philip*. Vnto whom, after *Cornelius* had declared his commission concerning some smaller matters, and withall demanded of him, Whether he could with patience abide to heare counsell not onely profitable unto himselfe, but also necessarie? The king made answer againe and said, That he would not onely give him the hearing, but also yeeld him, thanks besides, in case he would deliver ought unto him for his good. Whereupon hee perswaded him earnestly, that for asmuch K as he had obtained peace already, he should send his embassadours to Rome, to crave league also and amitie: to the end, that if *Antiochus* began to stirre, he might not be thought to have attended and waited for some occasions and opportunities to make warre. [This conference and communication with *Philip* was at Tempe in Thessalie.] And when he answered, That he would immediately dispatch his embassadours, *Cornelius* came to Thermopylæ, where a solempne Diet and assembly of all Greece is wont to be held upon certaine set daies, and thither resort great numbers of people. Which meeting is called Pylaicum: where hee advised the Ætolians especially to persevere constant and faithfull in the amitie of the people of Rome. Some of the principall Ætolians seemed to complaine betwene whiles, that the Romanes were not so well affected to their nation after victorie, as they were in time of the warre: but others, more sharply L blamed and reproched them, yea and upbraided them with this, That *Philip* could not have beene vanquished, no nor the Romanes ever able so much as to passe over into Greece, without the helpe of the Ætolians. *Cornelius* forbore to make answer againe to those points, for feare of farther wrangling and altercation; and promised, that if they sent to Rome they should obtaine any thing that was reason. Whereupon by his advice and approbation, there were deputed Embassadours. This was the issue and end of the warre with *Philip*.

Whiles these affaires thus passed in Greece, Macedonie, and Asia, all Tuscanie in manner was gon out & risen up in arms, by occasion of a conspiracie of bondslaves. For to inquire into these troubles and to repress the same, there was sent *M. Agilius* a Pretour (who had the civill jurisdiction betwene citizens and aliens) with one of the two legions of Romaine citizens. Some of them, who were already assembled together and grown to an head, he overcame in fight: of whom, many were slaine, and many taken prisoners. Others he scourged and roundly trussed up, hanging them on gybbets, even as many as were the principall and chiefe of the conspiracie: and others there were whome he sent home againe to their masters.

Now

A Now the Consuls were gone into their provinces. *Marcellus* so soone as he was entred into the marches of the Boij, and had over-wearied his souldiers with marching all day long, sate him downe upon a certaine rising of a hill, and there as he was incamping himselfe and his men, *Corolamus* a prince or great L. of the Boij, with a mightie power assailed and charged him, and slew upon three thousand of his men. In which sodaine and tumultuarie skirmish, certaine brave men of marke were slaine; among whome were *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *M. Iunius Syllanus* two Colonels of the allies: also *A. Ogulnius* and *P. Claudius* two knight marshals or Tribunes of the second legion. Howbeit the Romans strongly fortified their tents and defended them valiantly, which the enemies upon their fortunate victorie had long assailed to no effect. And in the same standing campe he continued certaine daies, whiles he cured his souldjors of their wounds, and recovered their hearts after so great a fright. The Boij (as they are a nation that of all things can B not endure any tedious delay of time) disperfed themselves into their townes and forts. Then *Marcellus* presently crossed the Po, and led his armie into the territorie of Comum, where the Insubrians lay incamped after they had sollicitied and caused those of * Comum to take armes. The legions made no more adoe, but gave them battaile in the verie way: and at the first encounter the enemies charged them so hotely, that they forced the forefront of the battaile to recule. Which when *Marcellus* perceived, fearing least beeing once disordered they should be repulled and discomfited, he made out a cohort of Marsians to make head; and at once set forth all the troupes of the Latine Cavallerie against them. Their first and second charge both, mightily impeached and quailed the enemy, advancing forward lustily and preasing upon them C in great furie: whereby the rest of the Romaine armie taking heart againe and being encouraged, at the first received them manfully and made resistance only, but afterwards followed fiercely upon them: in so much as the Gaules were able no longer to abide their violence, but turned their backe, tooke them to their heeles, and ran away by heapes. *Valerius Antias* writeth, that in this battaile there were 40000 men slaine and above, 507 militarie ensignes taken, with 432 chariots: besides many chaines of gold, whereof *Claudius* presented one (verie massie above the rest and of great weight) unto *Jupiter*, which was hung up within the temple in the Capitoll, as he writeth. The same day was the campe of the Gaules forced and ranfack, and the towne of Comum also within few daies taken by assault. Vpon this there were eight and twentie boroughs or forts, that fell away and revolted to the Consull. But the Historiographers agree not upon D this, Whether the Consull led his forces against the Insubrians first, or the Boians; and whether heras out the dishonour of a former foile and defeature by a fortunate victorie in this battell: or contrariwise, after a prosperous fight achieved before Comum, hee blotted and defaced the same with a shamefull overthrow received at the Boians hand.

During this variable and alternative fortune, *L. Purpurio* the other Consull, marched into the Boians countrie through the tribe Sappinia. And when hee was approached neere to a castle called * Mutilum, he feared least he should be enclosed and intercepted by the Boians and Ligurians: wherupon he retired with his forces the same way that he came, and fetching a great compass about through the open countrie in safetie & securitie, he came at length to his colleague.

Who having joined both their powers together, first raunged over the Boians territories, waiting and spoiling until they came as farre as * Felsina. This towne with other strong burroughes and forts, and in a manner all the Boians yeelded themselves, save onely their youth, who were up in armes to pill and spoile, and were at that time retired unto the Forrests and glins out of the way. After this the armie marched toward the Ligurians. The Boians making full account to assault the Romaine armie at unwares, which marched without good regard of themselves, and not close together (for that their enemies seemed to bee farre off) followed after through the blind and covert Forrests. But when they saw that they could not overtake them, they suddainly all at once passed over the Po in small bothomes and punts, and after they had spoiled and pilld the Levians and Libuans, as they returned from thence with a bootie raised out of the countrie, they chanced in the utmost frontiers of Liguria, to light upon the armie of the Romanes in their E march. Sooner and with more eagernesse fell they to fight, than if they had appointed both time and place, and been prepared aforehand to strike a battell. There it well appeared, of what force anger is to prick on and sharpen mens spirits to conflict. For the Romanes more greedie of murder and bloodhead, than of victorie, fought so, as they scarce left the enemies one messenger to carie the newes of their unhappie overthrow. In regard of these exploits, upon the Consuls letters

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* Scylavonia.

* Mutilina; Blondo. * Mutiliana, Leandro.

* Bologna.

ters brought to Rome, ordained it was, that there should be a solemne procession and thanksgiving to the gods for three daies. Shortly after *Marcellus* came to Rome, unto whom was granted a triumph with great consent of the LL. of the Senat; and whiles hee was in his magnificence he triumphed over the Insulubrians and Comians, leaving for his Colleague good hope likewise of a triumph, because himselfe (to say a truth) in that nation fought but unfortunately, whereas his colleague sped well enough, and had a luckie hand. Much spoile of the enemies was caried in a pompe, upon the chariots that were taken and won from them. Many ensignes and banners were borne in a shew, besides in monie, to the value of 320000 asses of brasse coine; and 234000 bigate peeces of silver. The footmen had 800 asses given them apeece, every horseman and centurion had thrice as much.

The same yeare king *Antiochus*, whiles he kept his winter at Ephesus, assaied to reduce all the cities and States of Asia unto the auncient forme of government and subjection, assuring himselfe, that the rest would not be hard to be subdued and brought under, because the townes were either situate upon plaines, or nothing well fortified with walls, and not furnished with men and munition. As for *Smyrna* and *Lampacus*, they stood upon their freedom, and challenged it. Doubted it was, and great daunger, that if he should let them goe cleere away so, some cities in *Æolis* and *Ionia* would take after *Smyrna*, and others in *Hellepontus* follow the example of *Lampacus*. Therefore both himselfe sent from *Ephesus* to lay siege unto *Smyrna*, and gave commandement, That the forces which were at *Abydus* (leaving only a small garison behind) should be led to the siege and assault of *Lampacus*. And yet hee threatened and terrified them not so much with forces and violence, but assaied them rather by faire meanes, sending to them his embassadours, so as, partly by flattering and gentle words wherewith he entertained them, and partly by mild reproofe for their rashnesse and obstinacie, hee endeavoured to put them in some hope, that shortly they should have whatsoever they desired: & then, both they themselves, and all others should evidently see, that they had obtained their libertie by the especiall grace and favour of the king, and not usurped and gained it by occasion of some advantage and opportunitie. To this they answered againe, That *Antiochus* ought neither to marvell, nor be offended and displeased at them, if they could not well endure the hope which they had of freedom, thus to be deferred from time to time. Then he departing from *Ephesus* in the beginning of the spring sailed unto *Hellepontus* with his fleet. His land forces he transported over to *Madytos* a city in *Chersonesus*, & joined them to his strength by sea. And because they shut the gates upon him he environned the towne with armed men, and when hee was at the point to give the assault, and to bend his engines of batterie against the walls, it was surrendered into his hands. Upon the like feare the inhabitants also of other cities in *Chersonesus* yielded themselves. After this hee came to *Lyfimachia*, with his whole power, as well of land-soldiours as sea-servitours. And finding it abandoned, ruinate, and lying (as it were) along, (for but few yeeres before the *Thracians* had forced, sacked, and burnt it) he had a great desire to reare and set upright againe that noble and famous citie, seated in so good and commodious a place. And therefore he took great care, and employed all his endeavour to re-edifie the walls, to re-build the edifices, to redeem and ransom some the *Lyfimachians* that were in slavery, to seeke out all those that were dispersed over *Hellepontus* and *Chersonesus*, and gather them together, yea, and to enroll new inhabitants upon hope of gaine and profit, and by all meanes possible to store and people the cittie againe. And withall, because he would ease them of the feare they had of the *Thracians*, hee went in person with the one halfe of his land forces to wast and spoile the confines of *Thrace*; the other part with all the sea-souldiours and mariners he left hard at worke about the repairing of the citie.

About this time as *L. Cornelius* (being sent by the Senate to compose the controversies and variance betwene the two kings, *Antiochus* and *Ptolomeus*) abode at *Selymbria*; so of the ten Commissioners abovesaid, *P. Lentulus* departed from *Bargyllæ*, *P. Villius* and *L. Terecius* from *Thassus*, and arrived all three at *Lyfimachia*: where *L. Cornelius* likewise met them from *Selymbria*; and a few daies after king *Antiochus*, being newly returned out of *Thracia*. The first meeting and salutation betwene him and the Commissioners was friendly and courteous, yea, and there passed to and fro afterwards divers amiable kindneses and loving entertainements mutually. But when they entred once to parle of their commission that they had in charge, and of the present State of Asia, then there was frowning, and their bloud up. The Romane agents stucke not to tell him to his face, that all that he had done, since he tocke the sea, and departed with his fleet

A fleet out of *Syria*, was displeased unto the Senate, saying, That they thought it meet, that all the cities should bee restored unto king *Ptolomeus*, which had been under his dominion. For as touching those townes, which sometime *Philip* had been possessed of, and which *Antiochus* had surprised and seized upon, taking his time and vantage, when *Philip* was employed another way in the Romane warres, it was no reason, nor a thing tollerable, that the Romanes should for so many yeeres space, by land and sea endure so great toile, and hazard such perils, and suffer *Antiochus* in the end to goe away with the fruit & reward of all the service. But for the ease, that the Romanes would take no knowledge of his coming into Asia, as a matter impertinent unto them; can they dissimule also, that now he is come over into Europe with all his forces both for land & sea, and little wanteth of making open warre upon the Romanes? Marie, as for him, he will not let to denie, that he levieth any warre, although he were arrived and landed in *Italie*. To these challenges the king made answer and said, That he saw well ynough and knew before, that the Romanes were inquisitive and curious ynough to search what king *Antiochus* ought to doe, but they never once thought of their own selves, how far forth they should by right proceed, as well by land as by sea. As for Asia, it pertained not at all to the people of Rome, neither had they more reason to enquire what *Antiochus* did in Asia, than *Antiochus* to search into the actions of the people of Rome in *Italie*. As concerning *Ptolomeus*, from whom they complaine, that he had taken certain cities, he did them to understand, that there was amitie betwene him and *Ptolomeus*, and they were now in tearmes of knitting themselves shortly in neerer bonds of alliance & affinitie. Neither sought hee the spoile of *Philip*, and to enrich himselfe by his adversitie and misfortune: or passed over into Europe against the Romanes. But when he was vanquished once, all that ever he had, by right and law of warre, became the possessions of *Seleucus*, and so consequently (as he tooke it) appertained unto him. And during the time, that his progenitors and predecessors, were busied and troubled with other affaires, first *Ptolomeus* caught at some things, and *Philip* after at other, & so between them they usurped & seized upon other mens possessions, and namely, of certain places neere and hard by in *Thracia*, which without all controversy belonged unto *Lyfimachus*. For to reduce which into their auncient State, hee was thither come, and now was in hand to reedifie *Lyfimachia* anew, lately destroyed by the violence of the *Thracians*, to the end, that *Seleucus* his sonne might hold it as the roiall seat of his kingdom. Thus as they continued arguing and debating for certain daies, there ran a rumour, but without any certaine author, that king *Ptolomeus* was dead: whereupon they could grow to no conclusion of all their parties: yet they made semblance on both sides, that they heard nothing thereof. And as well *L. Cornelius*, who was sent in embassage to both the kings, *Antiochus* and *Ptolomeus*, requested respite of some small time to conferre with *Ptolomeus*, to the end that himselfe might be arrived in *Ægypt*, before any alteration were made in the new possession of that kingdom: as also *Antiochus* made reckning, that *Ægypt* would be his, if this good occasion then were presented unto him. Therefore having dismissed the Romanes, and left his sonne *Seleucus* behind him with all the land forces, for to finish the building againe of *Lyfimachia* which he had begun, himselfe with all his fleet sailed to *Ephesus*: and having sent his embassadours to *Quintus*, to treat soberly about a league and amitie, he coasted along Asia, and so arrived in *Lycia*. And when he heard for certain at *Pataræ* that *Ptolomeus* was yet living, he gave over his purpose of sailing into *Ægypt*: yet nevertheless he shaped his course and set saile for Cyprus: and when he had doubled the point of *Chelidonium*, he stayed awhile in *Pamphylia* about the river *Eury-medon*, by occasion of a mutinie among the mariners and oremen. From thence he weighed anchor, and when he was sailed as farre as a place called [The heads of the river *Sarus*] there arose a goust and fearefull tempest, wherein he had like to have bene cast away and drowned with all his fleet. Many of his ships were run aground, & many of them swallowed up of the sea, so as there escaped not one of them by swimming to land. A number of men there perished, not of base mariners only, and unknowne common soldiers, but also of his neere and especiall friends. Having rallied the dispersed reliques of this shipwrack, seeing he had no meanes and was not able to reach and gaine Cyprus, he returned againe to *Seleucia*, with an armie nothing so puissant nor so well furnished, as when he set out in his voyage. There he commanded his ships to be haled a land, and laid up in their docks (for winter now approached) and himselfe tooke his journey to *Antiochea*, there to lye all that winter time. And in these termes stood the affaires of the kings.

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* *Isophr*, *Loun-*
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At Rome, there were first instituted in this yeere three Triumvirs called Epulones, to wit, G
C. *Lucius Lucullus*, T. *Romuleus* (who was the man that put up the bill for their creation) and
P. *Porcius Lecca*. And by a law in that behalfe ordeined, these Triumvirs were allowed as well as
a Bishop, the long embroidered robe of purple. But in this yeere great debate and variance there
was betwene the Questors or Treasurers of the citie Q. *Fabius Labeo*, and L. *Aurelius* of the one
side, and all the Priests on the other side. These Treasurers were at some fault for money, because
they were minded and appointed to make the last payment unto certein private persons, for the
loane silver which they had disbursed for the warres: these monies the Treasurers demanded
of the Augurs and Bishops, to furnish out the said payment; for that during the warres, they only
had not bene contributors in any levie. The Priests appealed to the Tribunes, and called for their
lawfull favour: but all was in vaine, and so they were forced to satisfie all the arrears for the H
yeeres past, wherein they had paid nothing. This yeere there died two Bishops, and new were
entailed in their roumes. M. *Marcellus* the Consull entred in place of T. *Sempronius Tuditanus*,
who deceased Pretour in Spaine; and L. *Valerius* in steed of M. *Cornelius Cethegus*. Q. *Fabius*
Maximus also an Augur died a very yong man, before he had borne any office of State: but for
that yeere there was not substituted a new Augur in his roume.

After this, M. *Marcellus* the Consull held the solemne assembly for the election of Con-
suls. And Consuls were created L. *Valerius Flaccus*, and M. *Porcius Cato*. Then were the Pretors
chosen, namely, C. *Fabius Luscinus*, Cn. *Atinius Labeo*, C. *Manlius Volsus*, Ap. *Claudius Nero*,
P. *Manlius*, and P. *Porcius Lecca*. The Aediles of the chaire M. *Fulvius Nobilior* and C. *Flaminius*
divided among the people 1000000 Modij of wheate, at two asses a modius. This store of come I
had the Sicilians brought to Rome, for the honor of C. *Flaminius* and his father. And *Flaminius*
was content that his companion in office should reape a full part of the thanks for this gratuite.
The games called Romain were exhibited in most sumptuous manner, and thrice represented
all over againe. The Aediles of the Commons Cn. *Domitius Aenobarbus*, and C. *Sempronius*, who
also was the high parish Priest, and Super-intendent, called *Curio Max.* called in question many
of the citie bailiffs that gathered their rents for pastures, judicially to answer upon their ac-
countments before the people. Three of them were condemned, and of their silver raised upon
their fines, they built the temple of *Faunus* in the Island. The Plebeian plaies were renewed for
two dayes, and a solemne publick feast was celebrated in regard of them.

The same day that L. *Valerius Flaccus* and M. *Porcius* entred their office, they proposed unto K
the Senate concerning the government of the provinces. And order was given by the LL. of
the Counsell, that foras much as the warre increased so in Spaine, as required not only a Con-
sular armie, but a Consull also for the leader; the Consuls should either agree betwene them-
selves for the government of the two provinces, to wit, the hither Spaine, and Italie, or els to
cast lots therefore: that he whose hap it was to rule Spaine, should have with him two legions,
five thousand Latin allies, and five hundred horse; and likewise to have the conduct of a flecte of
twenty gallies of warre: that the other Consull should levie and enroll two legions; which were
thought sufficient to defend and keepe Fraunce in obedience, considering the courages of the
Insulians and Boij, were well cooled and abated the last yeere. Cato by lot had the charge of L
Spaine, and *Valerius* of Italie. Then the Pretours cast lots for their provinces. To C. *Fabius*
Luscinus fell the jurisdiction over the citizens of Rome: to C. *Atinius Labeo* over the strangers.
C. *Manlius Volsus* governed Sicilie, and Ap. *Claudius Nero* the farther Spaine. M. *Porcius Lecca*
was assigned to rule * Pise, to the end he might be upon the back of the Ligurians, and P. *Man-*
lius was appointed as an assistant and coadjutor to the Consull in the higher Spaine. As for
T. *Quintius*, his commission was renewed for one yeere longer, in regard that not only *Antio-*
chus and the Aetolians, but also *Nabis* the Lacedemonian Tyrant, were doubted and suspected
not to stand sound to the Romans: & for him were set out two legions: and if need were of any
supply to make up the companies thereof, the Consuls were enjoined to enroll new souldiers;
and to send them over into Macedonie. Also *Appius Claudius* had a warrant to take up 2000
foote and two hundred horse, over and above that legion which Q. *Fabius* had. The like number
of fresh horse and foote was appointed for P. *Manlius* to be sent into the hither Spaine: and the
same legion was granted unto him, which was commaunded by *Minucius* the Pretor. Moreover
P. *Porcius Lecca* was to have the leading of two hundred footmen, and fiftie horse, drawne out of
the Gaules armie, for to lye in Hetruria about Pise. Last of all in Sardinia P. *Sempronius Longus*
continued

A continued still in place of commaund. Thus the provinces being distributed, the Consuls be-
fore they departed out of the citie, by advice and counsell of the Bishops, performed the solem-
nite of the sacred Spring which was vowed before by the Pretour C. *Cornelius Mammula*, accord-
ing to the mind of the Senat and the good liking of the people, in the yeere when Cn. *Servilius*
and C. *Flaminius* were Consuls: and so it was celebrated one and twentie yeeres after it was first
vowed. Much about this time was C. *Claudius Pulcher* the sonne of *Appius*, elected Augur, & in-
vested in that Sacerdotal dignitie, in the place of Q. *Fabius Maximus*, who died the yeere before.

When as men began now to mervaile that there was so little accompt made of the warre
begun already in Spaine, there were letters brought from Q. *Minutius* with newes, That he had
fought a fortunate field before the towne of Turba, with *Budares* and *Besafides*, two Spanish Ge-
nerals and great commanders: that he had slaine twelve thousand enemies, taken *Budares* the
generall himselfe prisoner, and that the rest were discomfited and put to flight. Upon the rea-
ding of these letters, lesse feare there was of Spaine, from whence they looked for great warres.

After the returne of the ten Delegates or Commissioners abovesaid, all the care was, and
no talke els but about *Antiochus* and his affaires. These men, after they had declared first how
their proceedings went with king *Philip*, and upon what conditions they had granted peace,
enformed and gave them to understand, That there was as great a warre behind from *Antiochus*: C
that he had passed over the seas into Europe with a mightie Armada, and as puissant an armie
for land service; and had he not bene averted another way by a vaine hope to invade and seize
upon Egypt, which he conceived of a vainer bruit and rumor of *Ptolome* his death, all Greece C
would have bene anon on a light fire, and up in armes. For the very Aetolians themselves, a na-
tion naturally of an unquiet spirit, and incensed besides against the Romans, would not have C
sist still and bene in rest. Moreover, there was another maladie and mischief as dangerous, setled C
as it were within the ribs and in the very heart of Greece: to wit *Nabis*, the Tyrant at this present C
of the Lacedemonians only, but shortly, if he may be let alone, of all Greece; who for avarice C
and crueltie is equall to all the famous and noted tyrants that ever were: and if he be suffered to C
possesse himselfe of Argos, and to hold it as a fortresse to commaund all Peloponnesus, when the C
Romane armies shall be once transported home againe into Italie, in faith, Greece may make C
small boast of being delivered from *Philip*: for this they shall be sure of at least, if of nothing els, C
to have a neere neighbour tyrant, in steed of a king far off, for to be their lord and imperiously to C
commaund them. The auncient Senators, hearing these intelligences from grave persons of C
good qualitie, and who made report of all things, not by hearefay, but upon their owne know-
ledge, were of advice and resolved to have a good eye and regard with all speed unto *Antiochus*,
considering the king was passed already into Syria, whatsoever the occasion was. But as tou-
ching the Tyrant, after they had disputed and debated the matter long time, Whether they had
sufficient cause already to determine upon some finall conclusion, or should referre unto the
wisdom & judgement of T. *Quintius* the managing of those affaires, therein to proceed and do
according as he should deeme it good & expedient for the Common-wealth; in fine, they per-
mitted him to use his owne discretion concerning the Lacedemonian Tyrant: supposing that
the matter was not of such weight and consequence as to concerne the maine state of the weale
publick so materially, whether it were hastened or protracted; but rather it behoved them to be
advised & consider well, what *Anniball* and the Carthaginians would do, if happily the war with
Antiochus were begun and once afoot. They [at Carthage] that sided with the adverse faction of
Anniball, had sent divers & sundry letters unto the principal LL. at Rome, every one privately to his
friends to this effect, That there passed messengers & letters from *Anniball* to *Antiochus*, and that
there were embassadors againe that secretly came from the king to him. And like as there be
some beasts so wild & savage as never can be tamed; so the courage & spirit of that man was such,
as might not possibly be dulced or appeased. For he daily complained that the citie languished
and grew feeble with idleness, and by sitting still & doing nothing, was overgrown as it were with
moss, and impossible it was to raise & stir it up but with sound of armor and weapons. These ad-
vertisements carried likelihood of truth and good credit with them, in regard of the late warre so
fresh in memorie, which he alone began first, and managed to the last. Over and besides, he had
provoked by a late act of his, many great and mightie personages, who set their hearts against
him. The order and degree of Iudges at that time bare chiefe sway and soveraigne authoritie
in Carthage: in this respect principally, for that the same Iudges were perpetuall. The goods,
Cccc iij the

the honour and reputation, yea and the life of every man lay in their hands. Hee that displeased one of that bench, was sure to have all the rest his enemies and to be upon him: and there never wanted one promoter or other to carrie tales and give information to these judges against a man, if they saw them ill affected once and bent against one. During the time of this emperious and tyrannicall rule of theirs, (for as their power was exceeding all measure, so they bare themselves therein as outrageously beyond the limits of civillie) it was *Anniball*'s hap to be Pretour; and by vertue of his place he sent for one of the treasurers to come before him: but he made no reckning of his authoritie, and refused to obey: for the said treasurer was one of the contrarie side; and because from the degree of those treasurers they mounted presently into the highest order of the judges, therefore he carried with him an haucie mind already, in regard of the high rounge that he was shortly to step into. *Anniball* you may be sure, tooke this as a great disgrace and indignitie to his person, and therefore hee sent a pursevant or sargeant to attach the bodie of the Treasurer aforesaid: and presently calling the people to a generall assembly, he commaunded him there to be presented: where he accused and blamed the partie himselfe, no more than the whole order and degree of the judges: through whose insolent pride and excessive power, both lawes and magistrates were nothing regarded but troden under foot. And perceiving that these words of his tickled the itching eares of the people, considering also that their proud demeanor prejudiced the libertie of the meanest persons: immediatly he published a law, and gate it enacted, That those judges should be chosen every yeare, and that from thenceforth one and the same man might not be a judge two yeares together. But looke how much thanke he had at the commons hands for this act, so much he offended many of the great men and principals of the citie. Another thing besides he did, whereby hee purchased to himselfe the ill will of some privat persons, in tending the common good of the weale publick. The finances and revenues of the State, partly through negligence went to decay, and partly were shared out in dividends, betweene some certaine of the head citizens and magistrates: and more than that, the mony which by way of tribute was to be paid yeerely unto the Romans, was too short and not to be found: and it appeared, that a fore levie would be imposed upon privat persons shortly, to make those payments out of their owne purses. *Anniball*, after he had cast up the bookes, and made an estimate and just abstrack how much the rents and revenues of the citie amounted unto, as well from customes by sea as land, and to what uses they were employed; and perceiving thereby, what was defrayed in the ordinarie charges of the State, & what went a wrong way, and was avorted by these theeves to their owne selves, he pronounced aloud in open audience of the whole assembly, That the arrearages should be gathered up & brought into the common chest: and so privat persons might be discharged and eased of their impositions of tribute, and the common wealth would be rich enough and able to perforce and furnish out the monies due to the people of Rome. And as he thus said, so he was as good as his word, and executed it accordingly. Then these caterpillers, who for certaine yeeres lived by robbrie of the common treasure, and sed upon the fruits of the citie, fared spitefully against *Anniball*, as if he had done them great wrong in taking their owne goods from them; and not proceeded in justice to wrest out of their hands their stolen substance: and in great malice and bitterneffe ceased not to provoke against *Anniball* the Romanes, who were ready enough of themselves to picke some quarrell to him, to seeke occasion of hatred, and to find an hole in his coat. *Scipio Africanus* for a long time gave the deafe eare unto them, and misliked the course: for he supposed it was not for the honour and majestie of the people of Rome to subscribe unto those imputations charged upon *Anniball*, to entertaine the spight and hatred of men, and to interesse and insert publicke authoritie within the privat factions of the Carthaginians; and not to be content to have vanquished *Anniball* in war, unless they also took upon them the persons of accusers, and preferred a slanderous libel & bill of inditement, & sware thereto *Billa vera*. But at length they wrought and brought about, that embassadours should be sent to Carthage, who in the Senate there might charge *Anniball* categorically, with plotting and practising with *Antiochus* for to wage warre against them. And these three were addressed to this embassie, *C. Servilius*, *M. C. Marcellus*, and *Q. Terentius Culleo*; who being arrived there, caused it to be given out to as many as should demand the cause of their comming, (and all by instruction from the adversaries of *Anniball*) that their errand was to compose and end the debates betweene *Masaniissa* king of the Numidians, and the Carthaginians. This was commonly divulged and beleaved for truth.

But

- A But *Anniball* found them streight and sinelt this juggling, and was not ignorant that he was the onely man that the Romanes shor at, and howsoever peace was graunted to the Carthaginians, yet they continued an endlesse and inexpressible warre with him alone still. Whereupon hee resolved to frame himselfe to give place to the time and yeeld unto fortune. And beeing furnished aforehand with all things requisite to take his flight, when hee had of purpose all the day long shewed himselfe in the publicke place of assembly verie formally, to turne by all suspition of his intended resolution, so soone as it began to be darke night, in his citizens gowne as he went all day, and attended in the hall, he gate him soorth straight to the citie gate, accompanied onely with two persons, and those not privie at all to his purpose and designment. And having found his horses readie in the place appointed, hee mounted and rode apace that night untill hee was come to a certaine quarter of the territorie of Voca: and by the next morning, hee passed betweene *Acylla* and *Thapsus*, and recovered a towre or fort of his owne; where he was imbarcked in a ship readie rigged and appointed with saile and ore to take sea and away. Thus departed *Anniball* out of *Africke*, lamenting more often the hard hap and calamitie of his countrey, than of his owne friends and kinsfolke. And the same day he fell with the yland *Cercina*: where the Carthaginians found in the rode certaine hulks charged with marchandise: and when at his comming a shore out of his ship, there came many running toward him for to salute & welcom him thither, hee charged his owne companie, that if any asked concerning him, they should make answer, That he went upon an embassage to *Tyrus*: but fearing least any of their barkes should disanker that night, and make report at *Thapsus* or *Acylla*, that he was seene in *Cercina*: he caused a beaft to be killed for sacrifice, and invited the masters of the ships and all the marchants to supper; and therewith commaunded all the sailes and crossie saile-yards to be had out of the vessels, to make thereof a large pavillion, that they might sit in the shade at their supper: for that, as it fell out, it was then midsummer. And as the time and such provision as they had, would give leave, he set out a feast and banquet; he spared for no wine, and continued the merriment farre within night. Then *Anniball*, so soone as he could espie his time for to deceive those that were in the harborough, weighed ancre. The rest were fast asleepe; and when the next day they awoke and roused themselves, with their drunken and drouisie nols (and far forth day it was and late ere they arose) they were faine to spend some houres in siting their ores againe in their right places, and the tackling of the ships in good order.
- D In this while, at Carthage the ordinarie multitude that used to frequent the house of *Anniball*, repaired as their manner was to his gate-house: and when it was voiced abroad, that he was not to be found, all the companie gathered together in the market place, seeking and enquiring for the principall and chiefe personage of their citie. Some gave out (as the truth was) that he was fled: other said plainly, that he was murdered and made away through the falshood and villanie of the Romanes; and this they sticked not to avouch. There might a man have seene sundrie and divers countenances (as it fareth commonly in cities where there is siding and parts taking) as each one is affected to his owne bend and faction. At last, newes came that he was seene at *Cercina*. The Roman Embassadours having upon audience given, declared in the Senat of Carthage, that the LL. of their Senate had certaine intelligence, that both aforetime, king *Philip* was by *Anniball* especially sollicitated and set on to, make warre with the people of Rome; and also now there had bene letters and messengers with credence sent from him to king *Antiochus*; and that he would never rest untill he had set all the world together in arms: and therefore if the Carthaginians were desirous to content and satisfie the Romanes, they should not suffer these parts of his to escape unpunished: then the Carthaginians made answer and said, That nothing of all this passed by publicke councill or consent and allowance of the State, howbeit they would be willing to doe whatsoever the Romanes thought to be reason.
- Anniball* this while had a boone voyage, and with a merrie gale of wind arrived at *Tyrus*, where he was received of the Tyrians, the first founders of Carthage, as if he had been in another countrey of his owne: received he was, I say, and entertained with all kind of honor, becoming a man so famous and renowned. After he had sojourned there some few daies, he sailed to *Antioche*: where understanding that the king himselfe was already departed from thence, hee repaired to his sonne, and conferred with him, as he was setting out an yeerely solemnitie of games & plaies neere *Daphne*, and being courteously also by him intreated, he made no stay, but to ship-board and sea againe. And at *Ephesus* overtooke the king, whom hee found floating and wavering still.

still in his mind, and unresolved what to doe as touching the Romane warre. But this coming of *Anniball*, was no small poise to turne the ballance, and to move him to enter into the enterprise thereof. The *Aetolians* likewise at the same time were estranged and alienated in affection from the Romane league and societie, whose embassadors demanding to have *Pharfallum* and *Leucas* againe, with other cities, according to the tenure and form of the first league, the Senate turned over and referred to *Quintius*.



THE XXXIII. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the foure and thirtieth Booke.

The law *Oppia*, propounded and enacted by C. *Oppius* a Tribune of the Commons, in the time of the *Punicke* warre, for the abridging and restraint of the excess in womens apparell, was after much variance and debate repealed, notwithstanding that *Porcius Cato* laboured to the contrary, that it might not be abolished. This *Cato* made a voyage into Spaine, and by force of armes (beginning first to warre at *Emporia*) brought the hisber province of Spaine on this side *Iberus* to quietnesse. T. *Quintius Flaminius* levied warre against the *Lacedemonians* and *Nabis* their tyrant, in which he sped fortunately, and so prevailed, that he made an end thereof, granted them peace to his own good liking and pleasure, delivered *Argos*, and set it free, which was before in subjection to the tyrant. The Senate then, and never before, beheld the publick games and pastimes by themselves, apart from the rest of the people: Which to bring about, *Sex. Aelius Papius*, and L. *Cornelius Cethegus* the Consuls, set in foot and intermeddled themselves, to the great indignation and discontentment of the Commons. More colonies were planted with Romane citizens. M. *Porcius Cato* triumphed over Spaine. The warres also which fortunately were achieved against the Boij and the French *Insulres* are here recorded. T. *Quintius Flaminius*, who had vanquished Philip king of the *Macedonians*, and *Nabis* the tyrant of the *Lacedemonians*, yea, and freed all Greece from their oppression, for these many and noble exploits rode in triumph three daies together. The *Carthaginian* embassadors brought word, that *Anniball* who was fled unto *Antiochus*, banded with him, and combined to make warre. *Anniball* had besides assisted by means of one *Aristo* a Tyrian (sent as a cower with credence onely and no letters, to *Carthage*) for to move and sollicite the *Carthaginians* to rebellion.



Betweene the troublesome cares of great warres, which either were not fully ended, or at hand readie to begin, there happened an occurrence, which in it selfe being but a small matter to speake of, and of little regard; considering the sides and part-taking about it, grew to a mightie head and contention in the end. M. *Fundanius* and L. *Valerius* Tribunes of the Commons, preferred a bill unto the people touching the abrogation of the law *Oppia*. For C. *Oppius* aforetime, even when the *Punicke* warre was at the hottest, and whiles Q. *Fabius* and T. *Sempronius* were Consuls, had promulged a Statute, by vertue whereof, No woman of what degree soever, might either have in ornaments and jewels above halfe an ounce weight of gold, nor weare any habiliments wrought of sundrie colours, ne yet ride in coach within the cittie of Rome, or any other towne, nor neerer than a mile from thence, unless it were upon occasion of some solemne feast or publicke sacrifice. Now M. *Iunius Bruns*, and P. *Iunius Bruns*, both Tribunes

A bunes likewise of the Commons, stood in defence and mainenance of the said law *Oppia*, and affirmed plainly they would not suffer it to bee annulled. Many a nobleman was seene in this quarrell: some spake for the law, and others gaine said it. The Capitoll was full of people, either taking part and favouring the cause, or els opposing themselves, and urging the contrarie. The very dames of the citie themselves, could neither by persuation, and advice, nor by any reverent and womanly regard, ne yet by the expresse and absolute commaundment of their husbands be kept within dores; but doe what they could, they bespread all the streets of the citie, beset and kept all the waies into the common place, beseeching and entreating their husbands as they passed by and went downe thither, to permit and give their consent, That seeing the good estate of the Commonweale now flourished, and the private wealth of every man encreased daily, their wives also and matrones might bee allowed to have their auncient ornaments and gay attire againe. The number of these women grew every day more than other, for now they flocked also out of the townes, villages, and other places of resort in the countrie, and shewed themselves at Rome. In so much, as they tooke heart at length, and were so bold as to encounter the Consuls, the Pretours, and other magistrats, requesting and beseeching their favour, to stand with them, and forward the cause. But as for one of the Consuls, *Marcus Porcius Cato* by name, they could not with all their prayers entreat him to encline unto their suite: who in the maintenance of the said law, and that it might not bee revoked, spake in the frequent assemblee of the people to this effect. My maisters and citizens of Rome, If every one of us had fully resolved and purposed with himselfe to hold his owne, and keepe the rightfull authority and preheminence that hee hath over his owne wife, lesse adoe and trouble wee should have had with them all together at this day. Now having given them the head at home so much, that the curtnesse and shrewdnesse of women hath conquered our libertie and freehold, there behold, here also in publicke place it is troden downe and trampled under foot: and because wee were not able everie man to rule his owne in severall, now wee stand in feare and dread them all in generall. Certes, I my selfe thought ever untill now, that it was but a seined fable and devised tale that went of a certaine Island, wherein by a conspiracie of women, all the men were murdered every one, and that sexe utterly made away and rooted out. But well I see now, bee as they creatures never so weake, so sicke and feeble, let them once have their meetings, their conferences and secret conferences, they will worke mischeefe in the highest degree, and be as dangerous as any other. And surely for mine owne part, I cannot resolve in mine owne conscience and determine, whether of the twaine be worse; the thing I meane in it selfe, or the precedent example & consequence thereof, considering the manner how it is handled. Of which two, the one toucheth us that are Consuls and the rest of the magistrats, the other concerneth you rather my maisters and citizens of Rome. As for the matter in question, and propofed unto you, whether it be good and expedient for the weale publicke or no, that resteth in you to determine & judge, who are to give your voices and suffrages. But this seditious insurrection here, of women, be it of themselves, or procured by your motion and instigation, M. *Fundanius* and L. *Valerius*, no doubt it argueth and emplieth a great default in the magistrats, and I wot not whether it will bee a fouler blot and dishonour to you that are Tribunes, than to us Consuls. Yours will the blame bee, if yee have brought women now to raise and stirre up tribunitious seditions; and ours the shame, if we needs must admit & accept of laws, whether we will or no, for fear of a commotion & seperation of our women, as sometimes we were forced to do by the departure & insurrection of our Commons. I assure you for mine owne selfe, when I passed erewhile into this common-place through the prease and throng of these women, I was abashed and could not chuse but blush. And had I not bene more respective of the reputation, the honour and reverence of some in particular, than of them all together, because it should not be thought and said, that they had beene checked and taken up by the Consul; I would have said unto them, What new fashion is this, good wives, to run gadding abroad into the open streets, to beset the passages, and so affront, yea and hang upon other womens husbands as ye do? What could ye not every one at home have dealt with your owne good-men in the cause, and craved their helpe? or can ye speake faire and flatter better, can yee bee more pleasant and affable abroad in the towne, than within your houses? or make love to other men, rather than to your owne husbands? And yet so speake uprightly, if wives were of that modestie and womanly carriage, as to keepe themselves within the compasse and bounds of their owne libertie, and passe no farther; it were not besitting you ywis, so much as

at home to trouble your selves about our lawes heere, nor to busie your braines, to know either
 what new Statutes passed, or what old were called. Our auncestours in old time would not, that
 women in any wise should dispose so much as of their own privat matters without the advice and
 direction of a governor and overseer: and therefore in great wisdom they ordeined, that they
 should be ordred and ruled, by their parents, by their brethren, by their husbands. But wee (and
 God will) can abide them to intermeddle in state-matters, to governe the weale publick, to con-
 verse with us in the common place, in publick assemblies and courts of parliament. For what
 els do they now in the streets, in the crosse waies and Quarrefours, but, some of them geve their
 voyces that the bills of the Tribunes may passe, and others advise and be of opinion, that the
 law *Oppia* may be repealed? Let this outrageous & unreasonable nature of theirs have the head;
 let these unruly creatures & untamed animals have their will, and bridle them not; see then how
 of themselves they will keepe a meane and measure in their licentiousnes, unlesse you curb them
 and hold them in. Tuff, this is the least matter of all that displeaseth these women: there are
 a thousand things besides that they thinke hardly of, and are discontented to be held unto by old
 customes and positive lawes. Libertie in all things; nay to speake more truly, a loofe and dis-
 lute licentiousnes, is the very thing they long after and desire. For, go they away cleere with this
 once, what is it that they will not attempt and give the venture for? Do but runne through and
 count the lawes provided in this behalfe for women, whereby our forefathers and predecessours
 have kept downe and restrained their disorderly appetites, and with which they have sought to
 subject them to their husbands: yet, hardly can ye with the help of them all, keepe them in awe
 and tied fast, but breake out they will, and have their own waies. What then? how and if ye suffer
 them to catch this and that, and tother thing to it: if I say, ye let them wrest from you one thing
 after another, untill at length they be check-mates with their husbands, thinke ye that every you
 shall be able to support and endure them? Begin they once to be equals, they will soone be su-
 perious: make them your fellows, and streightwaies they will be your maisters. But, alas, wee
 lay to hardly to their charge. The thing that they stand upon is no more but this, That no new
 Act and statute passe against them: for no equall and reasonable thing do they refuse: their
 desire and prayer is only that they might not be wronged. No, no, it is cleane contrary: That law
 which ye have received and admitted, that which by your suffrages you first granted, that which
 by the practise and experience of so many yeeres you have allowed and approved, they would
 have you to revoke and abolish: which is as much to say, as by annulling that one, to infringe,
 impair, and diminish the authoritie and vertue of the rest. No law is there so well devised, that
 is good, commodious and agreeable unto all. This only is intended principally to be con-
 sidered, that it may be profitable to the most part, and serve in generall. For if as each person shall
 find an act prejudiciall, hurtfull, and offensive to himselfe, he may be allowed by and by to undo
 and demolish the same: to what end should all the people assemble together to the making of
 those statutes, which they anon against whom they were enacted, may abolish and overthrow?
 But gladly would I know the great occasion and cause, for which our dames in such trouble and
 uprore run out into the streets, and have much ado to forbear the common place, and to
 mount up into the *Rostra* to make an oration to this audience? Is it for this, to redeeme out of
 the hands of *Anniball*, their fathers, their husbands, their children & brethren, whom he keepeth
 prisoners? Nay, that calamitie is farre enough off at this day, and farre may it ever be I pray God
 from our citie and Common-weale. And yet when the time was of that hard fortune and cala-
 mitie, you would not hearken to their piteous and kind prayers in that behalfe. But it may well
 be, that it is neither naturall love and kind affection, nor carefull regard of their deere friends,
 but meere touch of conscience and sense of religion that hath brought them thus together in a
 congregation. And readie they are, it may be, to receive and intertaine dame *Cybele* or *Ida*,
 coming from *Pelcinus* out of *Phrygia*. What honest colour & shew, so much as in word only
 can be pretended to beare out and cover this mutinous sedition of women? Mary this (say they)
 that we may glitter in our golden jewels, and shine in purple robes to be seene a farre off: that
 as well on work daies as holidayes, we may be set up and ride in our coaches and chariots through
 the citie, as it were in triumph, for the conquest and victorie of a law by us repealed and disanul-
 led: for winning from you, and wringing out of your hands, maugre your beards, the libertie of
 your voyces and suffrages: to the end that we might not be stinted and gaged in our excessive
 expenses, in our dissolute profusion, in costly vanities and superfluities. Many a time yee have
 heard

A heard me complaine of the wastfull and sumptuous bravery of women: and as often have you
 knowne me to invey against the lavish spending of men, not privat persons only, but magistrates
 also in higher place: and how this citie of ours is sick as it were at one time of two contrary dis-
 eases & maladies, to wit, pinching avarice, and superfluous prodigalitie, two plagues I say, that
 have bene the bane and overthrow of all great monarchies and flourishing empires. These peblen:
 mischiefs I dread so much the more, as our state and common-weale encreaseth to the better;
 groweth welthy every day more than other; & as our dominion extendeth still farther & farther.
 And now that we are gotten over into Greece and Asia, provinces full of all enticing pleasures
 and alluring delights of the world, now that we are come to finger and handle the rich treasures
 of mightie Monarches, I feare me that even these things have rather captivated us, than wee
 them. The goodly images, statues and pictures that came from *Syracuse*, are (trust me truly)
 dangerous to this citie, and threaten no lesse than so many ensignes of the field displayed against
 it. And I heare say alreadie, that there are many, and too too many, that praise and have in ad-
 miration the beautifull ornaments of *Corinth* & *Athens*, and begin to make a skorne & game of
 the images of the Roman gods made of potters earth only, laughing a good at them, where they
 see them standing forth of the walls. Well, for my part I had rather have these gods so propice
 and favorable to us as they be, than such as those: and so I hope they will ever be, if we can suffer
 them to abide still in their usual shrines & places accustomed. No longer ago than in our fathers
 daies, king *Pyrrhus* sent his embassador *Cyneas* of purpose and assaied by rich & goodly gifts, to
 tempt the minds not only of our men, but also of our women. There was no law *Oppia* as then
 in force, to bridle and keepe downe the costly pomp and bravery of women: and yet not one of
 them all received ought at his hands. And what thinke ye was the cause? even the same and no
 other, for which our auncestours in times past, never so much as thought upon the providing of
 any such law. There was no pride then, nor riotous superstitie to restraine. And like as the skill
 and knowledge of diseases, must precede and go afore their cures and remedies: even so evil
 desires and enormous lusts had neede to bud forth and spring before the lawes, which should
 repress and cut them downe. What caused the law *Licinia* to be made, Concerning five hun-
 dred acres of ground, forbidding that no man should possesse above; but the exceeding cove-
 tousnes of men, encroching still and laying land to land? What brought in the law *Cincia* as
 touching gifts and presents, but this, that the Commons began alreadie to be vasailes as it
 were and tributaries to the Senat. No mervaille therefore it is, nor strange may it seeme, that nei-
 ther the law *Oppia*, nor any other providing for the cutting off the unmeasurable expences of
 women, was required and thought needfull in those dayes; when gold, when purple freely ten-
 ded and offered unto them was refused. If now at this day *Cyneas* were come, and went with such
 gifts round about in the citie, he should find receivers enough of women, standing in every
 streete readie for him. And verily, with all the wit I have, I can not devise what the cause & reason
 should be of many lustfull desires and appetites that reigne in this age. For say, that if one of
 you were kept short and debarred of that, which another might lawfully have: peradventure
 there might rise in your hearts (through infirmities) some shame & abashment in nature, or els dis-
 pleasure & discontentment in reason: so being all as ye are brought within one compasse of sur-
 nature and apparell, and no ods at all between you, what need any one of you to feare, least she
 should be looked into, marked or observed, more than another. I must needs say, the shame that
 followeth & attendeth either upon nigardise or povertie, is worst of all others: but the law quit-
 teth & freeth you of both, when you want but that only which by law ye may not have, & no man
 wil reproch you therefore. Yes mary, quoth some rich and welthy dame, this same equalitie & no
 distinction at all among us, of all things I can not abide. Why may not I according to my calling,
 be seene araied in purple, & adorned with gold? And why is not the poore estate of others known,
 but lieth hidden under this pretext and cloke of a law: so as they may be thought yet (were it not
 for the law) that such & such things they would have; where as indeed they are not able to main-
 taine and beare it out? Would ye (in faith) my maisters and citizens of Rome, have your wives to
 strive thus, that the richer sort might deserve to have that, which no other can reach unto: and
 the poore againe because by that meanes they would not be despised, over-streine themselves to
 go above their calling & abilitie? Certes I dare avow, if they begin once to shame at that which
 is not shame-worthy, they will not bask at any thing, be it never so shamefull. Have it she will out
 of her owne, so long as it lasteth: and when all is gone, to her husbands purse she will go. Alas
 poore

The question of
the law
is not the law
itself.

poore man and wo begun is that husband, as well he that is intreated by his wife, to stretch his purse strings, as he that is not, when he shal see another man to give her that, which he would not allow himself. And even now yee see how openly in the street (unhamefaced as they be) they are in hand with other womens husbands, yea and that which more is, they keepe an intreating for to casse the law, and for the favour of their voices only. For of some they have got the good will no doubt already, whiles themselves wil not be intreated, but draw miserie upon thee, upon thy state, and upon thy children. Wel, let the law once cease to set down a gage & proportion of thy wives expences, and never thinke to have remedie, and to staie the same of thy selfe with all thou canst do. Be not deceived sirs, to thinke that the world will be ever againe at the same passe, as it was before this law took place. And as it is a safer course and lesse dangerous to let a naughtie and obnoxious person alone, that he be not called into question at all; than after he is once accused to suffer him to be quit and goe away unpunished: even so this excessive superfluitie, would have bene more tollerable, if it had not bene medled and tempered withall, than it will be now upon the very binding and curbing thereof: much like a wild and savage beast let loose after it hath bene tyed up a time, and so made more fell and angrie. To conclude therefore, of this opinion am I, that of no hand the law *Oppia* be repealed: and so I pray all the gods to vouchsafe for to blesse and turne to good, whatsoever you doe or go about. VVhen he had thus said, those Tribunes also of the Commons, who openly promised and protested to oppose themselves, and to crosse the repealing of the law, made some brieve speeches to the same effect. Then *L. Valerius* rose up to maintaine the bill by him proposed for the revoking of that law, and spake as followeth.

If privat men had stepped forth and advanced forward either to approve and perswade, or to reject and dissuade, that which by us is proposed, I my selfe also without opening my mouth would have attended your will & expected the deliverie of your suffrages, as thinking it had bene sufficiently debated & discoursed already, whatsoever might be said for both parties. But now sith that the Consull *M. Porcius Cato*, a man of so great reputation and gravitie, not only by his countenance and authoritie, (which alone without any word at all spoken had been important enough and effectually) but also in a long premeditate Oration framed with much studie and forethinking, hath impugned and inveighed against our proposed ordinance, I must of necessity answer him againe as briefly as I can. VVho nevertheless hath spent more words in reproving and chastising the matrons and dames of the citie, than he hath bestowed reason to the purpose in dissuading our new law: and all verily for this intent, that he might leave it doubtful, whether the women had done that which he blamed them for, as induced by their own motives, or seduced by us and our suggestions. As for me, the protection directly of the cause I will take in hand, and not busie and trouble my head in defence of our persons, against whome the Consull hath rather glaunced and girded at, by way of big words, than charged indeed by sound reasons. It hath pleased him to call this, An assembly and mutinous meeting: yea and otherwhiles he tearemeth it, An insurrection and secession of women: because the wives in open place intreated you to repeale that law, now in time of peace, in the flourishing and blessed state of the Commonweale, which during those troublesome daies of war, had bene enacted against them. I wrote full well, that both these words and other besides are verie significant, sought out, and picked for the nones, to enforce and aggravate the matter. And we all know, that *M. Cato* is an Oratour not onely grave and earnest, but otherwhiles also fell, sharpe, and bitter, how ever otherwise by natural disposition he be of a mild spirit and courteous enough. But to the point. VVhat new and strange thing is this that our wives have done, in comming abroad and assembling themselves in companies, about a matter that so much concerneth and importeth themselves? VVhat? were they never seene before now, abroad in open street? I will take the paines, *o Cato*, to turne over your own booke of Originals against your selfe. Listen and marke how often they have done the semblable, and alwaies truly for the common good and benefit of the State. And first and foremost, in the verie beginning and infancie of this citie, even in the reigne of king *Romulus*, when the Capitoll-keepe was taken and held by the Sabines; when in the midst of the Common place, they were raunged in battell array and readie to fight a bloudiefield, was not the quarrell ended and the conflict stayed by the dames and wives that ran in, and put themselves betweene the two armies? After the *KK* were driven out and expelled, VVhat happened then? VVhen as the legions of the Volsciens under the conduct of *Coriolanus Martius* incamped within five miles of Rome, were they not the matrones of the citie that turned backe this armie, which

which doubtlesse would have forced our citie and put it to ranfacke? And is not this likewise as true, that when the Gaules were possessed of Rome and masters thereof, the dames of the citie and none but they, even by the consent of all men, came forth into the open streets, made a contribution, and laid downe that gold which paid for the ranfome and redemption of the citie? No longer since than in the last Punicke warre (because I will not stand so much upon antiquities) was it not thus, that not onely when the citie was at a fault for money, the widowes stockes supplied the want of the common treasure? but also at what time as we were driven to seeke for new gods, and to send for them as farre off to succor us in our extremities; all the wives and matrons of the citie went to the sea side for to receive the goddesse Mother *Ides*? The occasions (quothe he) are different, and the case is not alike. Neither is it my purpose or any part of my meaning to compare causes, and to proove they are all one. This onely I stand upon, and take it sufficient to excuse and cleere the women, for bringing up no strange noveltie, in that they shewed themselves in open place. To proceed therefore: seeing that no man made any wonder then, of that which women did in undertaking the affaires that concerned all alike as well men as women: marvaile we now that they doe the semblable, in a cause that properly and peculiarly pertaineth to themselves? And what great thing was it they did? Now in good faith wee are too coy and squeamish of our hearing, and our eares over nice and delicate, if when masters disdaine not to heare the praiers of their servants and slaves, we come to give eare to the requests of ladies and dames of honor. But now I come to the matter in question, in regard whereof the Consull his Oration consisted in two points. For first, hee took it verie ill, that any law at all once enacted should be revoked: and secondly he stood upon this, that above all others the law devised and made for repressing the superfluous ornaments and attire of women, should remaine in force for ever. So it should seeme, that the first part (a common defence as it were, of all the lawes) was a speech besitting the place and person of a Consull: but the other against the exceeding pompe of women, more properly became a man (as himselfe) of most severe life and precise carriage. And therefore it is great doubt and to be feared, least wee should seduce you into some errour, if we lay not downe and shew plainly the vanitie and defect both in the one & in the other. For as I confesse, that of those lawes which are devised and established not for a time and by occasion of some particular occurrence, but for ever and to the perpetual good of a citie, none ought to be abolished; unlesse it be so that by use and experience the same be checked and found hurtfull, or by some change of the State become needlesse and superfluous: so I see evidently, that those statutes and ordinances which are brought in to fit and serve some seasons, are mortall (if I may so say) and mutable with the times. And oftentimes wee see, that warre disclaimeth those lawes which peace proclaimeth; and peace pulleth downe that which warre set up: like as in the government and rule of a ship, one thing is requisite in faire weather and calme sea; another in foule and troublesome tempests. These things thus being in nature divers and distinct, let us consider I pray you, of whether sort is this law that now we are in hand to revoke. VVhat? is it one of the auncient and royall lawes made by the kings, and equall in time with the foundation of our citie? or (that which is the next in time and authoritie) was it set downe and writen in the twelve tables by the Decemvirs, created for purpose to devise and make lawes? Is it of that nature without the which as our ancestors were of opinion, that the honestie and honour of matrons could not be preserved: so we are to feare likewise, least by the repealing thereof, wee overthrow the modestie, chastitie, and integritie of married women? VVhy? who knoweth not that this is a new law of twentie yeeres standing and continuance and no more, made whiles *Q. Fabius* and *Titus Sempronius* were Consuls? And seeing that without it, wives lived so many yeeres before in good name and fame and in passing good order: tell me what danger can ensue, and why wee need to feare least if it bee annulled, they should break out to all looseness and disorder. Mary, if this law had bene made at first, to gage the wantonnesse of women; beleeeve me then it were greatly to be doubted, that the putting downe thereof, would stirre them up againe to their former outrage. But to what end it was devised, the time it selfe is able to shew and testifie. *Anniball*: being in Italie, had woon a victorie at Cannae: he was now master of Tarentum, lord of Arpi, and possessed of Capua: every houre men looked when hee would march forward and advance his ensignes against Rome: our allies were revolted and gone: souldiours wee had no more of our owne to supply and make up the decayed bands: no mariners and sea servitours could we find for the maintenance of our Ar-

made: all our treasure in the citie chamber was spent and consumed. Driven we were to this exigent, as to take up bondslaves for to serve in warres, and to buy them of their maisters for day, yea, and to make payment of their price after the warre was ended. For want of money al- so the Publicanes and Farmours of our domaine and publicke profites, undertooke to serve the armie with corne, and to furnish us with all things needfull for warre at a certaine price, and gave us the like day and time of payment. The gally slaves that served at the oare we found and maintained with our own proper & privat charges; & a rate and proportion was set down according to our revenues and worth in the subsidie booke, what number every one should bee charged with. All the gold and silver that wee had in private we brought forth in commune, and the Senators themselves led the way first, and gave good ensample. The widdowes and orphane children brought in their stockes of money to the citie chamber. Streight order was given, that wee should not have in our houses either of gold or silver, wrought in plate or otherwise above so much, nor of silver and brasse in coine and currant money beyond a certaine proportion limited. At such a time, our dames (belike) were set all upon their braveries, pruning, trimming, and tricking themselves, in such sort, as the law *Oppia* must needs be devised, there was no other remedie to keepe downe their excessive pride and superfluous expence in their attire and ornaments: even then, I say, when by occasion that the solemne feast and sacrifice of *Ceres* was discontinued, by reason of the generall mourning and heave cheare of all the wives of the citie, the Senate was faine to take order, that they should finish and end their forrowfull mourning within thirtie daies. Who is so blind that seeth not, how in regard onely of the povertie and extreme calamitie of the citie, and because all the monies of private persons should bee converted into a common stocke, and for a publicke use, this law was first framed, drawne, and set down, so long onely to stand in strength and vertue, as the cause of penning and writing it should endure and continue? For otherwise, if those acts and decrees of the Senat, if those orders and ordinances of the Commons, respective unto that present time, should bee in force, and observed for ever; Why make we payment of the loane money unto private men? Why doe wee let and to term let our commodities, our customes and revenues of the citie, unto farmers for readie rent? Why put we forth our publick works for present money paid downe upon the naile? Wherefore buy we not slaves to serve in our warres? Lastly why are we not put to find mariners and oarmen, at our owne proper charges, as then we did? All other estates and degrees, all men els, of what calling soever, feele a great change in the state of the citie, from woe to weale, from adversitie to prosperitie; and shall our wives onely misse the good thereof, and not once tast nor enjoy the fruits of peace, and publick repose and tranquillitie? Shall we that are men, be in purple & scarlet? Shall we wear our embrodered gowns and robes when we are magistrats? Shall we put on our rich amyces and copes, when we exercise the function and ministerie of the high priests? Shall our children goe in their side garments, purfuled afore with purple? Shall wee permit and privileged the head officers and magistrats in our Colonies and Burrough townes? nay, shall we suffer here at Rome the maisters and constables of every parish, the meaneft and basest officers of all other to weare embrodered gowns, and studded with purple? and not only so, for to grace and credit themselves, with these goodly ornaments and badges of worship and honour during their life, but also after their death, the same to bee burhed and buried with them? And shall wee debarre and forbid our women onely to use purple and skarlet in their apparell? And when you the husband may have purple and skarlet, carpets, counterpointes, and footclothes, what reason is there to denie your wife, the mistresse of the house, a gowne or mantle of the same? And shall your horse bee attrapped and barbed more richly, and better set out with his capparison, than your wife attired in her apparrell? But in truth, for purple and scarlet, which are the worse for the wearing, and waxeth bare, me thinks I see some reason, such as it is (although it be very hard) of sparing and restraint: marie for gold, wherein little or nothing is lost but the fashion and workmanship, what niggardise, what miserie is this, to make spare of it, and to denie it them: Nay, I dare avow and abide by it, there is great benefit and use thereof in time of extremitie: and it may helpe at a pinch both in publick affairs, and in private occasions, as ye have found by good experience. But *Cato* said moreover, There would bee no emulation and envie betwene this good wife and that, if neither one nor other were allowed that libertie of apparell and ornaments. True it is, but in steed thereof they all are mightily discontented and grieved at the heart in the meane while, disdaining to see the wives of our allies of the Latine name and

A nation, permitted to weare those ornaments which they are forbidden to have, to see them, I say, all gorgeously set out with spangles and jewels of gold, clad in their purple and skarlet clothes, riding in their coaches all over their cities, whiles they at Rome take pains to go afoot on their ten toes, as if the State of the Empire were seated in their townes, and not in this their owne citie of Rome. This indignitie were ynough to wound the hearts of men, & make them bleed; what hurt doth it then, thinke you, to sille women, whome small matters, God wor, are wont to trouble? Alas poore soules: no magistracie and place of government in State, no sacerdotal dignities in the church, no triumphes, no ornaments and titles of honour, are they capable of, no gifts, no spoiles and prizes gotten in warres, can fall to their shares. Neatnesse and finenesse, gay garments, trim attire, and gorgeous habiliments, are the honour and ornaments of women: in it they take delight, on it they set their hearts, of it they make their joy. And therefore well have our ancestors called all furniture for the decking of women [*Mundus Muliebris*]. What lay they off in time of forrow & mourning, but their gold & purple? what put they on & resume again, when their mourning is past, but their gold & purple? what hang they on them besides in time of publick joy and solemne processions, but their better apparell, their richest attire & most costly ornaments? But peradventure, after ye have once repealed the law *Oppia*, it will not be in your power to overrule them, if happily you should forbid them to wear any thing, that now the law restraineth them of. And perhaps some shal have more ado with their daughters, their wives, & sisters, & find them lesse tractable and pliable unto their minds, than now they are. Never fear that women cannot shake off their obedience, so long as their governours (be they fathers, husbands, or brethren) are alive; nay, of all other things they abhor & cannot brook to be at their own libertie, when it commeth by the death either of husbands or parents: Widdows state and Orphans life, they may not abide. Be sure therefore, they had leifer have their ornaments and attire to be at the disposition of your selves, than of the law. And therefore, to speake a truth, you must in equity and reason protect and defend them in kindnesse, and not oppresse them with hardnesse and bondage: delight ye must to be called their fathers and husbands, rather than their lords and masters. It pleased the Consull erewhile to give them hard words and odious tearmes, calling this their meeting, A mutinie of women, and a very insurrection and departure of theirs: and daunger there is, no doubt, least being up once, they will seize upon the mount Sacer, as sometimes the Commons did in their furious anger, or els possesse themselves of the Aventine, and there encampe and keepe an hold. Well, this weake and feeble sexe, borne to beare, must suffer and endure whatsoever ye shall ordain & set down against them. But take this withall at the loose for a final conclusion, that the greater power & authoritie ye have over them, the more discretion and moderation ye ought to use in that soveraintie of yours. After debate of words passed in this wise, in favor and disfavor of the law, the day following the women flocked in greater multitudes into the open streets, and banding themselves together, as it were, in one troupe, they beset the dores and houses of the *Bruti*, who by interposing themselves, had hindered and crossed the bill presented by their fellow Tribunes: and never gave they over to keepe this stur, untill those Tribunes flaked in their opposition, for to inhibit the same. Which done, there was no doubt then, but all the tribes with one voice would abrogate and abolish that law. Thus twentie yeeres after the enacting thereof, it was repealed and annulled.

M. Percius Cato after the abrogation of the law *Oppia*, presently departed with a fleet of five and twentie gallies, whereof five were set out by Allies, and arrived in the port of * Luna, to which place hee commaunded his forces to assemble: and after by vertue of an edict sent out along the sea coast, he had gathered together vessels of all sorts as he closed from Luna; and proclaimed that they should all follow after him to the port of Pyreneus, from whence hee purposed to set forth against the enemie, with an Armada of many saile, and well appointed. Who having passed beyond the mountaines of Liguria and the gulfes of Gaule, arrived and met all together, at the day and place appointed. From thence they came against * Rhoda, where they expelled the Spanish garrison that held the fortresse. From Rhoda with a good gale of wind, they sailed to Emporiae, Where, all the whole armie, excepting the mariners, were set a land. At the same time Emporiae were two townes, seperate one from the other by a wall. The one of them was inhabited by Greekes, who came from Phocæa, from whence the Massilians also are descended: the other was possessed by Spaniards. But the Greeke towne lieth out into the sea, so as the whole compass of the wall is not halfe a mile about: but the Spanish

towne seated farther into the land, and devided from the sea, is defended with a wall three miles G
in circuit. A third sort of Romane inhabitants were joynd unto them by * *Cæsar* the Emperour
of famous memorie, after he had vanquished *Pompey*: children. And at this day, they are confu-
ted and medled one with another, and become one entier bodie, by reason that first the Span-
yards, and afterward the Greekes, were made free denizens of the cite of Rome. A man might
well meruaile, seeing how open they lye of the one side to the maine sea, how exposed they are
on the other side to the danger of the Spaniards, a nation so fierce and warlike, what thing it was
that garded and protected them? Discipline it was and good government, and nothing els,
which maintained and preserved them in that weakenes of theirs; discipline I say, which is ever
best interteined of them, who live in feare of the mightier that are round about them. One quar-
ter of the wall looking to the fields, is passing strong and exceeding well fortified, having but H
one gate in all that side; which ordinarily is alwayes warded by one of the Magistrates. In the
night, one third part usually of the citizens kept watch upon the walls. And this watch they
maintained not for custome and fashion, nor by vertue of any law: but they performed it with
as great care, yea and went the round and saw to the sentinels with as much diligence, as if the
enemies were hard at gates. A Spaniard came not within the cite; neither went they forth
themselves, unlesse it were upon just occasion. But on the sea side the issue was open for any man
at his pleasure. By that gate which turneth toward the Spanish towne, they never used to go
forth but in great number, even a third part welneere of the townesmen, and those who the night
before had watched upon the walls. And this cause induced them to go abroad, for that the
Spaniards being no men at sea, gladly would traffike and trade with them: willingly buying of I
them their strange merchandise from forein parts brought in by ships: and venting unto them
again their land commodities and fruits arising of the maine. The desire of this mutuall com-
merce and necessarie intercoure was the cause, that the Spanish towne was open to the Greekes.
And in greater safetie and securitie they were also, by reason that they were shadowed under the
wing of the Romane amitie, which they interteined with as great loyaltie as the Massilians, al-
though they were nothing so mightie and puissant. And even at this time they received the
Consull and his armie with great courtesie and liberalitie. *Cato* sojourned there some few daies,
whiles he was advertised by his espials where his enemies abode, and what their forces were: and
because he would not be idle whiles he stayed there, he bestowed all that time in training and
exercising his souldiours. It hapned to be that season of the yeere, when the Spaniards had K
their corne within their granges readie for the thrashing floore, whereupon he forbade the come-
purveours to provide graine, and sent them home to Rome. *Warre*, saith he, I shall feede and
mainteine it selfe. Being departed from * *Emporia*, he wasted and burnt the territorie of the ene-
mies, forced them to run away in every place where he came, and put them in exceeding fright.

At the same time, as *M. Helvius* departed out of the farther province of Spaine with 6000
garison souldiours delivered unto him by the Pretour, he was encountered by a great armie of
the Celtiberians, before the towne *Illiturgum*. *Valerius* writeth, that they were twentiethousand
strong: that twelve thousand of them were slaine, the towne *Illiturgum* woon againe, and all
above fourteene yeeres of age put to the sword. From thence *Helvius* marched to the camp of L
Cato: and because the country was cleere from enemies, he sent back the garison into the
nether Spaine, and took his journey to Rome, where he entred the cite Ouant in pety triumph,
for the happie successe atchieved in his affaires. He brought into the treasure, of silver in bul-
lion or Ingots, 14732 pound weight: of silver coine 17023 bigate peeces: and of Oscan silver
12038 pound weight. The cause why the Senate denied him full triumph, was this; for that he
warred under the conduct and name of another, and not in his owne province. But it was two
yeeres before he returned, by reason that the yeere betwene he was stayed there, lying sick
of a long and grievous disease, and put over his government to *Qu. Minutius* his successor.
Whereupon *Helvius* likewise entred the cite of Rome in that manner of triumph, two moneths
only before his successor *Qu. Minutius* triumphed. He likewise brought into the chamber of
the cite 34800 pound weight of silver in masse: of bigates in coine 78000: of Oscan silver M
278000 pound.

All this while the Consull lay encamped in Spaine not farre from *Emporia*. Thither re-
paired unto him from *Bithages* a prince of the Ilergetes, three embassadors, whereof his sonne
was one: complaining that their forts were assailed by force of armes, and they had no other
hope

A hope to make resistance, unlesse they might have a gard of Romane souldiours to defend them,
and 5000 say they will be sufficient: for never would the enemies abide by it if such a power
came against them. The Consull answered them and said, that he had a feeling and compassion
of the perill or feare (whether it was) wherein they stood: howbeit, he was not at that time furni-
shed with such forces, that he might safely spare so many out of his maine armie, thereby to dis-
member the same and to empaire his strength, considering a mightie hoart of his enemies was
not far off, with whom he looked every day, and he knew not how soone, to joyne battaile in open
field with banner displaid. The embassadors hearing this, fell downe prostrate at the Consuls
feete, and shed teares, humbly beseeching him not to forsake them in this piteous plight. For
whither (say they) shal we go, if we be repulsd from the Romanes? No allies we have besides, nor
other hope in all the world. This danger we might have avoided well enough, if we would have
bene false and disloyall; if we would have banded and rebelled with other Spaniards: but no
menaces, no terrors presented unto us, could drive us to renounce our fealtie, hoping alwaies
that we should have help and succour enough from the Romanes: but now if no meede, if no re-
liefe come from thence; if we be denied at the Consuls hand, heaven and earth we call to witnes,
that we must be forced, full against our wills and upon meere necessitie, to revolt from the Ro-
manes, for feare we drinke of the same cup that the Saguntines have done afore us: and choose
we wil to dye with the rest of the Spaniards for companie, rather than perish alone by our selves.
So for that day they were dismissed without other answer. But all the night following, the Consull
was much distracted in mind, and carefull in both respects. Unwilling he was to cast off his allies
C and see them destitute; and as unwilling again to breake his armie: considering that in so doing,
he might either delay the opportunitee of giving battaile, or endanger himselfe in the very in-
stant of conflict. But at length he resolved, in no wise to diminish his owne forces; doubting least
in the meane while he should receive some dishonor at the enemies hand. As for his associates,
he thought it best to interteine them with good hopes, for want of better helps; considering that
oftentimes and especially in war, outward semblances and vaine shewes, are held and taken for
truth and substance, and serve the turne well enough: and when a man is thoroughly perswaded
that he hath aid and succour, the very trust and confidence thereof hath ministered hart to give the
venture of some exploit, and preserved him as well as the thing it selfe. The next morrow he deli-
vered this answer unto the embassadors, That albeir he feared to abate his own strength, in ser-
ving other mens turne with any part of his forces, yet he had at this present more regard of their
D occasions and dangerous estate than of his own. Whereupon he gave commandement, that a
third part of all his bands and companies should have warning to bake and dresse viands with all
speed, for to bestow & lay in the ships; and streightly he charged, that they should be rigged and
ready appointed against the third day: and willed withall, two of the embassadors to report so
much to *Bithages* and the Ilergetes. As for the yong prince his sonne, he detained stil with him,
used him graciously, and bestowed favours & rich gifts upon him bounteously. The embassadors
tooke not their leave nor departed, before they saw the souldiers embarked: and thus by making
relaion hereof, as a thing assured and past all peradventure, they filled the heads not of their own
friends only, but also of the enemies, with the bruit of Romane aids comming neere at hand.
E The Consull now, when hee had set this countenance of the matter, and made sufficient sem-
blance to serve his purpose, gave order that the souldiers should be disbarked again & set a land:
and himselfe seeing now that the time of the yeere approached commodious for action and ex-
ecution of martiall affaires, dislodged and remooved his standing winter campe within a mile of
Emporia. From whence (as any occasions and opportunities were presented) he led forth his
souldiers a foraging and boothaling into the enemies land, sometime one way and sometime
another, leaving alwaies a competent guard to defend the campe. Ordinarily their manner was
to steale out by night, to the intent, that both they might go on still farther from their leage, and
also surprise the enemies at unawares and unprovided: by which meanes not onely his new and
raw souldiers were exercised, but also many of his enemies were caught up and came short home:
F whereupon they durst no more peepe out of their forts and holds of defence. Now after he had
made sufficient proove of the hearts as well of his owne men as of his enemies, he commanded
all the marshals, colonels, horsemen, and centurions, to assemble before him: and unto them
he made this speech. The time (quoth he) is now come, that you so often have wished for; in
which you may shew at full your vertue and valour. Your service hitherto hath beene more like
the

the manner of forraiers than warriours: but now shall ye come to a maine battaile, and as enemies, fight hand to hand with professed enemies. From henceforth you may if you will, not waste their fields onely and spoile their territorie, but ranfacke the pillage of rich and wealthie cities. Our fathers before us and auncestours in times past, when as in Spaine there were both Generals and armies of Carthaginians, having themselves no leaders and commanders, no soldiers and forces there, yet would they needs have this article among others capitulated in the accord and composition with the Spaniards, That the river of Iberus should limit their feignorie and dominion. Now at this day, when two Pretours and a Consull, when three entire Romanie armies have the government and charge of Spaine; now, I say, after ten yeeres space almost, wherein no Carthaginians have set foot and been seene in all these quarters of both provinces, we have lost our feignorie on this side Iberus. This must yee recover and win againe by force of armes, by manhood and valiancie: yee must I say, compell this nation, morerash and inconsiderate in rebelling, than constant and resolute in maintaining warre, for to receive once more the yoke of subjection, which they have shaken from off their neckes. Having exhorted and encouraged them in this manner, he gave them to understand, that he would set forward in the night and lead against the enemies campe. And so he let them depart to refresh their bodies. At midnight, after he had devoutly taken with him the signes and approbations of the birds for his better speed, he put himselfe in his journey: & because he might be seized of some place to his liking before the enemies should descrie him, hee set a compassse in his march, and led his souldiours cleane beyond their campe. And having by day light set his companies in battell array, he sent out three cohorts, even close to the rampier and trench of the enemye. The barbarous people wondering to see the Romans shew themselves behind at their backe, ran too and fro to take armes. Meane while, the Consull held his men with these and such like speeches: My souldiours (quoth he) there is no other hope now left, but in cleane strength and valour, and I of verie purpose have wrought it so. Betweene us and our campe the enemies are encamped all: behind at our backe we have our enemies land. The bravest courses are ever safest, namely, to build and ground our hope surely upon vertue. And herewithall hee gave order, that the cohorts aforesaid should retire of purpose to traine forth the barbarous people, by making semblance of retreat and flight. And so fell it out in verie deed as he thought and supposed: for they imagining that the Romanes for verie feare were retired, issued forth by heapes out of the gate, and bespred with armed men all the ground, that lay betweene their owne campe and the enemies battell. And whiles they made great hast to embattell themselves, the Consull who was already arranged in battell ray, & in all respects well appointed, charged upon them before they were marshalled and set in order. First he put forth the cornets and wings of horsemen from both points and flanks of the battaile: but they of the right side were straightwaies repulsed, and by their hastie and fearefull reculing, caused the footmen also to be mightily affraid. Which the Consull perceiving, he commaunded two elect cohorts of footmen to wheele about the right flanke of the enemies, and to shew themselves at their backes before the other companies of foot encountered and charged one another. This sodaine terror affrighted the enemies, but set all upright again and recovered the battaile of the Romans, which through the feare of the Cavalierie began to shrink and goe downe. Howbeit the horsemen and footmen both of the right point, were so troubled and so farre out of order, that the Consull was forced to plucke some of them backe with his owne hand, and turnethem with their faces affront the enemye. Thus all the while that the shot lasted, the skirmish was doubtfull: so as now the Romanes in the medley, had much ado to make head and stand to it in the right side, whereas the fright and flight first began. But on the left and all affront, the barbarous had the worst, and with great horror they looked behind and saw their enemies how they played upon their backs & rested not. After they had done with flinging their iron darts and launcing their fierie javelins, they drew their swords; and herewith began the conflict afresh. They were not wounded now from a farre off by blind chaunce and hap-hazard, they knew not from whence; but foot to foot they stood, and hand to hand they coped and let drive one at another: no hope at all was now but to trust in pure strength and maine force. The Consull seeing his men wearied, encouraged and refreshed them by sending for to relieve and maintaine the fight, certain cohorts out of the rereward. This new battaillon well in heart, and with fresh weapons, charged the enemies toiled and tired: and being raunged in pointed wise like a quoin or wedge, at the first hot onfet brake their arraies: and

A being once disordered, they put them to flight, and in scattering wise they ranne as fast as their legges would carrie them, to their campe. Cato seeing them flie on all hands, mounted on horsebacke and rode himselfe to the second legion which was in the arrereward for supply, and commaunded to advance the standards and ensignes before him, to march apace, and to approach the camp of the enemies for to give an assault. If he espied any one to step out of his rank, he would ride before and rap him with his light javelin that he had in his hand; commaunding the marshals and captaines to chastise him for it. Now was the enemies campe at the point to be assaulted, and the Romanes were with stones, pikes, perches, and all kind of weapons set back and driven from the trench. But when this fresh legion approached neere, then both the assailants were more encouraged, and also the enemies fought more lustily in defence of their rampier. The Consull cast his eye all about him, to spie how to breake in at some place or other where least resistance might be made: and seeing the guard thin about the left gate, thither he conducted the Principals and the Hastati of the second legion: but the *corps de guard* which warded that gate, was not able to endure their violent charge. The rest on the other side, seeing the enemies within the rampier, abandoned the campe, and flang away their ensignes and weapons. The souldiours of the second legion followed the chase and killed them as they ran away, whiles the other ranfacked and rifled their tents. *Valerius Antias* writeth, that there were 60000 fell that day upon the edge of the sword. Cato himselfe (that never loved to make the least of his owne praise-worthie acts) saith, there were many slaine; but setteth not downe what number. He is thought to have performed that day three peeces of service worthy of great praise and commendation: first, in that he set a compassse with his armie far from his ships, farre from his campe, and gave battaile in the midst of the enemies, where his men could repose no hope at all but in their owne vertue and valour: secondly, for sending those cohorts behind the enemies to charge upon their backes: and thirdly, for that he caused the second legion to march a great pace under their colours displaid, raunged as they were and ordered in battaile array, for to approach and assaile the gates of the enemies campe, whiles all the rest were disbanded and spred all abroad to pursue the enemye in chase.

After this victorie achieved, he sat not still in rest and repose, but having sounded the retreat and brought his owne souldiours laden with pillage into the campe, he allowed them some few houres for their night sleepe, and led them forth into the territorie of the enemye to forrage and spoile: which was as effectuell to enforce the Spaniard Emporitanes and all their neighbour borderers to yeeld subjection, as the unhappie battell fought the day before. Many also of other cities, which were retired to Emporiae for refuge, rendered themselves to his devotion: whom he entertained all with gracious words, and when he had made them good cheere, bestowing wine and cares plentifully upon them, he sent them home to their owne houses. Then immediately he dislodged and removed his campe. And all the way as he marched with his armie, there resorted embassadours from divers States that yeelded themselves unto him. By that time that hee was come as far as Taracon, all Spaine on this side Iberus, was wholly subdued: and the barbarous people brought in as presents unto the Consull, all the captives and prisoners, as well Romanes as Allies, and namely Latines, who by many and sundrie chaunces had been taken in Spain. The bruit went commonly abroad, that the Consull would lead his power into Turdetania. There was a false alarme likewise given, and spoken it was, That he would visit the mountaineres that lay out of the way. Upon this vaine and headlesse rumour, there were seven forts belonging to the State of the Bergistanes that revolted from him: but the Consull led his armie against them, and without any memorable battell reduced them under obedience. And the Consull his back was no sooner turned, and he gone to Taracon, but they rebelled againe, even before hee was departed from thence in any other expedition. Subdued they were the second time, but they found not the like favour as before, to have pardon: for they were all sold like slaves in ouvert market, under the garland, because they should not thus every while trouble the peace.

In this meane time *P. Manlius* the Pretour, after he had received the old armie at the hands of *Q. Mutius* whom he succeeded, and joined thereto the other armie of old souldiours belonging to *Appius Claudius*, and which were come out of the farther Spaine, he made an expedition into Turdetania. Now these Turdetanes of all other Spaniards are counted to be the worst souldiours, howbeit, in confidence of their great numbers and multitudes, they came forward and encountered the Romane forces. But the men of armes had no sooner charged them, but presently they

they were disarmed. As for the footmen, they fought in manner not at all. The old approved soldiers, who knew the enemies very well, and were experienced in feats of armes, made a quick dispatch of this skirmish, and soone put all past peradventure. Howbeit, the warre was not so ended, nor determined in one battell. The Turdetanes levied and waged ten thousand Celtiberians, and so maintained war afresh with forraigne mercenarie forces.

The Consull being stung alreadie with the rebellion of the Turdetanes, and supposing that other cities would doe the like, upon any good occasion and opportunitie, disarmed all the Spaniards on this side Iberus of their armor and munition. Which they took for such an indignitie, that many of them for very melancholie killed themselves: a martial and warlike nation, that thought they were as good be out of the world, as turned out of their armes; and reckoned no life, without their weapons. The Consull having intelligence hercof, commaunded the Senatours of all those cities to repaire unto him: and when they were assembled together, he used this speech unto them. It concerneth you (quoth he) no lesse than us, to give over this rebelling and warring. For never yet to this day have ye entred into the action, but with more losse and damage of Spaniards, than toyle and travell of the Romane armie. To prevent this mischeefe that it should not happen, I suppose one good way it is, to contrive and worke so, that yee might not possibly be able to rebell. Effect this I would faine, by the easiest meane and course of all other. Assist me I pray you herein with your good counsell: I assure you I will not be directed by any advise more willingly, than by that which you your selves shall give mee. When they held their tongues, and would not speake a word, he said unto them againe, that he was content they should pause upon the matter, and consult thereof a few daies. When they were called againe, and kept silence in this second meeting and conference as well as in the former, he made no more adoe, but in one day rased the walls of all their cities: which done, hee went forward against those that hitherto were not come in, nor yielded obedience: and into what quarters soever he came, he received all the States one after another, there bordering and adjoining, into his protection; save onely Segellica, a wealthie citie and of importance, the which he forced with mantelets and rolling pavises, and such like fabrickes. More difficultie in subduing these enemies hee found, than others afore him who first came into Spaine: in this regard, for that in times past the Spaniards at the beginning revolted unto them, as being wearie of the tedious yoke of subjection under the lordly government and tyrannie of the Carthaginians. But *Cato* had more ado with them now, in that out of libertie and freedome, which they had usurped and beene used to, hee was to vouch them (as it were) bond, and to bring them againe to servitude. Besides, hee found all out of frame and order, whiles some of them were up in armes, others were forced by siege to revolt, as notable to have held out long, unless they had beene rescued and succoured in time. But of this nature and courageous mind was the Consull, that he would himselfe in person be present and manage all affaires, as well those of smallest moment, as also those of greatest weight and consequence: and not onely devise and give direction what was best to be done, but would himselfe set to his hand, and execute most of the exploits and effect them fully. There was not one amongst them all, that he commaunded with more severitie and rigour, than his owne selfe. In living neerely, in spare feeding, in much watching, in painefull travell, he strived to surpass and outgoe the meanest common souldiours. And no priviledge challenged he, no advantage sought he to himselfe in his whole armie above others, but onely honour and soveraigne command.

The Pretor *P. Manlius* had the more trouble in his war-service, by reason of the Celtiberians, whom (as it hath ben said before) the enemies had levied & hired with their monie. And therefore the Consull being sent unto by the Pretor his letters, led his legions also thither. Being there arrived, (now the Celtiberians and Turdetanes were severally encamped apart one from the other) the Romanes fell presently to maintaine light skirmishes with the Turditanes, and estoones charged their *corps de guard*: and how rashly and inconsiderately soever they began the game, yet they ever went away winners. As for the Celtiberians, the Consull sent certaine Tribunes or knight marshalls unto them to emparle, giving them in charge to make them an offer and tender unto them the choice of three conditions. First, if they could be content to arraigne themselves to serve under the Romanes, and to receive at their hands double wages to that they bargained for with the Turditanes. Secondly, whether they would be willing to go their waies home under safe conduct and publicke securitie, besides that their siding with the Romane enemies should not be laid to their charge, nor bring them within the compasse of any daunger. Thirdly,

ly, if they had more mind to warre, then, that they should set downe sometime and place, when and where they might come to an issue, and trie it out in a set battaile. The Celtiberians required to take a day for to consider better upon these points. So they assembled together in counsell, with great trouble and confusion, by reason that some Turdetanes were thrust in among them; upon which occasion, they might worse grow to any conclusion. Now albeit uncertein it was, whether there would be any warre or peace with the Celtiberians, yet the Romanes gathered their provision out of the territorie and borroughes of their enemies, like as in time of peace: yea and more than that, they entred oftentimes within their fortifications and defences as if there had bene some common traffike and commerce agreed betweene them, by way of private tithes. The Consull seeing he could not draw the enemy to a battaile, first led certaine

companies lightly appointed with banners displayed, to raise booties in one quarter of the countrie, which as yet was free, & had not tasted of the wars: but afterwards hearing that all the bag and baggage and other cariage of the Celtiberians was left at **Saguntia*, he set forward thither to give an assault to the towne. But seeing that nothing would move and stir them, he paid not onely his owne souldiours their wages, but also the Pretours armie their due, and leaving the maine host in the Pretour his campe, himselfe returned to the river Ebre, accompanied onely with seven cohorts. With these forces, as small as they were, he woon certain towns, and there revolted unto him the Sedetanians, Ausetanians, and Suesetanians. The Lacetanians (a nation living out of the way after a savage manner within the wilds and woods) kept still in armes, not only upon a naturall and inbred wildnesse, but also upon a guiltie conscience, in that whiles the Consull

and his armie was employed in the Turdulois warre, they had made suddaine rodes and incursions into the lands of their Allies; and pitifully wasted the same. And therefore the Consull advanced forward to assault their towne, and led against it not onely his owne cohorts and bands, but also the youth of his Allies; who had good cause to be angrie, and to oppose themselves unto them. The towne which they inhabited, lay out in length, but was nothing so wide and large in breadth: and within one halfe mile or lesse, hee pitched downe his ensignes, and planted himselfe. There hee left behind a guard of choise companies, and streightly charged them not to stirre out of that place, before hee came unto them himselfe. The rest of his forces hee led about unto the farther side beyond the towne. Of all the aid-souldiours that he had about him, the greatest number were the youth of the Suesetanians, and those hee commaunded to approach the

wall for to give the assault. The Lacetanians, when they took knowledge of their armor & colours, calling to mind how often they had overrun them at their pleasure, & wasted their lands without checke or empeachment, how many and sundrie times they had in raunged battell discomfited and put them to flight, all at once set open the gate, and sallied out upon them. The Suesetanians were so little able to sustaine the forcible charge of their onset, that they hardly could abide their very shout & first crye. The Consull seeing now, that come to passe indeede which he suspected would be so, rode a gallop upon the spur to those said cohorts of his owne that were left on the other side under the towne, and taking them with him in great haist, whiles all the townesmen were spread abroad in following the chase after the Suesetanians, he led them into the towne at a place where there was no noise, no stirring, and not a man to be seene; and made himselfe maister of all;

before the Lacetanians were returned backe: but within a while hee received them to mercie upon their submission: who, poore men, had nothing to yeeld and loose but their bare armor and weapons. Immediately he followed the traine of this victorie, and led his forces against the hold or strong towne of Vergium. This was a receptacle and place of safe receipt for certaine rovers and thieves, who from thence used to make many rodes into the peaceable parts of that province. The principal and cheefe person of Vergium quit the place, and betook himselfe unto the Consull, and began to excuse as well himselfe as the townesmen, saying, that the government of the towne and the state thereof lay not in their hands. For why? these robbers after they were once received in among them, seized themselves wholly of that strength, and had all at their command. The Consull willed him to goe home againe, and to devise and forge some likely & probable cause why he had been absent and out of the way, with this charge & direction, that when he saw him approach under the walls, and the robbers aforesaid wholly amused and occupied in defence thereof, then hee should remember to joine with the rest of his part and faction, and be possessed of the forresse and keepe of the towne. This put he in practise and execution accordingly. So whiles the Romanes of one side scaled the walls, and they on the other side had taken

*Gigona in Andalusia, Mo-tali.

the forresse, these barbarians were sodainly at once surprised with a two-fold feare before and behind. The Consull when he had gotten the place into his owne hands, gave order, that all those who were gotten into the castle and held it, should remaine free, themselves and all their kinned, and likewise enjoy their goods. The rest of the Vergetanes he commaunded the Treasurer to sell and make money of them. As for the Rovers, they suffred according to their deserts. After he had set the province in quiet, he laid great tributes and imposts upon the mines of yron and silver: which being once ordeined and established, the whole province grew in wek and riches, every day more than other. For these his exploits atchieved in Spaine, the LL. of the Senat decreed, that there should be a solemne proceffion at Rome, to endure for three dayes.

The same winter, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the other Consull, fought in Fraunce a set field with the power of the Boians, neere the forest of Litanie, and wan the victorie. And by report, there were eight thousand Gaules there slaine: the rest abandoned the warre, and slippe every one into their owne wickes and villages. The rest of the winter the Consull kept his armie at Placentia and Cremona about the Po, and repaired in these cities whatsoever had bene decayed and demolished during the warres.

The affaires in Italie and Spaine standing in these termes: when *T. Quintius* had so passed the winter in Greece, that setting aside the *Ætoliens* (who neither had bene recompensed according to the hope that they conceived of the victorie, nor yet could long time like of repose) all Greece throughout in generall enjoying the blessing of peace and libertie, flourished and maintained their state exceeding well, admiring no lesse the temperance, justice, and moderation of the Romane Generall after victorie, than his valour and prowess in warre: there was an Act of the Senat of Rome brought & presented unto him, importing thus much, That wane was determined against *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedemonians. Which when *Quintius* had read, he published and proclaimed a generall Diet or Counsell at Corinth against a certein day, when and where all the States associates should assemble by their delegates and ambassadors. Now when there was met together from all parts a frequent number of princes and great personages, in such sort, that the very *Ætoliens* also were not absent, *Quintius* used unto them this or the like speech. The Romanes and Greekes have warred against king *Philip* as yee well know; and as with one mind and common counsell they have so done, so either of them had severall quarrels unto him, and private causes and occasions by themselves to take armes. For *Philip* had broken the league and amitie with us Romanes, one while by sending aid and maintenance to the Carthaginians our enemies: otherwhiles by assailing our allies in these parts: and to you wards he hath so demeaned himselfe, that albeit we could forget and put up all the wrongs that he hath done unto us, the very injuries that yee have received at his hands, minister sufficient cause unto us to warre against him for your sake. As for this dayes consultation, it respecteth wholly in your selves. For this I propound unto you, Whether your wil is to suffer Argos (which as yee know your selves *Nabis* the tyrant holdeth) to remaine still under him in obedience: or whether you thinke it meete and reason, that a most noble and auncient citie as it is, seated in the very hart of Greece, should be reduced unto libertie, to enjoy the same condition and state wherein other cities of Peloponnesus and Greece do stand. This consultation I say, as you well see, entierly toucheth you and your good, and concerneth us Romanes no farther than thus, that by the servitude of that one onely citie, wee can not have the full and entier glorie of setting Greece wholly in libertie. But if you regard not the state of that citie, and are not moved with the example thereof and the danger, for feare the contagion of this mischief spread farther: we for our parts are content, and take all in godd worth, and will not set you downe and teach you what to do. Only I require your advise in this point, minding to resolve upon that, which the major part of you shall carry by voyces. After the Romane Generall had ended his speech, all the rest began to deliver their opinions. And when the deputed delegate or agent for the Atheniens had magnified and extolled as highly as possibly he could, the good demerits of the Romanes toward Greece, yeelding them great thanks, that upon their request they had granted their aid against *Philip*, and without any petition at all, offered their help and succour against *Nabis* the tyrant; and seemed therewith to be offended and displeased at some, who nevertheless in their talke and speeches found fault and carped at these so great favours and deserts: yea and spake badly of future events, whereas it behoved them rather to acknowledge and confesse how much they were bound and beholden already to the Romanes for good turnes past: it well appeared

A appeared that he pointed out directly the *Ætoliens*, & girded at them. Whereupon *Alexander*, a principall and chiefe man of their nation, inveighed first against the Atheniens, who having bene in times past the head captaines and maintainers of freedome, betrayed now the common cause, for love of their owne private flatteries. Moreover he complained that the Achæans, who first served *Philip* in his warres, and at the last (when they saw him downe the wind and fortune to strowne upon him) fell away like disloyall traitours, and possessed themselves of Corinth to their owne behoofe, practising also to compassse and gaine unto them the citie of Argos. As for the *Ætoliens*, the first and principall enemies of *Philip*, and alwayes allies and friends to the Romanes, howsoever they had expressly and precisely covenanted in the league, to enjoy their townes and territories, after *Philip* was vanquished, were notwithstanding put besides *Echinum* and *Pharsalus*. He charged the Romanes with fraud and faiterie, who pretending an outward shew, a vaine title and colour of libertie, held the cities of Chalcis and Demetrias with strong garisons: and yet when *Philip* made some stay and hasting to withdraw and void from thence his armed guards, they were ever wont to object and say, that Greece would never be in freedom, so long as Chalcis, Demetrias and Corinth were in his hand: and finally he alleadged against them, that under pretense of Argos and *Nabis*, they sought occasion to remaine still in Greece and keepe their armies there. Let them (quoth he) transport their legions once into Italie, the *Ætoliens* would then undertake and promise, that *Nabis* should remove his garison out of Argos, upon composition & with good will, or else they would compell him by force and armes, to be over-ruled by the puissance of all Greece united together in one generall consent.

C By this vaine bable of his, he roused *Aristenus* first, the Pretor of the Achæans, who spake in this wise. Never will *Iupiter Opt. Max.* quoth he, and Queene *Iuno* the patronesse of Argos, suffer that citie to be the recompence or prize betwene the Lacedemonian Tyrant, and these pilling and theiving *Ætoliens*: to be brought to this hard point and these termes of extremity, as to susteine more miserie and calamity when it is recovered by us, than when it was woun and taken by him. O *Quintius*, it is not the sea lying between us & them that can defend us from these robbers. What will then become of us, in case they should make themselves a fort and cattle of strength in the mids of Peloponnesus? Nought have they of the Greekes but their language, like as they carie nothing of men but their shape and visage. For looke into their manners, their fashions and behaviour, they are more rude and cruell than any barbarians, nay they are more savage than the most wild and ravenous beasts that be. We beseech you therefore O Romanes, both to recover Argos out of the hands of *Nabis*, and also to establish the State of Greece in such sort, that ye leave these parts also safe & secure enough from the robberies & theiving hostility of these *Ætoliens*. The Romane Generall *Quintius*, seeing them of all sides to blame and rebuke the *Ætoliens*, said that he would have answered them himselfe, but that he perceived them all so hatefully bent against them, that more needfull it was that they were to be appeased, than farther provoked. And therefore holding himselfe satisfied and contented with that opinion which was conceived of the Romanes and *Ætoliens*, he said, that he would demand what their pleasure was to advise, concerning the warre against *Nabis*, unless he rendered Argos to the Achæans? And when they all were of one mind to make warre, he exhorted them to send aids proportionably to the power and strength of each state and citie. To the *Ætoliens* he sent an embassadour, more to discover and lay open their intention (as it fell out accordingly) than upon any hope he had to obtaine ought at their hands. Unto the Provost Marshalls of the camp, he gave commandement to send for the armie from Elatia.

About this time, when the Embassadours of king *Antiochus* came unto him to treat about alliance and a league, he answered, That hee could say nothing to them nor determine of that point in the absence of those Delegates above said; and therefore they were to repaire unto the Senat of Rome. Then, himselfe in person prepared to make an expedition and voyage against Argos, with those forces which were brought from Elatia. And when hee was about Cleonæ, *Aristenus* the Pretor, with 10000 foot of Achæans and 1000 horse met him in the way: and not farre from thence, they joyned both their forces and encamped together. The next day after, they came downe into the plaine of Argos, and chose a place to fortifie and lie in leaguer about foure miles from Argos. Now was *Pythagoras* the capitaine of the Lacedemonian garison, who had both married the tyrant his daughter, and was his wives brother besides. This *Pythagoras* against the coming of the Romanes, had fortified with strong guards both the castles

castles (for two there are within Argos) and other places, which either had easie access or were suspected. But as he was employed in these provisions and preparations, he could not dissimule and hide the feare which this arrivall and approach of the Romanes strake into him: and beside this forraire terror from without, there happened also an intestine mutinie within. There was one *Damocles* an Argive, (a young gentleman of more spirit and courage than wisdom and discretion) who at the first by interposing a mutuall and reciprocall oath, had conferred with certaine persons of good sufficiency, about expelling the garrison: but while he studied to strengthen the conspiracie and his owne side, hee was not well assured of their fidelitie, and could not judge which of them were true and which not. As he talked upon a time with his complices, the captaine of the garrison sent for him by one of his guard; whereupon hee perceived, that his complot was revealed: hee exhorted therefore the conspirators that were in the way, to take H armes with him, rather than to die by torture upon the racke: and so with some few about him he marched forward into the market place, crying eisfoones aloud, That as many as loved the safetie of the common-weale should follow him as their head and maintainer of their libertie: but no man moved he with his speech to go after him and take his part; for no hope saw they of any succour at all neere at hand: so farre off were they from making good account of a sure guard of defence. And as hee spake those words, the Lacedemonians were come round about him, and killed both him and his fellowes. After this, were others also apprehended; the more part of them were slaine, and some few cast into prison. A great number the night following, slid downe the wall by ropes, and fled to the Romanes. These assured the Romanes, that if their armie had bene neare the gares, the commotion and conspiracie aforesaid would have taken effect: and in case their campe approached nearer, the Argives would not be in quiet, but make some insurrection: whereupon *Quintius* sent out the footmen lightly appointed, together with the horsemen; who skirmished with the Lacedemonians about *Cylarabis* (a publicke schoole and place of exercise about a quarter of a mile out of the citie) who were sallied out at the gate, and without any great difficultie chased them within the towne: and in that verie place where the conflict was, the Romane Generall encamped. One day he spent in escouting an espiall, whether any new trouble and uprore arose among them within the citie. But when hee perceived once that they were all amott for feare, he assembled a counsell to take advise, Whether he were best to give the assault upon Argos, or no? All the heads of Greece (except *Aristanus*) agreed with one accord, that since there was no other cause of war elsewhere, it should begin there especially. *Quintius* in no case would like of that course, but willingly he gave eare with evident approbation unto *Aristanus*, as hee discoursed and reasoned against the general opinion and consent of them all: and over and besides added this of himselfe, That considering the warre was enterprised and taken in hand in the behalfe of the Argives against the tyrant, there was nothing lesse becoming and more without sence, than to leave the enemy himselfe, and to assaile and batter the poore citie of Argos. For his part hee would fight at the head, even against the Lacedemonians and their tyrant, the principall cause of this warre. Then having dissolved the counsell, he sent certaine cohorts lightly appointed to purvey store of graine. As much as could be found ripe in those parts was cut, mowed, & reaped down immediately & laid up: al that was green they trampled under foot and spoiled, that the enemies soon after might have no good thereof. So hee dislodged and remooved from thence, and having passed over the mountaine *Parthenius*, at three daies end he encamped in the territorie of *Carye* neare to *Tegea*. In which place he expected the aids of his allies before hee would invade the territorie of the enemies. From *Philip* there came a thousand and five hundred Macedonians, and of *Thebaisians*, fortie horse. The Romane Generall staied not now for succours of men (whereof hee had sufficient and plentie) but for his provision of victuals, which he had commaunded the townes bordering neare hand to furnish him withall. Besides, there came great forces by sea, and met him there: for by this time was *Lucius Quintius* arrived with fortie saile from *Leucas*: also eightheene covered ships of *Rhodes*. And now also was *Eumenes* the king, about the ylands *Cyclades*, with ten close hatched and decked ships, thirtie gallions, with other smaller vessels among of sundrie sorts. Likewise M of Lacedemonians that were exiled and banished persons, there were verie many; who, chased and driven out by the oppression and wrongfull dealing of their tyrants, repaired now into the Romane campe, in hope to recover their native country againe. Now a great many had bene expulsed in divers and sundrie ages, since time that the tyrants first usurped rule, and were posses-

A sed of Lacedæmon. The chiefe of these exiled persons was one *Agispolis*, a man to whome by right of descent and lineage, the inheritance of the kingdome of Lacedæmon appertained. Hee whiles howas but an infant, happened to be expelled by *Lycurgus* after the death of *Cleomenes*, who was the first tyrant at Lacedæmon.

The tyrant bestir thus round about with warres threatening both from sea and land, and destitute in manner of all hope, (considering the proportion of his forces to the power of his enemies;) yet nevertheless neglected not to wage war, but levied out of *Creta* one thousand more (even the chosen flower of all their youth) to the other thousand that he had from thence already. He had besides of mercenarie souldiours three thousand in armes: also ten thousand of his owne subjects and citizens of Lacedæmon, together with those that hee had taken out of the B boroughs and villages in the country. Moreover, he fortified the citie with trench and mure. And that there might arise no trouble and sturre within the towne, he held the spirits of men in awe with feare of sharp and rigoros punishments. And for as much as he could not hope nor imagine that they desired and wished his good and safetie, for that he held some citizens in suspicion and jealousie: after he had brought forth all his forces into the plaine, which they call * *Dromos*, he commaunded the Lacedemonians to assemble together without any armour and weapons, to an audience; and when they were assembled, hee environed them with his armed guard. And after some few remonstrances by way of a short preamble, Why they ought to hold him excused at such a time, if he feared every thing, and made all sure as well as he could: considering withall, it was expedient even for them also (as many as the present state of the world C might bring in suspicion) to be kept short for being able to execute any attempt, rather than be surprised in the mids of their practises and complots, and so be punished accordingly: even for this cause (quoth hee) I will have certaine persons in safe custodie and durance, untill such time as the tempest be overblown which now is comming. And when the enemies be once repulsed, (from whome lesse daunger there will be, in case domestical treasons may be prevented) then incontinently will I enlarge them and set them at liberty. This said, he commanded the names to be called of fourescore or therabout of the principall of the youth; and as every one of them answered to his name, he clapt him up fast in prison: and the next night following, murdered them every one. After this, certaine flotes (these were they who ever of old time were the Burghers & Villagers, a kind of peasants and country kerns) were acuelled to have intended D to sie unto the enemy and to band with him: who likewise were whipped and scourged throughout all the streets, and then put to death. By the fearefull example of this crueltye, the courages of the common sort were well cooled and abated, yea and so astonied, that they durst not once quetch nor give attempt of any new designments tending to change and alteration. His forces he kept within his strength and places of defence, for neither thought hee himselfe strong enough to enter the field and fight a set battaile, nor durst abandon the citie, seeing the minds of men so wavering, and their affections so unconstant.

Quintius having made his provision and set all things in good order, departed from his standing camp, and the second day came to *Sellasia* upon the river *Oenus*: in which very place *Antigonus* sometime king of the Macedonians, stricke a battell (men say) with *Cleomenes* the tyrant of the Lacedemonians. And there, having intelligence, that from thence he was to mount up an hard ascent and narrow passage, he set a short compasse through the mountains, having sent before certaine men to levell the ground and make the way even, and so gat into a large and broad port-gate, untill he came to the river *Eurotas*, which runneth in manner hard under the walls of the citie of *Sparta*: where, as the Romanes were pitching their tents; even as *Quintius* himselfe with the horsemen and light vaunt-couriers gone before, the aid-souldiours of the tyrant charged upon them: who looking for nothing lesse, because no man had encountered them al the way as they marched, but passed on in their journey as in a peaceable country, were much troubled and affrighted herewith. This feare of theirs continued a good time, while the horsemen called E unto the footmen, and they againe unto the horsemen; and both the one sort and the other trusted in themselves but little or nothing at all. At length the standards of the legions with their ensignes came forward; and were within sight, and so soon as the companies of the vaanguard advanced forth to fight, they who crewhile terrified others, were driven in fearefull haft themselves into the citie. The Romanes being retired so far from the wall, as that they were without darthot, stood a while raunged in battell array. But after that they saw none of the enemies

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come

came abroad against them, returned to their leaguer. The next day after *Quintius* took his way G
 an he marched with his armie in order of battell along the towne side, neere unto the river, hard at
 the foot of the hill *Manalus*. The companies of the legionarie footmen led the march in the
 vanguard, the light footmen and the horsemen followed in the reeward, and flanked the rest.
Nabis kept within the walls his mercenarie souldiours (in whom he reposed greatest confidence)
 arraunged under their ensignes, and in readinesse to fight, purposing to charge the backe of his
 enemies. And the arrierguard of the Romanes was not so soone passed by, but they sallied out of
 the towne at sundrie places at once, with as tumultuous a noise as they made the day before. *Ap-
 pianus* *Clautus* had the leading of the reeward, who having prepared beforehand the hearts of
 his souldiours, and advertised them to be prest and readie for what occurrent soever might hap-
 pen, presently turned the ensignes, and set a compasse with the whole armie to make head against H
 the enemies. Whereupon there ensued a hotte fight which endured a good time, as if two armies
 had directly encountred one another. In the end, the souldiours of *Nabis* began to recule and
 flee: in which flight of theirs they had made lesse halt, and better saved themselves, but that the
 Achæans who were acquainted well with the ground, and knew the coasts of the countrey, hote-
 ly followed the chaie: these made a foule carnage and butcherie among them; and the most part,
 such as were disperfed here and there in their flight, they disarmed. Then *Quintius* encamped
 neere unto *Amycla*, and having harried and wasted all the territorie round about the cite
 (which places were well peopled and very pleasant:) when he saw no enemies issue out at the
 citie gates, he removed his campe hard to the river *Eurotas*. From whence he made excursions,
 wasted all the vale lying under the hill *Taigetis*, and the lands butting and adjoining close I
 to the sea.

Much about the same time *L. Quintius* made himselfe maister of the townes, situate on the
 sea side: some yeelded willingly, others for feare or perforce. And being afterwards advertised,
 that the towne *Gythium* served for a place of safe retreat and refuge unto the *Lacedæmonians*
 in all their exploits and service at sea, and that the Romanes lay encamped not far from the sea
 side; hee resolved to assaile it with all forcible meanes. This towne at that time was very strong,
 well peopled with citizens and other inhabitants, and sufficiently furnished with all warlike
 provision and munition. And in very good time it fell out, that as *Quintius* was entred unto this dif-
 ficult enterprise, king *Eumenes* and the *Rhodian* fleet arrived. A mightie number of mariners
 and sea-servitours, gathered out of three Armadaes, within few daies made and finished all en-
 gines and fabrickes, which were to assault a citie so well fortified both by sea and land. Now was K
 the towne wall broken downe with the undermining of the tortures, now was the wall shaken by
 the push of the ram, and withall there was one tower that by continuall batterie was overthrowne,
 and with the fall thereof, all the wall that stood of each side, came tumbling downe & lay along.
 And the Romanes endeavoured at one time to enter the towne, both from the haven (where the
 passage was more plaine and easie) to the end, that the enemies might abandon the defence of
 the more open place; and also at the breach made in the wall: and they missed but very little of
 entrance there where they intended, but the hope they conceived of yeelding the citie, which
 anone was crossed againe, and turned to nothing, staid their violence and heat of assault. *Dexa-
 gorida* and *Gorgopas* governed the towne then, in equall authoritie. *Dexagoridas* had dispa- L
 tched a courtier to the Roman lieutenant, to signifie that hee would betray the towne: and
 when the time and place of execution of this designement was agreed upon between them, the
 traitour was killed by *Gorgopas*: by occasion whereof, the citie was the better defended with more
 careful heed by him alone; yea, and the assault thereof had been more difficult, but that *Timus*
Quintius came to succour and helpe with foure thousand chosen souldiours. Hee was no sooner
 discovered with an armie arraunged in battell array from the brow and top of the hill that is not
 farre distant from the towne; whiles *L. Quintius* withall from another side followed the assault
 with his ordinance and artillerie both by sea and land, but *Gorgopas* then began himselfe to de-
 spaire in very deed, and was driven perforce to take that very course, which in another he had pu-
 nished by death: and upon composition that he might depart and have away with him those fol- M
 diors which he had in garison, he delivered up the citie to *Quintius*.

Before that *Gythium* was rendered, *Pythagoras* left as capitaine at *Argos*, leaving the guard
 and defence of the citie unto the charge of *Timocrates* of *Pellenæ*, came with a thousand waged
 souldiours, and two thousand *Argives* unto *Nabis* at *Lacedæmon*. And *Nabis* like as at the first
 arrivall

A arrivall of the Roman fleet, and the surrender withall of the townes standing by the sea side, was
 much affrighted, so hee had recovered againe some little hope and was well quieted in mind, so
 long as *Gythium* held out still, and his garison within the towne kept their owne. But after he
 heard once, that it also was yeelded unto the Romanes, and lost; seeing no hope left by land side,
 which was wholly possessed by the enemies, and that he was altogether shut up from the sea, hee
 thought it best to yeeld unto fortune. And first hee sent an herault into the campe, to know whe-
 ther the enemies would permit and suffer him to send his ambassadors unto them. Which being
 granted, *Pythagoras* repaired unto the Generall with no other charge and commission, but only
 to request, that the tyrant might parle with the Roman Generall. Hereupon the Councell was
 assembled: and generally opined it was, that there should be granted unto him a conference; in-
 somuch, as both time and place was agreed upon and appointed. Now when they were come to
 the hills standing in the midst of that quarter, with some small companies of souldiours atten-
 ding on either side upon them; they left their cohorts behind them, standing in guard, within the
 open view and sight of both parts: and then *Nabis* came downe with a certain chosen guard for
 his bodie; and *Quintius* accompanied with his brother, *Eumenes* the king, *Sabellus* the *Rhodian*,
 and *Arifthenus* the Pretor of the Achæans, with some few knight marshals and Colonels. And
 then the tyrant being put to his choise, whether he would speake first, or heare another, began his
 speech in this wise.

If I could have bethought my selfe (O *Quintius*, and you all that are here present) and imagined The Oration of
 what the cause should be, that you either proclaimed or made warre first against me, I would
 have attended the issue of my fortune with silence. But now I could not have that mastery and
 C commaund of my selfe to forbear, but that before I perish, I would needs know the reason and
 cause of my ruine and overthrow. Certes, if ye were such men as the *Carthaginians* are repor-
 ted to be (with whom there is no regard of truth, no trust and securitie in covenants of societie
 and alliance) I would not then marvell at all, if you made small reckoning, and cared but little
 what measure ye offered unto me. But now, when I behold and advise you well, I see you are Ro-
 manes, whose manner is to entertaine most duly and precisely the observation of holy rites and
 divine religion, and the faithfull keeping of humane league and alliance. When I consider and
 D looke into my selfe, I hope & think verily that I am one, with whom in generall, as well as with the
 rest of the *Lacedæmonians* ye are linked by vertue of a most auncient league: and in particular
 regard of my selfe, a private amitie and societie hath been lately renewed by the warre with *Philip*.
 But peradventure some man will say, That I have broken and overthrowne the same first, in that I
 hold the citie of the *Argives*. And how shall I be able to answer this, and excuse my selfe?
 Shall I plead to the substance of the matter, or to the circumstance of the time? The thing itselfe
 E presenth unto me a two-fold plea for my defence. For being called by the inhabitants them-
 selves of the citie, who offered the towne unto me, I received it at their hands, and in no wise sei-
 zed upon it by force: I received it, I say, when it sided and took part with *Philip*, before it was com-
 mitted within your league. As for the time, it justifieth and cleareth me also and my doings. For
 even then when as I was possessed of *Argos*, I was allied and associate with you in good accord:
 and in our covenants, we articulated and capitulated to send aids unto you for your warres, and
 F not to withdraw the garison from *Argos*. And verily, in this difference and question about *Ar-
 gos*, I have the vantage, as well in regard of the equitie of the fact (in that I received a citie not of
 yours but of your enemies, received it I say, not surprisid by force, but offered and delivered wil-
 lingly) as also by your owne confession, for that in the conditions of the association agreed be-
 twene us, ye left *Argos* free unto me. But it may be that the name of Tyrant hurte me: and
 some of mine actions condemne me much, and namely, that I set slaves free, and devide lands
 to the poore commons. As for the name, thus much I am able to answer: that, such as I am,
 better or worse, still I am the very same man, and no other than I was when you, even you O *Quin-
 tus* entred alliance with me: then, I remember well, I was called King among you: and now I see
 I am termed a Tyrant. And therefore if I my selfe had changed the title and stile of my dignitie
 and government, I must have yeelded a reason and account of my levitie and inconstancie:
 but seeing you have altered it, ye ought to answer for your vanitie. Now as concerning the mul-
 titude, so augmented by the enfranchising of slaves; as touching the land also, parted and distri-
 buted among the poore and needie; I can mainteine and justifie my doings herein, and protect
 me under the defence and priviledge of the very time. For all these things, be they as they be,
 Eccc ij may,

may, I had done already, when ye made a league and covenant with me, and received aid at G
 my hand in the warre against *Philip*. But in case I had done so at this very present, I stand not
 upon this, whether I either had offended you or broken your amitie, but thus much I averre, that
 done I had according to the custome and fashion of our auncestours. And ye must not thinke to
 square and trie the practise of Lacedæmon according to the rule and squire of your lawes and
 ordinances. For, to let passe many other things (and needlesse it is to compare particulars:) yee
 choole your gentlemen or men of armes according to their revenue: according to revenue ye
 choole likewise the footmen. Your will is that some few should excell in welth and power, and
 the commons be subject and vassals unto them. Our Law-giver thought not good that the
 Common-wealth should be ruled by a few, whom you call a Senate; nor that one or two States
 should excell and have preeminence in the citie; but he thought that in the equalitie of welth H
 and worship, there would be many more to beare armes for their countrey. I have made a
 longer discourse I confesse, than the ordinarie and naturall * brevite of our speech in these parts
 will beare. And I might have knit all up in one word and said, that I had done nothing after I
 was entred into amitie with you, wherewith you needed to have taken any offence and bene dis-
 pleased. Then the Romane Generall made answer to these points in this manner. No friendship
 nor association at all have we made with you, but with *Pelops* the true and lawfull king of the La-
 cedæmonians: whereof, I must needs say that the tyrants also who afterwards held the seignorie
 and soveraigntie of Lacedæmon, have usurped the right, and enjoyed the benefit during the
 time that we were otherwise employed, and wholly busied, one while in the Punick warres, ano-
 ther while in the Gauls, and evermore in one or other: like as you also have done in this last I
 Macedonian warre. For what was lesse unfitting and more absurd, than for us who waged warre
 against *Philip* for the libertie of Greece, to conclude amitie with a tyrant? and such a tyrant, as of
 all others that ever have bene is most cruell, most violent and outrageous with his owne sub-
 jects? And considering that we were entred into the course and traine of setting all Greece at li-
 bertie, albeit you had not possessed your selfe of Argos by covin, nor held the same by force, yet
 it behooved us to restore Lacedæmon also to her aunient libertie, and to settle her in her owne
 lawes, whereof erewhile you would seeme to make mention, as if you had followed the steps of
Lycurgus. Shall we make care and take the paines to void the garisons of *Philip* out of Iassus and K
 Bargilla: and when we have so done, leave to be troden under your feete, Argos and Lacedæ-
 mon, two most noble cities, the two lights as it were in times past of all Greece; which remai-
 ning still in servitude and slavery, might deface the rest of our glorie, and marre the title that we
 aime at, of Saviours and Deliverers of Greece? But you say, that the Argives friended *Philip*
 and tooke his part. We are content well enough, that you should not trouble your selfe, and be
 angry for our sake. For we know for certain, that this was the fault of two or three persons at
 most, and not of the whole citie: and we know as well, that it was not agreed in any publick
 counsell, that you and your garison were sent for and received into the Castle. As for the Thes-
 salians, the Phœceans & Locrians, they sided with *Philip*, we wor right well, by a generall consent
 of all: and yet when we enfranchised all Greece besides, we also set them at libertie. What think
 you then should we do in regard of the Argives, who are innocent for any publick counsell in-
 tended against us? You said that you were blamed and charged fore for setting bondslaves free. L
 No small objections these are, I assure you, nor of little importance. But what are they in com-
 parison of other bad parts and heinous facts, committed by you and your followers day by day,
 one in the head of another? Graunt but libertie of an Assembly Generall either at Argos or La-
 cedæmon, wherein the people may speake their minds freely, and what they know by you with-
 out empachment: if you would learne the truth indeede, and heare the particulars of a most
 proud and unsupportable dominion and tyrannie. And to let all old matters go by. What a
 bloudie massacre committed this sonne in law of yours *Pythagoras*, even almost within my very
 sight in Argos? nay, what a carnage and butchery made you your selfe, even when I was welcome
 within the marches of Lacedæmon? But come on: those persons whom in a generall assembly
 you caused to be attached, and promised in the presence of all the citizens to keepe them safe M
 and sure in ward: come on, I say, commaund them to be brought forth now bound as they
 be; that their poore fathers and mothers may understand they are alive, whom they have mour-
 ned for so much, without cause, as if they had bene dead. But you will say, Set case all this be true,
 what is that to you Romans? Dare you in deede speake out and say so much to those that deliver
 Greece

* Hereupon it is
 shewed, that
 the Romans
 did not
 make
 amitie
 with
 Philip
 but
 with
 Pelops
 the
 lawfull
 king
 of
 the
 La-
 cedæmonians.

The purpose
 of this
 chapter.

A Greece and set it free? to those I say, that for the freedome thereof have passed the seas, have
 warred both by land and sea? And yet all this while (say you) I have not directly and truly wron-
 ged you, nor properly infringed and broken your friendship and amitie. No have you? How
 often would you have me to convince you of the contrary? But I will not use many words and
 much circumstance, but come to the very catch and point of the matter. What be the things
 I pray you, wherewith friendship is commonly broken? I take it they are these two especially,
 namely, if you take my friends for your foes; and joyne your selfe to my enemies. You have done
 both the one and the other: for you have taken by force and armes Messena, a citie received
 into our societie and alliance by the very same conditions and covenants that Lacedæmon was;
 you say our allies, have forced a citie allied unto us. Againe with *Philip* our enemy, you have
 not only concluded amitie, but (God save all) contracted alliance and affinity by means of
 B *Philocles* a Colonell and commaunder of his: and making warre against us, you have kept the
 seas all about Malea with your men of warre and rovers: and I thinke I may lately say, you have
 taken prisoners, and killed more Romane citizens than *Philip* himselfe. And the whole sea coast
 of Macedonie hath lesse infested our ships that use to bring provision unto our armies, and bene
 more safe for passage than the promontorie & cape of Malea. Do you forbeare therefore to make
 such vaunt of fidelitie: spare you, of all other, to speak of the rights of alliance; and laying off the
 maske of popular language & civile speech, talke as a tyrant and enemy as you are. Vpon this,
 C *Aristenus* dealt with *Nabis*, one while admonishing & advertising him, another while requesting
 and intreating him, now that the opportunity was offered, to provide for himselfe and his whole
 estate: he began to discourse unto him of the Tyrants of all the states confining thereabout one
 after another by name, who when they had resigned up & laid down their absolute soveraigntie
 of command, and restored libertie to their subjects, passed their old age among their citizens,
 not only in repose & securitie, but also in great honor and reputation. These words uttered and
 heard between them too and fro, the night drew on apace & parted the conference. The morrow
 after *Nabis* promised, seeing the Romanes would have it so, to quit the citie Argos, to withdraw
 his garison from thence, and to deliver again all the captives & fugitive traitors that were under
 his hands: and if they demanded any more of him, he requested that they would set it downe
 in writing, that he might consult thereof with his friends. So, both the Tyrant had respit and
 time graunted to take advise, and also *Quintius* fate in counsell with the principall heads of
 D his allies what to do. The most part were of opinion to mainteine the warre still, and to kill the
 tyrant out of the way; for never would the libertie of Greece be otherwise firme and sure: and
 better farre had it bene, never to have entred into armes with him, than being once begun, to
 give it over. And he will, say they, bee greater and more strong hereafter, as if his tyrannicall
 government were approved, and no doubt he would vouch the people of Rome for author
 of his unjust rule and dominion, and will induce and incite by his example many in other free
 States and cities, to lye in wait to worke meanes to overthrow the libertie of citizens, and to
 bring them into thralldome and bondage. The Generall, of himselfe, was more affected and in-
 clined to peace: for hee saw, that if the enemy were once driven within the walls, there was no
 way but to lye in siege against the citie, and that would require long tract of time: for as much
 E as it was not Gytheum (and yet that was betrayed and rendred, and not forced by assault) but
 Lacedæmon, a most strong towne both for men and munition, that they were to lay siege un-
 to and assault. And whereas the onely hope was, that when they approached with the armie,
 there might some dissention and sedition have risen among themselves within: now when as
 they saw the ensignes in manner advanced hard to the citie gates, there was not one that mu-
 tined or stirred at all. Hee added moreover and said, That *Vilius* the Embassadour newly
 returned from *Antiochus*, reported, how all was not found there, nor the peace like to conti-
 nue: and that hee had passed over into Europe with farre greater forces both for land and at
 sea, than at any time heretofore: and if (quoth hee) the armie should bee wholly employed
 in the siege of Lacedæmon, what other power have wee to maintaine warre withall against so
 F puissant and mightie a prince as is *Antiochus*? These were the remonstrances that openly he
 gave out; but secretly hee was troubled in mind for feare least a new Consull should come
 to his successeur, the honour of the victorie of a warre commenced by him, and in good
 forwardnesse. But when hee perceived that his allies were nothing inclined to his waies, nor
 withstanding

withstanding all his contradiction and bending to the contrarie, by making semblant that hee now drew with them and was of their mind, he wooed them all to approve his designment and intention. Well, God speed our hand (quoth hee:) let us besiege Lacedæmon since yee will needs have it so: but considering that the laying siege unto cities, is a thing as yee well know, that goeth so slowly forward, and oftentimes maketh the assailants sooner wearie than the defendants: you ought even now to cast this account presently with your selves, that wee must lye all winter long about the walls of Lacedæmon. And were there nothing but travell and perill, that during so long time we were to endure, I would exhort and encourage you to suffer and abide the same, with stout bodies and resolute minds. But besides all that, we must be at great cost and expences about fabricks, engins, and instruments of artillerie, requisite to the assault of so great a citie: we must I say be provided of victuals good store against winter, as well to serve us as you. Be well advised therefore (to the end that you should not sodainly in hast huddle up these matters, or after yee are once entered into the action, give over and abandon it with shame) that yee dispatch your letters aforehand every one to the State wherein hee liueth, and found them to the depth, how their hearts serve them, and what strength and forces they have. Of aids and succours I have enough and to spare: but the more in number we are, the more maintenance shall wee need. At this time the territorie of our enemies hath nothing but bare soile and naked ground: and withall, the winter is coming on apace, all which season, carriage (especially farre off) is combrous and hard. This Oration at the first caused them every one to regard and looke homeward to domesticall difficulties and inconveniences, namely, the idleness, the envie and backbiting of those which tarie at home, against them that are employed in warfare: the common libertie (which causeth men of one societie and communitie hardly to accord and fort together) the publicke want of treasure, and the niggardise of privat persons, when they are to part with any thing out of their owne purses. And therefore suddainly changing their minds, they put to the discretion of the Romane Generall, to doe and determine what hee thought expedient for the good of the people of Rome and their allies. Whereupon *Quintius* taking the advise onely of his owne lieutenants and Provost-marshals, engrossed these articles and conditions following, according to which, peace should be concluded with the tyrant. *Imprimis*, That there be a truce made for the tearme of sixe moneths, betwene *Nabis* and the Romanes, king *Eumenes* and the Rhodians. *Item*, That both *T. Quintius* and *Nabis* should immediately send Embassadors to Rome, that the peace might be ratified and confirmed by the authoritie of the Senate. *Item*, That from that day forward, wherein the conditions put downe in writing should be presented unto *Nabis*, the truce aforesaid should begin. *Item*, That within ten daies next after ensuing, all the garrisons quit Argos and the rest of the townes within the territorie of the Argives: and then those pieces to be delivered void and free unto the Romanes. *Item*, That no slave taken captive in warres, belonging either to the king or to any publicke state or privat person, be had away from those townes: and if any before time had beene carried forth, they should be restored againe duly to their right masters. *Item*, That *Nabis* should deliver againe those ships that hee had gotten from the maritime cities, and that himselfe have no vessell at all but onely two gallions, and those to have no more than sixe and twentie ores apeece to direct and rule them. *Item*, That he render all the renegate traitors and captives unto all the cities confederate with the people of Rome, as also make restitution to the Messenians of all their goods againe, that either could be found, or the owners know certainly to be theirs. *Item*, That he restore to all the banished Lacedæmonians their wives and children; but of the wives, so many onely as would be content to follow their husbands: and that none of them should be compelled against their wills to goe with any exiled person. *Item*, That to as many mercenarie souldiours of *Nabis*, as were either gone from him into their owne cities or to the Romanes, all their owne goods should be justly and truly delivered againe. *Item*, That in the yland of Crete he should not be possessed of any one citie: and looke what cities hee then held, hee yeeld them to the Romanes. *Item*, That hee enter into alliance with no Candiot nor with any other whatsoever, ne yet make warre with them. *Item*, That he remove all the garrisons out of all the cities that himselfe had delivered up, and which had surrendered themselves and all they had, under the protection and obedience of the people of Rome, & not molest them neither by himselfe nor any of his. *Item*, That he build no towne nor castle, either in his owne land or in any other. *Item*, That for the more assurance of performing these covenants

nants, he give five hostages, such as it should please the Romane Generall to chooseth: & namely, his owne sonne for one of them. Last of all, That he make present payment of one hundred talents of silver, and fiftie more yeerely untill the tearme of eight yeeres be run out. These articles engrossed, were sent to Lacedæmon, after the campe was remooved nearer to the citie. But nothing well pleased was the tyrant with any of them. Only hee was wlll apaid, that beyond his hope and expectation, there was no mention at all therein of reducing the exiled persons home into the citie. But that which offended and displeased him most was this, that both shipping was taken from him, and also the maritime port townes: for great commoditie hee gat by the sea, in scouring the coast from the cape of Malea with his pyrats and men of warre: and besides, the youth and able men of those cities, served his turne verie well to furnish and man his ships with the verie best souldiours and men of service that were. And albeit he skanned and considered upon these articles in great secrecie with his friends, yet were they all of them divulged abroad and current in every mans mouth: so vaine are these courtesours commonly and hardly to be trusted, as in all things else, so especially in keeping of secret counsell. These conditions were controlled and found fault with, not so much by all men in generally, as by each one in particular, as they tooke exceptions against those points that touched and concerned themselves. They that had married the wives of the banished, or were possessed of any part of their substance, chafed and stormed thereat, as if they were to loose and forgoe their owne, and not to render and restore the goods of others. The slaves who had been freed by the tyrants, were now not only to loose the benefit of that freedom, but also to endure harder servitude and bondage than aforetime; setting before their eyes how they should returne againe into the houses and hands of their old masters, angrie and incensed now against them. The hyred souldiours were malecontent, for that they saw they should loose their pay after peace concluded: and saw full well, that there was no beefing for them in those states and cities, who hated the tyrants themselves no more than their followers and attendants. At first they muttered and murmured, whispering these things among themselves in their secret meetings and conventicles: afterwards they mutined, and on a suddaine ran and tooke armes. The tyrant seeing the multitude disquieted ynough of themselves with this tumult, assembled the people together. Where, after hee had declared the conditions imposed upon him by the Romanes, and in every article had untruly put to somewhat of his owne devising, to aggravate all matters and make them seeme more greivous and intollerable, at the rehearsing of every particular the whole assemblee one while cried out, and another while the sundrie parts thereof, set up a note of utter dislike. Then hee asked their opinion what answer they would have him to returne unto those articles, and what to do? They all in manner with one voice accorded and said, that there was no answering of the matter, but that he should plainly goe to war, and make no more ado. And that every man for his owne part (as the usuall manner is of a multitude, when they are together) should take a good heart, and hope the best, saying, that Fortune favoureth Fortitude. The tyrant incited with these their words, seconded them himselfe, and assured them that *Antiochus* and the *Aetolians* would take their parts and assist them: and if they did not, yet were they strong ynough of themselves, and had sufficient meanes to endure the siege. No more talking now nor thinking of peace, but every man was readie to run in hast to his severall quarter, and stand upon their own guard, without any rest or repose from thenceforth. The Romanes so soon as they saw some few of them to fallie out of the citie, and to discharge their darts among them, were soone put out of all doubt, that no other remedie there was, but they must to warre againe. After this, there passed certaine light skirmishes foure daies together, at first without any assured issue of good speed, either of the one part or the other: but the fift day, after one conflict fought in manner almost of a set battell, certaine Romane souldiours following the chase upon their enemies, and killing them in their flight, entred the citie at certaine void places, where the wall was not united: for in that order were the walls built of that town in those daies. *Quintius* then verily, having well bridled & tamed by this terror his enemies for making any more excursions, and supposing that ther remained no more, but lustily to go to an assault, sent out certain of purpose for to call the mariners and sea-servitours from Gythæum, whiles himselfe in person, accompanied with the Provost marshals, rode about the walls to view the situation of the citie. This Sparta in times past stood without murage. And the tyrants of late daies had built walles against the open flattes and plaine fields. The higher ground and of harder accesse, they fortified with strong

corps de guards of armed souldiours, in steed of bulwarkes of defence. When *Quintius* had sufficiently considered every corner, hee supposed there was no other way but to invest it round about, and thereupon with all his forces united (which being all together Romane citizens and Latine allies, foot and horse, land souldiours and sea-servitours one with another, amounted to 50000 fighting men) he compassed and environned the cittie. Some brought skaling ladders; some fire, every man one thing or other, not onely to give an assault, but also to terrifie & amaze them: with direction and expresse commaundement, with a loud crie and shout at once in all places to approach the walls, and give the venture upon them; to the end, that the Lacedæmonians, where first to make head against the enemies, and in what place to come with succours. Having therefore divided the whole power of his armie into three parts, hee gave the one of them in charge to assaile that quarter which was called Phœbeum; a second likewise to set upon that which is named Dictynneum, & the third to force the canton Heptagonia; places all lying open and without a wall. The cittie being thus seized on all sides with so great feare, the tyrant moved and troubled to heare those suddaine outcries and fearefull newes brought unto him by hastie messengers: according as any place stood most in daunger, at the first, either presented himselfe in proper person, or else sent some to helpe; but afterwards, seeing the feare so generall, and no one place void of danger, hee was so astonied, that unneath he was able either himselfe to give good direction to others, or to heare theirs. So void was he, and disurnished of advice and counsell, yea, and bereft of his right wits and senses. The Lacedæmonians at first hand sustained the furious violence of the Romanes in the narrow streights and passages, and at one time in diverse places, three armies fought on either side: but afterwards, as the heat of the medlie increased, the service was nothing equal of both parties; for the Lacedæmonians discharged shot, from which the Romane souldiours easily saved themselves, by meanes of their large targuets, and withall much thereof either fell short and besides, or els so feebly flung from them, that little or no harm they could doe. For by reason of the streightnesse of the place, and the multitude so thronged and thrust together, they had not onely no space to take their run, when they should launce their darts (the best meanes of all other to enforce them) but not so much as sure footing, and a ease, to drive and levell them with all their strength. In so much, as of all the darts and javelines which were directly shot afront them, none at all pierced to their bodies, & very few so much as stuck in their bucklers. Marry some happened to be wounded from the higher places, by those that stood neere unto them, and about their sides. And anone as they advanced forward, they chaunced to bee hurt, not onely with arrowes and darts from off the houses, but also with tiles and flates etc they were aware. But afterwards, they covered their heads with their targuets, which they set so close united together one under the other, featherwise, that not onely there was no place of entrance for the darts throwne and cast at randon afar, no nor so much as any roome for a weapon to get betweene, levelled though it were, and aimed neere at hand; so as under this targuetsence they approached neerer and neerer in safetie. At the first the narrow and streight avenues filled with the throng both of themselves and also of the enemies so thrust and crouded together staid them for a while; but afterwards, when they had by little and little gathered upon the enemies, and put them back, and were come into a larger and more spaciouse street of the cittie, then their force and violence could not possibly bee endured any longer. Now when the Lacedæmonians turned their backs, and fled apace to gaine the higher places for their vantage, *Nabis* verily for his part trembling and quaking, as if the cittie had ben quite lost, looked about him on every side, which way himselfe might escape and save his life. But *Pythagoras* as in all things else hee performed the devoure and part of a courageous captain, so he was the only cause that the town was not lost: for hee commaunded to set fire on the houses standing next to the wall, which in the minute of an houre burned out on a light flame, as being set forward by the helpe of those, who otherwise were wont to quench the like skarefires: whereupon the houses came rattling and tumbling downe upon the Romanes heads, and not onely the tileshards, but also the timber peeces halfe burnt, fell upon the armed souldiours, the flame spread still farre and neere, & the smoldering smoke put them in feare of more daunger than was. And therefore, as well those Romanes who were without the cittie in the hottest of their assault, reculed from the walls, as also those that were entered already, for feare least by the fire behind them they should be seperated from their fellows, retired themselves. *Quintius* also seeing how the case stood, caused to sound the retreat, and

A and so being recalled, they returned out of the cittie which they had as good as woon, into the camp. And *Quintius* conceiving more hope by the feare of the enemies, than of the thing it selfe and the service done, never gave over for three daies to terrifie them, partly by skirmishing, and partly by intrenching and stopping up certeine quarters, that they might have no passage at all to flie and shift for themselves. The tyrant constrained at length with these dangers menaced, sent *Pythagoras* againe as an Orator unto *Quintius*. But he at first rejected him, and commaunded him to avant out of the campe: yet in the end, after he had made most humble supplication, and cast himselfe prostrate at his feet, he gave him audience. The beginning of his speech was this, that he yielded all to the discretion and former award of the Romanes. But seeing that he gained nothing thereby, and that his words took no effect, they grew at length to this point, That upon the same capitulations which few daies before were exhibited up in writing, a truce should be made, and hereupon was both the money, and also the hostages received.

Whiles the tyrant was besieged and assailed, there came post upon post to Argos, that Lacedæmon was at the point of being lost: whereupon the Argives tooke such heart and courage unto them (by reason that *Pythagoras* with the best part of the garison souldiers was departed before out of their towne) that concerning the small number which remained in their fortress, under the leading of one *Archippus*, they expelled the rest of the garison. As for *Timocrates* of Pellene their captaine, because hee had behaved himselfe in his charge and government gently & mildly, they sent him away alive with safe conduct. At the very instant of this joyfull occurrence, *T. Quintius* arrived, after he had granted peace to the tyrant, & sent away from Lacedæmon, *Eumenes* and the Rhodians, together with *L. Quintius* his brother to the fleet. The citie of Argos in great joy proclaimed the celebration of their most solemne feast, and those so famous and renowned games and pastimes called Nemea, against the coming of the Romane army and their Generall, which they had forelet upon the ordinarie time and day, by occasion of the troubles of warre. And for the honour of *Quintius*, they ordained him to bee the overseer of these solemnities. Many things there were to redouble, and increase this their joy and solace to the full. The citizens were reduced from Lacedæmon, whome *Pythagoras* of late & *Nabis* aforetime, had carried away. They also were returned home againe who had fled and escaped, after the conspiracie of *Pythagoras* was detected, & the massacre begun. Now they saw their libertie againe, whereof they had lost the sight a long time: now they beheld the Romans the authors thereof, and who for their sakes were induced to take armes and enterprise the warre with the tyrant. Also, upon the very day of the Nemean games, the libertie of the Argives was published and proclaimed by the voice of the publicke beadle and crier of the cittie. But looke how much joy and hearts content the Achæans conceived in their common and generall counsell of all Achæa, for the restoring of Argos into their auncient freedome, so much troubled they were againe, in regard that Lacedæmon was left still in servitude, and the tyrant so neer unto them readie ever to pricke their sides, whereby their joy was not so sound and entire. But the Aiolians in all their Diets inveighed mightily against this, saying, That the Romanes never gave over the war with *Philip* before hee had abandoned all the cities of Greece: as for Lacedæmon, it was left still under a tyrant, and in the meane while the lawfull and naturall king who had been in the Roman campe, and all the rest of the noblest citizens should live in exile. For now the people of Rome was become a pensioner to guard the bodie of tyrannising *Nabis*. Then *Quintius* brought backe his armie from Argos to Elatia, from whence he departed to the Spartan warre. Some write, that the tyrant when he fought with the Romanes, came not immediately out of the cittie; but that hee was lodged without by himselfe full opposite to the Romane campe: and that after he had made good a long time, expecting the aid of the Aiolians, he was driven in the end to a battaile, by occasion that the Romanes charged upon the foragers and puiveyours of his campe: in which battaile he was vanquished and beaten out of the field, and craved peace, after that fiftene thousand of his men were slaine, and foure thousand taken prisoners, and above.

At one and the same time in a manner, welletters brought both from *T. Quintius* touching the affaires achieved at Lacedæmon, and also from *M. Porcius* the Consull, out of Spaine. And by order from the State, there was granted in the name of either of them, a solemne profession to continue three daies, *L. Valerius* the Consull, after hee had goverened his province in quietnes upon the diffiture of the Bolians about the forest of Lufana, returned to Rome against the generall assembly for election of magistrates, and created Consuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*

Africanus the second time, and *T. Sempronius Longus*: whose fathers had been Consuls in the first yeere of the second Punick warre. Then the Assembly was holden for the election of Pretours, wherein were chosen *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and the two *Cneij Cornelij*, the one *Merenda*, and the other *Blasio*: *Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus*, *Sextus Digittus*, and *T. Iuuentius Talsa*. When these elections were finished, the Consull returned againe into his province. That yeere the Ferentines assayed to obtaine a new priviledge: to wit, That as many Latines as were enrolled in any Romane Colonie, should be citizens of Rome. But they of Puteoli, Salernum, and Buxentum, who were coloners and had their names entred there, and by that meanes carying themselves as Romane citizens, were adjudged by the Senat to be no citizens of Rome.

In the beginning of this yeere, wherein *P. Scipio Africanus* was Consull the second time, with *T. Sempronius Longus*, two embassadors of *Nabis* the tyrant, arrived at Rome. For to geve them audience, the Senat assembled together without the citie in the temple of *Apollo*. Their petition was, That the peace agreed upon with *Quintius*, might be ratified: and their suite was graunted. When it was moved, as touching the government of the provinces; the Senat (assembled in great frequencie) were all of this opinion, That forasmuch as in Spaine and Macedonie the warre was ended, both Consuls should have the government of Italie. *Scipio* was of advise, That one Consull was sufficient for Italie, and that the other should be employed in Macedonie. And why? there was cruell warre menaced from king *Antiochus*: himselfe already was passed over into Europe: And what thinke ye, quoth he, will he then do, when the *Aetolians* (who doubtlesse are enemies) of one side shall sollicit and call upon him for to warre, and *Annibal*, a warrior and commander so renowned for the defeatures and overthrowes of the Romanes, shall prick him forward of the other? Whiles they debated thus about the provinces of the Consuls, the Pretours cast lots for their severall governments. The citie jurisdiction fell to *Cn. Domitius*, the foraine to *T. Iuuentius*. To *P. Cornelius* the farther Spaine was allotted, and the hither to *Sext. Digittus*. *Cn. Cornelius Blasio* had Sicilie assigned unto him, and *Merenda* was charged with Sardinia. It was not thought good that a new armie should be transported over into Macedonie. But concluded it was, that the armie there should be brought back by *Quintius* into Italie, and discharged. Item, That the armie likewise should be casted, which had served under *M. Porcius Cato* in Spaine. Item, That both Consuls should governe Italie, and leve two legions of citizens to go thither, that when those forces were dismissed and licensed to go home, which it pleased the Senat to set at libertie, there should be eight Romane legions in all, and no more in pay.

In the formeryeere, when *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius* were Consuls, there had bene held a solemnitie of a sacred Spring. But when *P. Licinius* the high Pontifees made report first to the colledge of the Priests, and by the advise and authoritie of that colledge, unto the LL. of the Counsell, That there was some error committed, and that it was not performed accordingly: the Senatours ordeined, that it should be done againe anew, according to the discretion and direction of the Pontifees aforesaid. Also that the great Romane Plaies, which together with that Spring were vowed, should be exhibited with the accustomed cost & expenses: And that al yong cattaille that fell betweene the kalends of March, and the last day of Aprill, in that yeere wherein *P. Cornel. Scipio* and *T. Sempronius Longus* were Consuls, should be accounted as consecrated for that sacred Spring above named. After this, there was an assembly held for the choosung of Censors, wherein were created *Sext. Aelius Patrus*, and *C. Cornelius Cethegus*: who elected *P. Scipio* the Consull, President of the Senate, like as the Censors before them had done. In the survey and review of the whole Senate, they left out and discarded three only, and none of them who had borne office of State, and sit in the yvorie chaire. Great love these Censors woon amongst them of that calling and qualitie, in geving commaundement to the *Aediles curule*, that at the Romane games and plaies they should set out places apart from the rest of the people for the Senatours to behold the said disports. For aforetime they beheld the sports and pastimes all together, without regard and distinction. Few also of the gentlemen or knights of Rome, had their horses of service taken from them: and rigorously dealt they with no estate and degree. The porch of Libertie, and the hamlet called *Ardea publica*, were by them repaired and enlarged. The sacred Spring was celebrate; and the games vowed by *Serv. Sulpitius* the Consull, were by them exhibited. And whiles all men were amused, and their minds occupied thereupon, *Q. Plautius* who had bene cast in prison for divers and sundrie outrages committed at Locres, to the

A great offence of God and man, had procured certeine persons, who in the night season at one instant should set on fire many places of the citie, to the end that whiles all the people were asfrighted in this night-tumult, he might breake prison and escape. This complot was discovered and reported to the Senate by some of them that were privie and accessarie thereto. And *Plautius* was let downe into a lower dungeon and there killed.

That yeere were certeine Colonies of Romane citizens conducted to Puteoli, Vulturum, and Linternum, and three hundred men planted in each of them. Likewise Coloners of Romane citizens were brought to Salernum and Buxentum. The Triumvirs who had the placing of them, were *T. Sempronius Longus*, Consull for the time being; *M. Servilius* and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The territorie of the Campanes was divided among them. Three other also deputed for the like purpose, *D. Junius Brutus*, *M. Babius Tamphilus*, and *M. Helvius*, placed a colonie of Romane citizens in Sipontum, to enjoy the lands of the Arpines. Likewise other colonies of Romane citizens were planted in Tempa and Crotone. The lands belonging to Tempa were woon from the Brutij, who had expelled the Greekes: and the Greekes remained in Crotone. The Triumvirs for Crotone were *Cn. Octavius*, *L. Aemilius Paulus*, and *C. Platorius*: and for Tempa *L. Cornel. Merula*, and *C. Salinius*. Also that yeere were seene at Rome divers wonders and prodigious sights: and some were reported from other parts. In the common place, in the publick Hall, Comitium, and Capitoll, were seene certeine drops of blood. And oftentimes it rained earth. The head of *Vulcane* was on fire. Newes came that at Interamna there ran a streame of milke. Also that at Ariminum, there were two infants both of free condition, borne without eies and nose, and another in the Picene cuntry handlesse and footlesse. These strange tokens were by order given from the chiefe Pontifees, looked unto and expiated, and a Novendiall sacrifice continued for nine daies, because the *Adrians* brought word, that in their territorie it rained stones.

In Gauls neere to Mediolanum, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the Proconsull, fought a set field with the french Insubrians and Boians: Which Boians under the conduct of *Diomedes* passed over the river Padus, for to sollicit and raise the Insulbrians. In which conflict were slaine ten thousand enemies. About the same time his colleague in government *M. Porcius Cato* triumphed over Spaine. In this triumph he caried in pomp and shew 25000 pound weight of silver in bullion, and in coine 123000 Bigate pieces: of Ocean silver 540 pound weight, and of gold 400000 pound weight. Of the bootie woon from the enemies he dealt among his souldiours that were footmen 270 asses apiece, and triple so much to every man of armes.

T. Sempronius the Consull having put himselfe in his journey toward his province, led first his legions into the Boians cuntry. *Boiorix* at that time their Prince with his two brethren, having raised the whole nation to rebellion, encamped in certein commodious places: so as it appeared that if the enemy entred their confines, they were readie to give him battaile. The Consull perceiving how strong and confident the enemies were, dispatched a courier to his Colleague, to make hast if he thought so good and come unto him: for untill his coming he would fall off, seeme to retire, and not fight. But the same cause that moved the Consull to stay, gave occasion to the Gauls to make more hast: for besides that the hastening and lingering of the Consull, encouraged the enemies, they were desirous to have the trial of a battaile before the forces of both Consuls were joyned together. Howbeit, for two dayes space they did nothing but stand readie raunged for fight, if any should have come forth to brave and dare them. On the third day they approached the trench and rampier of the Consuls camp, and on every side at once gave the assault. The Consull immediatly commaunded the souldiours to arme. And when they were armed, he kept them in awhile, of intent to increase the foolish confidence in the enemies, and to dispose of his owne forces and give direction, what companies should fall out at every gate. The two legions he commaunded to issue forth under their colors at the two side gates called *Principales*: but in the very passage withoutforth the Gauls stood thick and made head againe, so that the way was stopped up. A long time they fought in those very streights. And they bestirred themselves no more with their hands and swords, than they pressed one upon another with their bodies and targets: whiles the Romanes strove to advance their ensignes out of the gates, and the Gauls endeavoured no lesse, either to enter themselves within the camp, or else to impeach the Romanes for going forth. But in this conflict there was nothing betweene them either woon or lost, no ground gained the one of the other, before

fore that *Qu. Victorius* a principall Centurion of the Pilani in the second legion, and *C. Atinius*, a Tribune or Marshall of the fourth, caught the banners from the ensigne-bearers (a thing often practised in time of extremitie) and flang them among the enemies. For whiles these laboured and strained themselves to recover each one a banner, they of the second legion first brake through and gat forth of the gate: so as now, they maintained skirmish without the trench, and the fourth legion stuck still in the gap. By which time, there arose another tumult and noise in the contrarie side of the campe: for the Gaules were broken in at the Questors gate (or the gate against the * Questorium) and slaine those that valiantly made head and held them play; to wit, *Lucius Posthumus* a treasurer surnamed *Tympanus*, *Marcus Atinius* and *Publius Sempronius* two colonels of the allies, and well neere two hundred souldiours besides. Thus the campe on that part was woon, untill such time as one extraordinarie cohort was sent from the Consull to defend the Questors gate aforesaid: which either slew those that were within the rampier, or else drave them forth, and so withstood those that would have rushed in. And much about that very time, the fourth legion also with two extraordinarie squadrons, brake forth at the gate. Thus at once there were three severall battailes in sundrie places about the campe: and the dissonant cries and noises (according to the divers occasions of each partie ministred by their fellowes) turned and withdrew the minds and spirits of those that were in fight, from the present skirmish before them. In this manner maintained they the medley untill noone; equally matched in strength and number, and little or no ods between them for hope of victorie: but tedious travaile and fouldtering heat compelled the Gaules (whose bodies are soft and open, and soon running to sweat, and who of all other things can least away with thirst) to abandon the battell: and those few that remained behind, the Romans ran upon, ruffled their colours, and chased them into their owne hold. Then the Consull sounded the retreat: at which signall given, the more part retired themselves; but a sort of them, upon a hote desire of fight, and good hope to be masters of their campe, persisted still, close to their trench. The Gaules disdainning their small number, issued all forth out of their campe: and then the Romanes being discomfited, were glad now of themselves for feare and fright, to trudge unto the strength of their owne hold, which they would not retire unto at the commaundement of the Consull. Thus on both sides, there was one while victorie, and another while fearefull flight: howbeit, when all cards were told and the reckoning made, the Gaules had the worst of the game: for of them were slaine eleven thousand, whereas of Romanes there died but five thousand. Then the Gaules retired themselves into the most inward parts of their countrey, and the Consull marched with his legions to Placentia. Some write, that *Scipio* and his colleague with their joynt forces, invaded and spoiled the countreies of the Boians and Ligurians, so far forth as they could passe for woods and bogs: others againe record, that he, having done no memorable exploit at all, returned to Rome about the assembly for election of Consuls.

The same yeere *T. Quintius* spent the whole winter season at Elatia (whither he had retired his forces for winter harbour) in hearing mens causes and ministring justice to everyone; also in reforming and redressing all such disorders as had passed in the States and cities, through the licentious government and jurisdiction either of *Philip* himselfe or his captaines, whiles hee advanced those favorites of his owne faction, and put downe the right and libertie of others. In the beginning of spring he came to Corinth, where he had given summons, that there should be holden a general Diet of the States. There in the assembly of all the ambassadors and agents from the cities, gathered about him as it were to heare an Oration, hee made a speech unto them; beginning first with the amitie contracted betweene the Romanes and Greece: and proceeding to the acts atchieved in Spaine by the Generals afore him, and those also of his owne. All that he spake, was heard and received with great applause, untill he touched the point concerning *Nabis*: for it was generally thought unfitting, that he undertaking to set all Greece at libertie, had left a tyrant (not onely a grievous oppressour of his owne subjects, but also dangerous to all the cities about him) to remaine still as a fearefull maladic seated in the very bowels and heart of a most noble and renowned State. *Quintius* not ignorant of their affections and dispositions, confessed, that he should not indeed have given any care at all to the motion or mention of peace with the tyrant, in case that Lacedæmon could have stood in safetie without so doing: but now since that *Nabis* might not possibly be confounded and overthrowen without the present ruine and fearefull downfall of the citie, he thought it a better course in policie to

* The quarter
enjoying of
the Treasurie.

A leave the tyrant enfeebled and disurnished of all meanes to offend and hurt any man, thaire to suffer so goodly a citie to die in the cure, and under the hand as it were of the Physician, amidst those quick and sharpe remedies which it were never able to endure: and so in seeking to recover libertie, to perish and die for ever. And after he had discoursed of things past, he intended, that his purpose and intent was, to goe into Italie, and to have away with him his whole armie: also that within ten daies they should heare newes how all the garrisons had quit *Deme- trias* and *Chalcis*: and that he would deliver out of hand unto the Achæans in their very fight, the fortresse of Corinth: that all the world may know, whether it be the Romans guise, or the fashion of the *Ætolians*, to overreach and lie; who in their common talke have not let to discourse, to sow surmises, and to buz into mens heads, that it was dangerous for Greece to put their libertie into the Romans hands: and that they had but made an exchange of their lordly rulers, admitting the Romanes in lieu of the Macedonians. But as for them (quoth he) their tongue is no slander, beeing such persons as never tooke heed and made regard what either they did or said. But the other cities he advertised to weigh their friends by deeds and not by words: to be wise and well advised whome they are to trust, and whome they are to beware of: to use their libertie in measure and moderation; which if it be well attempted and qualified, is good and wholesome to particular persons and generall States: but excessive if it be, it would not only be grievous and unsupportable to others, but also unruly, dangerous, and pernicious to themselves that have it. He gave them counsell, that the princes and States in each citie should maintaine concord not onely among themselves, but also with all other in one communitie: for so long as they accord and agree together, no king nor tyrant should be strong enough for them: whereas discord and sedition maketh overture and openeth easie way to enemies that lie in await for the vantage; considering, that the side which in civill contention is the weaker and goeth to the walls, will band rather with a forrainger, than give place and stoupe to a citizen. In conclusion, he advised them, to keepe and preserve by their carefull regard, this their libertie purchased for them by forrainger forces, and delivered unto them with faithfull securitie of strangers and aliens; that the people of Rome might see, that they have given freedome to well deserving people; and this their great benefit hath bene well bestowed upon worthy persons. While they hearkened to these sage admonitions, as uttered out of the mouth of a verie father, thereares gushed plenteously out of their eyes for kind heart and joy; in so much as they troubled him in the deliverie of the rest of his speech. For a while there was a plausible noise heard among them as they approved his words, and advised one another to ponder these sage sawes, and to imprint them deeply in their hearts, proceeding as it were from divine oracle. After silence made, he requested them to seeke up all those Roman citizens (if haply there were any) who lived in servitude and slavery among them, and within two moneths to send them unto him into Thessalie: for it were a great dilworship and shame even for them, that in their countreies there should remaine in bondage any of those, by whose meanes they themselves were set free and delivered out of bondage. With that, they all cried aloud with one voice, That for this above all the rest they rendred thanks unto him, in that they were admonished and warned by him, to performe their devoir and duty, so honest, so religious, and so necessarie. Now a mighty number there was of captives in the Punick war; such as *Annibal* (when their friends redeemed them not by raunsome) had sold in open market. And how great the multitude of them was, this may prove and testifie which *Polibius* writeth; to wit, that this cost the Achæans for their part one hundred talents: and yet they ordained and set downe, that there should but 500 *Denarij* bee repaid unto their masters for the redemption of every poll: for by this account Achæa had 1200 of them. Adde now unto them as many as all Greece was like to have by that proportion [and see what number may arise.] The assembly was not broken up and dismissed, before they might see the garrison descending from the fortresse of Corinth, who marched directly to the gate and went their waies. The Generall presently followed after, and being accompanied with them all, who called him with a loud voice, Their saviour and redeemer; he tooke his leave and bad them farewell: and so returned the same way he came to Elatia. From thence hee sent his lieutenant *Ap. Clandius* with all the forces, commaunding him to conduct the armie to Oricum by the way of Thessalie and Epirus, and there to expect and wait his comming: for he purposed there to take sea and set over his armie into Italie. He wrote also to *L. Quintius* his brother and lieutenant, and Admirall likewise of the fleet, to gather all the ships of burden from along

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the sea coast of Greece into that place. Himselfe went to Chalcis, and having withdrawn the G garrisons not onely from thence but also from Oreum and Eretria, he held a generall counsell there of all the cities of Euboea: and after he had made remontrance unto them in what case he found them, and in what estate he left them, he dismissed the assemblie. From thence he departed to Demetrias, where also he removed the garison, and being attended with a traine of all the cittizens, like as at Corinth and Chalcis before, hee tooke his journey into Thessalie: where the citties were not onely to bee free, but also to bee reformed, and from a generall mingle mangle and confusion wherein they stood, to be reduced and framed into some tollerable order and forme of government. For they were not onely tainted and infected with the corruption of the times, and the violent current of licentious outrage, which had taken head under the govern- H ment of the king; but also of an inbred troublesome spirit and humor of their owne, whereby, since their first beginning and uprising, even unto our daies they never held Parliaments, Elections, Diets, Countells, or any other assemblies whatsoever, without much trouble & sedition. He chose the Senat and Iudges there in regard especially of their wealth, & in all cities he made that part more mightie, unto which it was more expedient and beneficiall to have all quiet and in peace. Thus having visited Thessalie, and taken a generall review thereof, hee came by the way of Epi- rus to Oricum, from whence he minded to crosse the seas. From Oricum all his forces were trans- ported to Brundisium, and so they passed forward throughout Italie to the citie of Rome, in manner of triumph, sending before them as great a traine of prizes by them taken, as they made themselves in their march. After they were come to Rome, the Senate assembled without the citie for *Quintius*, where hee had audience to declare and discourse of his worthie exploits: and willing they were to graunt him triumph, according to his deserts. Three daies together he rode in triumph. The first day he made a shew of all the armour, as well defensive as offensive, also of brasse and marble images, of which he had taken more from king *Philip*, than hee found in the faccage of the citties. The second day there was carried in pompe, the gold and silver both un- wrought and wrought into plate, yea, and cast into coine. Of silver unwrought there was eighteen thousand pound weight: of wrought, two hundred and seventie pound weight. Many vessels of plate of all sorts, and most engraven, some of right curious and exquisite workmanship. Likewise brasse vessels, cunningly and artificially made: and besides, tenne shields of silver, and in coine eightie foure thousand Atticke peeces of silver, which they call Tetradrachma, weighing almost foure Romane deniers apiece: of gold there was three thousand seven hundred and four- teen pound weight, and one shield full and whole of beaten gold: and of *Philip* golden peeces in coine, foureteene thousand five hundred and foureteene. The third day were borne in view for a pageant, a hundred and foureteene coronets of gold, which were the presents of citties given unto him. Moreover, there were led that day the bealls for sacrifice: and before his chariot went many noble prisoners and hostages, and among them, *Demetrius*, king *Philip* his sonne, and *Armenes* the sonne of *Nabis* the tyrant, a Lacedaemonian borne. Then rode *Quintius* himselfe in a chariot into the citie, and a great number of souldiours followed after, by reason that his whole armie was retired with him out of his province. To every footmen he gave two hundred and fiftie Asles, duple as much to a centurion, and triple to an horseman. Those who were redeemed out of captivitie, followed his chariot with their heads shaven, and much beautified the glorie L of the triumph.

In the end of this yeere, *Q. Atilius Tubero* a Tribune of the Commons, presented a request or bill unto the people, and they graunted & enacted it, to wit, that two Colonies of Latines should be conducted, the one into the Brutians countrey, and the other into the territorie of Thurium. For the conduct and planting whereof, there were ordained three Deputies called Triumvirs, whose commission was in force for three yeeres, namely, *Q. Nevius*, *M. Minutius Rufus*, and *M. Furius Crassipes* for the Brutians: and for Thurium, *A. Manlius*, *P. Atilius*, and *L. Apulius*. For the chusing of these officers, *Cn. Domitius* the Pretour in the citie, called two severall assemblies in the Capitoll. In that yeere were certaine temples dedicated, one of *Iuno Sospita* in the hearbe-market, which had been vowed and set out to building foure yeeres before, by *C. Corneli- M us* the Consull, during the warre with the French: and hee in his Cenforship dedicated it. Another temple of *Faunus* the Aediles *C. Scribonius* and *Cn. Domitius*, had likewise bargained for the building thereof two yeeres before, and laid by the moniey therefore; and this *Cn. Domitius* being now Pretour of the cittie dedicated it. Also *Q. Minutius Ralla*, dedicated a temple to

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Fortuna Primigenia upon the hill Quirinalis, having ben created Duumvir himselfe for that purpose. *P. Sempronius Sophus* had vowed the same ten yeeres before, in the time of the Punicke war, and agreed for a certaine price to have it built. Also *C. Servilius* the other Duumvir consecrated the temple of *Iupiter* within the island. Vowed it was sixe yeeres before in the Gaules warre by *L. Furius Purpurio* Pretour, and by him afterwards (when he was Consull) order was given for the edifying thereof. And these were the affaires which passed that yeere.

P. Scipio returned out of his province and government of Gaule for the election of new Consuls; and to that purpose was the generall assembly summoned; wherein were chosen *L. Cornelius Aternus*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The next morrow after were created Pretours, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *C. Scribonius*, *M. Valerius Messala*, *L. Porcius Licinius*, & *C. Flaminius*. B *C. Atilius Serranus*, and *L. Scribonius Libo*. Aediles of the chaire, were the first that exhibited the Stage plaies called Megalesia. And the Romane plaies or games represented and set out by these Aediles, the Senate now first & never before beheld a part from the rest of the people. And this (as all novelties and new fashions) ministred much talke: whiles some gave their opinion and said, That now at length that was given to this most noble and honorable State, which long agoe was due; others againe construed thus, and gave out, That whatsoever was added to the majestie of the Senators and nobles, was derogatorie from the dignitie of the people: and that all such kind of distinctions, whereby estates and degrees are severed one from another, are prejudiciall as well to common peace as publicke libertie. For these five hundred and eightie yeeres C say they, these plaies and games have been beheld and looked upon pell mell, without any such precise difference. What new accident is suddainely befallen, why the Nobles should not be willing to let the Commons be intermingled with them in the Theatre? and why a rich man should disdain his poore neighbour to sit by him? This is a new appetite and straunge longing of theirs indeed, full of pride and arrogancie, a thing never desired nor taken up and practised by the Senate of any nation whatsoever. So as in the end even *Africanus* bestrewed himselfe (men say) and repented thereof, for that hee in his Consulship mooved and persuaded the bringing up of this new fashion. So hard a matter it is to alter an old custome, and make a new order to be well liked of. And men are ever more willing to keepe them to auncient customes, unless they be such, as practise and experience doe evidently checke and condemne.

In the beginning of the yeere, wherein *L. Cornelius* and *Q. Minutius* were Consuls, newes came D so thicke of many earthquakes, that men were not onely wearie of the thing it selfe, but also of the holydaies and solemnities that were published and proclaimed in that regard. For the Consuls could not intend either to assemble the Senate and sit in counsell, or manage the affaires of the Commonweale, for being wholly employed about sacrificing and appeasing the wrath of the gods. In conclusion; the Decemvirs were commaunded to peruse the bookes of *Sibylla*, and according to their answer & direction, a procession & supplication was for three daies solemnised. And before the altars and shrines of the gods & goddesses, they made their praiers with garlands and coroners on their heads: yea, & commaundement was given, that every household and familie by it selfe should fall to their praiers and devotions. Also the Consuls by order from the Senate made proclamation, That upon what day a feast or solemnitie was ordained by occasion E of one earthquake, no man the same day should bring newes of another. Then the Consuls cast lots for the government of their provinces, and after them the Pretours did the like. Unto *Cornelius* befell Gaule, and to *Minutius* the Ligurians; *C. Sempronius* had the charge of the civile jurisdiction, and *M. Valerius* of the forraigne; *L. Cornelius* governed Sicilie, *L. Porcius* Sardinia, *C. Flaminius* high Spaine, and *L. Fulvius* the lower. The Consuls looked for no war that yeere: but even then at that instant were letters brought from *M. Cincius* lord president of Pisa, which gave notice, that twentie thousand Ligurians were up in armes, having conspired together in all market townes and places of resort throughout the whole nation, and that they had already wasted the territorie of Luna, and having invaded and passed through the Pisane land, had overrun also the sea coasts. Wherefore *Minutius* the Consull, unto whom the government of Liguria F was allotted, by the advise of the LL. of the Senate mounted up into the pulpit Rostra, and published an act, That those two legions of Romane cittizens, which the former yeare had ben enrolled, should within ten daies present themselves at Arretium, in lieu whereof he would levie two other legions out of the citie. Also he commaunded the allies and magistrates of the Latine nation, and their embassadours leagers, who owed knight-service, and were bound to find souldiours

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to come before him into the Capitoll. And from among them he enrolled fifteene thousand foot and five hundred horse, according to the number of young and serviceable men that were to be found in each State: which done, he commaunded them forthwith, to go directly from the Capitoll to the gate of the citie, and presently to take musters that all might be done with greater expedition. Vnto *Fulvius* and *Flaminius* were appointed three thousand Romane footmen and two hundred horsemen apeece, for to supplie and strengthen their forces: also five thousand foot to either of them of allies of the Latine nation, with two hundred horse. Moreover the Pretours were charged to dismishe and caste the old souldiours, so soone as they were arrived into their provinces. Now, when as the souldiours who were enrolled in the citie-legions, resorted thicke unto the Trib. of the Com. that they should take knowledge of as many of them as were exempted from warfare, for that they either had served out their full time by law appointed, or were sickly and diseased: behold the letters of *Sempronius* dashed all this, and cleared every difficultie and scrupulositie: wherein it was written, that fifteene thousand Ligurians were entred the territorie of Placentia, and had made great wast and saccage therein, putting all to fire and sword as they went, even as farre as to the very walls of the Colonic it selfe, and the banks of *Padus*. Also that the nation of the Boij made countenance and gave suspicion of rebellion. In which regards seeing there was a tumultuous and sodaine warre toward, the Senat passed a decree, wherein they signified that it was not their pleasure that the Tribunes should accept any excuses pretended by the souldiours, but that they should all meete and assemble together, according to the Edict. Over and besides they gave order, that the allies of the Latine nation, who had served in the armies of *P. Cornelius* and *Titus Sempronius*, and were discharged from souldierie by them being Consuls, should now be readie to shew themselves, against that day which *L. Cornelius* the Consull should appoint, and at what place soever of *Hetruria* he should commaund by way of proclamation: Also that the said *L. Cornelius* the Consull in his march and journey toward the province, might take up, enroll, and arme, what souldiours he thought good, out of all the burroughes and villages in his way, and have them with him whither soever he would, yea and have commission to dismishe whom of them he thought good, and when soever he listed at his good pleasure.

After that the Consuls had taken musters, and were gone into their provinces, then *Quintus* demanded to have a day of audience in the Senat concerning those affaires that he had concluded with the assistance of the ten Delegates above said: and that it would please them to confirme and establish the same by vertue of their assent and authoritie. Which they might do with more ease, in case they would heare the embassadors themselves speake, who were come out of all Greece, a great part of Asia, and from the kings. These embassies were admitted into the Senate by *C. Scribonius* the Pretour for the citie, and all dispatched with a gracious answer. But because the dispute about *Antiochus* required long time of debate, therefore it was referred and put over to the ten Delegates, of whom some had bene in Asia, or at *Lyfimachia* with the king. And *Quintus* was commaunded, that together with those said Delegates he should heare what the king his embassadors could say, and so returne unto them such an answer, as might stand with the honor and welfare of the people of Rome. The chiefe of this embassage from the king were *Menippus* and *Hegesianax*. Then *Menippus* began and said, That he knew no such perplexed difficultie in their embassage, considering they were come simply to treat for peace, and to contract a league and alliance. For, saith he, there are three sorts of confederacies and associations, whereby States and Kingdomes ordinarily conclude league and amitie one with another. The first, when they that are vanquished in warre, have conditions and articles imposed upon them: for when all is yielded into the hands of him that is the mightier and more puissant, then it is in his power and at his discretion and will, to give unto the conquered partie what he list, or to take from him as he pleaseth. The second is, when they that are egall in warlike forces give over on even hand, and be content to make peace and amitie, upon indifferent and equall conditions, one with the other: in which case, demand and claime is made, restitution and amends performed according to the accord and agreement: and if in time of the warres, any have bene molested and troubled in their possession, they fall to composition either by the forme and tenor of ancient law, or respective to the good and profit of both parties. The third is, when they that never were enemies, meete and conferre together about concluding some friendship, by way of solemne alliance and societie, who neither geve nor take any conditions: for that be-

longeth properly to Conquerours, and those that are conquered. Seeing then that *Antiochus* is comprised in this last kind, I meruaile (quoth he) that the Romanes should thinke or say, It is reasonable to tender articles unto him, or to prescribe and set downe, what cities of Asia they would have to be free & exempt, and which they would have to be tributarie & into what cities they would expressly forbid the king his garisons, or the king himselfe to enter and set foote. For in this wise ought they to make peace with *Philip* their enemy in times past, and not to draw a contract of amitie and association with *Antiochus*, a friend at this present. To this oration *Quintus* shapd his answer in this sort. For as much as it pleaseth you to make your speech thus distinctly by way of division, and severally to rehearse all kinds of confederacies & accords, I also will set downe as methodically in order two conditions, without which, you may let the king your matter to understand, that he must not looke to intertaine any friendship with the people of Rome. The one is this, that if he would debarre us to intermedle with the cities of Asia: he likewise himselfe have nothing to do with all Europe. The other, that if he cannot conteine himselfe within the compasse of Asia, but will needs encroch upon it, the Romanes likewise may have libertie and power both to mainteine those amities which they have already, and also to entertaine new with the States of Asia. Hereat *Hegesianax* inferred and said, That this was an indigne intolerable, and which he could not abide to heare, namely, that *Antiochus* should be distressed of those cities of Thrace & Chersonesus, which *Selucus* his great grandfather had conquered with singuler honor from king *Lyfimachus*, whom he vanquished in war and slew in field, and seized the same in him as his rightfull inheritance. As for the same cities possessed by the Thracians, *Antiochus* himselfe with as great praise and glorie hath partly by force of armes regained out of their hands, and partly repeople with the old inhabitants called home againe, whereas they lay abandoned and desolate, and namely *Lyfimachia* itselfe, as all the world seeth: and more than that, hath reedified to his exceeding charge & expence, those that lay along in their ruines, and were consumed with fire. What likenes then is there between these two demands: namely, that *Antiochus* should quit the possession of that which either he acquired or recovered in that sort: and that the Romanes should abstaine & forbear Asia, which never appertained unto them? To conclude, *Antiochus* (saith he) is desirous of the Romans friendship, but in such termes as may stand with his honor, and not purchase himselfe shame and reproch. Then *Quintus* rejoined again in this manner: For as much as quoth he, we balance and weigh things according to honestie (as in truth it is besitting the chiefe and principall state of the world, and so great and mightie a king to peise that only or at leastwise principally above all other regards) I would gladly know of you, Whether ye thinke it more honest of the twaine, either to will and wish that all the cities of Greece whatsoever and wheresoever should enjoy libertie: or to make them homagers and tributarie? If *Antiochus* thinketh it be an honorable thing for him to reduce into servitude and bondage as his owne, those cities which his great grandfather held by right of armes, and whereof neither his father nor grandfather afore him were in possession: the people of Rome likewise esteemeth it a materiall point that toucheth their faithfulness and constancie, not to forsake the Greekes, whose protection and defence they have enterprised and taken in hand. And like as they have freed Greece out of the hands of *Philip*, so they intend to deliver those cities of Asia which are of Greekish race and descent, from the subjection of *Antiochus*. For the Greeke Colonies were not sent into *Aolis* and *Ionis*, to live in servitude under the king, but to increase and multiply, that a most auncient nation might spread over the face of the whole earth. Now when as *Hegesianax* knew not how to shift and turne himselfe, and could not denie but that the cause of libertie which the Romanes pretended in the title of their quarrell, was of more honestie and credit, than that other of slavery: Let's lay away all these circumstances of words (quoth *P. Sulpitius*, the auncientest person of all the ten Delegates) and chooseth yee one of the two conditions which even now were expressly offred unto you by *Quintus*, or else make no more talke about amitie with the Romanes. Then quoth *Menippus*, As for us, wee may in no case, neither will wee capitulate and covenant any thing prejudiciall to the kingdome and royall state of king *Antiochus*. The morrow after *Quintus* when hee had brought all the Embassies of Greece and Asia into the Senate, that they might know what affection the people of Rome caried, and what mind *Antiochus* bare to the cities of Greece, he declared before them all as well his owne demands, as those of the kings part: willing them to make report unto their own cities, & assure them, that the people of Rome would maintein them

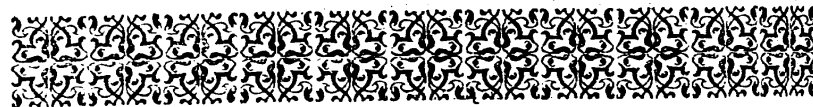
against *Antiochus* (unless he departed out of Europe) with the same vertue, valour, and fidelitie G wherewith he had defended their liberty against *Philip*. Then *Menippus* was earnest with *Quintius* and the LL. of the Senate, beseeching them instantly not to proceed in hast to a decree whereby they should set all the world in trouble and uprore; but both take leifure themselves and give respite unto the king to deliberate farther of the matter: for no doubt, upon the relating of the condicions, he would consider upon them, and either obtaine somewhat at their hands, or for peace sake yeeld his consent to all. Thus was the matter wholly and entirely deferred: & agreed it was, that the same embassadours should be addressed unto the king, who had beene with him at *Lysimachia*, to wit, *P. Sulpitius*, *P. Villius*, and *P. Aelius*.

Scarcely were they gone from the citie and entred upon their journey, but embassadours arrived from Carthage, who reported, that without all doubt *Antiochus* made preparation for warre, and therein used the hand and ministerie of *Anniball*: in so much, as it was feared also that a third Punicke warre would breake out withall. *Anniball* as wee said before, having fled his native countrey, repaired unto *Antiochus*, and was in great account and estimation with the king, for no other cause and pollicie in the world, but that the king who projected and plotted long time in his spirit to levie warre upon the Romanes, could find no man more fit than *Anniball* to break his mind unto, and with whom to discourse upon a matter of such consequence. *Anniball* his long and resolution was ever one and the same still, namely, To make war within Italie: and that Italie was able to furnish a forraine enemy, with men, munition, and victuals. For this he cast with himselfe and considered, that if all were quiet there and no troubles set a foot, but that the people of Rome might with the forces and riches of Italie, furnish themselves to make war without Italie, there was no monarch nor nation under the sunne able to make head against the Romanes. He demanded therefore to have the commaund of 100 close ships with hatch and decke, 16000 foot, and 1000 horse: and with the said fleet he would first saile into *Africk*, where he assured himselfe that he should be able to solicit & induce the Carthaginians to rebellion: but if they held off & made it goodly and strange, yet would he settle in some part of Italie and levie war against the Romanes. His advice and counsell furthermore was, that the king should with all his other forces passe into Europe, & in some one part of Greece keep his power together, and not to take the sea, but to be readie ever to crosse over; which would be sufficient to make a shew and raise a bruit all abroad of warre. When he had perswaded the king to this designment and resolution, supposing that he was likewise to sound and prepare the hearts aforehand of his own countymen to this purpose: he durst not dispatch any letters unto them, for fear they might chauce to be intercepted by the way, and so discover the whole plot. He happened at *Ephelus* upon a Tyrian one *Ariston*, a man whose industrie and dexteritie he had tried in some small services wherein he had employed him. Him he plyed with gifts in hand, but fed him more with large promises of great rewards, which king *Antiochus* also himselfe seemed to make good and give his word for; and so sent him to Carthage with credence & instructions. He redied him in the names of all those persons with whom he was to talke and conferre: hee furnisheth him with secret tokens, whereby they might assuredly know, that hee was no counterfeit, but came with a message from him. Now whiles this *Ariston* conversed in Carthage, the friends of *Anniball* knew no sooner about what errand he came, than his very enemies. At the first, much talke and discourse there was in every corner of the citie where they met, and at their feasts and merriments, of this matter. Afterwards at their counsell table some stucke not to say, that the exile of *Anniball* was to little or no purpose, if whiles he was absent hee could contrive and compass new plots, and by soliciting and tempting mens minds, disquiet and trouble the state of the citie. There is a stranger, say they, one *Ariston* a Tyrian, hither come with instructions from *Anniball* and king *Antiochus*: certaine men there are, that daily have privie conference with him, and devise in secret of that, which anon will breake out to the utter ruine and overthrow of all. Wherupon they all cried with one voice to convent *Ariston* peremptorily before them, & to examine him about what businesse he was thither arrived; & unless he would bewray and declare the matter, to send him with embassadours of purpose, to Rome: For why? we have (say they) felt the smart enough, and paid sufficiently for the folly and rash head of one harebrained man already. Let privat persons beare their owne load hereafter, and at their owne perill commit a trespass: provided alwaies, that the Commonweale be preserved cleare not onely from all fault, but also from all apparance and bruit of any such intent. *Ariston* being called before them, stood stiffely upon

A upon his integritie and excused himselfe, and evermore used this for his best and surest defence. That he had brought no letters at all to any person: howbeit he could not render a ready and sound reason of his coming thither: but especially hee was shrewdly troubled and put to his trumps when they charged him, That he had talke & communication with those only of the Barchine faction. Hereupon arose some debate & altercation in the house, whiles some were of opinion, that he should be apprehended for a spie, and clapt up fast in ward: others againe were of mind, that there was no cause to make such a stirre and tumult; for it was an evill president to be given, that strangers coming to their citie, should be troubled and hardly intreated: and the like measure no doubt would be offered to the Carthaginians in Tyrus and in other townes of marchandise, whereunto they use to have resort for exchange and traffique. So for that day the matter was put off. *Ariston* framing himselfe to play the craftie Carthaginian among these B Carthaginians, wrote a certaine bill, & in the shutting in of the evening, hung it up in the most conspicuous & publicke place of all the citie, even over the seat where the head magistrate useth daily to sit; and himselfe about the third watch gat to shipbord and escaped. The morow after, when the Suffetes were set on the bench to minister law, the bill aforesaid was seen, taken down, and read: wherein to this effect was written, That *Ariston* was not come with a message to any person in particular, but to all the Seniors or Elders in generall (for so they call the Senat.) After that the thing was by this meane made a publicke matter, and the whole state of the Senators reputed culpable, they were not so earnest to search into privat persons. Howbeit thought good it was, that Embassadours should be sent to Rome to give information hercof to the Consuls C and the Senat, and withall, to make complaint of certaine wrongs done by *Masanissa*.

Masanissa understanding that the Carthaginians were suspected and in some ill name among the Romanes, and also at jarre and variance within themselves; and namely, that the great and principall men were had in jealousy by the Senat for their conferences with *Ariston*; and their Senate likewise suspected by the people, by reason of that writing above-named of the said *Ariston*: taking this for a good advantage and opportunitie to do them some injurie, not only invaded their maritime parts & made spoile, but also forced certain tributarie cities to the Carthaginians for to pay himselfe tribute. That quarter of the countrey they call *Emporia*. It is the sea coast of the lesser Syrtis, and the country is exceeding fertile: there is in it one only citie named *Leptis*, which paid to the Carthaginians for tribute, a talent every day. All this region *Masanissa* D then had plagued sore, yea and for one part thereof he made some claime, as beeing litigious whether it pertained to his kingdome, or the seignorie of the Carthaginians: and because hee knew for truth, that the Carthaginian embassadours were about to goe to Rome, as well to purge themselves of some crimes wherewith they were charged, as to complaine of him; therefore himselfe also addressed his embassadours to Rome, who should lay open more matter against them of deeper suspicion, and debate withall as touching the right of those tributes. The Carthaginians were no sooner heard speake concerning that Tyrian stranger, but the LL. of the Senat grew into some doubt least they should wage warre with *Antiochus* and the Carthaginians both together. And this presumption of all the rest made the suspicion most pregnant, because when they had the partie among them and were purposed to send him to Rome, they neither E made the man himselfe sure, nor the barke wherein hee arrived. After this, they fell to debate and argue with the kings Embassadours, about the territorie and land in controversie. The Carthaginians pleaded for themselves, and stood much upon their bounds and limits, for that the land in suite lay within that precinct, by which *P. Scipio* the conquerour limited out that territory which pertained to the seignorie of the Carthaginians. Also they alledged the confession of the king himselfe, who at what time as he pursued *Apheres*, that fled out of his own realm, and with a companie of Numidians raunged abroad about *Cyrenæ*, made request unto them to give him leave to passe through this very ground, as if (without all question) it belonged to the Carthaginians. The Numidians answered againe to these points and said plainly to their faces, that they lied in their throates, as touching that supposed limitation and bounding by *Scipio*: and moreover, if we would go (say they) and search the very original indeed of the law, what land at all ought the Carthaginians have of their own proper inheritance? For being but meere strangers, they had after much praier and entreatie, as much ground allowed them and no more, to build them a citie in, as they could compass with thongs cut out of one bull hide. And looke whatsoever they had encroched upon; without that nest and seat of theirs in *Byrsa*, they gat and held it by

by force and violence. And as for the land now in strife, they are not able to prove, that they al-
waies held the same in possession, no nor that they kept it any long time together. But as occasion
and opportunities served of advantage, one while they, and another while the Numidian kings
made recient and enjoyed it, and evermore he went away with the possession thereof that was the
stronger, and had the keener sword. In these considerations they requested the Romanes to leave
the thing in that state and condition, wherein it stood before that the Carthaginians were ene-
mies, or king *Masani* friend and allie to the Romanes; and not to intermeddle betweene, nor
take a part, but let the winner weare it, and him have it that can hold it. In conclusion, it was
thought good, that to the embassadours of both parties this answer should be returned, name-
ly, That they would send certaine Commissioners into Affrick, to decide this controversie about
the land in question, betweene the people of Carthage and the king. So there were sent of pur-
pose, *P. Scipio Africanus*, *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *la Minutius Rufus*. Who having heard what
could bee said, and seene the thing, left all hanging still in suspence and undecided, without
adjudging it by their definitive sentence to the one or the other. But whether they so did, on
their owne head and selfe-accord, or by direction from the Senat, is nor so certaine, as it seemeth
agreeable unto that present time in pollicie, to leave them as they found them, and the contro-
versie still depending. For unlesse it were so, *Scipio* himselfe alone, in regard of the knowledge
that hee had of the thing, and of his authoritie with the persons (so much bound they were un-
to him on both sides) might with a word of his mouth, or a nod of his head, have ended all this
matter.



THE XXXV. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the five and thirtieth Booke.

Pylus Scipio Africanus being sent embassador unto Antiochus, talked at Ephesus with An-
nibal (who had sided with Antiochus) to this end, that he might rid him of that feare which he
had conceived of the people of Rome, as touching the taking away of his life. Among other mat-
ters passed betweene them, when he demanded of Annibal, whom he judged to have been the
noblest and greatest warrior that ever was, hee answered, that it was Alexander king of the
Macedonians: for that he with a small power had discomfited and defeated an infinite number
of armies, and withall, passed through those farre distant and remote parts of the world, unto
which a man would not believe, that it were possible for any person to go and see them. When he
asked again of him whom he deemed for the second: who but Pyrrhus (quoth he) because he taught the manner how to pitch
a campe, and besides, no man had the cast to gaine places and holds for advantage, nor could set his corps de guard, or
plant garisons better than he. And when he proceeded still to know whom he took to be the third, Annibal named his owne
good selfe. At which answer Scipio fell a laughing: And what would you have said then (quoth he) if your hap had been to
have vanquished me? Marrie then (saith he) I would have set myselfe before Alexander, before Pyrrhus, and before all
other. Among other prodigious fights, whereof there were reported very many, it is said, that in the yeare wherein En. Dr-
mitius was Consul, an exe spake, and said these words, ROME, LOOKE TO THY SELFE. The
Romanes prepare to warre with Antiochus. Nabis the tyrant of the Lacedemonians, provoked by the Etolians, who solli-
cited both Philip and also Antiochus to wage warre against the people of Rome, revolted from the Romanes, and after he
had levied warre against Philip, Pretour of the Achaeans, was by the Etolians slaine. The Etolians likewise aban-
doned

A done the friendship of the people of Rome, with whom Antiochus king of Syria banded: who waded upon Greece, and sw-
rised many cities, and namely Chalcis and Euboea among the rest. Besides, this booke containeth the martiall affaires in
Liguria, and the preparation of Antiochus for the warres.



IN the beginning of that yeere wherein these affaires thus passed, *Sext. Di-
gitius* Pretor in high Spain, sought battels (rather ordinarie, and for number
many, than otherwise memorable and worth the speaking) against those
States, whereof after the departure of *Cato* a great sort had rebelled. And
those battels for the most part were so unfortunat, that hardly he could de-
liver up to his successor the one halfe of those souldiours which he had re-
ceived. And doubtlesse all Spaine would have taken heart again, if the other
Pretour *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the sonne of *Cneus*, had not sped better in many of his conflicts be-
yond Iberus. Upon which terrour, no fewer than fiftie good townes revolted unto him. And these
exploits performed *Scipio*, as Pretour. Who also in qualitie of Propretour, encountered the Lusit-
anes upon the way, as they returned homeward charged with a mightie great bootie raised out
of the base Spaine, which they had utterly pillied and spoiled: where hee fought from the third
houre of the *day unto the eight, with doubtfull event. For number of soldiours he was inferiour
to his enemies, but for all things else he had the vantage, and went beyond them. For his bat-
tallions were wel appointed and close compacted of armed men, and so he charged upon the ene-
mies marching in a long traine, and the same encombred with a deale of cattell: besides, his soul-
diours were fresh and in heart, whereas the other were wearied with long travell. For the enemies
set forth at the third watch, and besides their night journey, they had marched three houres also
of the day, and without any repose or rest at all, they came to a conflict presently upon their trav-
ell on the way. And therefore at the beginning of the battell, so long as they were in any heart,
and their strength served, they troubled and disordered the Romanes with the first charge they
gave; but afterwards for a while they came to be equall in fight. In which hazard of doubtfull is-
sue the Propretour vowed to set forth certaine solemne games to the honour of *Iupiter*, in case
he might discomfit the enemies, and kill them in chase. At the length the Romanes advanced
forward more hotely, and the Lusitanes reculed, yea, and anone turned their backs quite. And
when as in this traine of victorie the Romanes pursued them hard in the rout, there were of the
D enemies slaine upon twelve thousand, five hundred and fortie taken prisoners, all in manner
horsemen; and of militarie ensignes they caried away one hundred thirtie and foure. Of the Ro-
mane armie seventie and three onely were lost. This battell was fought not far from the citie Illi-
pa. And thither brought *P. Cornelius* his victorious armie, enriched with prey & pillage. Which
was laid all abroad before the towne, and every man had leave giuen to challenge and claim his
owne. All the rest was given to the Treasurer for to be sold, and the monie raised thereof, was par-
ted among the souldiours.

Now had not *C. Flaminius* the Pretour as yet taken his leave of Rome, when these things fell
out in Spaine, and therefore both he and his friends talked and discoursed much upon these oc-
curents both good and bad: and forasmuch as a great warre in his province was broken out to
a light fire, and himselfe was to receive from *Sext. Digitius* but a small remnant of an armie, and
the same timorous still & full of fright, as not wel recovered of their former flight, he had assaied
to bring about, that the Senate would assigne unto him one of the citie-legions; to the end that
when he had joined thereto those souldiours which himselfe had enrolled according to an order
set downe by the Senate, he might out of all that number chuse forth fixe thousand and five hun-
dred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. With which legion (for in the armie of *Sext. Di-
gitius* he reposed small confidence) he minded to make warre. The auncient Senatours denied and
said, That acts of the Senate were not to bee made upon every flying tale and report set abroad
and blased by some particular persons in favor of magistrats. Neither would they hold any thing
for certaine, but that which either the Pretours themselves wrote out of the provinces, or em-
bassadours sent of purpose, related. And if there were any such commotion & trouble in Spaine,
they were of advice, that the Pretour should levie in hast without Italie, such tumultuarie soul-
diours, as in that case were usually taken up. The intent and mind of the Senat was, that soldiers
should in that sort be prest out in Spaine. *Valerius Antias* writeth, that *C. Flaminius* both sai-
led into Sicilie to levie and muster men, and also as he made saile from Sicilie toward Spaine, was
by

by wind and tempest put with the shore of Africk: where he found certaine souldiers disperſed over the countrey, remaining of the armie of *P. Africanus*: of whom he tooke a militarie oath to ſerve him in his warres: and that to theſe levies raiſed in two provinces, he joynd alſo a third in Spaine.

The warre of the Ligurians likewiſe grew aſt: for they had already beſieged and inveſted Piſæ with fortie thouſand men: and thither reſorted and flockt dayly unto them great multitudes aſ well for hope of pillage, as upon the bruit and rumor that went of the warre. *Minutius* the Conſull came at the day appointed to *Arretium*, which was the *Rendezvous* where he had commaunded all his ſouldiours to meete him: from whence he marched with a foureſquare Battailon toward Piſæ. And when the enemies had removed their camp a mile from the citie on the other ſide of the river, the Conſull entred the towne, which no doubt by his comming he preſerved. The next day himſelfe alſo encamped on the other ſide of the river, almoſt halfe a mile from the enemies, from which place he made light ſkirmiſhes with them and ſaved the territorie of his allies from the excuſions and robberies of the enemies. Hee durſt not as yet try a battaile in pitched field, as having but raw and new ſouldiours, and thoſe gathered out of many kinds of men, and not ſo well knowne among themſelves, that one might ſurely truſt another. The Ligurians bearing themſelves bold of their numbers, not only came forth into the field readie to bid battaile, and hazard all upon a throw: but having multitudes at commaundement and to ſpare, ſent out into all parts ſundrie companies to ſpoile and raiſe booties as farre as to the marches and frontiers of the countrey. And when they had gathered together much cattaille and great ſtore of pillage, they had a ſtrong place of defence readie at hand, well manned and garded, by meanes whereof all was convoyed into their burroughs and townes.

Thus while the Ligurians warre was ſettled about Piſæ, the other Conſull *L. Cornelius Merula* entred with his armie by the utmoſt confines of the Ligurians into the territorie of the Boians: where the warre was managed farre otherwiſe than with the Ligurians. For the Conſull entred the field in battaile array, but the enemies fell off, and would not fight. In ſo much as the Romanes ſeeing none to come forth and preſent themſelves, ran abroad into all parts to ſpeed their hands with pillage. And the Boians choſe rather to ſuffer their goods to be ranſacked, making no reſiſtance, than to ſave the ſame with the hazard of a battaile. The Conſull when he had wrought his pleaſure, and conſumed all with fire and ſword, departed out of the territorie of the enemies, and marched toward * *Mutina* ſecurely without any regard of himſelfe, as through a peaceable country of his friends. The Boij perceiving once that they were gone out of their limits, followed after with a ſtill and ſilent march, ſeeking ſome convenient place for to lay an ambuſh. And having in the night ſeaſon paſſed beyond the Romane camp, they ſeiſed themſelves of a ſtreight paſſage within a ſtrefneſſe, through which of neceſſitie the Romanes muſt paſſe, and there they forlayed them. This was not ſo cloſely caried, but the Conſull had an ynking thereof: and therefore whereas his manner was to ſet out in his march early in the morning, long before day light, now for feare leaſt the darkenes of the night ſhould increaſe the terror of a tumultuarie ſkirmiſh, he waited for the day. And albeit the ſunne was up before he removed and ſet forward, yet he ſent out a troupe of horſemen to ſeoure and diſcover the quarters. And after he was advertiſed by theſe eſpials what number there was of enemies, and in what place they were, he commaunded that all the baggage and cariage of the whole armie ſhould be beſtowed in the mids, and that the Triarij ſhould ſtake and pale it all about, whiles he with the reſt of his forces marched in order of battaile, and approached the enemy. The like alſo did the French, after they once ſaw that their ambuſh and traines were detected, and that they muſt of neceſſitie fight a ſer pitched battaile, where downe-right blowes, cleane ſtrength, and pure valour, was to carry away the victorie. Thus about the ſecond houre of the day they affronted one another. The left wing of the horſemen of the allies and the extraordinaries fought in the vanguard, under the conduct of two Lieutenants that had bene Conſuls, to wit, *M. Marcellus*, and *T. Sempronius*, Conſull the yeere before. The new Conſull one while was in the front of the battaile, another while at the taile to keepe in the legions, leaſt for egre deſire of fight they ſhould advance forward to the conflict before that the ſignall was given. As for the men of armes belonging to the legions, he commaunded *Quintius* and *P. Minutius*, Marſhals or Colonels, to bring them forth, and conduct them without the battaile into a large plaine, from whence out of the open ground they ſhould on a ſodaine charge the enemies, when he gave them

A them a ſignall by ſound of Trumpet. Thus as he was marſhalling and directing his men, there came a meſſenger from *T. Sempronius Longus* with a report, that the looſe Extraordinarie ſouldiers aforeſaid were not able to abide the violence of the Gaules: that very many of them were ſlaine, and thoſe that remained, partly for weariſſe of travaile, and partly for fearefull cowardice began to quail their heate of fight: and therefore if he thought ſo good, he ſhould ſend one of the two legions to ſuccour, before they had received farther diſhonor. Whereupon the ſecond legion was ſent, and the Extraordinaries retired themſelves out of the battaile. Then began the conflict anew, by reaſon that the ſouldiours came in freſh and in heart, and the legion beſides was complet and fully furniſhed with all her companies: the left wing of horſemen aforeſaid was retired out of the battaile, and in lieu thereof, the right wing advanced into the forefront. By this time the ſunne with extreme ſcorching heate, roſted and fried the bodies of the Frenchmen, which of all things can leaſt abide heat: howbeit, ſtanding with their ranks thicke and cloſe together, one while they leaned one upon another: other whiles they reſted and bare themſelves upon their targets, and ſuſtained the violence of the Romanes. Which when the Conſull perceived, he commaunded *C. Livius Salinator* who had the conduct of the light horſe in the wings, to ſend in the quickeſt horſe in all his companie, with full carriere to breake their ranks: and gave charge that the legionarie horſemen ſhould abide behind in the reregard. This tempeſt and ſtorme of Cavallerie firſt ſhuſtled and put in diſſaray the battaile of the Gaules, and afterwards brake their ranks and files cleane, yet not ſo, that they turned their backs: for why, their captaines and leaders would not ſuffer them, laying about with their truncheons upon the backs of them that ſo trembled for feare, and forced them againe into their ranks: but the light horſemen aforeſaid riding among them would not permit them to ſtand to it, and keepe their place. The Conſull for his part encouraged and exhorted his ſouldiers to ſtick to it awhile, for the victorie was in their hands; and to charge ſtill upon them, ſo long as they ſaw them diſordered and affrighted: for if they ſuffered their ranks to cloſe againe, they ſhould abide another conflict, and the ſame perhaps doubtfull and dangerous. The Enſigne-bearers he commaunded to advance their banners: and thus at length with putting all their power and good will together, they diſcomfited the enemy, and put him to flight. After they ſhewed their backs once and tooke them to their heeles, running away on all ſides, then the legionarie horſemen were ſent out after to follow the chaſe: fourteene thouſand Boians that day were ſlaine, a thouſand and nine hundred taken priſoners alive: 221 horſemen: three of their leaders: and of enſignes were woon 212, and chariots 63. The Romanes likewiſe woon not this victorie ſo cleere, but it coſt them ſome bloud. For of their owne ſouldiours and allies together, there died above five thouſand: 23 Centurions, beſides foure Colonels of Allies, and two Marſhals of the ſecond legion, to wit, *M. Genutius*, and *M. Martius*.

At one and the ſelfe ſame time in manner, both the Conſuls letters were brought to Rome. *Cornelius* his letters, touching the battaile fought at *Mutina* with the Boians: but the other of *Q. Minutius* from Piſæ, were written to this effect, That whereas by lot it belonged to him to hold the aſſembly for the election of new magiſtrates, yet conſidering in how doubtfull tearms of hazard his affaires ſtood in Liguria, that he might not poſſibly depart from thence without the utter ruine of the allies, and hinderance of the weale publicke: therefore if it might ſeeme ſo good unto the LL. of the Senat, he would adviſe them to ſend unto his brother Conſull, That he, who had finiſhed his warre, might returne to Rome for to hold the aforeſaid generall aſſembly for the election: but in caſe he ſhould thinke much thereof, becauſe this charge properly appertained not to him; hee promiſed them, that himſelfe would doe whatſoever the Senate ſhould thinke good. But he requeſted them to conſider and be well adviſed, Whether it were not more expedient for the common-weale to proceed rather to an interreigne, than ſhat he ſhould leave the province in that ſtate of jeopardie. The Senat hereupon gave in charge to *C. Scribanus* for to ſend two embaffadours both of Senators calling, unto *L. Cornelius* the Conſull, who ſhould carrie alſo with them unto him the letters of his colleague written and ſent unto the Senate: and withall, to let him underſtand, that unleſſe he would come himſelfe to Rome: for the election of new magiſtrates to ſucceed, the Senat would ſuffer an interreigne rather than call away *Q. Minutius* from the warre unfiniſhed, and wherein he was wholly employed. The Embaffadours that were ſent, brought word backe, That *L. Cornelius* would repaire to Rome himſelfe for the chuſing of new magiſtrates. As touching the letters of *L. Cornelius*, wherein he did them

to understand, what happie issue and successe he had in the battaile with the Boians; there was some reasoning and debate in the Senat house: for *M. Claudius* his lieutenant had written other letters privately to most of the Senatours, to this effect; That they were much beholden and bound to give thanks unto the good fortune of the people of Rome, and the valour of the soldiers, in that they sped so well as they did: for by meanes of the Consull, not only there were a good number of men lost, but also the armie of the enemies was escaped out of their hands, when they had fit opportunitie presented unto them, of a small difficutie and overthrow thereof: and that by this occasion there was a greater number of the souldiours miscaried; for that they who should have rescued and succoured those that were distressed, came too late out of the regard: and thereupon why the enemies got away and escaped was this, because the legionarie horsemen had not the signall soone enough founded unto them, and could not possibly pursue them in the chase. Therefore as concerning that point, they would not determine any thing rashly and hand over head, but the matter was referred and put over to a more frequent assembly of Senatours.

A greater object there was to trouble their heads; for the citie was much oppressed with usurie: and albeit the avarice and covetousnesse of men had bene well gaged and bridled by many lawes concerning usurie, yet there was a cautelous devise and shift found out, to avoid all statutes in that behalfe: to wit, that all obligations should passe in the names of allies, and be sealed unto them, who were not tied and bound to observe the lawes aforesaid. By which meanes the creditors enwrapped their debtors in what bonds they list, and forced them to pay extreme interest as they would themselves, without stint. For to see into this disorder and enormitie, and to redresse the same, it was thought good and order taken, to set downe and limit a certain day, namely, upon which the usurers were last restrained. From which day all those allies should come in and declare and professe, what money they had put forth upon usurie to any citizens of Rome; and that the creditour should have right to recover those monies put forth from that time, according to such conditions as the debtour would himselfe. Hereupon, after there were discovered great summes of money and debts contracted by this fraudulent practise, *M. Sempronius* a Tribune of the Commons, by advise of the Senate propounded a law, and the Commons allowed it, That the same course of putting out money practised betwene citizen and citizen of Rome, should likewise be in force among the allies of the Latine nation. In this sort went matters in Italie, both within the citie of Rome, and also in the warres abroad.

In Spaine the warre was nothing so much as the bruit that ran thereof. *C. Flaminius* in high Spaine, wan Lucía, a towne in the Oretans country: after which exploit, he laid up his soldiers in their winter harbour. And in winter time there passed certaine light skirmishes (not worth the naming) against the excursions of brigands and theeves, I may rather say, than enemies: and yet the fortune was variable, and not without some losse of men. As for *M. Fulvius* he achieved great matters: for hee fought in a raunged battaile with banner displayed against the Vacceans, the Vestones, and the Celtiberians, before the town Toleum; where hee discomfited and put to flight the armie of those nations, and tooke prisoner alive, their king *Hilernus*.

Whiles these things thus passed in Spaine, the day drew neere, of the solemne election of magistrates at Rome: and therefore *L. Cornelius* the Consull having left *M. Claudius* lieutenant in the armie, came to Rome: who, after he had discoursed in the Senate house of his owne exploits, and in what estate the province stood, he complained to the LL. of the Senat, that considering so great a warre was brought to an end, by one battaile so fortunately and happily fought, there was no solemnitie to the honour of the gods, performed in that behalfe. Over and besides, he demanded, That they would decree a procession and triumph withall. But before the Senatours were to deliver their opinions to this demand, *Q. Metellus*, who had bene Consull and Dictator, rose up and said, That there had been letters brought at one and the same time; both from the Consull *Cornelius* to the Senate, and also from *M. Marcellus* to a great many of the Senatours, and those letter importing contrarieties: whereupon the consultation of that matter had bene deferred and put off, to the end that it might be argued and debated in the presence of them both, who wrote the letters: and therefore I ever looked (quoth he) that the Consull (knowing especially that his lieutenant had written and enformed somewhat against him, and considering that himselfe was to repaire to Rome) would have brought him along with him; seeing that it had bene more meet and besitting him to have delivered the armie to *T. Sempronius*.

Annus, one that was in the commission and had a commaund, than to a lieutenant. But it should seeme now, that hee was left behind farre enough off of very purpose, for feare he would avow and iustifie personally his hand-writing, and charge him face to face: and that if the Consull should make report of any untruth, he might be challenged therefore, and the thing sifted and canvassed, untill the truth appeared clearly and came to light: and therefore my opinion is (quod hee) that nothing be determined at this present, as touching the demands of the Consull. But when as he persisted notwithstanding, and followed the suit still, namely that they would ordaine a solemne procession, and that himselfe might enter the citie, riding in triumph: then *Marcus* and *C. Titinius*, both Tribunes of the Commons, protested, that they would interpose their negative, and cancell the order of the Senate in that behalfe.

The Censors for that time, were *Sex. Aelius P. Petus* and *C. Cornelius Cetbegus*, created the yeare before. *Cornelius* tooke a review of the citie and numbred the people; and there were accounted by his survey 143704 polls of citizens. Great floods arose that yeere, and Tyber overflowed all the flats and plaine places of the citie: and about the gate Flumentana certain houses and buildings were overthrowen withall, and laid along. The gate Calimontana besides, was stricken with lightning, & the wall about it was likewise blasted from heaven. At Aricia, Lanuvium, and in mount Aventine, it rained stones. And reported it was from Capua, that a great swarme of wapes came flying into the market place, and setled upon the temple of *Mars*; which beeing with great care taken up and gathered together, were afterward consumed with fire. In regard of these prodigious tokens, order was given, that the Decemvirs should search and peruse the bookes of *Sibylla*; whereupon a novendiall sacrifice (to continue nine daies) was appointed, a publicke procession solemnized, and the citie was cleansed and hallowed. About the same time *M. Porcius Cato*, dedicated the chappell of *Virgin victorie*, neere to the temple of the goddesse *Victorie*, two yeeres after that he had vowed it. In that yeere also the Triumvirs, *C. Manlius Vulso*, *L. Apustius Fullo*, and *P. Aelius Tubero*, (who had preferred a bill of request about the planting of a Colonie) had commission granted, to conduct a Colonie of Latines into the countrey of Thurium: and thither went three thousand footmen and three hundred horsemen; a small number in comparison of the largenesse and quantitie of the territorie. There might well have bene set out thirtie acres for every footman, and threescore for an horseman: but by the motion and advise of *Apustius*, one third part of the lands was excepted and reserved, to the end, that afterwards in time, they might enroll new Coloners if it pleased them. And therefore the footmen had twentie acres, and the horsemen fortie apeece.

Now approached the end of the yeere, and more ambition there was, and hotter suite for place of dignitie in the election of Consuls, than ever had been knowne any time before. Many mightie men, as well of the *Patritij* and nobles, as the Commoners, stood and laboured hard for the Consullship, to wit, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the sonne of *Cneus*, who lately was departed out of Spaine after he had atcheeved many worthe deeds. *L. Quintus Flaminius* who had ben Admiral of the navie in Greece, and *Cn. Manlius Vulso*, all of the Nobilitie. But of the Commons were *C. Laelius*, *Cn. Domitius*, *C. Livius Salinator*, and *M. Acilius*. But all mens eies were fixed upon *Quintius* and *Cornelius*: For they desired one place, being both of them nobly descended, and their fresh glorie for seats of warre, recommended both the one and the other. But above all other things, the brethren of these competitours, two most renowned warriors of their time, set the debate on a light fire. The glorie of *Scipio*, as it was the greater of the twaine, so it was more subject to envie. The honour of *Quintius* was more fresh, as who that yeer had newly triumphed. Over and besides, the one of them had bene now almost ten yeeres continually conversant in the eies of men (a thing that maketh great men not so highly regarded, by reason that they are growne stale, and the world is full alreadie of them) also he had been twice Consull, and Censor since he vanquished *Anniball*. But in *Quintius* all was fresh & new, to win the good grace and favor of men. And more than that, he neither after his triumph had obtained ought of the people, nor, to say a truth, requested any thing. He alledged, that he made suite for his owne naturall and whole brother by both sides, & not for a cousin german, in the behalfe of a very companion and partaker with him in the managing of the war (for as himselfe served by land, so his brother performed many exploits by sea.) So he obtained, that *Quintius* should be preferred before his competitor, whom *Africanus* & his brother *Asiaticus* brought in and graced, whom the whole race of *Cornelius* seemed to countenance, even then when a *Cornelius*, Consull, was president of the election.

tion, & held the assembly, whom the Senat had given to grave a testimonie of, in adjudging him to be the best man simply in all the citie, & thought most worthie to receive the goddesse, dame *Ides*, committing from *Pessinus* to the citie of Rome. Thus were *L. Quintus*, & *Cn. Domitius Aenebarbus* created Consuls, in such sort, that *Africanus* was of no credite, and bare no stroke at all (ye may be sure) in the election of a Consull out of the third estate of Commons, albeit he employed himselfe, and did his best for *C. Lelius*. The next day after were the Pretors elected, namely *L. Scribonius Libo*, *M. Fulvius Centimalus*, *A. Attulus Serranus*, *M. Bibius Tamphilus*, *L. Valerius Tappus*, and *Q. Salinius Sarra*. In this yeer *M. Aemilius Lepidus* and *L. Aemilius Paulus*, the Censors, bare themselves so in their office, as they made their yeer to be notable and much spoken of. They condemned & fined many of the citie grasiers or farmers of the common pastures; and of that money which arose of their ameracements, were certaine gilded shields made, which were set up on the finiall or lanterne of *Iupiters* temple. They made one terrace or gallerie without the gate *Trigemina*, with a merchants hall or Burse adjoined thereto, neere *Tyber*; and another from the gate *Fontinalis* they built in length as far as to the altar of *Mars*, leading to *Mars* field.

For a long time nothing was done in Liguria worth the remembrance. But about the end of the yeere, twise were the Romanes in great jeopardie: for both the campe of the Consull was assailed and hardly defended, and also not long after, as the Romane hoast marched through a streight pafe, the armie of the Ligurians kept the very gullet of the passage, and the Consull seeing he could not make way through, turned his ensignes, and began to retire the same way he came: but by that time, some of the enemies had gained also the backe part of the pafe, in so much as the lamentable remembrance of the Caudine overthrow, not onely presented itselfe to their spirit and mind, but also was in manner an object to their eie. Now had he amongst his auxiliarie or aid-forces, to the number almost of eight hundred horse. Whose captaine promised the Consull, that he and his would breake through whether way hee would, let him onely but tell him which of the two quarters were better peopled and inhabited: for the first thing that he did, he would fire their villages and houses; to the end, that the feare and fright thereof might force the Ligurians to depart out of the chafe which they held and beset, and run to succour their owne neighbours. The Consull commended him highly, and fed him with hope of large rewards. Whereupon the Numidians mounted on horsebacke, and began to ride about the corps de guard of the enemies, without offering to charge upon any man. At the first, a man that had seen them, would have thought nothing more contemptible, being both men & horse, litle, spare and gaunt. The horseman unarmed and without weapon, save that hee carrieth about him some light darts: the horses without bridles; and as they ran shutting out their stiffe neckes, and bearing their heads forward without any reining at all, they made a very ill favoured sight. And the riders, for to make themselves more despised, would for the nones seeme to take fals from their horses, and make their enemies good sport. Whereupon they (who if at first they had been assailed, would have been heedfull and readie to have received the charge) now sat still (many of them unarmed) to behold this pleasant pastime. The Numidians would gallop toward them, and presently ride back again, but so, as by litle & litle they gained ground, and advanced neerer to the pafe, yet making semblance, as if they had had no rule of their horses, but were caried thither against their wils. At the last, they set spurs to their horses indeed, and brake through the mids of the enemies guards: and so soone as they had recovered the open ground, they set on fire all the houses neere the high way side, and so forward they burnt the next village they came unto, & destroyed all afore them with fire and sword. First the smoke that was desired, afterwards, the outcrie heard of them that were affrighted in the villages, and last of all, the children and old folke that fled to save themselves, made a trouble and hurlyburly in the campe in so much, as every man of himselfe without advise, without warrant or direction, made what hast he could to runne and save his owne. Thus in the turning of an hand, the campe was abandoned, and the Consull delivered from siege, arrived thither where he intended.

But neither Boians nor Spaniards (with whom that yeare the Romanes made warre) were so despitous and maliciously bent against them, as the whole nation of the Aetolians. They at the verie first were in very good hope, that presently upon the remoove of the forces out of Greece, *Antiochus* would have entred Europe, and seized upon the vacant possession thereof: and that neither *Philip* nor *Nabis* would be in rest and doe nothing. But seeing them not to stirre in any place,

A place, they thought it high time to make some trouble and confusion themselves, for feare least by delays and lingering, all their designments would turne to nothing: and therefore they published a Diet or Councell to be holden at Naupactum. In which assembly *T. Boas* their Pretour, after he had made grievous complaint of the wrongs received by the Romanes, mooving and solliciting the state of Aetolia (for that they of all other nations and cities of Greece, were least honoured and set by after that victorie, whereof they had bene the cause) gave his advise, that there should be embassadours sent to all the neighbour kings, not onely to found their minds and affections, but also to incite and prick them every one forward to enter into armes against the Romanes. So *Damocritus* was addressed to *Nabis*, *Nicander* to *Philip*, and *Dicaearchus* the brother of the Pretour unto *Antiochus*. *Damocritus* had in commission to signifie unto the tyrant of Lacedaemon, That by the losse of his maritime cities, the very strings and sinews of his tyrannie and kingdome were cut in sunder. For from thence was hee furnished with souldiours, from thence had he his ships and servitours at sea: where as now, hee might see the Achaeans LL, and rulers of Peloponnesus, whiles himselfe was pinned up and enclosed within his walls, and never should he have opportunitie to recover himselfe, if he let passe this that presently was offered unto him. No Romane armie was now in Greece: and never would the Romanes thinke it sufficient cause, to passe over the seas with their legions into Greece, for any occasion of Gytheum or other Laconians inhabiting the sea coasts. These reasons were laid forth to incense the courage of the tyrant, to the end, that when *Antiochus* was once passed over into Greece, he being touched in conscience, that he had broken the Romane league, by committing outrage upon their allies, might of necessity joine and band with *Antiochus*. Semblable remonstrances and reasons used *Nicander* for to provoke and perswade *Philip*: and much more matter he had to enforce that point, as the king was deposed from much higher degree of estate than the tyrant had been, and also had sustained farre greater losses. To this, he alleadged the auncient name and renowne of the KK, of Macedonia; and how that nation had overrun the whole world, and filled all places with their noble conquests & victories. Moreover he said, That he advised him to take a course, which was safe both to be enterprised, & also easie to be executed. For hee gave not *Philip* counsell to stirre, before that *Antiochus* were passed over with an armie into Greece: and considering that hee without the aid of *Antiochus* had maintained warre so long against the Romanes and Aetolians, what possible meanes had the Romanes to withstand him, assited with *Antiochus* and the Aetolians his allies, who even then were fiercer enemies than the Romanes? Over and besides, hee inferred this reason also, what a brave and doubtie captaine *Anniball* was, a man even borne to be an enemy to the Romanes, and who had slaine already more leaders and souldiours of theirs, than were left behind. These were the allegations of *Nicander* to *Philip*. As for *Dicaearchus*, hee had other motives to perswade with *Antiochus*. First and principally above all others, hee affirmed, That howsoever the prize and bootie of *Philip* fell to the Romanes, the victorie was gained and archeved by the Aetolians, and none but they either gave the Romanes entrance and passage into Greece; or furnished them with forces for the performance and accomplishment of the victorie. Then hee shewed and made promise what power as well of foote as horse they would present unto *Antiochus* toward his warres, what places they would give him for his land-forces, and what havens and harbours for his strength and armie at sea. After all this he stuck not (to serve his own turn) for to overreach and tell a lowd lie as touching *Philip* and *Nabis*, in giving out confidently that they were both of them ready and at the point to renew war: and would take the vantage of the very first opportunitie and occasion that could be presented, to recover those things which by warre they had lost. Thus the Aetolians laboured to set all the world at once upon the top of the Romanes. Howbeit, the KK were either not moved at all with their solliciting, or bestirred them more slowly than they looked for. But as for *Nabis*, he sent immediatly about all the townes by the sea side, certeine persons of purpose to sow discord and kindle seditions among them: and some of their principall citizens hee wooon by gifts and presents to his owne purpose and designments: but such as stidly continued fast and firme in alliance and allegiance with the Romanes, those he made away and murdered. Now had *T. Quintus* given in charge and commission to the Achaeans, for to guard all the Laconians that dwelt upon the sea coasts: and therefore presently they both dispatched their embassadors unto the Tyrant, to put him in mind of the confederacie and association with the Romanes, and to warne him and give him advertisement, that in no wise he would trouble that peace, which he had so

earnestly craved and sought for: and also sent aid unto Gyttheum, which now the tyrant began to assault; yea, and addressed other embassadors also to Rome to geve intelligence of these occurrences.

Antiochus the king after he had that winter time given his daughter in mariage to *Ptolemaeus* the king of Egypt at Rhaphia a citie in Phoenicia, retired to Antiochia; and in the very end of the same winter, passed through Cilicia over the mountaine Taurus, and came to Ephesus. And from thence in the beginning of the Spring, after he had sent his sonne *Antiochus* into Syria for to defend and keepe in obedience the utmost frontiers of his kingdome, least in his absence there might arise some troubles behind his back, he marched with all his land-forces against the Pisidians, who inhabit about * Selga.

At the same time the Romane embassadors *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Villius*, who as we said before had ben sent unto *Antiochus* with direction, first to visit king *Eumenes*, arrived at * Elrea, and from thence went up to * Pergamus, where *Eumenes* kept his royall court. *Eumenes* was desirous in his heart that *Antiochus* should be warred upon: supposing verily, that if he were at peace, being a prince so much mightier than himselfe, he would be but an ill and dangerous neighbour so neere unto him: but if warre were once afoote, that he would be no more able to beard and match the Romanes than *Philip* had ben: and that either he should wholly be overthrowne and come to utter ruine; or if, being vanquished he had peace given unto him by the Romanes; then, as he lost much thereby and would be weaker, so himselfe should gaine by the bargain, and grow mightier, that afterwards he might be able easily of himselfe to make his part good, and hold his owne against him, without the help and aid of the Romanes: or if any misfortune should happen unto him, he were better by farre, to hazard any fortune whatsoever in the Romane societie, than either alone to endure the lordly dominion of *Antiochus* & be subject, or in refusing to obey, be compelled thereto by force and armes. For these causes he employed all the credit and authoritie he had, yea and addressed all counsell that he could devise for to prick on and set forward the Romanes in this warre. *Sulpitius* remained behind sick at Pergamus. But *Villius* advertised that the king was occupied and busied in the Pisidian warre, went to Ephesus: and whiles he abode there some few dayes, he endeavored and made meanes to have conference oftentimes with *Anniball*, who haply at that time sojourned there, both to sound his mind if possibly he could, and also to secure him of all feare from the Romanes. In these meetings and communications, no other thing passed nor was done between them. But see what ensued hereupon of it selfe, as if it had bene a thing wrought and compassed of meere pollicie. *Anniball* by this meanes was lesse set by and in smaller credit with the king, yea and in all matters began to be more and more suspected and had in jalousie. *Claudius* (the Historian) who followeth the greeke bookes of *Acilius*, writeth that *P. Africanus* was joyned in that embassage, and that he talked and devised with *Anniball* at Ephesus: and namely maketh report of one conference and speech betweene them twaine: and that is this. *Africanus* demanded of *Anniball*, whom in his judgement, he tooke to have bene the greatest commaunder for seates of armes, that ever was: to which he made answer, that he judged *Alexander* the king of the Macedonians was simply the most excellent warrior; in this regard, that he with a small power had defeated innumerable armies; and besides had passed as farre as to the utmost bounds of the whole earth, even to those lands, that a man would think incredible, for any one to reach unto. And when he asked againe whom he deemed worthie to stand in the second place: he answered, that *Pyrhus* was the man; for that he first taught how to pitch a camp, and above all other points of military skill, no man knew better to choose out commodious ground and places of advantage, or more cunningly to plant and dispose garisons: besides he had such cast and a dexteritie, to draw and win men unto him, that the Italian nations had leiser have bene subject to him a foreine prince, than to live under the people of Rome, notwithstanding they had of long time the seignorie and rule of those parts. And when he proceeded still to know whom he reputed for the third, he made no sticking at the matter but named himselfe. Whereupon *Scipio* tooke up a laughter and replied againe: What would you say then, if your hap had bene to have subdued me? Mary then quoth he, I would thinke I were worthy to be set before *Alexander*, before *Pyrhus*, yea and before all other martiall men and commanders in the whole world. At this answer, *Scipio* tooke delight and pleasure, to see how suttely and cautelously he had like a cunning Carthaginian, couched his words in a certeine kind of flatterie, as if he had sequestred him from out of the raunge and ranke of

A of all other captaines, as being by many degrees incomparable, and farre above all others. Then *Villius* went forward from Ephesus to Apamea: and thither *Antiochus* also repaired for to meete him, hearing of the coming of Romane legates. In this communication and conference at Apamea, the matter was debated much after the same sort, as it had bene at Rome betweene *Quintus* and the kings embassadors. But the newes of *Antiochus* the kings sonne his death (whom I said a little before to have bene sent into Syria) brake off the peace. Great mourning and sorrow there was in the kings court, and much was that yong prince missed and moaned. For, that good prooffe he had given of himselfe, that if he had lived any long time, he would have proved by all likelihood of his towardnesse, a great, a mightie, and a righte censing king. The derer and better beloved he was of all men; the more suspicious was his death: and namely B that his father doubting: that he would presse forward and be instant to succeed him in his old age, tooke order by the ministry of certein Eunuches or gueldded men (persons greatly accepted with kings for such services) to have him poisoned. And they say, that another cause also set him forward to commit this secret act, because having geven the citie Lyfimachia to his sonne *Selenus*, he had no such place to bestow upon *Antiochus* his sonne, for to keepe his residence in, whereunto he might have removed him farther off from his owne person, under colour of doing him honor. Howbeit, great semblance and shew there was of much mourning and lamentation all over the court for certein daies: in so much as the Rom. embassador retired himselfe to Pergamus, because he was loth to converse there uncivilly, at so unseasonable a time. The king returned to Ephesus, and gave over the war that he had enterprised. Where, the court gates being C shut by occasion of the mourning time, he devised and consulted in great secret with one *Adanio*, an inward friend unto him, and whom of all other he loved best, and trusted most. This *Adanio*, a meere stranger and altogether ignorant in foreine affaires and forces, measuring & esteeming the power and greatnes of the king by his exploits done in Syria or in Asia, deemed verily, that *Antiochus* had not only the better cause, in that the Romanes demanded unreasonable conditions; but also should have the upper hand in the triall thereof by warre. When as now the king refused to have any conference and dispute with the embassadors, either for that he knew by good experience that it would be bootlesse for him so to do, or because he was troubled in spirit upon this late and fresh object of griefe and sorrow: *Adanio* undertooke the businesse, and professed that he would speake to the point of the matter & to good purpose: and so persuaded the king to send for the embassadors from Pergamus. By this time *Sulpitius* was recovered of his sickness, and therefore both of them repaired to Ephesus, where *Adanio* executed the king, and D in his absence they began to treat about their affaires. Then *Adanio* with a premeditate oration began in this wise. I see well (qd. he) that you Romanes pretend unto the world a goodly title of setting free the cities of Greece, but your deedes are not answerable to your words: and ye have set downe unto *Antiochus* one manner of law to be tied unto, and practise your selves another. For how cometh it about that the Smyrneans & Lampfacenes should be Greekes, more than E the Neapolitanes, the Rhegines, and Tarentines, of whom you exact tribute and require ships, by virtue of the accord and covenants betweene you? Why send you yeerely to Saracose and other Greeke cities of Sicily, a Pretor in soveraigne authority, with his rods and axes? Certes, ye have nothing els to say, but that ye have subdued them in warre; and by right of conquest have imposed these conditions upon them. The like, yea and the same cause know ye that *Antiochus* allegedh as concerning Smyrna, Lampfacus, and other cities had states of Ionia & Aeolis: For he having been conquered in war by his ancestors & progenitors, having I say been made tributarie and taillable, he chalengeh of them the aunient rights & duties due from them, and to him belonging. And therefore if ye wil debate and treat the question according to aequitie and reason, and not rather pick quarrels and seeke occasions of war, I would gladly know what ye will answer to him in this point? To this *Sulpitius* made answer in this wise. *Antiochus* (quoth he) hath done very well, & with good regard of modestie, in that having no other matter to plead unto for his defense & the maintenance of his cause, he hath made choise of any other rather than himselfe to be the speaker. For what one thing is there alike in those cities which you have named and put in comparison? Of the Rhegines, Neapolitanes and Tarentines, we demanded that which is due according to the deeds of covenants entered, and hath ever bene since time that first they were in subjection under us; that I say which we have chalenged & enjoyed by virtue of one continued course and tenor of right, by us ever practised without any intermission or interruption. And

And are you able to avouch, that as those nations neither by themselves nor by any other, have altered and chaunged the accord betwene us and them; so the cities of Asia, when they once became subject to the aunccestors of *Antiochus*, remained alwaies in the perpetuall possession of your kingdom? And not rather, that some of them have bene under the obedience of *Philp*, and others obedient to *Ptolomee*? Yea and divers of them for many yeeres have been free and used their owne liberties without contradiction, and no words or doubt made thereof? For admit this once, that (because these cities sometime were in bondage through the iniquitie of those times wherein they were oppressed) there shall be a right pretended, and the same benefectually to reduce them againe after so many ages into servitude? What wanteth it but ye may as well say, that we have done just nothing, in delivering Greece out of the hands of *Philp*? and that his successours and posteritie, may claime againe and lay title to Corinth, Chalcis, Demetrius, and the whole Thessalian nation? But what meane I to maintaine the cause of the cities of Greece, whome it were more meet and reasonable, that both wee and the king himselfe would give audience unto, and let them plead what they can for their owne selves? With that he commaunded the embassages of the cities to be called in, which were prepared and instructed aforehand by *Eumenes*, who made this reckoning, that whatsoever strength went from *Antiochus*, should accrue and come unto him and his kingdom. Many were admitted to speake: & whiles every one set forward his owne cause, some by way of complaint, others in manner of demaund, each one putting in for himselfe without regard of right or wrong, so he served his owne tune, they fell at length from reasoning to warbling and wrangling: in so much, as the Embassadors returned to Rome as uncertaine and doubtfull in all matters as they were when they came, without releasing or obtaining any one thing at all.

When they were dismissed and gone, the king held a councell as touching the Romane war. In which assembly, some delivered their opinion more freely and stoutly than others: but generally the more bitter speech that any one used against the Romanes, the greater hope he had to enter into especiall grace and favour with the king. One above the rest, inveighed much and spake against those proud and insolent demaunds of the Romanes, who imposed hard lawes and conditions upon *Antiochus*, the mightiest king of all Asia, as if he had bene no better than *Nabis*, whome they had conquered and subdued. And yet (saith he) they left unto *Nabis* some feignorie and dominion in his owne countrey and citie of Lacedaemon: whereas if *Lamplacum* and *Smyrna* should be at the command of *Antiochus*, they deemed that an unworthy thing and a very indignitie. Others opined and said, that those two cities were but small causes, and not woorth the naming, for so puissant a prince to stand upon and to warre for. But alwaies (say they) men begin with just and reasonable demaunds, to make an overture and way to compasse and obtaine that which is unjust. Unless one would beleve, that when the Persians requested of the Lacedaemonians, water and earth, they stood in need of a clor and turfe of ground, ora draught of water. In like sort for all the world the Romanes doe but sound and trie the king, in their demaunds touching these two cities. For other cities likewise, so soone as they shall perceive that those two have shaken off the yoke of obedience, will soon revolt and turne to that people which is their deliverer, and at whose hands they hope for libertie. And say, that freedome were not to them more deare and pretious than bondage, yet it is the nature of every man to feed and please himselfe with a bare hope of a chaunge and new world, much more than with the assured hold of any present state whatsoever. There was in place at this councell, *Alexander* of Acarnania, one who sometime had friended *Philp*; but of late daies was fallen from him and followed the court of *Antiochus*, a more wealthie and magnificent prince: and being taken for a politician who had a speciall insight into the state of Greece, and was not ignorant of the affaires of Rome, had wound himselfe into high favour and inward friendship with the king, that he was taken into be one of his privie counsell, and acquainted with all his secrets. This man, as if the question in hand had bene, nor, Whether war should be levied or no; but, Where, and by What means, and How it should be managed, spake aloud and said, That he made full reckoning and account in his very spirit and heart of the victorie, in case the king would passe the seas over into Europe, to plant and settle himselfe in some part of Greece, and there wage warre: for at his verie first comming hee should see in armes already the *Aetolians*, that inhabit the very heart and centre of Greece, who would be the only chieftaines and port-ensignes to march before them, readie to venture and enter upon the most difficult and daungerous enterprises of war. Again,

in the two cantons and angles as it were thereof, he should find *Nabis* of the one side from *Peroponneseus*, at hand to rise and raise those quarters, with intent to regaine the citie of the *Argives*, to win againe the maritime cities, which the Romanes have disseized & dispossessed him of, and have mued and shut him within the walls of Lacedaemon. On the other side from Macedonice, *Philp* would no doubt take armes, so soone as he shall heare the first alarme and sound of trumpet. Full well (qd. he) know I his courage, & of what spirit and stomacke he is: right well I wote that he hath fostered in that brest of his for a long time, anger & despite; like to these wild and savage beasts, which either are kept within yron grates, or fast tyed and bound: and as well I remember, how many a time he was wont (during the wars) to pray heartily to all the gods, to vouchsafe for to give him *Antiochus* for his helper and assistant: and if now hee might enjoy his wish, and have the thing so long desired and praied for, hee would without any delay, enter into armes and warre incontinently. Onely (quoth *Alexander*) we must not linger and stay nor drive off, for as much as herein consisteth the very point of victorie, even betimes to seize upon commodious places of advantage, before the enemies be possessed of them. Also with all speed, *Anniball* is to be sent into Affricke, whereby the Romanes may be distracted, & compelled to turne themselves sundry waies. *Anniball* only was not called to this counsell; for by reason of the foresaid conferences with *Villius*, the king had him in some jealousie, and therefore he was out of favour, and of no credit and account with him. At the first, he put up this disgrace and made no words, but afterwards hee thought it a better course, both to demaund the cause of so suddaine strangeness and alienation of his, and also to take some good time to excuse and purge himselfe. And therefore upon a day having simply asked of the king, and heard the cause of his anger toward him. My father *Amilcar* (qd. he) o *Antiochus*, when upon a time he sacrificed unto the gods, caused me (a verie little one) to be brought and presented before the altar, where he forced me to touch the same with my hand, & to take an oath, Never to be friend unto the people of Rome. To accomplish and fulfill this oath, I maintained the wars for the space of sixe and thirtie yeere; by vertue of this oath, in time of peace I was driven out of my native country; and being fled from thence, this oath brought me into your court: and by the guidance & direction of this oath, if you should disappoint me of my hope, yet whersoever I know there are forces, whersoever I heare there is any stirring and rustling of armes, I shall seeke all the world over, untill I find some Romane enemies. And therefore, if there be any of your Courteors that have a mind and desire to advance themselves in your good grace, and would grow by carrying tales and accusing me unto you, let them find some other subject and matter to doe this by me: for I hate the Romanes, and am likewise hated of them. That this is truth which I say, my father *Amilcar* and the gods in heaven, can testifie. Wherefore, whensoever you shall thinke to make war with the Romanes, see you entertaine *Anniball* for one of your greatest and most assured friends: but if any occurrent shall force you to peace, seeke some other counsellor and not me, to consult withall about that point. This speech was so effectually, that not onely it prevailed with the king, but also reconciled *Anniball* unto his grace. And so they departed out of the councell with a full resolution to make warre.

At Rome it was commonly talked and discoursed, that *Antiochus* was an enemy, but no provision and preparation there was for warre, but onely whetting the edge of their stomackes. For both Consuls had no other province but *Italic* assigned unto them to governe. And they were either to agree between themselves, or els to cast lots, whether of the twaine should hold the generall assembly, and be president of the election for that yeere. And he whose hap was not to be charged with that businesse, was to bee in readinesse to lead forth the legions into any place out of *Italic*, as need should require. And to this Consull it was permitted to enroll two new legions of citizens, and besides of allies and Latines twentie thousand foot, & eight hundred horse. To the other Consull were appointed those two legions, which *L. Cornelius* the Consull of the former yeere had under his governance: also of allies and Latines fifteen thousand footmen out of the same armie, and five hundred horse. As for *Q. Minutius*, his commission was continued full for the conduct of that armie which hee had in *Liguria*. And for to supply and make up the broken companies, he was allowed to enroll foure thousand Romane footmen, and one hundred and fiftie horse, and likewise to levie of the allies five thousand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horse for that service. To *Cn. Domitius* it fell by lot, that he should goe with a power out of *Italic*, whithersoever the Senat gave order; and unto *Quintius* to governe *Gaul*. Then the Pretours election

election followed, who likewise cast lots for their provinces. *M. Fulvius Centimalus* had the civil jurisdiction, and *L. Scribonius Libo* the forraigne. *L. Valerius Tappus* governed Sicilie, *Q. Salpinx Sarra*, Sardinia: *M. Babius Tamphilus* high Spaine, and *A. Attilius Serranus* the balc. But these two chaunged their provinces, first by an order from the Senate, and afterwards by an act also of the Commons. For to *Attilius* Macedonia was assigned and the navie, and to *Babius* the countrey of the Brutij. *Flaminius* and *Fulvius* continued in the government and commaund of Spaine, and to *Babius Tamphilus* for the rule of the Brutij, were those two legions appointed which the yeere before lay in the citie, with commission to take up and levie of allies fiftene thousand foot, and five hundred horse to go thither. *Aulus Attilius* had in charge to cause thirtie galleaces to bee made with five banckes of oares on a side, and to take out of the harbours and dockes as many old vessels as were fit for service, and to enrol mariners and rowers. The Consuls also were enjoined to deliver unto him two thousand allies of the Latine nation, and a thousand Romane footmen. It was commonly voiced, that these two Pretours with two armies both by land and at sea, were prepared against *Nabis*, who openly now assailed the confederates of the people of Rome. But still the embassadors were looked for, who had been sent unto king *Antiochus*, and the Senate commaunded the Consull *Domitius* not to depart from the citie before their returne. The Pretours, *Fulvius* and *Scribonius*, whose charge it was to minister law and execute justice in Rome, had commission to provide a hundred galleaces, besides that fleet which *Attilius* was to commaund. But before that either Consuls or Pretors went forth into their provinces, there was a procession holden, in regard of the prodigies and fearefull sights that were reported. For word was brought out of Picenum, that a shee goat had yeared sixe kids at once, and that it rained earth at Amitemum; and at Formia, that a gate and wall of the citie were smitten with lightening; and that which most of all troubled and frighted the Consull *Domitius* that an ox spake these words, *ROME, TAKE HEED TO THY SELF*. In regard of the other prodigious tokens, there was a supplication holden: but as for the ox, the Soothsayers & bowel-priests gave commaundement, that he should with great care be kept & nourished. The Tyber also with more violence overflowed into the citie than in the former yeere, and overthrew two bridges and many buildings, especially about the gate Flumentana. Moreover, a mightie huge stone shaken out of the Capitoll cliffe, fell from thence into the street called Iugarium, either by the force and violence of raine, or some earthquake (which if there were any, was so little, that it could not be perceived) & that stone killed many a man. In the countrey also, by reason of this deluge, much cattell was carried away with the flood, and many farme houses and graunges were borne downe and laid along.

Before that *L. Quintius* the Consull was arrived into his province, *Q. Minutius* fought a battell with the Ligurians in the territorie of Pise, and slue nine thousand enemies; the rest he discomfited, put to flight and chased into their campe, which being assailed, was defended manfully with much fighting untill darke night and then the Ligurians slipt away in the night season secretly. And by the dawning of the next day the Romans entred & seised therof when it was empty of the enemies. Lesse pillage was there found, for that ever and anone what booties soever they gate in the countrey they sent home to their houses. *Minutius* notwithstanding gave the enemies no repose from that time forward. For being departed out of the territorie of Pise he came into Liguria, where he destroyed their borroughes and castles, and put all to fire and sword. There the Romane souldiours filled their hands with the Tuscan prizes, sent thither by the forragers and robbers.

Much about this time the embassadors returned to Rome, from the King who brought word and made relation of nothing that was sufficient to enforce them to proceed in any hast to warre, but onely against the Lacedaemonian tyrant, by whom (as the Achaean embassadors also gave intelligence) the sea coasts of Laconia were wronged and assailed, against the covenants of the league. Whereupon *Attilius* the Pretour was sent with a fleet to defend the associates. And for as much as there was no imminent perill from *Antiochus*, it was thought good, that both the Consuls should goe into their provinces. *Domitius* tooke his journey, and went the nearest way by Ariminum, and *Quintius* came into the Boians countrey by the way of Liguria. And these two Consuls armies in divers quarters, wasted all abroad the enemies countrey. At the first some few of their gentlemen and horsemen, together with their captaines; afterwards, all those of Senatours calling; and last of all, as many as were of any haviour, worth and worship, to the number

A of fiftene hundred fled to the Consull.

Likewise in both Spaines that yeere, the affaires went prosperously: for not onely *C. Flaminius* won by force of mantelets and engines of batterie the rich and strong towne Litabrum, & tooke prisoner alive their lord *Corribilo* a noble prince, but also *M. Fulvius* the Proconsul fought with two armies of the enemies twise, and put them to the worse; and woon by assault two townes of the Spaniards Vescelia and Holone, with many other fortresses: the rest of themselves revolted unto him. After this hee made a journey into the Oretanes countrey, and there having gotten two townes, *Noliba* and *Cusibi*, he set forward and marched to the river Tagus. In that quarter there stood *Toletum*, a small citie, but strongly seated: while he assaulted it, there came a mightie armie of the Vectones to aid the Toletanes, with whome hee fought a set field, and woon the day, and having defeated the Vectones, hee forced the Toletanes with engines of batterie, and woon the towne.

But all the warres which at that time were in hand, nothing troubled the LL. of the Senate, so much as the expectation of the war, which *Antiochus* had not yet begun and enterprised. For albeit they had ever and anone certaine advertisement and intelligences of all things by their embassadors, yet many flying tales and headlesse bruits there went without any certaine authors, reporting lies as well as truths. And among the rest there ran a rumor, that *Antiochus*, so soone as he was come into *Aetolia*, would presently put over a fleet into Sicilie. Whereupon the Senat, notwithstanding they had sent *Attilius* the Pretor with a fleet into Greece, yet forasmuch as there was need not of forces onely, but also of authoritie to entertain the hearts and affections

C of their allies, they sent over *T. Quintius*, *Cn. Octavius*, *Cn. Servilius*, and *P. Villius*, as embassadors into Greece, and gave order, that *M. Babius* should advance his legions out of the countrey of the Brutians, toward Tarentum and Brundisium, that from thence if need required, hee might saile over into Macedonia. Moreover, that *M. Fulvius* the Pretour should put out a fleet of thirtie saile, for the defence of the coast of Sicilie, and that the admirall thereof should have full commission there to commaund (now *L. Oppius Salinator*, who the former yeere had bene one of the *Aediles* of the Commons, had the conduct of those ships). Also, that the same Pretour should adresse his letters unto *L. Valerius* his Colleague, and advertised him that it was to bee feared, that the armada of king *Antiochus* would crosse over out of *Aetolia* into Sicilie; and therefore it was the will and pleasure of the Senate, that hee should take up and enroll into that armie which hee had alreadye, of tumultuarie souldiours twelve thousand footmen, and foure hundred horse, by whose means he might defend that coast of the province which looketh toward Greece. For the levie of these forces, the Pretour tooke musters not onely in Sicilie, but also in the Isles adjacent and lying thereabout, and fortified with good garrisons all the townes upon the sea side which lie toward Greece. Those rumours aforesaid were fed still and maintained by the coming of *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes*, who reported that king *Antiochus* was passed over Hellespontus with an armie: and that the *Aetolians* were in that forwardnesse, that they would beeprest and readie in armes against his arrivall. Great thanks were given as well to *Eumenes* in his absence, as to *Attalus* there present in place. Also order was taken, that he should have a lodging allowed him at his pleasure, and his charges borne for his diet and housekeeping. Moreover, there were given him as presents, two great horses of service, two paire of horsemens armours, as much silver plate as amounted to an hundred pound weight; and of gold plate, as much as weighed twentie pound.

And for as much as messengers one after another advertised and gave warning, that war was at hand, it was thought requisite and expedient, that the new Consuls should be chosen in all convenient speed: whereupon a decree passed from the Senat, that *M. Fulvius* the Pretor should forthwith dispatch his letters unto the Consull, to certifie him of the Senates pleasure, namely, that he should commit the government of his province and the armie unto his lieutenants, and remove himselfe unto Rome, and in his way send out his writs aforehand for the publishing of an assembly generall for the election of Consuls. The Consull obeyed these letters, directed forth his summons in manner aforesaid, and came so Rome. In this yeere also great ambition there was, and much suite for the dignitie of government. For that three noblemen stood for one place, namely *P. Cornelius Scipio* the sonne of *Cneus*, who the former yeere had the repulse, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Cn. Manlius Volso*. The Consullship was conferred upon *P. Scipio*, so as it might appeare to the whole world, that this honour was deferred onely, and not fully denied to so worthe a perso-

a personage. His adjoinct companion in government was *M. Acilius Glabrio*, a man by calling G a commoner. The morrow after were the Pretours chosen, to wit, *L. Aemilius Paulus*, *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, *M. Iunius Brutus*, *A. Cornel. Mammula*, *C. Livinus*, and *L. Oppius*, both surnamed *Salinator*. This *Oppius* was he that had the conduct into Sicilie of a flecte of thirtie saile. Meane while that these new Magistrates cast lots for the government of their provinces, *M. Babius* was commaunded to passe over with all his power from Brundisium into Epirus, and to keepe his forces about Apollonia. And *M. Fulvius* the Pretor of the citie had in charge to build fiftie new Galeaces called Quinqueremes, of five banks of ores on either side. And thus verily the people of Rome was provided against all enterprises and attempts of king *Antiochus* whatsoever.

Neither was *Nabis* behind for his part in levying warre; but assailed with great force the towne of Gytheum; and of a mischeivous and malicious mind against the Achæans, for sending H a garison to aid the besieged townesmen, he forraied & wasted their countrie. The Achæans durst not go in hand with warre, before their embassadours were returned from Rome, and untill they might know the pleasure & wil of the Senat: but after the return of those embassadours, they both published a Diet and generall Counsell at Sicyone, and also sent their embassadours to *Quintius* for his advise and counsell. In this Diet, all their opinions inclined and tended to make warre out of hand: only the letters of *T. Quintius* made some stay of the enterprise, wherein he advised them to expect the Pretor and navie of the Romanes. Now when the States there assembled in counsell were distracted, some persisting still in their former opinion, and others of mind to take with them the advise of him unto whom they had sent for counsell: the multitude at length looked what *Philopamenes* would say in that behalf. The Pretor he was for the time, and in those I daies surpassed all other in wisdome & authoritie. Then he rose up and used this preface & said, That it was a good custome among the Ætolians, and well ordeined and provided, that the Pre- tour himselfe in all consultations of warre should not deliver his owne opinion; and therefore 33 willed them of their selves to resolve and determine with all speede possible what they pleased. As for the Pretor, saith he, he will be readie to execute with fidelitie and carefull diligence their 33 decrees accordingly: yea and indeavor, so farre forth as mans pollicie may reach unto, that they 33 shal not repent of their resolution, be it war or peace. This brief speech of his was more forcible and effectually to incite them to take armes, than any persuasive oration, wherein he openly could have shewed his desire to follow the warres. And therefore with exceeding accord of all K in generall they agreed upon warre. As for the time and meanes of managing the same, it was wholly referred to the discretion of the Pretor, to use his owne libertie & pleasure. *Philopamenes*, besides that *Quintius* so advised, was also himself minded to wait for the Romane flecte which on the sea side might defend Gytheum: but fearing again that their present necessity could abide no delays, and least not only Gytheum should be lost, but the garison also miscarie; which was sent to the defence of the warre, he set afoore and put to the sea the Achæans shipping. The Tyrant likewise had rigged and dressed a small flecte to empeach any aid and succors that haply might be sent to the besieged by sea; to wit, three covered ships with hatch and deck, three Bri- 33 gantines or Pinnaces, and as many Gallions. For the old ships were by composition and cove- nant delivered up to the Romanes. And to make prooffe and triall of these new vessels, how swift and nimble they were, and withall to see how all things els were well fitted for a battaile, if neede L were; he made every day certeine shewes and representations of fight at sea, and exercised both mariners and souldiours by such kind of false alarmes: supposing that herein principally con- sisted the hope of his siege, in case he could cut off all their aid from the sea side. Now the Pretor of the Achæans, as he was egall to any of the best and most renowned commanders and cap- taines of that time in land service, either for expetience and practise; or wit and pollicie: so at sea he was but a novice and a learner, as being an Arcadian borne, an Inlander farre within the maine, and ignorant besides of all foreine forces, but that he had borne armes and served a little in Candie, whiles he had the leading there, of some aid-souldiers. One old Gallie there was M a Quadrireme, taken at sea 80 yeeres before, at what time as she carried *Nicola* the wife of *Craterus* from Naupactum to Corinth. And having heard much talke of this ship (for indeed she had bene sometime of great name in the kings royall flecte) he commaunded her, all rotten as she was now, and readie to fall in peeces, to be shot into the sea from out of the Bay of Argium. This ship as admirall, made way before the rest, wherein *Tiso* of Patra, a capitaine generall of a flecte was aboard; and encountered the ships of the Laconians; making saile from Gytheum. And

A And at the first she chaunced to affront and run against a new strong ship, and being old of her selfe, leaking and taking water at every joynt, she was rent asunder and fell apieces. All with- in her were taken prisoners. The rest of the flecte having lost their captaine, fled as fast as pos- sibly their ores could make speede and away. *Philopamenes* himselfe was in a light foist, trigot or pinke, and fled amaine, and never stayed untill he was arrived at Patra. This mishap nothing discouraged and abated the heart of this martiall warriour, who had run through many and sundrie adventures: but contrariwise wrought this effect, that he assured himself and said, That if he were overtaken and put to the worse in service at sea, wherein he had no skill, he would so much the rather quit himselfe to upon the land (where he had such experience and was so re- adie) as that the Tyrant should not long joy and make boast of his winnings. *Nabis* puffed up with pride of his fortunate victorie, and perswading himselfe assuredly that he had no cause to feare any more danger from the sea, purposed likewise to stop up all the avenues & passages by land; and therefore beset all the wayes betimes with strong guards, which he bestowed in conve- nient places. And retiring with a third part of his forces from the siege of Gytheum, he encam- ped before Pleia. This is a place that overlooketh and commaundeth Leuca and Acra, by which wayes it seemed that the enemies would make their approach with their armie. Whiles he kept a standing camp there, and few of his souldiours were provided of tents and pavilions, and the rest of the common sort had made them cabins of reedes, wound and interlaced one within another, and the same covered with leaves only to geve them some shade; *Philopame- nes* devised, before that he were discovered and came in sight of the enemies, to assault them at C unawares and not looking for his comming, after a new fashion of warre that they little doubted. Certeine small craies or boats he got together into a secret blind bay, lying within the territorie of Argos: in which he bestowed certeine souldiours nimble appointed, most of them having round bucklers, with slings, darts, and such like offensive light weapons. From thence he coasted along the river neere the shore, untill he was come to the promontorie or cape adjoining close to the enemies camp: then he went a land, and by knownen wayes he came by night unto Pleia: and whiles the watch was fast asleepe, as mistrusting no such feare neere hand, he set fire upon the cabins aforesaid in every quarter of the camp. Many men were consumed with the fire before they wist that the enemy was come: and they that were ware of them, had no meanes to help and save their fellows: so with fire and sword all went to wrack. Some very few escaped out of D this extremitie of danger, and fled to the maine camp before Gytheum. Thus *Philopame- nes* having discomfited and frighted his enemies, led his armie forthwith to wast Tripolis in the territorie of Laconia, bounding fast upon the confines of the Megalopolitanes: and ha- ving driven from thence great prizes of men and cattail, hee departed before that the Tyrant could send any guards from thence for the defence of the countrie. And when hee had gathered and assembled his armie at Tegea, and published and made knowne unto the Achei and other Allies, a Diet or generall counsell to be holden there, whereat also were the chiefe States of the Epirots and Acarnanians: he determined (for as much as both the hearts of his owne people were sufficientlie recovered after the disgrace and shamefull dishonor received at sea; and also the courages of his enemies well cooled and they affrighted) to leade his forces E against Lacedemon: supposing that, the onely meanes to draw the enemy away from the siege of Gytheum. And first hee encamped before Caria within the enemies ground. But that very day was Gytheum forced by the enemies and won. *Philopamenes* nothing ware thereof, set forward, and encamped neere Barbothesenes, a mountaine, ten miles from Lacedemon. *Nabis* also, having gained Gytheum, departed from thence with his armie light- ly appointed; and marching apace beyond Lacedemon, seized upon a place, called, The Camp of *Pyrrhus*: which hee made no doubt but that the enemies intended to be posses- sed of. And then from thence he went to meete them. Now by reason of the narrow way, they took up in their march almost five miles of ground in length. At the taile of the armie were the horsemen, and especially, where the aid-souldiers marched: because *Philopamenes* thought, F that the tyrant would charge his men behind with his mercenarie souldiours, in whome hee reposed his greatest trust. Two things fell out contrarie to his expectation at once, which troubled him much: the one was, that the place was gotten by the enemies before, which hee intended to have seized upon for his owne advantage: the other was, for that hee saw the enemy affront his vaward in a place so rough and rugged, that without the gaid of his light- armed

armed souldiours, he could not possibly march forward and aduance his ensignes. Now *Philopemenes* had a singular dexteritie and skill, yea and great experience in leading an armie, and in making choice of his ground either to pitch or fight: and not onely in time of warre, but also in peace, he busied his head and employed himselfe principally therein. His manner was, when he rode forth any whither and was come to a streight passage hard to passe through, to looke every way, and diligently to view and consider the situation and posture of the place on all sides: and if he were alone, to cast about and devise wth himselfe; but if there were any in his companie, to aske their aduise, in this wise: What if the enemy appeared and shewed himselfe in that place? How if he came affront or aslanke on this or that side? nay, How if he should charge upon our backe, what were best to be done? It may be the enemies will encounter vs directly ranged in battaile array; it may be they march disorderly and loosely, minding nothing els but their way, and to trauaile on. Thus I say, would he either devise with himselfe or seeke aduise of other, what place he were best to seaze for his owne purpose and commoditie: also what number of armed men hee should need to employ; or what kind of armour and weapons were needfull to use (for therein also lay no small importance.) Moreover, where hee should bestow his carriages? where he should lay his baggage? and where hee should place and dispose of the multitude that were not meet to beare arms? what strength and what manner of guard was needfull for their defence? and whether it were more expedient to goe forward still the way that hee was entred into, or better to goe backe againe as he came? likewise, what ground was meet to be chosen for to pitch his campe upon? what compasse and space were necessarie to be taken up for the fortification of the place? from whence he might have convenient watering? from what quarter he might be best provided of fodder and fewell? Finally against the morrow, which way were safest to remouue the campe? and what forme and manner of march were best? In these courses and discourses, he had from his childhood so inured and exercised his spirits, that hee was neuer to seeke what to doe upon any such sodaine occasion or occurrent presented unto him. And now at this present, seeing his enemies so nere, first and foremost he made a stand with his vauantgard; then he sent out toward the foremost ensignes, his auxiliar Candiores that came to aid him, and those horsemen which they call Tarentine, whose manner is to haue with them, two horses apeece; and then commanding his own men of arms to follow after, he possessed himselfe of a rock standing over a brook or running rill, from whence they might water commodiously: into that place he gathered together all his bag and baggage; there hee bestowed all the pages K and horse-boies, and followers of the campe, whome he environed also with armed men: and as the nature of the place would give him leave, he fortified his campe. But to pitch pavilions in a craggie, rugged, and uneven ground he found much adoe. Now were the enemies about halfe a mile off: and at one and the same riveret they watered both, with the guard of their light armed souldiours: but before that they could scuffle and skirmish together (as commonly they doe when the camps stand so nere one to another) the night overtook them. It appeared plainly there would be some fighting the next day about the brooke for water: and therefore in the night season he bestowed close in a valley, farthest out of sight from the enemies, as many of his targuettiers as possibly the place would containe and hide. When daylight was come, the light armed Candiores and those Tarentine horsemen (of both sides) entred into skirmish upon the verie banks of the brooke. *Letemastus* the Candiot had the leading of his countrymen; *Zycortas* the Megapolitane commaunded the light horse. The Candiores, who likewise were auxiliaries and aid-souldiours to the enemies, and the same sort also of the Tarentine horsemen, guarded those that came to water for them. Doubtfull was the skirmish for a good while (as beeing managed and maintained of the one side and the other by men of onenation, and those furnished with the same kind of weapons) but those that were for the Tyrant, were more in number than the other. And by reason that *Philopemenes* had given charge & direction to the captains, after they had held skirmish a while, to seeme to recule and flie, thereby to traine the enemy into the aforesaid place of ambush; they followed hard in chafe upon them as they fled along within the valley, and most of them were either slaine or wounded before they saw the enemies hidden there within. Now those targuettiers aforesaid, were set in that order (so far forth as the breadth of the valley would permit) that they might easily receive their fellows as they fled, within the spaces betwene their ranks and files. Then at once they arose, fresh in heart, and ordered in good array, and charged upon the enemies, disordered, disbanded, loose, scattered, wearie

A wearie with travell, and faint of their wounds. Then was it out of doubt and past all peradventure where the victorie went: for presently the Tyrants souldiers turned their backs, fled a good deale faster than they made pursuit before, & were beaten into their camp: many were either killed or taken prisoners as they fled; and they had ben put in affright also within the camp, but that *Philopemenes* commanded to sound the retreat, fearing more the rugged and broken ground, & the disadvantage and difficulties therof, in case he had rashly ventured forward any farther, than he did the enemy. Then he, taking his conjecture by the issue of the fight, & guessing by the nature of *Nabis* the Generall, in what feare and fright he mought be, sent unto him one of his auxiliaries that were strangers, counterfeiting himselfe to be a renegade revolt, to informe him assuredly, that the Achæans determined the next day to march as far as to the river Eurotas, which runneth hard by the walls of Lacedæmon, for to stop the passage, that neither the tyrant might retire himselfe into the citie when he would, nor any munition or victuals be caried from thence into the campe: moreover, that they would give the attempt, and assay if they could sollicit any of the citizens to revolt from the tyrant. This counterfeite, carried himselfe so in this errand, that the tyrant beleevd not so much his words, as took hold therby of a good pretence & honest occasion for to quit & abandon the campe: and therefore the next morrow, he commanded *Pythagoras*, with the auxiliarie souldiers and the horsemen, to keepe a good guard about the trench and enclosure of the campe: himselfe in person with the strength of his armie, marched as it were to a battaile, and commanded to aduance forward the ensignes in all hast toward the citie. *Philopemenes* perceiving that the armie marched so fast through the narrow passage downe the hill, put forth all his owne horsemen and the auxiliarie Candiores, against the guards of the enemies that warded before the campe. They, seeing the enemies to approach, and themselves forsaken of their owne fellows, at first went about to retire within their hold: but afterwards when they perceived the whole armie of the Achæans aduancing against them in order of battaile, fearing that they and their tents should be at once surpris'd, made apace after their owne hoast which was gone a good way before. With that, the targuettiers of the Achæans assailed the campe, entred upon it, and rancked the tents, whiles the rest went forward and pursued the enemies. The way was such, as that an armie at libertie and free from feare of enemies, might hardly and with much adoe rid any ground and march without encumbrance: but so soone as the skirmish began in the taile of the reward, & the noise and cry of them affrighted behind D was heard in the vauantgard: every man made shift for one, flung away weapons, and fled into the woods on either side of the way; and ere one could turne about, all the waies were strewed and choked up with armour and weapons, and especially with darts or javelins, which lighting for the most part with one end full against the enemies, were in stead of a staked or empalled palisade to hinder their passage. *Philopemenes* having given commaundement to his light armed aid-souldiours to prease forward still, and to follow the chafe as fast as they could (knowing well that the horsemen would have much adoe and trouble in their flight) conducted himselfe the maine armie and heavily charged, by a more open way to the river Eurotas: where hee encamped himselfe a little before the going downe of the sunne, and there he staid for his light appointed souldiours, whome hee had left to follow after the enemies. VVho being E come about the time of the first watch, brought word, that the tyrant with some few was entred into the citie, but the unarmed multitude were disperfed, and wandered all about the Forrest and the woods. Then hee willed them to repose and refresh their bodies: which being done, himselfe chose out of all the souldiours besides (who because they were come first into the campe, had well hartened themselves with taking their refection and some small sleepe) certaine elect and speci- all men, and tooke them forth immediately with him, having about them nothing but their swords, and set them in good order to keepe two port-waies, by which men goe to Phææ & Barbothenes, where he presumed that the enemies would take their way and retire themselves upon their flight: and nothing was hee deceived. For the Lacedæmonians, so long as the daylight lasted, had withdrawne themselves to the middle of the Forrest, through by-lanes and blind paths; F but when the night was once come, and that they descried lights within their enemies camp, they kept themselves aloofe over against them within close and secret lanes; and when they were once passed beyond, and thought all to be in safetie and securitie, they came downe into the more open high waies, where they were received and caught up by their enemies that forelied them in ambush: so they were every where by numbers either killed or taken prisoners; inso much as

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scarce one fourth part of their whole armie escaped. *Philopemenes* having shut up the tyrant *G* close within the citie, spent almost thirtie daies consequently ensuing, in waiting and spoiling the territorie of the *Laconians*: and when he had thus weakened and in manner broken the backe of his enemy, he returned home, and the *Achaens* held him a paragon, and equall to the *Romane* Generall for glorious deeds of armes, nay, in the service of the *Laconian* war they preferred him before the other.

During the warre betwene the *Achaens* and the tyrant, the *Romane* embassadours, who carefully and diligently visited the cities of the *Allies*, for feare least the *Ætolians* had alienated any of their affections from them to king *Antiochus*, travelled but little in going about to the *Achaens*, whom by reason of the hatred they bare to *Nabis*, they hoped verily to be safe & faithfull ynough unto them in all other things. And first they came to *Athens*, from thence to *Chalcis*, and so into *Thessalie*: and after they had conferred with the *Thessalians* in a frequent counsell of theirs, they turned their way to *Demetrias*, where there was published a solemne Diet to be holden by the *Magnetes*. Where they were to frame their speech more curiously than in other places, because certaine of their great men and potentates were estranged from the *Romans*, and altogether made for *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*. The reason was this, because when news came that *Philip* his sonne, who was left hostage with the *Romans*, should be rendered againe unto him, and likewise the tribute remitted which had beene imposed upon him, among other false tales and untruths, it was reported, That the *Romans* would redeliver *Demetrias* also into his hands. And rather than that should come to passe, *Eurylochus* (a principall & chiefe man among the *Magnetians*) and some others of that faction, desired to have a new world and an alteration, by the coming of the *Ætolians* and *Antiochus*. To these *Magnetians*, they were to couch and place their words so, in ridding them of that foolish vaine feare which they had conceived, that thereby they did not put *Philip* cleane beside his hope, and so give him occasion to be ill affected unto the *Romans*; considering that he alone was to them of farre greater importance in all respects, than were the *Magnetians*, put all together. Thus much onely they said by way of advertisement, That as all *Greece* generally was much beholden and bound unto the *Romans* for the benefite of *Libertie*, which they by their meanes enjoied, so that citie and State especially above all others was obliged unto them. For there, not onely a garrison of *Macedonians* had been maintained to keepe them in awe, but also the king had built him a roiall pallace, to seat himselfe there, to the end, that they might evermore have in their eie, their lord to command them. But in vaine, and to no purpose was all this, in case the *Ætolians* brought *Antiochus* in his steed to make his residence in the house and pallace of *Philip*; and would needs entertaine a new and unknowne king in lieu of the old, so long a time and so well knowne. The soveraine magistrate of that citie, they call *Magnetarches*; and for that time *Eurylochus* was the man: who bearing himselfe big and stout of his high place, said plainly, That hee knew no cause, why either hee or the *Magnetians* should suppress and smother the rumour that ran so rife touching the deliverie of *Demetrias* into *Philip* his hands. For rather than to suffer that, the *Magnetians* were to oppose themselves, yea, to doe and dare any action whatsoever. And in the vehement heat of speech he went so farre, that inconsiderately hee cast out one word & said, That *Demetrias* seemed free in outward shew and appearance, but in very truth, was at the command and devotion, yea, and at every becke of the *Romans*. At this speech there arose a dissonant bruit and murmuring of the assembly, which jarred and varied one from another, whiles some soothed him up, others were offended, and tooke it in great despight, that hee should presume to utter and speake so much. And *Quintius* was in such an heat of choler therewith, that stretching forth his hands to heaven, he called the gods to witnesse this ingratitude and disloyaltie of the *Magnetians*. At whose words they were all greatly terrified. Then *Zeno* one of the chiefe, a man at that time of great authoritie and reputation, as well in regard of the honourable port that he ever carried in the whole course of his life, as also for that he alwaies stood firme and sure to the *Romane* side, besought *Quintius* and the rest of the embassadours with teares, Not to impute the folly of one man to the whole citie, for every man is to beare his owne burden, and as he hath bredd, so to drinke, and abide the smart of his owne scratching. As for the *Magnetians* (saith hee) they acknowledge to owe unto *T. Quintius* and the people of *Rome*, not onely their freedome, but all other things els that are most deere and precious unto men. Neither could a man pray or wish at the hands of the immortall gods for any thing, which the *Magnetians* had not

A not received by their meanes: and sooner would they like franticke persons plucke the very heart out of their own bellies, yea, and teare themselves in peeces, before they would violate and break the amitie which they had with the *Romans*. This speech of his was followed and seconded with the humble praies of the multitude. *Eurylochus* departed out of the assembly, and through by-waies and blind lanes recovered the gates, and from thence fled streight into *Ætolia*. For now by this time, and every day more than other, the *Ætolians* discovered and shewed themselves how they were affected to revolt. And happily at the same time, *T. Boas*, a principall personage of that nation, whome they had sent as embassadour to king *Antiochus*, was newly returned, and brought with him *Menippus* the kings embassadour. Who, before they had audience given them in a counsell assembled for them, had filled every mans eares and blabbed forth, what forces were prepared both for land and sea, what a mightie power was coming, both of foot and horse, how Elephants were sent for out of *India*, and above all (wherewith they thought the minds of the people would be most moved) That there was such a masse of gold brought, as would buy all the *Romans* out and out. It was easie to see what trouble and broile such language might make in the generall diet and assemblie. For the *Romane* embassadours had intelligence, both of their coming, and of all that ever they did. And albeit there was little hope or none at all to doe any good, yet *Quintius* thought it not amisse, that some embassadours from the allies and associate cities should be present at that Counsell, such as might admonish and put the *Ætolians* in mind of the *Romane* alliance and societie, and not stick to speake their minds frankly, yea, & thwart the king his embassadour. The *Athenians* of all other were thought the meekest men for that purpose, both in regard of the authoritie and reputation of their citie, and also for the auncient league betwene them and the *Ætolians*. So *Quintius* requested them to send their embassadours to the *Panætolian* parliament. When the assembly was met, and the Counsell set, *T. Boas* first declared his embassage: and after him was *Menippus* called in, who being entred in place, spake in this manner: It had been (quoth hee) the best course for all them that inhabite both *Greece* and *Asia*, that *Antiochus* had intermeddled in these affaires, during the upright fortune & entire state of *Philip*: then, every man had enjoied his owne, and all had not beene reduced to the appetite and devotion, nor brought under subjection of the *Romans*. And even yet (quoth hee) in case yee persist still in the same mind, and purpose resolutely to accomplish and finish these your designs, and commended enterprises, possible it is by the favor and helpe of the gods, and by the meanes of the *Ætolian* association, that *Antiochus* may recover the State of *Greece*, crased as it is, and much broken, & bring it again to her first fresh hue, to her lively & lightsome lustre, which consisteth in true libertie, even that which is able to stand alone and maintain it selfe, and dependeth not upon the will and pleasure of others. The *Athenians*, who first (after the kings embassage was delivered) had audience given them and libertie to speake their mind, without making any mention at all of the king, Advertised the *Ætolians* of the *Roman* societie, and put them in mind of the favours and good turnes done by *Quintius* to all *Greece* in generall: advising them to take heed, that without discretion they overthrow not the welfare thereof, by running rashly and too soone into a new world of strange courses and fine devises: for hote, hasty, and headie counsels are at the first sight and entertainment, pleasant and amiable; in the handling and managing, hard and difficult; in the end and issue, heaveie and dangerous. Consider how the *Romane* embassadours, and namely *Quintius* among them, are not far off: and whiles things stand in good termes of integritie, it were better to treat & debate of matters in question and doubt, by words and reasons, than to set all *Asia* and *Europe* together to take armes and to make lamentable and deadly warre one upon another. The multitude desirous of a change, enclined altogether, and were wholly devote to *Antiochus*, being of opinion, that the *Romane* embassadours were not to be admitted into the Counsell: but the more grave and auncient persons of the nobilitie and states-men, obtained thus much by vertue of their authoritie, That they should have audience graunted unto them. And when the *Athenians* had made relation of this decree and conclusion passed, *Quintius* was of mind to go into *Ætolia*: for this accompt he made, either to obtaine somewhat that he came for, or els to have all gods and men to beare him witnesse, that the *Romans* would enter into the action of warre justly, and in manner upon constraint and necessity. *Quintius* being thither come, began at first to discourt before the whole assembly, as touching the societie of the *Ætolians* with the *Romans*, and how often they had broken for their parts the faithfull accord betwene them: and when he had so said, he used a brieft speech concerning

concerning the right of those cities that were in question. And if they thought that they had any law and reason of their side, how much better (quoth he) were it to send ambassadors to Rome, either to argue and expostulate the matter with them, or to demand their advise (whether they would themselves) than to cause the people of Rome to make warre with *Antiochus* and the *Ætoli*ans together, not without great trouble of the whole world, and certeine ruine of all Greece? For none should feele the smart and calamitie of this warre sooner than they that are the very causes thereof and began first. Thus spake the Rōmane ambassador by way of prophetic, but in vaine and to no effect. After him *Thōas* and the rest of that faction, were heard with the generall applause of all: and they effected so much, that without any farther proroging of the Diet, and referring the matter to another day, yea and without staying so long untill the Romanes were out of the place and absent, they concluded to make a decree, by vertue whereof *Antiochus* (should be sent for to enfranchise Greece, and to decide the quarell betwene the Romanes and the *Ætoli*ans. This decree was not so proud and insolent, but *Damocritus* their Pretor accompanied it with as arrogant & reprochfull a stump of his own. For when *Quintius* required of him to see the said decree, he without any respect of the honorable personage of the man, made answer, That for the present time he had somewhat els to do of greater importance; but he would give him the decree & an answer withall shortly, & that within Italie, encamped upon the banke of Tyberis. So great a spirit of senselesse follie in those dayes had possessed the nation of the *Ætoli*ans, and their chiefe magistrates! Then *Quintius* & the delegates returned to Corinth.

After the Romanes were dismissed, the *Ætoli*ans held no more generall counsell of the whole nation, because they would make semblance and seeme to do nothing of themselves as touching the cause and question of *Antiochus*, but sit still and expect the coming of the king. Mary, they treated and debated the matter by their *Apocleti* (for so they call their speciall and privie Counsell which consisteth of certeine elect chosen persons) by what meanes there might be an alteration and change in the affaires of Greece. This was held of all men for certeine, that in every citie and State, the chiefe and the best men generally were for the association of the Romanes, and contented themselves with the present condition wherein they stood: but the multitude and those who had not all things to fall out to their owne good liking, were desirous of a change. And one day above the rest, the *Ætoli*ans entred into a designement and plot, which was not only out of all measure audacious, but also most shamelesse, namely, to surpris and possesse themselves of *Demetrius*, *Chalcis* and *Lacedæmon*. And to each of these cities there was sent one of their principall personages, namely, *Thōas* to *Chalcis*; *Alexamenus* to *Lacedæmon*, and *Diocles* to *Demetrius*. This *Diocles* had the help and assistance of *Eurylochus* a banished man (of whose flying away, and the occasion thereof we have spoken before) who otherwise had no hope at all to returne againe into his native countrey. The kinsfolke and friends of *Eurylochus* & the rest of that faction, upon instructions given them by his letters, willed his wife and children to present themselves in the frequent assemblie of the citizens in habit of mourners, in poore array, and veiled after the manner of humble suppliants, there to beseech them all and some, not to suffer him a guiltlesse person, neither convicted nor condemned, to wax old and pine away in exile. All that were plaine & simple men seemed to be touched with pittie and commiseration. The wicked & seditious persons conceived some hope to make a confusion in the State by these *Ætolian* troubles: in so much as every one was of opinion & gave his voice, that he should be restored and sent for home. This ground being laid and matters thus prepared, *Diocles* with his horsemen (for then was he the captaine of the Cavallerie) tooke his journey, under a colour and pretense to reduce and bring home this banished person his host and good friend; and in one day and night traueiled a mightie great journey, and came within sixe miles of the citie. And betimes in the morning by day light, accompanied with three elect troupes he marched forward, commanding the rest of the horsemen to follow after. When he approached the gate, he caused them all to alight on foot and to leade their horses in their hands by the reines of their bridles, and to go without order, resembling travellers & waifaring men, so as they seemed more like to the ordinary train of captain *Diocles*, than to the men of armes and warriors under his charge: and leaving one of his troupes at the gate, for feare least the horsemen behind might be shut out, he led *Eurylochus* by the hand, and brought him through the mids of the citie and the market place home to his house: and all the way he was met with many of his lovers and friends that welcomed him, and joyed for his returne. Anon the whole citie

was

was full of horsemen, and all places of oportunitie and advantage were seized and possessed by them. Which done, divers were sent to massacre the chiefe of the adverse part in their houses. Thus the *Ætoli*ans became maisters of *Demetrius*.

As for *Lacedæmon*, they devised in no hand to force the citie, but by some wile to entrap and surpris the tyrant. For seeing the Romanes had despoiled him of all his sea coast townes: and the *Achæans* driven him within the walls of *Lacedæmon*, there was no doubt, but who so ever could first take his life from him, should carie away all the thanks, and curry especial favor with the *Lacedæmonians*. Good occasion and pretense they had to send unto him a power of armed men, for that he had importuned them by his prayers for some aids, considering that by their advise & persuation he had rebelled. So there were given unto *Alexamenus* a thousand footemen, and thirtie elect horsemen, drawne out of all the floure of the citie. *Damocritus* the Pretour delivered unto them from the privie counsell of that nation (of which we have before spoken) That they should not beleve that they were to be employed in warre against the *Achæans*, or in any other service, according as each one might imagine and conceive in his owne head: but he charged them to be readie to performe and execute obediently whatsoever sodain designement *Alexamenus* upon the present occasion should happen to attempt, were it never so unlooked for, strange, inconsiderate, & audacious: and to rest upon this, That they were sent with him to accomplish that, and for no other purpose. Thus *Alexamenus* with the conduct of these men thus prepared to his hand, came unto the Tyrant: and no sooner was he arrived, but he possessed him presently with a world of hopes: giving him to understand, That *Antiochus* was already passed over into Europe; that shortly he would be in Greece, and over-spred all seas and lands with his armies and armadoes; that the Romanes should full well know and find, that they have not now to deale with such an one as *Philip*; that the numbers of his foote and horses by land cannot be counted, nor his ships at sea numbred; that the battaile of his Elephants at the very first sight will decide the matter and finish the warre. Moreover, that the *Ætoli*ans with all their forces, were ready and prest to come to *Lacedæmon*, (as neede required) at any time: but indeede, desirous they were to shew and muster before the king at his arrivall, a goodly number of armed souldiours. *Nabis* therefore himselfe should doe verie well, not to suffer those forces which hee had, to decay with long repose and idleness, but to bring them forth and traine them abroad, make them to run in their armour, thereby both to whet and sharpen their courages, and also to exercise and inure their bodies: for by use and custom, the labour will be lighter; and by the courtesie and graciounes of their Generall, not without delight and pleasure. Hereupon, they began to issue out of the citie, and oftentimes went into the plaine lying hard by the river *Euroras*. They of the tyrants guard kept commonly in the battaile or middle ward: and himselfe with three horsemen at the utmost (with whom *Alexamenus* for the most part was) used ordinarily to ride before the ensignes, taking survey and viewing the utmost points and wings of the armie. The *Ætoli*ans were placed in the right wings, as well those that came before to aid the tyrant, as those thousand that were newly arrived with *Alexamenus*. Now had *Alexamenus* taken a custome, one while to tourney as it were amongst the rankes before in the companie of the tyrant, and to instruct him in some matters sounding to his commoditie: otherwhiles, to ride to his owne men into the right wing, and soone againe to returne to the Tyrant, as if he had given them charge of somewhat necessarie to be done. But upon that day which was appointed for to doe the feat and murder the tyrant, after hee had ridden forth with the tyrant to the usuall place, and kept him companie a while, he tooke occasion (as his maner was) to make a step aside to his own souldiours; and then he went in hand with those horsemen which were sent with him from out of *Ætolia*, & said thus unto them: Now sirs, you must adventure & execute that lustily and without delay which you were commaunded to performe by my direction and leading. Be ready with heart and hand, and be not slack and idle to exploit that, which yee shall see me to undertake and enterprise. And looke whosoever he be that either standeth still, or will seeme to argue and interpose his owne wit and advise to cross mine, let him make account, he shall never go home againe to his owne countrey. With that he set them all a quaking, for well they remembered what their charge was when they came forth from home. Now was the Tyrant a coming on horseback from the left wing: Then *Alexamenus* commanded his horsemen to couch their launces downe, and to have their eye upon him. Hee also ferded himselfe to take a good heart unto him, which was not a little daunted at first with the cogitation

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tation of so great a desigment that he had projected. When he was now approached and come G neere the tyrant, he ran with full carriere at him, gored his horse, and overthrew himselfe to the ground. He was not so soon unhorsed and laid along, but the horsemen stabbed him with many a thrust; wherof the most part did no harme, considering they were driven against his corslet: but in the end, they found where his bodie was naked & unarmed, so he gave his last gaspe before he could bee rescued by his guard in the maine battaile aforesaid. Then *Alexamenus* taking with him all the *Ætoliens*, made all the haste he could to possesse himselfe of the royall palace. The Pensioners and Squires of the bodie, seeing this murder done before their eyes, were at first mightily affrighted: but afterwards perceiving the armie of the *Ætoliens* to go their waies and depart, they ran to the breathlesse carkase left among them, and of men that should have guarded his bodie and revenged his death, they became a sort of idle gazers and lookers on. And surely there would not a man have once stirred, in case the multitude had immediately been called to an assembly; and if after armes laid downe, they had been entertained by him with some oration or remonstrances framed according to the time. The *Ætoliens* were kept many together, in armes still, without any outrage or wrong done or offered to any one person. But all things that they did, hastened the speedie ruine and destruction of those that had committed this fact: as it could not otherwise be in all reason, but they should so be served, who had plaid so leaud and treacherous a part. The captaine and ringleader of all this mischief, kept him selfe close shut within the royall pallace, spending both night and day in rising and searching the Tyrants coffers and his treasure. And the *Ætoliens* for their part also fell to ransacking, as if they had woon that citie by assault, which they made countenance and semblance to set free. The indignitie of these their pranks, the contempt withall and small regard made of them, encouraged and animated the Lacedæmonians to gather together and consult of the matter. Some were of opinion and said, That the *Ætoliens* were to be thrust out by the head and shoulders, and to be sent away with a mischief, and their owne libertie to be recovered, which under a colour of being restored, was intercepted and taken from them: others advised and said, that for fashion at leastwise, some one of royall blood should be set up for to be the head in this action. Now there was of that race and streene one *Laconicus* a young child, brought up with the children of the late Tyrant: him they mounted upon horsebacke, and then they tooke armes with all speed, and as many *Ætoliens* as they could light upon, wandring here & there in the freets, they ran upon and hewed in peeces. Then they assaulted the pallace, where they also murdered *Alexamenus*, albeit with some few about him he made resistance and defended himselfe. The rest of the *Ætoliens* gathered together about Chalciceos (which is a chappell of *Diana* made of brass) and there likewise they were massacred. A few of them flang away their weapons and fled, some escaped to Tegea, and others to **Megalopolis*: where being apprehended by the magistrats, they were sold in port sale, to them that would offer most. *Philopæmenes* hearing of the Tyrants death, went to Lacedæmon, where he found all things out of order and in confusion by reason of feare. And having called forth the principall and chiefe citizens, hee used unto them such a speech, as indeed *Alexamenus* should have made, and thereby knit the Lacedæmonians in league and alliance with the Achæans: which he effected the sooner, because it chanced even then, that *Attalus* was come before **Gythæum* with four and twentie galleaces of five banks of ores on a side.

About the same time, *Thæas* had not so good speed before Chalcis: by means of *Euthymidas*, a great and cheefe man of the citie (one, who by the might and stronger hand of those that sided with the Romans, had been expelled the citie after the coming of *T. Quintius* and the embassadours or delegates) and also of *Herodotus* of Canus, a merchant and a man that in regard of his welth & riches bare a great side in Chalcis: *Thæas*, I say, sped not so well by their means, notwithstanding that the supplicants and part-takers of *Euthymidas* were well disposed to betray the townes, as *Eurylochus* did in the surprising and seizing of Demetrias. This *Euthymidas* from Athens (for there he had made choise to dwell) first came to Thebes, and so from thence went forward to Sal-ganea. *Herodotus* abode at Thronium, and not farre from thence within the gulfes of Malea, hee had 2000 footmen, and *Thæas* two hundred horsemen, and about thirtie light Caravels. Which *Herodotus* was commaunded to set over into the Island Atalanta with sixe hundred footmen, that from thence, when he perceived once the land-forces to approach Aulis and Euripus, hee might cut over to Chalcis. As for themselves, they conducted the rest of the forces in all the haste they could

* Lacedæmon,
Londun.

* Cabs de Tegu,
or Pateopolis.

A could, and most by night journies marched unto Chalcis. *Mistio* and *Xenochides* (who had the managing of the affaires in Chalcis, and might doe all in all there, now that *Euthymidas* was banished) remained in Chalcis, and whither they mistrusted somewhat themselves, or had some inkling and intelligence of the matter, I wor not, but affraid they were at first, and had no other hope at all but by flight to save themselves: howbeit afterwards when their feare was well allaid and settled, seeing evidently, that not onely their owne countrey was betrayed, but also the Roman societie abandoned, they plotted in this wise, and entred into a course as followeth.

It fortunèd at the very same time, that a solemne anniverfarie sacrifice was celebrated at Eretria, to the honour of *Diana Amarnthis*: to which solemnitie there resorted not onely the inhabitants of those places neere at hand, but also a number of Carystians. Thither they sent certaine Oratours to request and entreat the Eretrians and Carystians, both to take some pittie of their estate, considering they were borne in the same Island, and also to have some regard to the alliance of the Romanes, and not suffer Chalcis to fall into the hands of the *Ætoliens*: who no doubt, if they might get Chalcis, would not bee long ere they had Eubœa too. Syrlie lords (say they) were the Macedonians, and rigorous, but the *Ætoliens* would be much more unsupportable. These citie were principally respectie to the Romanes, whose verue and prowesse in warre, whose justice & bountie in victorie they had lately experience of, & therefore both States armed the flower and manhood of all their youth, and sent them. The townesmen of Chalcis having committed the guard of their walls to these, went forth themselves with all their forces, passed over Euripus, and encamped neere Salganea. From which place they sent first an herald, and after him embassadours to the *Ætoliens*, to demand of them, Wherein they had so offended either in word or deed, that their allies and friends should come to molest and assaile them so by way of hostilitie? To whom *Thæas* the Generall of the *Ætoliens* made this answer, That they were not come to annoy and trouble, but to deliver and free them from their servitude under the Romanes. For bound they were and tied now with a brighter and more glittering chain indeed; but saine heavier, than at what time as they had the garison of the Macedonians within their castle. The Chalcidians replied againe and inferred, that they neither were in bondage, nor needed at all the garison of any. And thus the embassadours departed from the party, and returned to their owne people. *Thæas* and the *Ætoliens*, whose whole and onely hope was to come upon them on a suddaine and surprize them at unwares, returned home againe as they came, being not able to maintaine open warre, nor to assaile a citie so well fortified both by sea and land. *Euthymidas* being advertised that his countrey men lay in campe at Salganea, and that the *Ætoliens* were dislodged and gone, retired himselfe also from Thebes to Athens. And *Herodotus* likewise, after hee had wistly and with great longing, expected from **Atalanta* certaine daies together, to see some signall (but in vaine) sent out a pinnace or brigantine, to know what the cause might be of such stay: and understanding that the enterprize was given over by his complices and fellows in the complor, he returned to Thronium from whence he came.

Quintius likewise having intelligence of these occurrents, as he sailed with his fleet from Corinth, encountered *Eumenes* in Euripus neere Chalcis. And thought good it was betweene them, that *Eumenes* the king should leave at Chalcis five hundred foildours in garison, and himselfe E go directly to Athens: and *Quintius* kept on his way to **Demetrias* whither he intended, supposing, that the deliverance of Chalcis would make somewhat to induce the Magnesiens to embrace againe the societie of the Romanes. And to the end that those persons in Demetrias who sided with him, might have some forces for their defence, he wrote unto *Eumenes* the Pretour of the Thessalians, to put the youth in armes: and he sent *Villius* before unto Demetrias to sound their affections, not minding otherwise to give the attempt, unlesse some part of them inclined to respect the auncient societie. *Villius* entred the mouth of the haven with a five banked galleace. Thither ran the whole multitude flocking unto him: And *Villius* deniaunded of them whither they had leifer that hee came to them as to friends or enemies? Unto whom *Eurylochus* the Magnetarches, answered, That he was come unto his friends: but hee willed him to forbear the haven, and suffer the Magnesiens to be at peace and libertie, and to beware, that under a pretence of parle, he did not sollicite and disquiet the multitude. After this there was no farther talke and speech betweene them, but plaine debate and altercation: whiles *Villius* the Roman blamed and challenged the Magnesiens as unthankfull persons, and forthwarned them of the miseries & calamities that hung over their heads; and again the multitude cried out aloud, and accused as well the

* Talanti.

* Dimitriad.

the Senate as *Quintius*. Thus *Villius* without doing any good, returned to *Quintius*. But *Quintius* having dispatched a messenger to the Pretour, that he should reduce home his forces, retired himselfe againe by sea to Corinth.

The affaires of Greece thus interlaced and blended with the Romane, have caried me away as it were out of my list: not for that they were so necessarie and important to be written, but onely because they were materiall to the cause of the war against *Antiochus*. After the Consuls were elect (for there I began my digression) *L. Quintius* and *Cn. Domitius* the Consuls went into their severall provinces. *Quintius* into Liguria, and *Domitius* against the Boij. As for the Boij, they held themselves quiet, yea, and the whole bodie of their Senate with their children, their captaines also with their Cavallerie, to the number in all of fiftene hundred, yeelded themselves to the Consull. But the territorie of the Ligurians was overrun and wasted, and some fortresses woen: where by not onely there were prizes gotten of all sorts, and prisoners taken, but also diverse captives, as well citizens as allies, were recovered out of the enemies hands. This very yeere a Colonie was planted at Vibo, by an act of Senate and Commons: and there went thither three thousand and seven hundred footmen, & three hundred horsemen. The Triumvirs, who had the placing of them, were *Q. Nevius*, *M. Minutius*, and *M. Furius Crassipes*. Every footman was endued with fiftene acres of land, and the horsemen twice as much. It was a territorie held last in the tenure of the Brutians, and they had conquered it first from the Greeces.

About the same time, there happened at Rome two most feartfull accidents; the one of them continued long, but was not altogether so vehement and terrible: for there was an earthquake endured eight and thirtie daies. All which time, the lawsteed or vacation from all courts of law and civill causes, continued in great feare and pensiveness: in regard whereof, a supplication was holden for three daies. As for the other, it was not a vaine feare, but a very losse indeed that touched many men: for there began a skarfire in the beast market; and continued a day and a night, burning many houses standing on the Tyber side; and all the shops and warehouses, with marchandise of great price, were consumed. Now was the yeer well drawing toward an end, and daily more and more the bruit and rumour of the warre with *Antiochus* encreased: and likewise the care that the LL. of the Senat had thereof. And therefore they began to treat as concerning the provinces of the Magistrates elect, to the end, that all of them might be more circumspect and intensitive to their charges. So a decree passed, that the Consuls should have the governance of Italie, by name, and also to go whithersoever the Senat should please to dispose of them: and all men knew well enough, that the warre against *Antiochus* was upon the point. Also ordained it was, that hee whose lot it was to manage that warre, should have the conduct of foure thousand footmen of Romane citizens, and three hundred horsemen; besides sixe thousand allies of the Latine nation, and foure hundred horsemen. *L. Quintius* the Consull was appointed to take musters for those souldiors, that there should be no stay, but that the new Consull might immediatly put himselfe in his journey, to what expedition soever the Senate thought good. Item, It was decreed as concerning the provinces of the Pretours, in this manner: namely, That the first lot should assigne the double jurisdiction, civill and forreine, as well among citizens as strangers: the second, should concerne the Brutians: the third, the navie; and the same to saile whithersoever the Senat would appoint: the fourth, for Sicilie: the fift, for Sardinia: the sixt, for the nether Spaine. Over and besides, *L. Quintius* the Consull was commaunded to enroll two new legions of Romane citizens, besides twentie thousand foot and eight hundred horsemen of allies of the Latine nation: and this armie they set out for that Pretour, who was to governe the Brutij. Two chappels that yeere were dedicated to *Iupiter Capitolinus*: the one of them *L. Furius Purpureo* vowed in the Gaules warre, as Pretour; the other, when he was Consull: and *Q. Martius Ralla* the Duumvir, dedicated them. This yeere, there passed many sharpe and grievous sentences and judgements upon usurers; against whome (being privat men) *M. Tuccius* and *P. Iulius Brutus* the two *Aediles* of the chaire, commenced action. Of that silver wherein they were fined, was made a charriot with foure wheels, gilded; and set up it was in the Capitoll in the cabinet of *Iupiter* above the top of his shrine: likewise twelve bucklers gilded. The same *Aediles* also, caused the porch or gallerie to be made without the gate Tergemina, among the carpenters.

As the Romanes were wholly amused upon preparation for this new warre, so *Antiochus* for his part sat not still: three cities there were which kept him backe and checked his progresse, to

A wit, Smyrna, Alexandria in Troas, and Lampascus; the which he never could to that day force by assault, or draw into amitie with any conditions whatsoever; and to leave them behind in those tearmes, when he should in proper person passe over into Eitope, he was not willing. Somewhat also he was impeached by a consultation as touching *Anniball*. For at first he was staied and hindered by occasion of the open ships which hee intended to send with him into Affricke. And afterward buzzed it was into his head by *Thoon* the *Aetolian* especially, and question moved, whether it were good simply to send him thither at all, or no? This *Thoon*, when Greece was all in an hurry and full of troubles, bare them in hand, that *Demetrius* would be in their power & at their devotion. And like as with his leafings touching the king, in multiplying and magnifying his forces, he had brought many of the Greeces into a fooles paradise, even so also after the same manner he ceased not to feed the king with lies, and fill him with hopes, making him beleieve that all men wished for him with all their hearts, & would run by heapes to the sea strand, to meet him so soon as they could but ken his fleet under saile. This selfesame man was so bold also as to alter the kings mind as touching *Anniball*, which seemed before resolved and settled. For he perswaded him that the kings navie was not to be dismembred, and part thereof to be sent away; and if hee were to make out any of the ships from the rest, yet *Anniball* of all other was not to have the conduct thereof, a banished person and a Carthaginian; who was like ynough to be of many minds, and to change a thousand times in a day, such was his present condition and fortune, & such was his nature and disposition. And as for that glorious name for martiall prowesse (which is the cause that *Anniball* is so much set by, and which recommendeth him as a speciall and singular gift to the world) it is too much, and farr unfitting for any one captaine under a king: & more meet it were that the king himselfe should be regarded & seen above all other, that the king, I say, and none but the king should be the leader, conductor, and commander of all. Again, if *Anniball* chanced to miscarie with the fleet, or to have his forces defeated, the losse would be counted no more than if any other meaner captaine had done it: but if the affaires should prosper & speed well, *Anniball* should go away with all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. Moreover, say that fortune were so kind as to give *Antiochus* the upper hand of the Romanes, and the entire victorie over them for ever, what hope or likelihood is there that *Anniball* would be content to live under the king, and subject to him alone, who hardly could brooke and endure the command and sovereignty of the whole State wherein he was borne? He hath not caried himselfe so, ever since his first youth, bearing a mind with him to compass the dominion of the whole world, as that now in his old age hee can abide to have a lord and superior over him. To conclude: the king (quoth he) hath no such need of *Anniball* in this war, as to make him a commander: well may he use him for a counsellor, and so forth to have him in his train and companie; for some meane fruit and use of such a nature, cannot be combersome, hurtfull, and dangerous: but if high and great matters be reached at, soon they may beare down and overcharge both the giver, and also the receiver. And no spirits are so readie to envie and mallice others, as they whose birth and parentage, whose degree and estate is not answerable to their hautie minds: and such commonly, as they hate the vertue, so they depreffe the good of another. Hereupon that counseil of sending *Anniball* into Affricke, was forthwith laid aside and cleane cast behind, which was so well devised in the beginning of the warre.

Antiochus bearing himselfe aloft now, principally for that *Demetrius* was revolted from the Romanes unto the *Aetolians*, determined no longer to delay the matter, but presently to take a voyage into Greece. But before that he embarked and took the sea, he went up to him, from the sea side for to sacrifice unto *Minerva*; and when hee was returned to his fleet, he made saile with 40 close covered & hatched ships, and 60 uncovered and undecked, and after these followed 200 vessels of burden, charged & fraught with victuals, munition, & warlike furniture of all sorts. And first he fell with the Iland *Imbros: & from thence he cut over to Scythos, where after he had rallied his ships which had bene skattered one from another in the wide & deepe sea, he arrived at Preleum, the first towne of the maine and continent. Where *Eurylochus* the Magnetaiches, [i. the sovereign of Magnesia] and the principall citizens of that State, who were come from *Demetrius* met him and joyned with him; who rejoycing exceedingly to see so goodly a companie of them in his traine, the next day put into the haven of the cite of *Demetrius*: and not far from thence landed all his forces, which amounted in the whole to tenne thousand foot, five hundred horse, and sixe Elephants: a small power (God wot) and unsufficient, to seize upon Greece, all na-

ked and alone, farre shorter than to hold and mainteine warre with the Romanes. After it was reported that *Antiochus* was come to Demetrius, the *Ætoliens* proclaimed a counsell, wherein they made a decree to send for *Antiochus*. For now the king knowing that they would passe such an Act, was departed from Demetrius, and had withdrawn himselfe to Phalera within the gulph of Mulea. And after he had received once the patent of that decree, he went from thence to Lamia, where he was received with exceeding favour of the common people, with clapping of hands, shouts, acclamations, and other signes whereby the multitude used to shew and tellie their great joy. When they were assembled together and set in Counsell, *Phaneas* the Pretor and other chiefe citizens brought him solemnely in: where after *Oyades* made, thus the king began his speech, first excusing himselfe, In that hee was come with a farre smaller power than all men hoped or looked for. And even this (quoth he) may serve in steed of the greatest argument that may be of my exceeding love and affection toward you, in that being to unprovided and unfurnished of all things, and at a time so unseasonable for to saile, as too earely to take the sea, I have not thought much but am willingly come at the call of your embassadours: being thus assuredly perswaded, that the *Ætoliens* seeing me once, would suppose that in me alone consisted all their hope and defence whatsoever. And yet I will accomplish I assure you, and satisfie to the full even your contentment also, whose expectation for the present may seeme to have bene disappointed: for so soone as the time of the yere will serve, and the spring is once come, that the seas are navigable, I will overspread all Greece with men, horse, and munition; I will take up all the sea coasts with fleets; I will spare for no cost, no paine, no perill, untill I have taken from their necks the heave yoke of the Romane empire, set Greece free indeed, and made the *Ætoliens* the chiefe commanders therein. Nay with mine armies besides shall come all kind of provision and furniture out of Asia. But for the present (saith he) the *Ætoliens* must see and take order, that my people may be served with corne & other victuals at a reasonable rate. To this effect when the king had spoken with the great assent of all men, he departed. After the kings departure, there arose some contention betweene two great men of the *Ætoliens*, to wit, *Phaneas* and *Thobas*. *Phaneas* was of opinion, that it was better policie to use *Antiochus* for a mediator and reconciler of peace, or to be an umpire or arbitrator to decide the controversies betweene them and the Romanes, rather than to be the Generall of the warre. For his very coming and majestie would be more effectuell than all his forces, to strike some reverence in the Romanes, and cause them to be respective unto him. For men oftentimes yeeld and remit many things of themselves willingly to avoid warre, which they cannot be forced unto by wate and by armes, when they are once entred into action. *Thobas* inferred againe and said, that *Phaneas* spake not this for any desire and love to peace, but his meaning was to scatter and dispart this furniture and preparation of war, for this intent, That by this tedious lingering, the kings courage might abate, and the Romanes gain time to make themselves readie. For, that there was no reason possibly to be gotten at the Romanes hand, they had tried sufficiently by good experience, in sending so many embassages to Rome, and in debating the matter so often with *Quintius*: neither would they ever have sought unto *Antiochus* and craved his aid, if all their hope otherwise had not bene cut off and cleane failed. And now since his helping hand is presented unto them sooner than all men thought or looked for, they were not now to begin to faint and give over, but rather to request and intreat the king, that since he was come himselfe in person (which was the greatest matter of all) to set free and maintein Greece, he would send for his forces both at sea and land. For, the king in armes, might peradventure obtaine something: but dismissed if he were, little or no reckning would the Romanes make of him in the quarell and question of the *Ætoliens*, no nor in his owne affaires whensoever he should reason and debate thereof. And here went the harte away. They all opined straightwaies to stile the king with the name of *Imperator* [i. Emperour:] and they chose thirtie of the chiefe personages to assist him in counsell for all things requisite. Thus the Diet was dissolved, and every man slipt away and retired to his owne citie. The next day the king sat in consultation with their Apocletes. In what place they should begin the warre. And it was thought best, first to assaile the citie of Chalcis, which lately the *Ætoliens* had assaied in vaine. And for to effect this service, there was more expedition and speed required, than any other great forces and preparations. Hereupon the king set forward with 1000 footmen which followed him from Demetrius, and marched by the way of Phocis: The chieftaines also of the *Ætoliens*, having levied some few companies of their youth, took another

A another way, and met with him at Charonea, and followed with ten covered ships. The king encamped neere Salganea, and himselfe in person with the chiefe of the *Ætoliens* crossed the Eurypus: and when he was landed and not farre gone from the haven, the magistrats and chiefe men of Chalcis came forth without their gates, and some few of both sides met together for to parlie. The *Ætoliens* were earnest to perswade with them, That so far-forth as they might without impeaching the Romane amitie, they would assume the king also to be their alie and friend, for as much as he was passed into Europe not to make warre, but to deliver Greece, and set it free in very deede, and not in word only and false semblance, as the Romanes had done. And nothing was there more for the good and benefit of the cities in Greece, than to enteraine the societie and friendship of them both. For under the defence and safeguard of the one, they might be sure to guard themselves from the violence & outrage of the other. But if they accepted not of the king, they were best to take heed and see what danger they presently incurred: considering the furors of the Romanes to relieve them were so farre off, and the forces of *Antiochus* their enemy to annoy them, so neere even at their gates, whom of themselves with their owne power they were not able to withstand. To this, *Melicio* one of their chiefe men made this answer: Insave much (quoth he) who they be, that *Antiochus* for to deliver and set free, hath taken the paines, to leave his owne kingdome, and to passe over into Europe. For mine owne part, I know no citie in Greece, that either hath Romane garison, or payeth any tribute unto them, or is bound to unjust and unreasonable covenants, or endureth any hard lawes and conditions against their wils: and therefore the Chalcidians have neede of no person to restore them to freedome, since they be free already: ne yet of a garison for their defence, considering that by the grace and favour of the same people of Rome, they enjoy peace and libertie already. As for the king, we refuse not his amitie, ne yet reject we the friendship of the *Ætoliens*. And we will take it for a speciall point of friendship that they shall do us, if they gently will depart out of our yland and be gone: For as for us, we are resolute in this, not to receive them within our walls, no nor to contract with them any societie, without the advise and consent of the Romanes. When these matters were related to the king, who stayed behind with the ships, he determined presently to returne to Demetrius, for that he was not come with such a power as to attempt any thing by force: where, seeing his first enterprize came to nothing, he devised and conferred with the *Ætoliens* what was to be done next: and concluded it was, to found the Achæans, and *Aminander* the king of the Athamans. They supposed also that the nation of the Boeotians was cleane estranged and badly affected to the Romanes ever since the death of *Barclay*, and those troubles that ensued thereupon. They were perswaded also that *Philippus* a great potentate, & principall leader of the Achæans, was both malicious and odious unto *Quintius* for emulation and jealousie of honor in the Laconian warre. *Aminander* had espoused and taken to wife *Apamea* the daughter of one *Alexander* a Megapolitan, who vaunting himselfe to be defended from *Alexander* the Great, named his two sonnes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, and his daughter, *Apamea*: whom being thus advanced by marriage with a king, her elder brother *Philip* accompanied into Adiamania. This *Philip*, a vaine-headed yongman, the *Ætoliens* and *Antiochus* had induced into a foolish hope (considering that for certaine he was of the royall blood) to obtaine the kingdome of Macedonie, if haply he could bring about to joine *Aminander* and the Athamans to *Antiochus*. And these vaine conceits of great benefits wrought mightily not with this *Philip* only, but also with *Aminander*. Now in Achæa there was a counsell holden at Egium, and audience given there to the embassadours of *Antiochus* and the *Ætoliens*, before *T. Quintius*. Where the king his embassadour spake first, and being (as all those commonly are, that have their intendment and language of kings) full of foolish babble, and making sea and land resound againe with his vaine bragging and senselesse words, set tale on end, and told them, what an infinite number of hostes were passing over by Hellefpoint into Europe, whereof some of them were in complete harness, armed at all peeces, whom they call *Cissaphratis*: some were archers, and some on horseback, against whom there was nothing close, nothing stout enough, who when their backs were turned, and their horses run away, shooote so much the more surely, and even point-blank. And albeit these forces of horse by his report, were sufficient of themselves to defeat all the armies of Europe if they were put together, yet he added besides a mighty number, I wote not how many of footemen: and terrified them with naming a sort of strange nations, that scarcely had been heard

heard of before, to wit, the Dakes, the Medians, the Ælymæans and Cadusians. But for his forces at sea, there was no bayes, no harbors, nor havens in all Greece able to receive them. The Sydonians and Tyrians (say they) hold the right side, the Aradians, and the Sidets out of Pamphylia keep the left; nations for skill and valour. As for money and other provision and furniture for the warres, it were needlesse to discourse of, since they themselves knew well enough, that the realms of Asia have alwaies stowed with gold, as their proper foison. So as the Romanes now were not to deale with *Philip* nor with *Anniball*, the one a chiefe person among many others of a citie, and the other limited within the confines only of the kingdom of Macedonie; but with the great Monarch of all Asia, yea & of some part of Europe. And yet he, as mightie a potentate as he is (notwithstanding he is come from the utmost coasts and bounds of the Levant sea, to deliver and enfranchise Greece) demandeth nothing of the Achæans prejudiciall to their fealtie and allegiance to the Romans their first allies and associates: for he required not them to take arms with him against them, but only not to intermeddle nor take a part: his seeking is, that (as behooveth good friends and mediators between both parties) they would with all well and peace among them, and not interpose themselves in the quarrell of war. *Archidamus* likewise the embassador for the Ætolians, requested in manner the same. That they would hold themselves quiet and in repose (a thing most easie and safe for them) and being but lookers on the warre, wait and attend the issue of other mens fortunes, without the hazard of their own: yet he staid not so, but proceeded so far and overshot himselfe so much in words, that he brake forth at length into ill language, one while railing against the Romans in general, another while against *Quintius* in particular; calling them ungratefull and unthankfull persons, reproching, upbraiding, and hitting them in the teeth, how not onely they had gotten the victorie of *Philip*, but also saved themselves by the vertue and valour of the Ætolians: and as for *Quintius*, he was to thanke them and their meanes, as much as his own life came to and the preservation of his armie. For wherein at any time (qd. he) perfourmed he the dutie and devoir of Generall in the field? Seene him indeed I have in the time of battaile and in the campe, take the flight of birds, kill sacrifices, and make vowes verie deuoutly, like some holy parish-priest or divining prophet, whiles I my selfe was faine in his defence to expose and present my bodie to glaives and darts of the enemies. To these challenges *Quintius* made answer in this wise, saying, That *Archidamus* had more regard in whose presence he spake, than to whome he directed all his speech: for the Achæans know very well, that all the valiancie of the Ætolians, standeth in bragging words and not in martiall deeds, as men that love to be heard in Diets and assemblies rather than scene in the field and battaile; and therefore no marvell if he made so small reckning to speake unto the Achæans, considering that he knew, how well acquainted they were with the maners and fashions of the Ætolians. But he hath besides vaunted and made great brags before the kings embassadors, & in their person, before the king himselfe in absence. And if a man had not knowne before, what it was, that had so knit and united *Antiochus* and the Ætolians together, he mought perceive it evidently by the speeches of the embassadors: for by exchanging lies agood reciprocally, and by bragging of their forces which they have not, they have inflated and puffed up one another with vaine hopes, whiles they tell and would make them beleue, That *Philip* by them was vanquished, That the Romanes by their valour were protected; and other gay matters, which erewhile ye heard: building castles in the aire, to the end, that you and other itares and nations would side with them and take their parts: The king againe (by his embassador) overspreadeth all with clouds of horsemen and footmen, and covereth whole seas with fleets and armadaes. Now in faith this is mine hoast of Chalcis up and downe, a friendly man. I assure you, and a good fellow in his house, and one that knoweth how to entertaine his guests and bid them welcome. And verily I can liken this manner of dealing to nothing better than to a supper of his: We went upon a time to make merrie with him, and I remember well it was at midsommer (when the daies are longest & the sun at the hottest) where he made us passing good chere. And as we wondred how at such a season of the year he met with that plentie of venison, and such varietie withall; the man (nothing so yaineglorious as these fellows here) smilison, and led pleasantly upon us and said, We were welcom to a feast of a good tame swine and no better: but well fare a good cooke my masters (qd. hee) who by his cunning hand, what with seasoning it, and what with serving it up with divers sauces, hath made all this faire shew of wild flesh, and the same of sundry sorts. This may fity be applyed to the king his armies and forces: of which

which even now so great boast was made. For these divers kinds of arms, these many names of nations never hard of before, to wit, the Dakes or Dahians (I wot not what to call them) the Medes, the Cadusians, the Elimeans, they are but Syrians when all is done; who for their base minds by nature, are much better to make a sort of slaves than a companie of good soldiers. And would to God (you my masters of Achæa) I could represent unto your eyes the port and train of this great king, when he ran from Demetrius, one while to Lamia to the counsell of the Ætolians, & another while to Chalcis: you should see in this kings camp hardly two pretie legioners, & those but lame ones neither and not well accomplished: you should see the king sometime as good as begging graine of the Ætolians, to measure out among his hungrie souldiors: otherwhiles making thike to take up monies at interest to make out their pay: now standing at the gates of Chalcis, and anon shut out from thence and excluded cleane: and when he had don nothing els but seen *Aulis* and *Euripus*, returning faire into Ætolia. *Antiochus* (you see) hath yeilded but small beleefe to the Ætolians, and the Ætolians have as litle trusted and relied upon the vanitie of the king. And therefore the lesse should you be deceived by them, but rather repose your selves assuredly in the fidelitie of the Romanes so often tried, so often knowen and approved. For whereas they say, It is your best course not to be imbarked and interested in this warre, I assure you, there is nothing more vaine than this, nay nothing so hurtfull unto your estate. For you shall be a prize and prey to the victorour, without thank of either part, without any worth and reputation. *Quintius* was thought by the Achæans to have spoken not impertinently, but to have answered them both, fully: and an easie matter it was to approve his speech unto those, that were well enough inclined to have given him gentle hearing: for ther was no question nor doubt at all, but that everyman would judge them to be friends or enemies to the Achæan nation, whom the Romanes held for theirs: yea and would conclude in the end of an act, to denounce warre both against *Antiochus* & the Ætolians. Moreover, according as *Quintius* thought good, they sent presently an aid of 500 soldiers to Chalcis, and of as many to Pyraeum. For at Athens there had like to have been a sedition & mutinie, whiles some drew the multitude (which commonly is bought and sold for money) to take part with *Antiochus* upon hope of large rewards & great bounties, untill such times as *Quintius* was sent for by them that took part with the Romanes: in so much as *Apollodorus* (who gave counsell & perswaded to revolt) was accused by one *Leon*, and being condemned, was banished. Thus verily the embassage returned from the Achæans to the king with heave answer. The Boeotians delivered no certaintie: this only was their answer, That when *Antiochus* himselfe was come into Boeotia, then they would consider and consult what they were best to do. *Antiochus* being advertised, that both the Achæans and king *Eumenes* also had sent men for the defence of Chalcis, thought good to make hast, that his forces might not onely prevent them, but also if it were possible receive them and cut them short as they came. And for this intent, hee sent *Menippus* with three thousand souldiors or thereabout, and *Polyxenides* with his whole fleet. Himselfe a few daies after marched with sixe thousand of his owne souldiors; and of that levie, which on a suddaine might be gathered at Lamia, no great number of Ætolians. Those five hundred Achæans afore said, and the small aid that king *Eumenes* sent under the conduct of *Xenocides* the Chalcidian, having safely passed Euripus before that the waies and passages were beset, arrived at Chalcis. The Romanes also who were upon five hundred, at what time as *Menippus* encamped before Sarganea, came to Hermeum, where is the advenue out of Boeotia into the land of Eubæa. In their companie was *Mistion* sent as Embassadour from Chalcis to *Quintius*, for to crave some succour: who perceiving that the waies were laid and the streights kept by the enemies, leaving his intended journey by the way of Aulis, turned to Delium, minding from thence to cut over into Eubæa. This Delium is a temple of *Apollo* situate upon the sea strand, and five miles distant from Tanagra, from whence there is a short cut (little more than a league) over an arme of the sea unto the next parts of Eubæa. In this temple and sacred grove about it, so religious, so privileged and secured (as are those franchised houses and sanctuaries which the Greekes call *Asyla*) and at that time, when neither warre was proclaimed, or at leastwise not so farre proceeded, as that in the hearing and knowledge of any man there had been sword drawne, or blood shed in any place: In this place, and at this time, I say, whiles the souldiors wandered at their leisure and pleasure, some gone to see the temple above said and the grove, others walking upon the strand unarmed, and a great sort also of them scattered over the fields (such as were gone for forrage and fewell) all on a suddain *Menippus*

ripus finding them loose and disbanded, charged upon them, and slew them, and to the number of fiftie hee tooke alive: very few escaped, among whom was *Micrip*, who got into a small vessel of merchandise. This occurrent, as it troubled and disquieted *Quintus* and the Romanes, for the losse of their souldiours, so it seemed much to encrease the right of their just quarell to make warre upon *Antiochus*. *Antiochus* having advanced his armie, and approached Aulis, after hee had once again addressed Orators, partly of his owne subjects, and partly *Ætoli*ans to Chalcis, for to follow those causes which of late he had commended, but in more minatorie terms, now prevailed easily, notwithstanding *Mitrio* and *Xenocides* laboured to the contrarie, that the gates should be set open unto him. All those that were for the Romanes, abandoned the citie a little before the kings comming. The souldiours of Achæa and king *Eumenes*, kept Salgamea. The Romanes souldiours also (who were but few) fortified and made a sconce upon the water of Euripus, to be a defence for the passage. *Menippus* began to assaile Salgamea, and the king himselfe to set upon the fort of Euripus aforesaid. The Achæans and the souldiours of *Eumenes* first grew to composition, and having capitulated to depart without any harme, quit their place of garrison. The Romanes held out longer, and stoutly defended the hold of Euripus: but even they also being so streightly invested both by land and water, and seeing now the ordinance and engines of batterie, brought and readie to be planted against them, would no longer endure the siege. When as now the king had possessed himselfe of the head ciue of Eubœa, all the other ciities of that Island, refused not to submit and come under his subjection. And hee thought hee had made a good beginning and entrance in this warre, in that so great an Island, and so many ciities commodiously seated, and of such importance, were reduced under his obeisance.



THE XXXVI. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIVS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the fixe and thirtieth Booke.



Marcus Acilius Glabrio the Consull, with the aid of king Philip, vanquished king *Antiochus*, near to Thermopylae, & drove him out of Greece. He also subdued the *Ætoli*ans. *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica* the Consull (reputed and iudged by the Senate, the best man in the citie) dedicated the temple of the mother of the gods, whom himselfe had brought into the Palatium. He also when he had overcome the Boians, took them upon surrender to his protection, and triumphed over them. Over and besides, here are set downe the prosperous battailes fought at sea, against the admirals and captaines of king *Antiochus*.



So soone as *P. Cornelius Scipio* the sonne of *Cneus*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the two Consuls, were entred into their magistracie, the LL. of the Senate enjoined them (before any speech and question moved as touching the provinces) to sacrifice greater beasts in all those temples, wherein the custome was for the more part of the yeare to celebrate the solemnitie of Lectisternes, and to make their praier in this manner, That where as the Senate intended a new war, the gods would vouchsafe to blesse and happily conduct the same to the good and publicke weale of the Senat and the people of Rome. All those sacrifices prooved good and as they ought to be: even the

A the very first beasts that were slain, prognosticated fortunat successe, and shewed apparent signes that the gods were pacified and well pleased. And thus the soothsaiers and bowel-priers out of their learning, answered, It was evident, that by this warre the bounds and limits of the Romane empire should be extended, and that both victorie and triumph was foresignified. These answers being reported, and mens minds settled, and their consciences resolved of all scruples as concerning the gods, then the LL. of the Senate graunted out an order, that a bill should be preferred solemnly unto the people in this forme, *PLEASETH IT YOU, AND IS IT YOUR VWIL, THAT WAR SHOULD BE ENTERPRISED AGAINST ANTIOCHUS, AND ALL THAT TAKE HIS PART? AND IF THIS WILL PASSE AND BE GRAUNTED, ARE YEE PLEASED, THAT THE CONSULS, IF THEY THINKE SO GOOD, REFERRE THE VVHOLE MATTER UNTO THE SENAT TO TAKE ORDER FOR THE MANAGING THEREOF ACCORDINGLY? P. Cornelius* propounded this bill, and the people accepted thereof. Whereupon the Senate set downe a decree, that the Consuls should cast lots for the government of Italie and Greece: and that he whose hap it was to governe Greece, should (over and above that number of souldiours, which *L. Quintus* by authoritie and commission from the Senat had for that province either enrolled or levied) receive that armie also which *M. Babius* the Pretour caused to passe over the yeere before into Macedonie, by vertue of an order by the Senat, in that behalfe enacted. And license he had, if need so required, to take up aid-souldiours from among the allies without Italie, so as hee exceeded not the number of five thousand. Also agreed it was, that *L. Quintus* the Consull of the yeere before, should be deputed lord Generall for that warre. As for the other Consull, unto C whome had beene allotted the charge of Italie, he was commaunded to levie warre against the Boians, and to have his choise, whether armie he had leiffer have of those two which the former Consuls conducted: & when he had received one, to send the other to Rome, that those legions of citizens should be in readinesse for to be sent whither it pleased the Senate. This order being taken in the Senate, as touching the appointment and assignation of those provinces, then it was thought good, that the new Consuls should cast lots for their governments. To *Acilius* besel Greece, and Italie to *Cornelius*. After this, by a speciall lot there passed an act of the Senate, That whereas the people of Rome had ordained to wage war at that time against king *Antiochus*, and those that were under his dominion, the Consuls should cause a procession to be solemnised. Also, that the Consull *M. Acilius* should conceive and make a vow to *Iupiter*, for to celebrate the D great Games in his honour, and to bring offerings to every altar. This vow was by him pronounced in this forme of words, according as *P. Licinius* the Arch-priest endited and prompted unto him. IF THAT VWARRE WHICH THE PEOPLE HATH DETERMINED TO BE ENTERPRISED AND MADE AGAINST KING ANTIOCHUS, SHALL BE PERFORMED ACCORDING TO THE MIND AND CONTENTMENT OF THE SENAT AND PEOPLE OF ROME, THEN SHALL THE PEOPLE OF ROME CELEBRATE UNTO THY HONOUR, O IUPITER, THE GREAT GAMES FOR THE SPACE OF TEN DAIES TOGETHER, AND OBLATIONS SHALL BE BROUGHT TO EVERY ALTAR, OF THAT PRICE, AND AMOUNTING TO THAT SUMME WHICH THE SENATE SHALL ORDAINE AND SET DOWNE. AND VVHAT MAGISTRATS SOEVER SHALL EXHIBITE THOSE GAMES, OR IN VVHAT PLACE, YEA, AND AT VVHAT TIME SOEVER THEY SHALL BE REPRESENTED, THE SAID GAMES SHAL BE HELD FOR GOOD, AND REPUTED AS VVEL DONE, YEA, AND THE OFFRINGS ACCEPTED AS RIGHTLY PRESENTED. After this there was published & proclaimed by both Coss. a supplication for the space of 2 daies. When the Coss. had cast lots for the parting of their governments, the Pretors likewise went presently about the same for their provinces. To *M. Iunius Brutus* fell both the jurisdictions, as wel of citizens as aliens. *A. Cornel. Mammula* had the charge of the Brutij, *M. Aemilius Lepidus* of Sicilie, and *L. Oppius Salinator* of Sardinia. *C. Livius Salinator* was L. Admirall of the navie, and *L. Aemilius Paulus* governor of the nether Spaine. And in this manner following, were the armies and forces distributed and appointed. Vnto *A. Cornelius* were assigned the new souldiours which the former yeere *L. Quintus* the Consull, by vertue of an Act of the Senate, had enrolled. And his commission was to defend and keepe in order all that tract and coast about Tarentum and Brundisium. As for *L. Aemilius Paulus*, who was to take a voyage into the farther Spaine, he was allowed (besides the armie which he was to receive of *M. Fulvius* the Pretour) to have the conduct of three thousand new souldiours footemen, and three hundred horse: so that of them, two third parts should consist of allies of the Latin nation, and one third of

of Romane citizens. The like supply was sent unto *C. Flaminius* into the higher Spaine, whose G
 commission was renewed for to have the command there still. *M. Aemilius Lepidus* had com-
 mandement to receive the government of the province, and withall, the conduct of the armie,
 at the hands of *L. Valerius*, whom he was to succedee; and if he thought so good, to keepe with
 him in the province *L. Valerius*, in qualitie and place of a Viz:pretour: and so to divide the
 province, that the one part should reach from Agrigentum to Pachinus; the other halfe from
 Pachinus to Tyndarium: also, that *L. Valerius* should defend the sea coasts and the river with
 a flecte of twentie Gallies. The same Pretour aforesaid was to levie and gather a double tenth of
 corne, and to take order for the convoy therof to the sea, and so to be embarked and transported
 into Greece. The like commission had *L. Opimius*, to exact and take another tenth in Sardinia;
 but that graine was to be brought to Rome, & not to be caried over into Greece. *C. Livius* the H
 Pretour, & admirall of the navie, was appointed with 30 saile readier rigged and trimmed, to saile
 into Greece with all speede, and to receive the ships that *Acilius* had: likewise to repaire, rigge
 and furnish the old vessels that rid in the harbours, or lay at one side up in docks. *M. Junius* the
 Pretor his charge was, to levie mariners and rowers from among the libertines, for to serve that
 Armada. And there were sent Embassadors into Africk to Carthage, and into Numidia, three
 into either part, for to seeke and purvey corne to besent into Greece, for which the people of
 Rome would make present payment. And so wholly employed was the citie, to prepare and take
 order for this warre, that *P. Cornelius* the Consul published an Edict, that no Senatours, nor any
 that had authoritie to give their opinion in the Senate, neither any inferior magistrates, should
 take any journey out of the citie, farther than they might make returne againe the same day: I
 Item, that there should not be five Senatours absent at once from Rome.

C. Livius the Pretour, whiles he used all diligence and care to prepare and provide his flecte,
 was impeached and hindered a time, by occasion of a debate and contention that arose be-
 tweene him and the Coloners of the sea side. For when they should be gathered and sent to sea,
 they appealed to the Tribunes of the Com. from whom they were put over and referred to the
 Senate: and the Senate with one voyce and accord pronounced and determined, that these
 Coloners were not exempted from sea-service. The Colonies that contended with the Pretour
 about their immunitie were these, Hostia, Fregena, Castrum novum, Pyrgi, Antium, Tarracina,
 Minturna and Sinuessa.

This done, the Consull *Acilius* by order from the Senate, consulted with the collidge of the K
 Feciales or Heraults at Armes, and demaunded their advise, Whether the warre should be pro-
 claimed and defiance geven to *Antiochus* himselfe in person; or it were sufficient, to intimate
 and denounce the same to some one of his garisons? Also, whether they would advise to pro-
 claime warre against the *Ætoliens* apart by themselves; or whether it were not meete and con-
 venient first to disclaime and renounce their societie and friendship, and then to proclaime and
 denounce hostility? The Fecials answered, that heretofore they had determined and cleered
 this point, at what time as their opinion was asked as touching *Philip*, to wit, That it was all one,
 and made no matter, whether the defiance were given him to his face, or only intimated to some
 garison of his. And as for the *Ætoliens*, this was their mind, that they had quit already their
 amitie, and abandoned all societie, in that when our embassadors so oftentimes had redemaun-
 ded amends for wrongs done, they never thought good to make restitution or satisfaction. L
 Moreover, the *Ætoliens* had themselves sent defiance first and proclaimed warre against the
 Romanes, when as by force they seized *Demetrias* a citie of our allies, and advanced before
 Chalcis, to assaile it both by land and sea: and lastly, in that they had sollicitied king *Antiochus*
 and brought him into Europe for to levie warre against the Romanes. All things now being
 sufficiently provided, *M. Acilius* the Consull published an Edict and proclaimed, That all those
 souldiours whom *L. Quintius* had enrolled, likewise all those whom he had levied of the allies of
 the Latine nation, who were to go with him into his province, likewise all the Colonels and
 Marshals of the second and third legion, should render themselves, and be readie altogether at
 Brundisium upon the * Ides of May following. Himself upon the * fifth day before the Nones of M
 the same moneth, departed forth of the citie clad in his rich cote of armes. And at the same time
 the Pretors also tooke their journeys into their severall provinces.

Much about that time there arrived at Rome embassadors from two kings, to wit, *Philip*
 of Macedonie, and *Ptolomee* king of *Ægypt*; promising their aid of men, money, and corne
 for

A for that warre. And besides from *Ptolomeus* there was brought * 1000 pound weight in gold, * 36000 pound
 and the weight of * 2000 pound in silver: howbeit, nothing was received, but much thanks
 rendered to both the kings. And whereas both of them offered to come with all their power into
Ætolia, and to be there in person, *Ptolomee* was discharged of that offer of his, but the Embas-
 sadors of *Philip* received this answer, That he should highly please and content the people of
 Rome, in case he would not faile the Consull *M. Acilius*. In like manner there came Embassa-
 dors from the Carthaginians and *Masanissa*. The Carthaginians made promise of a * thou-
 sand Modij of Wheate, and of Barley five hundred thousand for the armie, and likewise to
 bring halfe so much to Rome; praying the Romanes to accept the same at their hands as a free
 gift and gratuitie: adding moreover, that they would man out a flecte at their owne charges,
 and were readie also to make one entire payment of the tribute behind, which they were of dutie
 to pay by sundry termes of many yeeres. The Embassadors of *Masanissa*, promised in the be-
 halfe of their king, to send five hundred thousand Modij of wheate, and 300000 thousand of
 barley into Greece to the armie, besides 500 men of armes and twentie Elephants, unto *M. Aci-
 lius* the Cons. As touching the corne, this answer was returned unto them, that they were con-
 tent to accept thereof, so that they would take money therefore to the worth. As to the flecte
 aforesaid, which the Carthaginians made offer of, they acquit them cleane, save as many ships
 as they were to find & provide according to the tenure of the accord and composition between
 them. Last of all, concerning the tribute money, none would they receive before the day.

Whiles the affaires passed thus at Rome, *Antiochus* being at Chalcis, because he would not
 C sit still and do nothing, all a winter time, partly himselfe sollicitied (by sending his embassadors)
 the minds of the States, and partly also there came unto him embassadors from thence of their
 owne accord: and namely among others, the Epirots presented themselves by the common
 consent of their whole nation, and the Eleans also came out of Peloponnesus. They of Elis craved
 aid against the Achæans, who (they verily thought) would first take armes against their citie,
 because war was denounced against *Antiochus* nothing to their will and good liking. Unto them
 were sent 1000 footemen under the leading of *Euphanes* the Cretensian. The embassage of the
 Epirots plaid with both hands, meaning to deale roundly & simply with no side, but to go be-
 tween the bark & the tree. Gladly they would make court to the king and curry favor with him, &&
 but so, as they stood in good termes still with the Romanes, whom they were loth to offend. For &&
 D their request to him was, that he would not draw them without great and important cause into &&
 the quarrell, considering that they for the defense of all Greece lay open & exposed to Italy, and &&
 were sure before others to feeble the Romanes fingers, and receive their first assaults. But in case he &&
 were able of himselfe with his forces by land and sea to defend Epirus, and furnish it with gari- &&
 sons sufficient, they would with hart and good will accept of him and his into their cities & port- &&
 townes: but if so be he could not effect that, they belought him not to offer them, naked and &&
 unarmed men, to the violence of the Romane warres. Their drift was in this their embassie (as it &&
 appeared) that if the king and his forces came not into Epirus (as they rather thought nay then
 yea) they might reserve themselves and all they had, safe, entier, and at their owne libertie
 for the Romane armies, and win withall the kings good grace, in that they seemed to make
 E an offer to receive him: or if hee came indeed, yet they might conceive good hope to find
 favour, and have pardon at the Romanes hands, in that they had not expected their succors
 being so farre off, but rather yeilded to the forces of *Antiochus* being present there in person.
 In such sort they caried themselves in their embassage so perplexed and intricate, that the king
 knew not well how to answer them redily: but said, that he would send his owne embassadors
 unto them for to parle and treat of all affaires pertaineing in common as well to them as to him.
 Then went he himselfe into *Bæotia*, which countrey in colour and shew pretended these causes
 of anger and spight against the Romanes, that before I have mentioned, to wit, the murder of
Barcillus, & the armies by *Quintius* levied against Coronea, occasioned by a massacre commit-
 ted upon Roman souldiours: but in very truth this was the reason, The singular discipline & order
 F of that nation in old time, was going downward and endlong many yeeres and ages already,
 and the popular government of many, growne to decay and ruine, which can not possibly
 continue long without some chaunge and alteration of State. Well, to Thebes hee came,
 where all the principall and chiefe States of *Bæotia* came flocking from all parts to meet
 him: Where, in the generall Diet and Councell of that Nation (notwithstanding hee had
 founded

founded the battaile and began the fray already by giving the first blow, in that hee had forced G
 the Romane garison neere Delium and Chalcis, which were no small signes nor doubtfull over-
 tures of warre, yet hee began with the same kind of speech which hee first used in the parle and
 conference at Chalcis, and which his embassadors had followed in the generall assembly of the
 Achæans, namely, demanding that they would enter into amitie with him, without professing
 themselves enemies to the Romans, or pretending hostilitie against them. But there was no man
 there but soone found him, and saw him well enough: howbeit there passed an act and decree in
 favour of the king against the Romanes, under a vaine and slight pretext and colourable shew
 of words. Having gained this nation also, he returned to Chalcis, from whence he sent out his
 letters before to the States of the Ætolians, that they should meet him at Demetrias, where hee
 would conferre and consult with them of all their affaires to be managed; and thither came he H
 by sea at the day appointed. *Aminander* also was sent for out of Athamania to this consultation,
 yea and *Anniball* the Carthaginian (whose counsell was not required a long time) was present at
 this frequent Diet and assembly. Much parle and great opining there was as touching the nation
 of the Thessalians; and all there in place were of opinion, that they should be sounded how they
 stood affected: but about the manner and some circumstance thereof, they were of divers minds,
 while some advised it to be done and executed out of hand: others thought good to put it off
 from winter season (considering now they were in the mids thereof) unto the prime and begin-
 ning of spring: others againe said, that embassadors onely should be sent: and some hot-spurres
 there were, that gave counsell to goe against them with all their forces, yea and to fright and
 terrifie them if they made slow hast. Now when all the knot and difficultie of this deliberation
 consisted in this one point, *Anniball* was requested by name to deliver his mind and speake to I
 the cause in question: who turned the king and all that were present from other wandering cogi-
 tations, and induced them to the entier consideration of the totall warre; and to that effect framed
 his speech in this wise. If since the time that we passed over into Greece, my hap had bene
 to be called to any counsell, when as some question was touching Eubæa, the Achæans and the
 Bæotians, I would have delivered that advise then, which now I purpose to utter this day in the
 question concerning the Thessalians. Above all things my counsell is, that *Philip* and the Mace-
 donians may by all meanes possible be wrought to this our association in the warre. For as tou-
 ching Eubæa, the Bæotians and the Thessalians, who doubteth, but that they (as nations that
 stand not upon their owne bottoms and are of no force by themselves) will alwaies flatter them K
 that are present in place, and be readie to crave pardon upon the same feare that they ever shew
 when they are to take counsell & resolve? who doubteth (I say) but so soone as they shall see the
 Roman armie in Greece, they will turne to their accustomed obedience? and that it will be impu-
 ted to them no fault at all, that when the Romanes were so far off, they were not willing to try the
 force of you (a puissant prince in person among them) or of your armies? How much rather
 ought we then, nay how much better & more important would it be, to joyn *Philip* unto us than
 these? For if he once enter into the cause and be seen in action, he can not possibly start from us
 nor draw his head out of the collar: and moreover, he bringeth that power with him, which is not
 to be held for a simple succor & addition to mend our forces, but such as lately of it selfe without
 the help of others, was able to make head against the Roman puissance. Let me have this prince L
 on my side, and (be it spoken without offence of any man here) what need I doubt of the sequele
 and issue? especially when those, by whose meanes and assistance the Romans prevailed against
Philip, I see now ready to enter the field against them? The Ætolians (I say) who as all the world
 knoweth vanquished *Philip*, shall now together with *Philip*, enter into armes and fight against
 them. Over and besides, *Aminander* and the whole nation of the Athamans (whose service
 in that warre, next to the Ætolians, stood the Romans in best stead) shall be of our side. *Philip* at
 that time (ô king *Antiochus*) sustained the weight and burden of the whole warre, when you late
 still and stirred not: now both of you together, two most mightie monarchs, with the puissance of
 all Asia and Europe, shall wage warre against one citie and people, which (to speake nothing of
 mine owne fortune good or bad) certainly in our fathers daies was not able to make their part M
 good with one only king of the Epirotes; how hardie soever they will be when they shall be mat-
 ched with you both together. But what mooveth me to think, yea & assure me, that *Philip* may
 be wooen unto us to joine in this action? One thing is this, a common good and benefit, even the
 greatest bond that is of societie: and yet there is another besides it, namely, an inducement pro-
 ceeding

The speech of
 Anniball.

A ceeding from you that be here of Ætolia: for *Thoas* your embassador (who is present in place) &
 among other matters that he was wont to alledge for to animate & move *Antiochus* to come into
 Greece, evermore assured him of this principally, & avowed that *Philip* grumbled, bit the lip, and
 fretted. That under the colour and shew of peace, there were imposed upon him hard conditions
 of servitude and slavery. And he verily, I mean *Thoas*, set out the fell anger of the king, and in all
 his words compared it to the wood rage of a wild beast bound with chaines, or being enclo-
 sed in some cage, would willingly breake the grates and barres thereof. Now, if hee be disposed
 thus, and of that courage, let us burst his bonds asunder, let us (I say) force open his yron cage,
 that his rage pent up so long may now break out upon the common enemies. And suppose that
 our embassage effect nothing at his hands, yet may we provide and take order, that if we cannot
 B work and win him to side with our selves, yet that he shal not combine & band with our enemies.
 Your sonne *Seleucus* is now at Lysimachia, who shall not so soone with those forces which hee
 hath about him, begin to invade and wast (by the way of Thracia) the confines of Macedonie,
 but he shall with draw and turne *Philip* cleane away (from giving succour to the Romanes) to the
 defence especially of his owne. Thus have you heard mine advise as touching *Philip*: now, for
 the whole course and managing of the warre what mine opinion was, you have not bene igno-
 rant from the first beginning. If then, I might have had mine owne waies, and my counsell had
 been taken, the Romans should not have received newes & intelligences of the taking of Chalcis
 in Eubæa, nor of the forcing & winning of a litle pile upon Euripus; but they had heard by this,
 that all Tuscan, that all the coast of the Ligurians & of the *Cisalpine Gauls was up in arms and
 C on a light fire of war; and (which would have feared & frightened them most) that *Anniball* was in
 Italy. And now (things standing as they do) my advise is, that you send for all your forces both by
 land and sea. Let your carricks and hulks with victuals & provision follow after your armada and
 ships of warre. For in this place, like as wee are too few to performe any martiall exploits, so wee
 are too many, considering our small store of victuals. And when you have rallied and united all
 your forces together, divide your navie in two parts: the one you shall keepe in the rode of Cor-
 cyra, to impeach the Romanes, that they shall not passe in safetie and securitie, the other you
 shall cause to saile unto that coast of Italie which looketh toward Sardinia and Affricke. Your
 selfe in proper person, with all your land-armie shall march onward into the territorie of the Byl-
 lions: thence shall you have good means for the defence of Greece, as making the Romanes
 D beleve, that you are upon the point to passe the seas, yea, and being readie indeed to crosse over,
 if need should require. This generally is my counsell; mine, I say, who as I will not take upon me
 a singular skill in all kinds of war, so me thinks I should know how to war with the Romans, as ha-
 ving learned my skill thereby, as well to my cost as advantage, and as much with my good as
 harme. And looke whatsoever designements I have projected unto you, I promise and protest,
 that I will be faithfull and forward in the execution thereof: and the gods approve & blesse that
 course, which your selfe shall thinke the best. To this effect, in a manner, was the Oration of *An-
 tiball* directed; which all that were in place & heard it, rather praised for the present, than put in
 practise and effected afterwards. For no one thing was done of all that hee had said, save onely
 that *Antiochus* sent *Polyxenidas* for a navie & armie out of Asia; yes there were embassadors also
 E dispatched to the generall Diets of the Thessalians. And a day was appointed for the Ætolians
 and *Aminander* to meet the armie at Phææ, whether king *Antiochus* came straight after with his
 power. And while he staid there, expecting *Aminander* and the Ætolians, he sent out one *Philip*
 a Megapolitane, with two thousand men to gather up the bones and reliques of the Macedoni-
 ans about Cynoscephalæ, where the warre with *Philip* was determined, and the quarrell decided
 by a famous battell: were it that therein he followed his own head and tooke a conceit, thereby to
 wind himselfe into grace and favour with the Macedonian nation, and to bring the king into
 obloquie and disgrace, because he had left his souldiours unburied; or that, as it is the vaine (or
 vanitie rather) engrafted in kings by kind, he set his mind and busied his spirits in matters, for ap-
 pearance gay and goodly, but in effect fond and foolish. There he made a mount (as it were) of a
 F number of bones gathered together into one place, that lay scattering and strewed here & there:
 a thing (no doubt) that the Macedonians conned him no thanke for, and which *Philip* (you may
 be sure) tooke in foule scorne and despicious disdain. And therefore *Philip*, who at that time
 minded to take counsell of Fortune, and to bee directed by her, as shee inclined now, sent to
 Marcus *Babini* the Viz-pretour, and advertised him, how *Antiochus* invaded Thessalie, and if
 it

it pleased him to stirre out of his winter harbour, he would meet him, that they might conferre G both together what were best to be done.

While *Antiochus* lay now encamped before *Pheræ*, where *Aminander* and the *Ætolians* had joined with him, there came ambassadors from *Larissa*, expostulating, Wherein the *Thessalians* had so offended either by deed or word, that he should molest and trouble them with warre? and withall beseeching him to retire and withdraw his forces, and debate the matter (if he had ought against them) by his ambassadors. At the same time they sent five hundred men in armes, well appointed, under the governance of *Hippolochus*, to lie there in garrison, who because they could not passe thither, by reason that all the avenues were seized and kept by the kings forces, returned to *Scotusa*. As for the ambassadors of the *Larissæans*, the king made them a gracious answer, and said, That he was entred into *Thessalie*, not by way of hostilitie to distresse them, but in friendly manner to maintaine and establish the freedom of the *Thessalians*. Likewise he sent an embassage to *Pheræ*, to signifie so much to them and in the same termes. But the *Pheræans* giving him no answer againe, dispatched unto the king an embassage of their owne, one *Panfanias*, a principall man of their citie. Who after he had pleaded the fensible remonstrances to those, that had bene in the like case alleaged and laid soorth in the behalfe and name of the *Chalcidians*, in that Counsell holden neere the streights of *Euripus*, and besides, uttered some thing else with more boldnesse and courage; the king dismissed him, after hee had willed them to consider more of the matter, and be well advised, that they tooke not that counsel which anone they would repent, whiles they sought to bee too warie, provident, and forecasting for the future time. When this embassage was related at *Pheræ*, the citizens tooke no long time to deliberate, but soone resolved in the maintenance of their faith and loialtie to the *Romanes*, for to undergoe whatsoever hazard the fortune of warre should present unto them. Whereupon, both they addressed themselves to defend the citie with all their might, and also the king began to assault and batter the walls on all parts at once. And knowing well ynough (as in truth there was no doubt) that in the issue of that citie which hee first enterprised, lay the whole importance and consequence of all, either to make him despised ever after, or feared and dread of the *Thessalians*; therefore he terrified the besieged inhabitants, on every side, and by all meanes possible that he could devise. The first assault they sustained stoutly and manfully; but afterwards, seeing many of the defendants were either overturned and slaine, or grievously hurt and wounded, their hearts began to quaille: yet reclaimed by the rebukes and chastisements of their capitaines and leaders, and animated by their effectuell exhortations, to persist still in their purpose and resolution, they quit the utmost compasse of their wall (seemg at what default they were for want of men) and retired themselves more inward into the citie, into one part thereof, which was strongly fortified with a mure of lesse circuite & cloisture than the other. At the length overcome with travaile and calamities, and fearing, That if they were forced and taken by assault, they should find no mercie nor pardon with the conquerour, they yielded themselves. The king following the traine of victorie, delayed no time, but whiles the fright was fresh, sent foure thousand armed men presently to *Scotusa*, where the townesmen made no stay, but rendered the towne & themselves incontinently, having before their eies the fresh bleeding example of the *Pheræans*, who tamed by fine force of wofull miseries, were compelled to doe that at last which they obstinately refused at the first. Together with the citie it selfe was surrendered also *Hippolochus* and the *Larissæan* garrison under his hand. All of them the king sent away without any hurt or violence offered unto their persons: for he thought thereby to win the hearts and love of the *Larissæans*. Having accomplished these exploits within ten daies after his first comming to *Pheræ*, hee marched toward *Crano* with all his armie, and at his first comming woon it. Then hee regained and seized *Cypæra* and *Metropolis*, and the borroughes and forts about them: so as now all those quarters were subdued and put under his subjection, except *Atrax* and *Gyro*. Then he determined to assault *Larissa*, supposing, that either upon the fearefull terrour of other cities forced, or in regard of his demerite in dismissing the garrison so courteously, or by the present example of so many cities yielding unto him, they would not long persist in their obstinacie. And for to terrifie them the more, he commanded the elephants to march in the forefront of the vaward, and approached himselfe in a square battell, with foure sides, in such sort, as the hearts of many of the *Larissæans* waded in doubtfull suspence, betwene forced feare of present enemies, and kind regard of absent friends.

In

A In this time *Aminander*, with the whole youth and manhood of the *Athamanes*, became master of *Peloneum*. *Menippus* also with three thousand *Ætolian* footmen & two hundred horse went to *Perthœbia*, woon *Mallæa* and *Cyretia* by assault, and wasted the territorie of *Triopolis*. Having performed these exploits with great expedition and celeritie, they returned to *Larissa* unto the king, and arrived even then when as the king was in consultation what to doe with *Larissa*: for the counsell was divided into diverse opinions. Some thought it good to proceed forcibly, and not to deferre but assault the cittie walls with fabrickes and engines of batterie on all sides at once: alledging that the towne being situate in a plaine toward the champaigne field side, might be approached with ease and invetted every way. Others againe inferred one while, that there was no comparison between the strength of this citie and of *Pheræ*: otherwhile, B that it was now winter time, and a season of the yeere far unfit for warlike executions, and most of all others for the siege and assault of cities. As the king thus hung in the equall ballance of hope and despaire, the ambassadors of *Pharfalus* arrived, who as good hap was, being come to surrender up their towne, revived his spirits and mightily comforted his heart.

C *M. Babinus* in this meane while having parlied and conferred with *Philip* in the *Dassaretians* countrey, sent *Appius Claudius* by the common advice of them both, to the succour and defence of *Larissa*; who passed through *Macedonie*, and by long journies came to the top of those hills that commaund *Gonni*. Now this *Gonni* is a towne twentie miles distant from *Larissa*, seated just in the very streights of that forest and pafe called *Tempe*; who having taken up a larger circuit of ground to encampe in, than was proportionable to his number, and made more fires in C shew than need was for that companie, gave semblance unto the enemy (which was the thing he aimed at) that all the *Romane* forces were there, together with king *Philip*. King *Antiochus* therefore pretending unto his armie, that the unseasonable winter time approached, after he had stayed one onely day before *Larissa*, dislodged, and from thence departed, and so returned to *Demetrias*. The *Ætolians* likewise and the *Athamanians* repaired to their owne countries.

Appius, albeit hee saw that the siege was levied (which was the only cause of his coming) yet downe he went to *Larissa* to encourage and confirme the hearts of the allies against the time to come. And a two-fold joy there was, both because the enemies were gone and had quit their countrey, and also for that they saw the *Romane* garison within their walls. King *Antiochus* departed from *Demetrias* to *Chalcis*, where he fell in fancie and love with a damsell of that citie, D daughter of *Cleopolemus* a *Chalcidian*. Now after he had made meanes to the maidens father first by intercession of messengers and mediators, and after by importuning him in his owne person with earnest requests by word of mouth (who was very loth and unwilling to entangle and tie himselfe, in marching her so high above his own calling) at length so overcame the man, that he obtained his desire: and as if it had been a time of settled and confirmed peace, he proceeded to consummate and celebrate the marriage. And forgetting cleane, how at one time he had undertaken the charge of two affaires so important, to wit, the warre with the *Romanes*, and the deliverance of *Greece*, he passed away the rest of the winter in feasts and bankets, and in those delights and pleasures, which ordinarily (you wote well) follow upon the liberall drinking of wine; yet, and when he had thereby rather wearied his bodie than fulfilled his appetite, hee gave himselfe to sleepe without compasse. The like roiot and loosenesse of life tooke hold of the rest of the kings capitaines, by his example in all places, but in *Brœtia* especially, such as commaunded the garisons. Nay the very fouldiours were let loose and given over to take voluptuous waies, and not one of them would put on armour, keepe the watch, attend the guard, or doe any thing pertaining to the dutie and charge of a fouldiour. And therefore at the beginning of the spring, when he was come by *Phocis* and *Cheronea*, to the *Rendez-vous*, where hee had appointed from all parts his forces to meet, hee soone perceived that the fouldiours had spent the winter as licentious as their leaders, and kept no better order and streighter discipline. Then he commaunded *Alexander* the *Acarnanian*, and *Menippus* the *Macedonian*, to lead the armie to *Stratus*, a town in *Ætolia*. Himselfe having done sacrifice at *Delphi* to the honor of *Apollo*, went forward to *Nau-pactum*. And after the Diet holden of all the States of *Ætolia*, in the way which leadeth to *Stratus*, along by *Chalcis* and *Lyfimachia*, hee encountered his owne forces aforesaid, that came by the gulfe of *Malea*. Where *Mnesilochus*, a principall *Acarnanian*, but wrought and bought with many gifts and presents, not only himselfe woon that nation to take part, & to side with the king, but also had drawne to his owne mind and affection *Clytus* their Pretour, who at that time had the

the soveraigne rule there, and might do all in all. He seeing that the Leucadians (who are the chiefe of all the Acarnanians) could not be easily induced nor brought to revolt, for the awe wherein they stood of the Romane fleet, which either was with *Attillus*, or about Cephalenia, went cunningly to worke with them. For having delivered his opinion in their generall Counsell, That the inland parts of Acarnania were to be well guarded and defended; and that as many as were able to beare armes should go forth to Medio and Tyrreum, for feare those places should be seized by *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: there were againe some who made answer and said, how there was no such neede that all should be raised and levied so tumultuously in haste; for a garison of five hundred men was sufficient. And when he had obtained that number of young and able men, he placed three hundred of them in garison at Medio, and two hundred at Tyrreum: his reach and drift was to have them put into the kings hands for hostages. And even at that time arrived the kings ambassadors at Medio. Whole embassage being heard, they laid their heads together and consulted in the publick assembly what answer to returne unto the king. Some were of opinion to continue still in the Romane societie: others were of advise againe, that the kings offer of amitie was not to be rejected. The counsell of *Clytus* was meane and indifferent between both, and therefore accepted: to wit, that they should adresse their ambassadors to the king, to intreat him that he would permit them to take a day of deliberation upon a matter of such consequence, in a full Diet of the Acarnanians. In this embassage *Mnesilochus*, and those of his faction were employed of set purpose: who having dispatched messengers covertly to the king, to advertise him to approach the towne with his forces, trised out the time themselves, and made no haste to set forward in their embassie. Whereupon these ambassadors were scarcely gone forth of the citie, when *Antiochus* was entered the borders, and anon shewed himselfe hard at the gates. And whiles they that wist nothing of this treason were affrighted, and in great trouble and turmoile called the youth hastily to arme, he was by *Clytus* and *Mnesilochus* let into the citie. Some willingly of themselves came running about the king: those also that were of the adverse part, for very feare joyined with him. Whom he seeing to be afraid and terrified, he entertained with gracious words, and so gently handled them, that in hope of his clemencie so much divulged and spoken of abroad, certaine States of Acarnania revolted & turned unto him. Then from Medio he went to Tyrreum, unto which place he had sent *Mnesilochus* and his ambassadors aforehand. But the treacherie and fainerie at Medio being discovered, made the Tyrreans more warie and carefull than otherwise fearefull: who made him this plaine direct answer without any double ambiguitie, that they would admit of no new alliance, without the advise and authoritie of the Romane Generals: so, they shut their gates, and disposed armed men upon their walls. Now it fell out very fitly and happily for confirming and encouraging the hearts of the Acarnanians, that *Cn. Octavius* sent by *Quintius*, having received a garison and some few ships of *A. Posthumius*, who by *Aulus* the Lieutenant had bene appointed Governour of Cephalenia, was come to Leucas, and much comforted the Allies, and put them in good hope: who also gave them to understand, that *M. Acilius* the Consull had alreadye passed the seas with his legions, and the Romanes were encamped in Thessalie. And for as much as this bruit caried a great likelihood of truth, by reason that the season of the yeere served now for navigation, the king after he had planted a garison at Medio and in other townes of Acarnania, departed from Tyrreum, and passing through the cities of *Ætolia* and *Phocis*, returned to *Chalcis*.

Much about this time *M. Babius* and king *Philip*, who had communed and devised together before (during the winter) in the Dassaretians countrey, having sent *Appius Claudius* into Thessalie, for to raise the siege before Larissa: and because the season then was unmeet and too soone for execution of any exploit, were retired to their wintering harbours, now in the beginning of the Spring joyined all their forces together, & came downe into Thessalie. (Now at that time was *Antiochus* in Acarnania.) And at their first comming, *Philip* began to lay siege unto Mallaea, and *Babius* to Phacium: which when he had forced in manner at the first assault, he won *Phetius* also with like expedition. From whence having retired himselfe to *Atrax*, he took *Chyretias*, and so consequently surprisid *Eritium*, and after he had planted garisons in these townes that he had thus recovered, he joyined with *Philip* againe, lying in siege before Mallaea. Upon the very comming of the Romane armie, when the townes-men had yeelded themselves either for feare of forces, or for hope of pardon, they marched jointly together with one armie,

A to recover those townes whereof the Athamanes were seized: to wit, *Æginium*, *Ereicium*, *Gomphi*, *Silana*, *Tricca*, *Melibæa*, & *Pholoria*. After this, they invested *Pellineum*, where *Philip* the Megapolitane lay in garison with five hundred foote, and forrie horse: but before they gave the assault, they sent a trumpet to *Philip* to give him warning, that he should not adventure to try the utmost hazard. But he returned this answer againe right stoutly unto them, that he would be content to commit himselfe to the Romanes or the Thessalians, he passed not whether, but put his life and estate into the hands of king *Philip* he never would. Now when it appeared that they were to proceed by force, and for that it seemed that *Limnæa* also at the same time might be assaulted, it was thought expedient that the king should go to *Limnæa*, and *Babius* stayed still to batter and force the towne of *Pellineum*.

B It fortuned at the sametime that *M. Acilius* the Cos, having passed the seas with a power of ten thousand foote and two thousand horse, and fiteene Elephants, commaunded certaine chosen Colonels of footmen to conduct all the infanterie to Larissa, whiles himselfe with the Cavallerie came to king *Philip* before *Limnæa*. At the comming of the Consull, the towne was yeelded incontinently: the kings garison was delivered, and the Athamanians withall. Then the Consull went from *Limnæa* to *Pellineum*, where the Athamanes yeelded first: and afterwards *Philip* also the Megapolitane rendred himselfe. And as he came downe from the fort, *Philip* the king chanced to meete with him, and in skorne and derision commaunded his men to salute him with the style of King, and himselfe also by way of mockage, came close unto him, and greeted him by the name of Brother *Philip*, skoffing & jesting in broad termes, far unfitting *C* to his royall majestie. Then was he brought before the Consull, and put in ward, and not long after sent bound to Rome. All the multitude besides of the Athamanians, as also of king *Antiochus* his souldiours, which were within the garisons of those townes that were surrendred about that time, were delivered unto *Philip*, who amounted to the number of three thousand. The Consull departed toward Larissa, to consult and take advise for the generall course of the whole warre. And in his way there met him embassadours from *Pieria* and *Metropolis*, for to render their cities. *Philip* having courteously and lovingly intreated above all other the prisoners of the Athamanians, that by their meanes he might win the grace and favour of that nation, and conceived some hope to conquer Athamania, led his armie thither, and sent his captives aforehand into their severall cities. Now they were of great account and reputation among their country men, and withall made report of the king his clemencie toward them, and how liberally and bountifully besides he had used them: And *Aminander* verily, whose presence and majestie had kept some of them in allegiance, fearing least he should be delivered into the hands of *Philip* (who long time had bene his mortall enemy;) and unto the Romanes, whom he knew to have just cause at that time to be offended with him for his revolt, departed out of his owne realme with his wife and children, and retired himselfe to *Ambracia*. Thus all Athamania became subject to king *Philip*, and at his pleasure.

The Consull sojourned certaine daies at Larissa, especially for to refresh his beasts, which first had bene sea sicke, and afterwards were tired with long travaile; and thus when he had renewed as it were, and repaired his armie with a litle rest and repose, he marched to Crato. At his coming thither, these townes, to wit, *Pharsalus*, *Scotussa*, and *Pheræ*, together with king *Antiochus* his garisons that lay there, were yeelded up unto him. And having put unto their choice, either to be gone or tarry still with him: as many of them as he saw willing (and those were about a thousand) he delivered unto king *Philip*; the rest he sent backe disarmed, to *Demetrius*. Then he regained *Proerna* and the fortresses and piles there, about it. Then began he to conduct forward his armie toward the gulf of *Mallæa*: and when he approached the freights, upon which the towne *Thaumaci* is situate, all the flower of the youth in their armour, quit the citie, and put themselves in ambush about the woods and passages, and from the higher ground charged upon the Romanes in their march. The Consull at the first sent certaine unto them, to parle neere at hand with them, and to see if they could skare them from such desperate outrage: but perceiving that they persisted still as they began, hee commaunded a Colonell with two ensignes of souldiours to fetch a compasse about, in such sort, that he gat betweene those armed men and the towne, and kept them from entrance; whereby he possessed himselfe of the citie, being void of defendants. Then they that lay in the forest in ambush, hearing an outcrie behind their backs of the town taken, fled backward out of all parts of the wood, & fell upon the sword. The Consull then

then departed from Thaumaci, and the second day came as far as the river Sperchius, and so forward unto the territorie of the Hypataens, which he spoiled.

During the time of these occurrences, *Antiochus* lay at Chalcis, who by this time seeing that he had gotten in Greece, but the pleasure of one wintering, spent so deliciously in Chalcis, and a dishonourable marriage; began to blame the Ætolians for their vaine promises, and especially *Thous*; but also for a true Prophet, who foretold him of all things that then were come to passe: howbeit for feare that his cold slacknesse might not overthrow that quite, which his rash follie had begun and enterprised, he sent out his courriers into Ætolia, to give them warning to levie all their youth and assemble them together; and himselfe for his owne part had brought thither almost ten thousand footmen, who were made up full and furnished by them that after came out of Asia, and five hundred horsemen besides. To this place, perceiving that there repaired smaller numbers by many degrees than ever at any time before, and that they were but the Nobles onely and some few of their vassals, (who protested, that they had done their endeavour to levie out of their cities as many as possibly they could: but neither by authoritie, nor for love and favour, ne yet with absolute commaund, were they able to prevaile or doe any good with them that refused warfare:) and seeing himselfe thus forsaken on all sides, as well of his owne subjects who dragged behind in Asia, as of his allies who performed not those matters, in the hope whereof they had called him to assist them, hee withdrew himselfe within the streights of Thermopylae.

This mountaine divideth Greece in the verie middle, like as Italie is parted in twaine by the ridge of the Apennine. On the fore-part of this streight and forest of Thermopylae toward the North, lyeth Epirus and Perrhaebia, Magnesia and Thessalie, also the Phthioræ of Achæa, and the gulfe Mæalea: but within-foorth Southward, is discovered the greater part of Ætolia and Acarnania, Phocis, Locris, and Bæotia, together with the Iland Euboea joyning close thereto: behind it, is situate the country of Attica, running into the sea like a promontorie, and besides it Peloponnesus. This mountain taking his beginning at Leucas and the Ponant or Westerne sea, reacheth through Ætolia to the Levant or Easterly Ocean, and is so full of rocks & rough crags betwene, that no whole armies, no nor so much as single travellers lightly appointed, can find but hardly and with much adoe the waies and paths to passe through: the utmost browes and the hills of this mountain bending toward the East, they call Oeta; and the highest pitch & knap thereof, is called Callidromos; at the foot wherof, lyeth the vally leading toward the gulfe of Mæalea, wherein the plaine is not above threescore paces broad. And this is the only high and port-way by which an armie may march, if it be not otherwise empeached. And hereupon it is, that the passage is called * Pylæ: and of some (because there are found therein certaine naturall hot waters or baines) Thermopylae: even that verie place which is so famous and renowned for the memorable death of the Lacedæmonians, more than for any worthie battaile against the Persians. Here lay encamped *Antiochus* at this present (carrying nothing that mind nor resolution as those Lacedæmonians did) within the gates as it were of the streights, where he enclosed and stopped the passage besides, with strong defences: And when he had cast a double rampire and trench, yea and raised a mure and wall where need was (which to doe the place afforded him great plentie of stone lying every where) and had made all sure: presuming confidently that the Romane armie would never venture nor be able to breake through those barricadoes that way: he sent of those four thousand Ætolians (for so many were met together) some to keepe a garrison in Heraclea, situate even before the very gullet and streight; and others to Hypata: for that he made no doubt, but the Consull would assaile Heraclea, and many posts brought word, that all about Hypata was alreadie wasted.

Now the Consull having spoiled the territorie of Hypata first, and then of Heraclea, (where the Ætolian aids did no good and served to no purpose in the one place or the other) pitched his campe over-against the king, even in the verie mouth of the gullet, neere the fountaines of the hot waters aforesaid: both those regiments abovenamed of the Ætolians wer gotten within the towne Heraclea, and there kept themselves sure. *Antiochus*, who before he saw his enemies, thought all was fast enough and sufficiently fenced, began then to feare least the Romane souldiours would find out some privie pathes and waies, whereby they might passe and get over those high hills that commaunded his campe: for a rumour ran, that the Lacedæmonians in times past were

A were so enclosed by the Persians, and of late daies also king *Philip* was likewise compassed and environed by these very same Romans. Whereupon he dispatched a messenger to the Ætolians in Heraclea, willing them to doe him thus much service yet in theis his warres, as to seize the tops of those hills and to keepe them, that the Romanes might have no passage that way. Upon this message received, there arose some dissention among the Ætolians. Some were of mind to obey the king his will and commaundement, and to goe accordingly; but others thought better to tarric still at Heraclea, to attend upon fortune, and see what would happen: to the end, that if the king should chaunce to be vanquished by the Consull, they might have in readinesse their forces fresh and in heart, to succour and aid their owne cities neere at hand; for if his lucke were to defeat the Consull, then they might follow the Romanes in chafe, when they were disbanded and scattered asunder. Both parts, thus divided as they were, not onely persisted still in their severall designments, but also put the same in execution by themselves. For two thousand of them remained at Heraclea; the other two thousand parted themselves three waies, namely, to Callidromos, to Rhoduntia, and Tichius, (these are the names of three principall high hills;) and each companie tooke and held one. The Consull when hee saw that the Ætolians were possessed of these higher places, sent *M. Porcius Cato* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, two of his lieutenants (who both had beene Consuls) with two thousand chosen men against these holds of the Ætolians, to wit, *Flaccus* against Rhoduntia and Tichius, and *Cato* against Callidromos: himselfe before that hee advanced his battaile against his enemies, made a briefe speech unto his souldiers in this manner: My souldiours, I see that the most part of you, even of everie qualitie and degree, are they that in this very province sometime served under the conduct, charge, and governance of *T. Quintius* in the Macedonian war. The streights of that passage then, neere the river Aous, were far more difficult to gaine and get over, than this is; for here are verie gates, yea and one naturall way (as it were) to passe through, as if all els were stopped up between two seas. There were more stronger defences and skonces against them at that time, and those planted in places more convenient and commodious. The armie of the enemies then, was both for number greater, & for men and souldiers much better; for therein were the Macedonians, the Thracians, and the Illyrians, all most fierce and warrelike nations: in this, are Syrians and Asiaticke Greekes, or halfe Asians, the vaineest kind of people of all others, & borne to serve. The king there, [namely *Philip*] a most noble warrior, exercised and inured ever from his youth in the neighbour-wars of the Thracians and Illyrians, and all the nations bordering upon him: but this *Antiochus* (to say no thing of all his life besides) is he, who being come out of Asia into Europe, for to make war upon the people of Rome, hath done all the long winter time nothing more memorable than this. That for to please his wanton lust hee hath taken to wife the daughter of a privat person; a man (I say) of low degree & base qualitie among other citizens: and this new married man, sed far and franked (as I may so say) with daintie suppers and delicate bride bankets, is come forth (forsooth) to fight a battaile. His whole strength and all his hope hath beene in the Ætolians, a people of all others most vaine, unconstant, and unthankfull, as yee have tried heretofore, and *Antiochus* findeth true at this present. For neither assembled they in great number, nor possible was it to keepe them together in the campe: nay, which more is, they mutine among themselves, and having demanded and required the guard of Hypata and Heraclea, they have defended neither the one nor the other. Some of them are fled to the tops of the mountaines; others have shut themselves within Heraclea. The king himselfe hath confessed plainly, that he was never so hardie as to meet in plaine field and affront the enemy, no nor so much as to pitch his campe in open ground; in that abandoning all that countrie before him, which hee vaunted and bragged that hee had taken from us and *Philip*, hee hath hidden himselfe among the rockes. Hee hath not encamped before the entrance of the gullet and streights (as the same goeth of the Lacedæmonians in times past) but pitched his tents farre within-foorth. And to bewray his cowardly feare, What difference is there between so doing, and housing himselfe within the walles of some citie for to bee besieged? But neither shall those narrow streights save him, no more than those steepe hilles defend the Ætolians, which they have seized. This one thing hath beene forecast and provided for on all sides, that yee shall have nothing to make head against, but your enemies. Now must yee resolve upon this point, That yee fight not onely for the libertie of Greece (and yet even this also were a brave and honourable tide, to bee said for to deliver the same now out of the hands of *Antiochus* and the Ætolians, which before

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you freed from king *Philip* nor that yee shall have no other reward and recompence for your G
paines, but that which we shall find now in the kings camp, but also that the great provision and
furniture which daily is expected from *Ephesus*, shall be your prise and bootie, and that yee shall
hereafter make a way for the Romane Empire into Asia, Syria, and all those most wealthie and
rich realmes, even as farre as to the Levant sunne. And what shall let us then, but that from *Gades*
to the red sea, wee bound and limit our State and dominion, even with the very Ocean that envi-
ronneth and compasseth the round globe of the earth? What shall hinder us, I say, but that all
the nations of the world shall honour and worship the Romane name next unto the immortal
gods? Prepare your hearts therefore and courages answerable to so high rewards, that with the
leave and helpe of the gods we may to morrow fight a field. After this speech the assembly brake
up, and the souldiours being dismissed, made readie their armor and weapons, before they took H
repast or repose. And in the morning, by dawning of the day, the Consull put out the signall of
battell, and set his armie in array, with a narrow and pointed front, according to thenature and
strength of the place. The king seeing the ensignes of his enemies, led forth his forces like-
wise. Part of his light armours he planted before the rampier and trench in the forefront, then he
placed the flower and strength of the Macedonians, whome they call *Sarissophori*, i. Pikemen,
for the suretie and safeguard of his defences and fortifications. And to flanke these on the left side,
he put the archers, the slingers of darts, and slingers of stones, hard upon the foot of the hill,
that from the higher ground they might assaile and pelt the naked sides of the enemies. On the
right flanke of these Macedonians, at the very edge and point of the mures and defences, which
as they were enclosed and mounded with those places which reach to the sea, and are unpassable I
by reason of the bogs, muddie marishes, quavemires, and quicksands, hee set the elephants with
their ordinarie and usuall guard. After them his horsemen and men of armes. Then leaving an
indifferent space between, he raunged the rest of his forces in the second ward or middle battail-
ion. The Macedonians who were bestowed before the camp and the trench, at the first sustained
the Romanes easily enough (who assailed on every side to make an entrie) for much helpe they
had of them, who from the upper ground weighed bullets out of their slings, as thick as an haile
forme, who launched darts also, and shot arrowes besides. But when as afterwards greater num-
bers of enemies preased upon them, and charged them with such violence as possibly might not
be endured, they gave ground, and retired within their fortifications, keeping yett their array and
their ranks whole. And then from the rampier they made (as it were) another palliade with their K
long pikes that they held out afore them. Now the height of their campe-mure was so reasona-
ble, that as it afforded some rise and vantage of ground for their owne men to fight upon it,
so by reason of the length of their speares, they might reach the enemy under them. Inasmuch
as many of the Romanes approching rashly, and venturing to clamber up, were runne cleane
through, and either they had given over and done nothing, or els more of them had died for it,
but that *M. Porcius Cato* having beaten from the top of *Callidromus* the *Ætolians*, and slaine
a great part of them (for he surprised them suddainely at unwares, and most of them fast asleepe)
appeared upon the hill that commaundeth the campe. *Flaccus* sped not so well at *Tichius* and
Rhodiuntia, who laboured to get up those cliffes and holds, but to no purpose. The Macedoni-
ans and the rest that were in the kings hoast and campe, at first, when they descried a farre off L
nothing but a multitude and number marching, imagined verily, that they were the *Ætolians*, who
having discovered the battell and fight a good way off, were comming to aid them. But so soone
as they beheld and discerned neere at hand the ensignes and armour of the Romanes, they tooke
themselves in their owne error, and were upon a suddaine stricken with such feare, that they all
flung their weapons away, and fled. But both their fortifications and defences in the way, and also
the narrowness of the vale through which they were to bee pursued, hindered the Romanes in
following the chase. And the elephants above all which were in the rereward, took up the ground
so, as that the footmen could hardly passe by them, and the horsemen by no meanes possible: so
afrighted were the horses, and caused more trouble and disorder among themselves, than they M
did during the battell. Besides, the Romanes staid some time behind, whiles they rised and ran-
sacked the campe. Howbeit, they had the enemy in chase that day as farre as *Lyleum*, killing
and taking in the very way, not onely many horses and men, but also slaying the elephants which
they could not take alive; which done, they returned to their owne campe, which that day had
beeene assailed by the *Ætolians*, who were of the garrison of *Heraclea*: but that enterprise, as it
was

was exceeding bold and audacious, so it tooke no effect at all. The Consull having at the releefe
of the third watch the night ensuing, sent before his Cavallerie to pursue the enemy, advanced
likewise the ensignes of his legions forward by breake of day. The king by this time had woon
some ground, and gotten a good way before; for hee never gave over galloping with bridle in
horfeneck, untill he had recovered *Elatia*. Where first he gathered together the broken ends of
his armie thus disperfed in flight, and so having rallied a small and poore troupe of souldiours, and
the same armed by the halves, hee retired to *Chalcis*. The Romane Cavallerie was not able to
overtake the king himselfe at *Elatia*, but overthrew and cut off a great part of his armie, which ei-
ther for wearinesse rested themselves dragging behind, or else were scattered one from the other,
as missing their way in those unknowne quarters, going as they did without their guides: & set-
ting aside five hundred which kept about the king, there was not one that escaped of the whole
armie. Which was but a smal number, in proportion of 10000, (if they were no more) for so many
(according to *Polybius*) we have written that the king conducted over with him for his part into
Greece. What were they then to that great power, which (if we believe *Valerius Antias*) came with
the king, for hee writeth that hee had in his hoast threescore thousand, and that fortie thousand
were slaine of them, and above five thousand taken prisoners, with the losse of militarie ensignes
two hundred and thirtie. Of Romanes there died in all a hundred and fittie.

As the Consull marched with his armie through *Phocis* and *Beotia*, the States and cities
which were privie to the revolt, and partly culpable, stood without their gates with their infules
and veiles in token of peace, and craved mercie, fearing they should have beene pilled and ran-
sacked as enemies. But his hoast journeyed every day as in a peaceable & friend-country, doing no
hurt or wrong to any earthly creature, untill they were come into the territorie of *Corona*: where
the Statue or image of *Antiochus* erected in the temple of *Minerva Itanea* kindled their choler,
and the souldiours were permitted to spoile the country lying about that temple. But bethinking
themselves, that (considering the said Statue was set up with the publicke consent of all *Beotia*) it
was an indignitie to deale so hardly with that territorie onely of *Corona*, the souldiours were
immediately called in and reclaimed, and so they ceased the waiting and spoiling thereof. The
Beotians onely had a checke and rebuke by words, for carrying so unthankfull hearts to the
Romanes, of whom they had so lately received such high favours and benefices.

At the very time of the battell aforesaid, there rid at anker ten ships of the kings, in the gulf
D of *Malea* neere to *Thronium*, under the charge and conduct of *Isidorus*. To which place *Alexan-
der* the *Acarnanian*, being fled from the conflict, fresh bleeding and full of greivous wounds,
brought newes of the unfortunate fight. Whereupon the ships in great feare for this late terror,
made hast and away to *Ceneum* in *Eubæa*, where *Alexander* died, and was interred. But three
other ships which were come out of Asia, and lay in the same rode, upon the newes of the defea-
ture of the armie, returned to *Ephesus*. And *Isidorus* crossed the seas from *Ceneum* to *Demetria*,
as if peradventure the king were fled thither. About that very time, *A. Atilius* the admirall of the
Romane navie, intercepted and surprised great store of the kings provisions, which had passed
alreadie the streights neere the Iland *Andros*. Some ships he sunke, others he boured and
tooke: as for those that came himmost in the rereward, they turned saile, and shaped their course
E into Asia. *Atilius* being returned to *Pyræum* (from whence he came) with a flecte of ships
taken from the enemies, divided great store of come both among the Atheniens, and other
allies also of that countrie.

Antiochus somewhat before the Consull his comming, loosed from *Chalcis*, and first fell
with the island *Tenus*, and afterwards sailed to *Ephesus*. Against the Consull his arrivall at *Chal-
cis* the gates were set open for him, and *Aristotle* the Captaine there for the king, quit the place
upon the approachment of the Consull. In like manner other cities in *Eubæa* yielded without
resistance. And so within few dayes (when all troubles were appeased and set in quiet order with-
out the hurt and damage of any one citie) the armie was brought back to *Thermopyla*, and wan
much more honor and commendation for the modestie used after victorie, than for the victo-
rie it selfe.

From thence the Consull dispatched *M. Cato* to Rome, by whose certeine and sure relation,
the Senat and people might have full knowledge of all the affaires that had passed. Who taking
sea at *Creusa* (a port towne of Merchandise standing within the inmost gulf of *Corinth*) arri-
ved at *Patra*, a citie in *Achæa*. From *Patra*, he coasted along the rivers of *Ætolia* and *Acar-
nania*,

namia, as far as Corphu, and so cut over to *Hydruntum in Italie, from whence he travailed by G land, and in exceeding great hast within five dayes came to Rome. Early in the morning before day light he entred the citie, and from the gate rode directly to *M. Iunius* the Pretour, who assembled the Senate betimes by the breake of day: and thither, *L. Cornelius Scipio* (who some dayes before had bene dismissed & sent away from the camp by the Consull) hearing at his first comming that *Cato* was gotten before him, and in the Senate, repaired, even as he was relating the newes. Then these two Lieutenants by the commaundement of the Senate were presented in the generall assembly of the people, where they declared the same which they had done before in the Senate house, as touching the deeds achieved in *Ætolia*. And ordeined it was, that a solemne procession for three dayes should be holden, and that the Pretour should sacrifice fortie head of greater beasts, in the honor of what gods he would himselfe.

And at the same time *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who two yeeres before went as Pretour into the farther Spaine, entred the citie in pomp of an Ovation, or petie triumph. He caused to be borne before him of silver bigates 130000. And besides that silver in coine and readie monie, 12000 pound weight. Also in gold the weight of 127 pound. *Acilius* the Consull sent certeine messengers from Thermopylæ to the *Ætolians* at Heraclea, to advertise them that before he came they would now at last be wiser and bethinke themselves (after such experience of the king his vanitie and insufficiencie) for to deliver up Heraclea, and crave pardon of the Senate, either for their wilfull folly, or their blind error. Who used these and such like motives and inducements unto them, namely, That other cities likewise of Greece (during this warre) abandoned the Romanes and revolted from them, at whose hands they had received so many benefites: yet because that after the king was fled (upon whose assurance they had disloyally broken their allegiance) they stood not out still, nor persisted obstinately in their fault and folly, were received to mercie and protection. The *Ætolians* likewise albeit they followed not the king, but sent for him, and were rather conducters and leaders, than companions and associates in this warre, yet it they could take up in time and repent, they might be pardoned and saved. But no answer returned they tending to peace: nay it appeared, that the matter would come to a triall by armes, and for all the king was vanquished, yet the *Ætolian* warre was behind as wholly and enier as before time. Whereupon the Consull dislodged from Thermopylæ, and marched directly against Heraclea: yea and the very same day he rode on horseback all about the walls to view the situation of the citie. This Heraclea is seated at the foote of the mountaine Oeta: and though the towne it selfe standeth in a plaine, yet a fortresse it hath built upon an high ground, which as it overlooketh the citie, so it is so steepe on every side, that it is altogether inaccessible. After he had diligently beheld all things that were to be marked and knowne, he determined to assault the towne in foure places at once. Vnto *L. Valerius* he gave in charge to plant his platformes and to batter that side where the river Asopus runneth, & where the publick place of exercise is built. *T. Sempronius Longus* had commission to assaile the castle, without the walls indeed, but yet better inhabited & more peopled (as a man would say) than the towne it selfe. On that side which standeth toward the gulph of Malca, which part yeilded the hardest access, he appointed *M. Be-*
bitus. And from another pretie river which they call *Melas, he set *Appius Claudius* opposite against the temple of *Diana*. Through the great industrie and earnest labour of these foure gal-

* Black water.

lants, striving who could performe the best service, the worke went so well forward, that within few dayes the frames and platformes, the Rammes and all other engines of batterie meete for the assault of cities, were finished. For besides that the territorie about Heraclea, being a moorie ground and full of tall trees, afforded them plentie enough of timber to frame and performe all sorts of fabricks: the houses also in the entrie of the citie without in the Suburbs standing void, by reason that the *Ætolians* had put themselves within the walls, yeilded unto them not onely posts, beames, joists, planks and boards, but brick and tile, plaster, mortar, and stone of all sizes for divers and sundrie uses. So, the Romanes assaulted the towne rather with fabricks, ordinance and artillery, than by force of armes: but the *Ætolians* contrariwise defended themselves by maine strength and their weapons. For when as the walls should be shaken with the rammes, they caught not hold of them as the manner is with cords, and by plucking them aside, avoided their jures; but armed in great number, they carried fire with them to sing upon the terraces and the fabricks. They had besides divers vaults and arches in the walls, at which they could redily and fitly fallie out: and ever as themselves closed up the breaches of their walls, or

A made new for the ruinate, they would remember to make more of those vaults still, that in many places at once they might breake forth upon their enemies. Thus for the first dayes, while they were fresh in heart, they issued forth oftentimes & many together, & quit themselves right lustily: but afterwards in fewer numbers, & more slackly every day than other. For being evermore employed about many things at once, nothing so much tamed and wearied them, as watching. For whereas the Romanes had a great number of souldiours, and one garded after another successively by turnes, the *Ætolians* being so few, were constrained without any change, to continue in incessant labor night and day. Thus for the space of 24 dayes they had no rest nor respite, but day and night was all one unto them, maintaining fight still, and labouring without intermission against the enemies that assailed the citie in all foure quarters at once. When the Consull knew once that the *Ætolians* were weerie and overtoiled (partly by counting the time, and partly by that which he had learned of certeine fugitives) he used this pollicie & stratageme. About midnight he sounded the retreat, and having drawne all his souldiours at once from the assault, held them quiet in the camp untill the third houre of the day. After that, he began to give a fresh charge, and continued it unto midnight following, and so gave over againe untill the same houre before noone. The *Ætolians* supposing verily that the cause why they surceased the assault, was for very wearinesse (like as themselves were tired out) so soone as the Romanes had the retreat sounded unto them, departed every man from his ward and quarter, as if they also by the same signal were called away, & shewed not themselves in armor upon the walls before the third houre of the next day. The Consull having at one time given over the battérie aforesaid at midnight, C began at the *fourth watch a fresh assault again with all forcible means in three parts: and at one * Three of the side, he gave commaundement to *T. Sempronius* to keepe his men together, and intently to observe and wait for the signall: assuring himselfe that in the alarme by night, the enemies would run to those places from whence they heard the noyse. The *Ætolians*, many of them being found asleepe, had much to do to rouse themselves, & were loth to rise up from their sweet sleep, their bodies being so weary with toiling, moiling, and watching before. Some of them who were yet awake ran in the darke to the place where the assailants made a noyse. Their enemies laboured to get into the towne, some by mounting over the ruines and breaches of the broken wall, others by skaling & climbing with ladders. And against them the *Ætolians* ran from all parts, redy to succor and help. One quarter, whereas there stood houses without the citie, was neither defended nor assailed: but as there were some redy, & waited for the signall to give the assault, so there was not one of the other part for to resist and defend. Now began the day to peepe, when as the Consull put forth the signall, and the souldiers began to mount over into the citie, & found none to withstand them: some entred at the walls halfe broken downe, other scaled them with ladders where they stood whole & sound. And the cry was not so soone heard that the citie was taken, but the *Ætolians* left their gards on all sides, & fled into the Castle. The souldiers that had woon the towne were permitted by the Consull to rise and ranfack it: which was not done so much upon anger & despite, as in this regard, that the souldiers who had ben kept short & fasting thus long (notwithstanding so many townes recovered out of the enemies hands) might once at length in some one place tast the fruit of victorie. The Consull having called from thence about noone, the E souldiers unto him, divided them into two parts, whereof he commaunded the one to cast about the foot of the hills unto a rock or cliffe, which being in height equall to the castle aforesaid, was notwithstanding divided from it by a valley betweene, seeming as if it had bene sometime a part thereof and cut from it. Now these two points of the hills shot up so neere together in the head, that from the top of the one, a man might launce a dart into the castle or fortresse. The Consull with the other halfe of his souldiours staid beneath, expecting a signe and token from them that were to get up to the cliffe behind, redie thereupon to mount up from the towne side into the fort. The *Ætolians* that were within the castle, could neither abide at the first the sight of those that had seized the cliffe, nor afterwards the assault of the Romanes from the citie, both for that their hearts failed them & were daunted already, and also because they were unprovided of all necessaries for to endure any long siege & assault: considering that women & children & all the other impotent multitude unmeet to beare arms, were gotten thither in so great numbers, that the place was hardly able to receive & conteine, much lesse to keepe & maintaine them: and therefore at the first assault, they cast downe their weapons, and yeilded. Among other principall personages of the *Ætolians*, *Damocritus* also was delivered; hee, who in the beginning of the war when

K k k k iij

T. Quintus

T. Quintius desired to see a copie of the Decree of the Ætolians for the sending for Antiochus, G answered, That he would shew it him in Italie, when the Ætolians lay there encamped. For this proud speech of his, the Romanes now conquerours, were the gladder that they had gotten him into their hands.

During the time that the Romanes assailed Heraclea, Philip also besieged and battered Lamia, according as it was before agreed between them: for neere unto Thermopylae, at what time as the Consull returned out of Bæotia, he met with him, of purpose to signifie his joy in the behalfe of him and the people of Rome, for their achieved victorie; and also to excuse himselfe by occasion of sickness, that he was not present with him in person in the managing of the wars. From thence they parted asunder, and took divers waies, for to assault these two cities (as I said) both at once: and distant they were one from the other neere 7 miles. And forasmuch as Lamia H was seated upon an hill, therefore the town discovered and overlooked all the country about; but especially on that side toward Heraclea, where, by reason that it seemeth a lesse compasse, it representeth a full prospect to the eye. When as the Romans and Macedonians laboring a vie and striving who could doe better, were day and night emploied either about their fabricks and pioneers worke, or else in skirmish and fight: the Macedonians found more difficultie than they, in this respect, that the Romans were busied in platforms, mantlets, & works all above ground; but the Macedonians were put to undermine: and oftentimes (as it falleth out in such stonie & cragie ground) they met with hard flints & rags not minable, and such as no yron or steel-toole was able to touch and pierce. The king seeing litle good done by this meanes, and his enterprize going but slowly forward, began to fownd the townesmen, and to tempt them to render the citie, I using the mediation therein of their chiefe citizens whome he parled withall: for this reckoning he made, that if Heraclea were forced before it, they within the citie would sooner yeeld unto the Romans than to him, and so the Consull should win all the thanke to himselfe for levying the siege. And nothing was he short of his count; for immediately upon the winning of Heraclea, a messenger came unto him from the Consull, willing him to surcease the assault and the siege; alledging it was more reason, that the Romanes souldiours who had fought in raunged battell with the Ætolians, should have the reward and recompence of the victorie. By this means Lamia was abandoned, and by the ruine of Heraclea her neighbour citie, avoided and escaped the like calamitie of her owne.

Some few daies before that Heraclea was woen, the Ætolians having assembled a Diet at Hypata, addrest Embassadours unto Antiochus, and Thoss among the rest, even hee, who aforetime had bene sent unto him. His commission and charge was, first, To request the king that once againe hee would rallie his forces as well by land as at sea, and in person passe over into Greece: secondly, If any other important affaires hindred him, yet that hee would send unto them both men and money. For as it touched his Highnesse, in honour, reputation and credit, not to see his allies abandoned; so it made for the safeguard and securitie of his owne realme and royall estate, not to suffer the Romanes (after they had once deffeated the Ætolians) to saile over into Asia at their ease and pleasure, with all their forces. These were no feigned devises, but true remonstrances indeed; and therefore prevailed the more with the king. Whereupon hee delivered money presently to the Embassadours, sufficient to defray the charges of the warre, and promised certainly to send men to serve both by land and sea. Thoss alone of all the Embassadours hee kept still with him, who was not himselfe unwilling to stay behind, because hee might be ever at hand to call upon the king for to performe his word and behest. But the winning of Heraclea killed the hearts cleane of the Ætolians in the end: and within few daies after that they had dispatched their Embassadours into Asia about the renewing of the warre and sending for the king, they laid apart all designments of armes, and addrest their Oratours unto the Romanes to crave peace. Who, as they began to make some speech, the Consull cut them off, and said, he had other matters of greater importance to thinke upon and to dispatch; and commaunded them to content themselves with a truce for ten daies, and to returne to Hypata; and with them he sent L. Valerius Flaccus, unto whom they should declare those things that they were about to deliver unto him, and whatsoever else they had to say. When they were arrived at Hypata, the chiefe and principall Ætolians assembled themselves in the lodging of Flaccus, consulting with him what course they were to take in their treatie with the Consull. And when they went in hand to alledge the auncient rights of the leagues, and to lay abroad their good demerits,

demerits, and what they had done for the Romanes: Flaccus bad them lay a straw there, and speake no more of the priviledge of those covenants and accords which they themselves had broken; shewing unto them, that they should speed better and gaine more by a simple confession of their trespass, and in recourse only to praier and humble supplication; for as much as all the hope they might have of safetie, rested not in their owne desert and goodnesse of their cause, but in the meere clemencie and mercie of the people of Rome: promising for his part to assist them and second their petitions as well to the Consull as the Senate of Rome, since that thither also they must of necessitie send an embassage. This way seemed to them all, the best simply for their safetie, namely, to put themselves to the disposition and devotion of the Romanes: for they supposed by this meanes to drive the Romanes for very shame to have regard of them, and not to offer hurt or violent outrage to them, comming in the habit of poore suppliants: and yet withall, if any opportunitee of better fortune should in the meane time offer it selfe unto them, to be their owne masters neverthelesse and at their choise. When they were come before the Consull, Phaneas the chiefe of that embassie, made a long Oration, couching and framing his words sundrie waies right artificially, to mitigate and assuage the wrath of the conquerour, which he knit up and concluded with this speech, saying, That the Ætolians committed themselves and all that they had to the mercie and protection of the people of Rome. When the Consull heard those words: See you doe so then indeed (quoth hee) O yee Ætolians, and take heed I advise you that you deale herein bona fide. Then Phaneas brought forth and shewed a faire instrument of a Decree, wherein the same was engrossed in plaine termes. Since that (quoth he againe) you meane good earnest, and are at our disposition, I demaund that yee deliver unto me out of hand Dicaearchus a statesman of yours, and Atenates of Epirus, (who being entred into Naupactum with a garrison, had compelled the citie to revolt) also Aminander and all the Nobles of the Athamans, by whose counsell and suggestions yee fell from us and rebelled. Phaneas interrupted the Consull before he had well made an end of his speech, Wee yeeld not our selves (quoth he) to be your villaines and slaves, but as allies to be protected by you: and I am verily perswaded you know not what you do, to impose those things upon us against all the manner and custome of the Greekes. The Consull replied againe; In good faith, I passe not (quoth he) greatly what the Ætolians deeme well or ill done according to the fashions of the Greekes; all the whiles that I, after the custome of the Romanes, have that power and commaund over D them, who erewhile by vertue of their owne decree yeelded unto us, and heretofore by force of our armes have bene vanquished and subdued by us. And therefore, unlesse that bee executed which I commaund, yea and with speed, my will is, that presently here you bee bound hand and foot: and with that he commaunded chaines and gives to be brought forth, and the Listsours to come about them for to lay hold upon them. Then the stout courage both of Phaneas & the rest of the Ætolians, was well cooled and abated: and so at length they saw in what poore plight they were. And Phaneas made answer, That both himselfe and the Ætolians there present in place, knew well, that those things were to bee performed which were imposed upon them, but (quoth hee) there needs a Counsell of the Ætolians for to enact a decree thereof, and therefore hee requested the Consull to allow a surcease of armes onely for tenne daies. Then Flaccus began to speake for the Ætolians, and at his request the said abstinence was graunted, and so they returned to Hypata. When Phaneas had related in the privie counsell of those elect peeres of that nation called Apocleti, as well the demaunds that were commaunded, as what had like to have fallen upon themselves in person, the peeres sighed deeply and groned againe, to see their miserable condition; howbeit they were all of opinion, that the victour must of necessitie bee obeyed: and a generall parliament assembled of the Ætolian burgeoises out of all their townes and cities. When all that multitude was gathered together, and heard the same related againe, their hearts so fretted within them at the crueltie and indignitie of those lordly commaunds, that if they had been well settled in peace, yet such a fit of anger had been ynough to have put them into armes. And to stirre the fume and choler the more, the difficultie of effecting the things demaunded, helped well: for how possibly could they compasse to deliver Aminander, being as hee was an absolute king? But even then there was presented unto them by chauce a new hope. For E Nicander at that very time, comming from king Antiochus, filled the peoples heads with this vaine expectation, namely that the king made wonderous provision for warre, as well by sea as land. This Nicander having accomplished his embassage, and made returne againe into Ætolia,

lia, within the compasse of twelve daies, after he was embarked, arrived at Phalera in the gulf of G Maleas: from whence having brought the monies which hee had, downe to Lamia, whiles himselfe with certain deliver men and lightly appointed, travelled toward Hypata in the evening, betwene the Roman and Ætolian campe, through pathes that he well knew; he chanced to stumble ere he was aware, upon the *corps de guard* of the Macedonians, and was brought to the king before supper was done, the table taken up, and the king risen. When *Philip* was advertised thereof, he shewed no other countenance, than if a friend or guest, and not an enemy was come; hee bad him sit downe at the board, and eat his meat. Afterwards hee kept him there with him still in the rouse, and voided all the rest, willing him in no case to bee afraid. He blamed greedily the bad courtes and designements of the Ætolians (which evermore lighted upon their own pates) who first had brought the Romanes, and then *Antiochus* into Greece. But for my part (quoth hee) since things done and past, may sooner bee blamed than amended, I am content to forget and put all under my foot, and will never bee the man that will seeme to insult over them in their distresse and adversitie. And so should the Ætolians likewise take up in time, and lay aside all their rancour and mallice to me: and *Nicander* especially ought to remember this day, on which by me his life was preserved. With that he sent him away with a good convoy, until he was past all danger: and this *Nicander*, as is before said, came to Hypata, even as the Ætolians were in deepe consultation about peace with the Romanes.

M. Acilius having either sold outright or given away to the souldiours the bootie of the country about Heraclea, and hearing that the counsell at Hypata nothing tended to peace, and that the Ætolians were run together to Naupactum, for to abide in that place the whole violence of the warre; sent *Appius Claudius* afore, with foure thousand souldiours to seize the tops of the mountaines, where as the passages were difficult; and himselfe ascended up to the hill Oeta, and sacrificed to *Hercules* in that very place which they call Pyra, by occasion that the mortall bodie of that god was there consumed with fire: from whence hee departed with his whole armie, and performed the rest of his journey well, and marched with ease. Being come to Corax (an exceeding high mountaine betwene Callipolis and Naupactum) he lost there many of his labouring beatts and sumpter horses, which together with their loades and fardels, as they went, tumbled downe headlong from the mountaine, and his men also were much troubled and encumbered. Whereby it was soone seene, with how lazie and idle an enemy hee had to deale, who had not betet and kept with a guard that difficult passage, to empeach and shut up the thoroughfare from the enemies. Howbeit, as much toiled and troubled as his armie was, hee descended to Naupactum. And having erected one fort against the castle, hee invested all the other parts of the citie, and divided his forces according to the situation of the walls. This siege hee found as toilsome and painefull, as that at Heraclea.

At the same time began the Achæans to lay siege to Messene also in Peloponnesus, for that it refused to be of their counsell and association. For these two cities, Messene and Elis, were exempt from the Achæan Diet, and accorded with the Ætolians. Howbeit, the Eleans, after that *Antiochus* was chased out of Greece, gave the embassadours of Achæa a more mild answer, to wit, That when they had discharged and sent away the kings garrison, they would consider of the matter what to do. But the Messenians having without any answer at all, sent the embassadours away, had levied warre; and fearing much their owne estate, seeing their territorie overspread with an armie, and every where burned, yea, and their enemies encamped neere unto their citie, addressed unto Chalcis their embassadours to *T. Quintius* (the very man who before had set them at libertie) to signifie unto him, That the Messenians were readie both to open their gates, & also to surrender their citie unto the Romanes, and not to the Achæans. *Quintius* so soone as he had heard their embassage, sent a messenger incontinently to Megalopolis, unto *Diophanes*, the Pretour there of the Achæans, to commaund him presently to retire his hoast from Messene, and to repaire unto him. *Diophanes* obeyed his commaundement, and having raised his siege, marched himselfe lightly appointed for speed, before the rest of his armie, and about Andania, a small town betwene Megalopolis and Messene, encountred *Quintius*. Unto whom after he had shewed the causes of the siege, he received at his hands a gentle rebuke only, for that he had enterprised a matter of so great consequence without his authoritie; with an expresse commaundement also to casse and discharge his armie, and not to disturbe and trouble the peace, made for the good and benefit of all. The Messenians likewise he charged to call home their banished persons into their

A their citie, and to joine with the Achæans in their general Diet and assembly. And if they either had any matters to refuse, or would willingly provide for themselves against the future time, hee willed them to make their repaire unto him at Corinth, and enjoined *Diophanes* immediately to summon the Diet of the Achæans for him, where personally himselfe would be. Where, after he had complained as touching the Island Zacynthus, that by fraud and trecherie they had come by and kept, he required that it should bee restored to the Romanes. Now this Isle had sometime appertained to *Philip* the king of the Macedonians, and he gave it unto *Aminander*, in consideration, that he might conduct his armie into the higher parts of Ætolia, through Athamania: in which expeditions and exploits of his, the Ætolians hearts were so abated and quailed, that they were constrained to seek peace. *Aminander* made first *Philip* the Megapolitane, governor of this Island; but afterwards, in time of that war wherein he banded with *Antiochus* against the Romanes, he called him away from thence to employ him in martiall affaires, and sent *Hierocles* the Agrigentine to succeed him in his place. This *Hierocles*, after the defeature and flight of *Antiochus* from Thermopylæ, and the expulsion of *Aminander* out of Athamania by king *Philip*, dispatched of his owne motion certaine messengers unto *Diophanes*, the Pretour of the Achæans, and for a summe of money agreed upon betwene them, betrayed the Island to the Achæans. The Romanes thought it great reason, that this Island should bee theirs, in recompence for the warres which they had maintained for as much as *M. Acilius* the Consull, & the Roman legions fought not at Thermopylæ for *Diophanes*, ne yet for the Achæans. *Diophanes* to these chalenges and demands sometime excused himselfe and the whole nation, otherwhiles stood to it, and avowed the action, and maintained the cause by a plea of right. Some there were of the Achæans there, that both protested, how from the beginning they utterly misliked the course, and also at this present much blamed the Pretour for his wilfull obstinacie. And by their advise and authoritie an act was set downe, that the whole matter should be referred and put to *Quintius*, to determine what he pleased. Now had *Quintius* this nature, if a man crossed and thwarted him, he was fierce and fell; if one yeilded and gave place, he was as gentle again, and pliable. And therefore, without shewing any signe of debate, either in language or countenance, thus he spake. If I thought (qd. he) and were perswaded in my heart, that it were good & commodious for the Achæans to hold the Island, and possesse this Island in question, I would advise the Senat and people of Rome to let you enjoy it. But like as a Tortoise, so long as she keepeth her selfe close within her shell (I see) is sure and safe enough, against all blowes and offence whatsoever; but when shee once putteth forth any parts, looke whatsoever is discovered and naked, the same is weake and subject to injurie: even so you Achæans, being enclosed round about with the sea, are able easily to adjoyne unto yourselves whatsoever lyeth within the precinct of Peloponnesus, & to keep the same also when you have laid it to you: but so soone as for a greedie desire of having more and encroching further, you goe beyond those bonds, you lye open without, and are exposed to all hurt and damage. Thus Zacynthus was delivered to the Romanes with the assent of all the Counsel there assembled, and *Diophanes* durst not say a word more to the contrarie.

At the same time, king *Philip* asked the Consull as he marched to Naupactum, Whether it was his pleasure, that he in the meane while should recover and regaine those cities which were revolted from the association of the Romanes? And having a graunt and warrant from him, hee led his forces against Demetrias, knowing well enough in what termes of troubles that city then stood. For being forlorne and in utter despaire, seeing *Antiochus* had forsaken them and no hope at all remaining in the Ætolians: they looked every day and night either for the coming of *Philip* their heavie friend; or else even the Romanes themselves a worse enemy, like as they had a more just cause of anger and indignation against them. A confused and disordered sort there were of king *Antiochus* his souldiours, who being but a few at first left there to lie in garrison, grew after to be more, and most of them unarmed; such as after the field was lost [at Thermopylæ] thither chanced to flie, and neither had strength nor heart enough to abide a siege. And therefore when *Philip* sent certaine messengers before unto them, to signifie, that there was some hope that they might be pardoned: they made them this answer, That the gates were open for the king, and that hee might enter at his pleasure. At his first entrance, certaine cheefe men of marke quit the citie and departed, and *Eurylochus* killed himselfe. The garrison souldiours of *Antiochus* (for so they had capitulated) were conducted to Lyfimachia through Macedonie and Thrace, accompanied with a convoy of Macedonians, for feare that any man should

should do them harme. There were some few ships also in the rode of Demetrias, under the command of *Isidorus*, which together with their leader and captain were dismissed. After this, he regained Dolopia, Aperantia, and certeine cities of Perrhoebia.

During the time that *Philip* was employed in these affaires, *T. Quintius* having recovered the Iland Zacynthus, departed from the Diet of the Achæans, and crossed the seas to Naxos, which had bin beleaguered already two moneths, and was at the point to be forced and lost: which if it might have bin won by assault, it was thought that the whole nation and name of the Ætolians there, would have perished for ever. And albeit he had good cause to be highly offended and displeased with the Ætolians, in remembrance that they only checked and impeached his glorie, at what time as he set Greece free: and that they were nothing stirred and moved with his authoritie, when he (forewarning them that those things would happen which afterwards fell out just so indeed) would have discomfelled and skared them from foolish and furious designs: yet, supposing that it was a speciall part of his charge and worke, that no nation of Greece (now freed by him) should utterly be subverted and destroyed, he began to walke up and downe along under the walls, to the end that he might be seene, and soone knowne of the Ætolians. And anon the very foremost guards tooke notice of him, and noyed it was presently throughout all the ranks and companies that *Quintius* was there. And thereupon they ran from all parts up to the walls, every man stretched forth his hands, and with one accord and consonant voyce called by name unto *Quintius*, beseeching him to help and save them. And albeit he was moved at these their piteous cries with commiseration, yet for that time he signified by the turning away of his head, that he refused & denied them: asking withall, What lay in him to do them any good? But afterwards, being come unto the Consull, Know you not (quoth he) *o M. Atilius* whereabout we are, & what we have in hand? or if you be a man provident enough, esteeme you not that it mainly concerneth the common weale? He set the Consull by these words a longing, and caused him to geve more attentive care what he would say, and withall, Why do you not speake forth (quoth the Consull) and utter your mind what the matter is? Then quoth *Quintius*: See you not that after you have vanquished *Antiochus*, you spend and loose much time here in the siege & assault of two cities, when as now the yeere of your government is welneere come about? And *Philip* in the meane time without seeing a battaile or the ensignes of his enemies displayed, hath gained and joynd to himselfe not cities only, but so many nations already, namely, Athamania, Perrhoebia, Aperantia and Dolopia? But it is nothing so good and expedient for us, nor standeth it us so much upon, to take downe the Ætolians and pare their nailes, as to looke unto *Philip* that he wax not too great: and (seeing you and your followers have not gotten yet two cities in reward and recompense of victorie) not to suffer him to go cleere away with so many nations of Greece. The Consull accorded hereunto: but hee thought it a shame and dishonor for him to give over the siege and effect nothing: but afterwards, all the matter was put unto the disposition of *Quintius*. Who went againe to that side of the wall, where as a little before the Ætolians called and cried aloud unto him. And when as they intreated him more earnestly and with greater affection to take pitie of the Ætolian people, he willed some of them to come forth unto him. And immediately, *Phantus* himself with other principall persons of the Ætolians, went out unto him; unto whom lying prostrate and groveling at his feete: Your present fortune (quoth he) and hard estate wherein you are, causeth me both to temper my choler, and also to stay my tongue. Those things you now see are fallen out, which I foretold would come to passe. And not so much as this is left unto you, That the calamities false upon your heads can be truly said to have light upon them that have not deserved as much. Howbeit, since it hath ben allotted unto me as it were by destinie to be a foster-father (as I may so say) to nurse up Greece, I will not cease even to do you good, as to thankesse and ungratefull persons as you are. Send your Oratours to the Consull, to intreat him to graunt you a truce for so long, untill you may addresse your embassadors to Rome, by whome you shall wholly referre and submit your selves to the Senat: and I will not faile to be an intercessor & advocate to the Consull for you, & likewise unto the Senat. And as *Quintius* counselled them, so did they. Neither rejected the Consull their embassie, but graunted them abstinence of war for such a terme as within which they might have an answer of their embassage to Rome: so hee dislodged, the siege was raised, and the armie sent into Phocis. The Consull together with *Quintius* passed over the sea to Ægium, unto the generall Counsaile of Achæa. There was much treatie and

A and partie about the Eleans, and the restoring of the Lacedæmonian exiles: but nothing was effected in the one or the other. As for the Lacedæmonians, the Achæans were desirous to reserve that for themselves, and to win thereby a thanks, as proceeding from their speciall grace. And the Eleans, chose rather to come and be united to the Achæan Parliament of themselves, than by the mediation of the Romanes. The embassadors of the Epicrotes came unto the Consull, who (it was well knowne) carried out themselves sound and upright in the extirpating of the Romanie amitie: howbeit, they had not levied a soldiour for *Antiochus*. Charged they were to have relieved him with monie: and denie themselves they could not: but they had sent their embassadors unto the king. And when they put up a petition, that they might be accepted againe into the ancient band of amitie: this answer the Consull returned unto them, That he knew not yet whether to range them in the number of enemies, or peaceable friends, and therefore of the Senat should be judge; & therefore he referred their whole entier cause to Rome. And to that purpose a truce he graunted them of fourescore and ten dayes. The Epicrotes thus sent to Rome, presented themselves before the Senat, and when they stood rather upon these termes in recounting those things wherein they had not shewed any open hostilitie, than in clearing themselves of those matters that were laid against them; they received such an answer, as whereby they might be thought rather to have obtained pardon, than to have made good and justified their cause. The embassadors also of king *Philip* about that time had audience given them in the Senat, who came to congratulate with the Romanes, testifying their owne joy, and withling theirs for their victorie: and upon their request, that they might sacrifice in the Capitoll, and offer an oblation and present of gold in the temple of *Imp. Opt. Max.* the Senat gave them good leave. So, they presented and offered a crowne of gold weighing one hundred pound. These embassadors had not only a friendly answer & gracious dispatch: but also *Demetrius* the sonne of king *Philip*, who had lien as an hostage at Rome, was delivered unto them, for to bring home againe unto his father. Thus was the warre atchieved and brought to an end, which *M. Atilius* the Consull waged against king *Antiochus* in Greece.

The other Consull *P. Cornelius Scipio*, whose lot was to governe the province of Gaule, before that he took his journey to that warre which he was to make against the Boians, demanded of the Senat, that money should be assigned unto him, for to perforce those plaies and games which he had promised by vow, as Viz. pretour in Spaine, when he was driven to a great extremitie in a battell. This seemed to be a strange & unreasonable demand. Whereupon the LL. of the Senat ordained, That what plaies the Consull had vowed on his owne head without asking the advise and counsell of the Senat, the same he should exhibit and set forth either with the issue of the spoiles gotten from the enemies, (if haply hee had reserved any money raised thereout to that purpose) or else defray the charges out of his owne purse. These plaies and games *P. Cornelius* represented for the space of ten daies. And neere about the same time, the temple of the great goddesse dame *Cybele* (or *Idæa*) was dedicated. This goddesse being brought out of Asia, in the time that *P. Cornelius Scipio* (surnamed afterwards *Africanus*) and *P. Licinius* were Consuls, was conveyed from the sea side into the mount Palatine. The temple was set out to be built at a price (according to an act of the Senat) by *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* the Censors, when *M. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. Thirteene yeeres after the bargain was made for the edifying thereof, *M. Junius Brutus* dedicated it and for the honor of this dedication, were the first stage-plaies exhibited, (as *Valerius Antias* mine author saith) called thereupon Megalefia. In like manner, *C. Licinius Lucullus* (one of the two Duumvirs) dedicated the temple of the goddesse *Inuentus*, in the great Race called *Circus maximus*. The same had *M. Livius* the Consull vowed sixteene yeeres before, even that very day in which hee defeated *Asdruball* and his armie. The same *Livius* in his Censorship, went through and bargained for the building thereof, whiles *M. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. And in the honour of dedicating this temple, the plaies were set forth: and all was done with more devotion, because there was a new warre intended against king *Antiochus*. In the beginning of this yeere in which these things passed, whiles *P. Cornelius* the Consull staid still behind at Rome, (for *M. Atilius* was gon forth already to warre:) it is found in records, that two tame oxen climbed up a ladder in the street Carinæ, to the tyle-roofe of a certaine house there. And the soothsayers gave expresse order, that they should be burnt quicke, and the ashes to be throwen into Tyber. Also it was reported, that at Tarracina and Amiternum, it rained stones sundrie times. Item, That in Minturnæ the temple

temple of *Jupiter* and the shops about the market place, were blasted and smitten with lightning; G and in the verie mouth of the river *Vulturnus*, two ships caught fire from heaven, and were consumed. In regard of these fearefull prodigies, the *Decemvirs* by order from the Senat, went to the bookes of *Sibylla* and perused them; and out of their learning pronounced, that a solemne fast should be now instituted in the honour of *Ceres*, and the same to be observed and holden every fift year: also that a novendiall sacrifice for nine daies together should continue; and a supplication for one day: and that they who went in this procession & supplication, should wear garlands and wreathes of flowers upon their heads: lastly, That the Consull *P. Cornelius* should sacrifice to what gods, & with what beasts, the *Decemvirs* would appoint and pronounce. When the gods were pacified, as well by the accomplishment of the vowes accordingly, as by taking order for the expiation of those wonderous signes, the Consull tooke his journey into his province: from whence hee commaunded *Cneus Domitius* the *Propretour* (after hee had called his armie) to depart to Rome: and himselfe entred with his legions into the territorie of the Boians.

Within a litle of that time, the *Ligurians* (by vertue of a sacred law that they had) levied and assembled an armie, and by night assailed the campe unawares to *Quintus Minutius* the Proconsull. *Minutius* kept his souldiours in order of battaile untill day within his hold, having an eye and circumspect regard, that the enemie should not mount over the trench and defences in any place. And at the day-broke he sallied forth at two gates at once: neither were the *Ligurians* repulsed (as he hoped they should) at the first charge; for they sustained and held out the skirmish above two houres, with doubtful event on both sides. At the last, when band after band issued out, and still fresh soldiers succeeded in the rout of the wearied, for to mainteine fight, the *Ligurians* in the end (besides other distresses, lost for want of sleepe also) turned their backs. Of the enemies were slaine above foure thousand; of *Romanes* and allies, under three hundred. Two moneths after or somewhat lesse, *P. Cornelius* the Consull gave battell to the Boians and woon the day; slew 28000 enemies, (as *Valerius Antias* writeth) took 3400 prisoners, gained 124 militarie ensignes, 1230 horses, chariots 247: and of the winners (as hee saith) there died not above 1484. Where (by the way) how litle credit foever (as touching the number) we give unto this Writer, (for in that point there is none overreacheth more than he) yet apparant it is, that a right great victorie it was; both for that the campe was woon, and the Boians after that battell presently yeelded themselves; as also for that in regard of this victorie a joyfull procession was by order from the Senat holden, and greater beasts slaine for sacrifice.

Not much under or over this present time, *M. Fulvius Nobilior* returned out of the farther province of *Spaine* in pompe of an Ovation, and carried in shew 10000 pound weight of silver in bullion; of Bigates in silver coine 130000, and in gold 126 pound weight. *P. Cornelius* the Consull, having first taken hostages of the Boian nation, and disseized them of the one halfe of their countrey, to the inhabiting whereof the people of Rome, might if they would, send their Colonies; at his departure from thence toward Rome to an undoubted and assured triumph, licensed his armie, with commaundement to meet him there and give their attendance upon his triumph-day. The morrow after that he was come, the Senat had summons to assemble in the temple of *Bellona*; where, after he had discoursed of his actes and deeds atchieved, he required that he might be permitted to enter the citie riding in triumph. *P. Sempronius Blasus* a Tribune of the Commons for the time being, stepped forth & said, That his advise was that *Scipio* should not flatly be denied the honour of a triumph, but to put it off unto a farther day. And why? The warres (quoth he) of the *Ligurians* have alwaies beene joyned and linked with those of *Gaul*: which nations being so neere together, use ever mutually one to succour another. If *P. Scipio* (after the Boians defeated in battell) had followed the traine of victorie, and either himselfe in proper person with his brave conquering army passed into the territory of the *Ligurians*, or but sent part of his forces to *Q. Minutius*, who now for three yeers (or fast upon) hath ben detained within those quarters in a warre of doubtfull issue; we might have seene an end ere this of the *Ligurian* warre also. But now (forsooth) his souldiours are dismissed, and brought home to accompanie him and to solemnize his triumph; who might well have beene employed still and done good service to the Common-weale: yea and may doe yet (if the Senate be so disposed) by deferring the time of triumph, for to make amends and regaine that, which by over-hastinesse of triumph hath beene over-slipped. And therefore, in my opinion (quoth hee) they should doe well, to

command

A commaund the Consull to goe his waies back againe, and take his armie with him into his province, and to doe his best and utmost devoir to subdue the *Ligurians* also. For unless they be brought under and made subject unto the people of Rome, the Boians be yee sure, will not long be quiet: either we must have peace or warre at once, in both places. And so *P. Cornelius* in quality of Proconsull (as many others before him, who in their full magistracie triumphed not) may after some few months have his triumph. To this the Consull answered again and said, That neither the Province of the *Ligurians* was any part of his charge by lot, neither warred he at all with the *Ligurians*, ne yet demanded to triumph over them. As for *Q. Minutius* (quoth hee) I hope that shortly after he hath subdued them, he both will require his due triumph, and shall likewise obtaine the same. For mine owne part, I seek no more but to triumph over the Boians in *Gaul*, whom I have vanquished in plaine battell, beaten out of the field and campe; whose whole nation within two daies after the fight and their generall discomfiture, yeelded and rendred themselves into my hands; & from whence I have caried away hostages for assured pledge of future peace: nay, that which is much more than all this, I have had the killing of so many *Gauls* in open battell, and fought with so many thousands of Boians, as no Generall ever did before me: the better halfe of 50000 men are fallen upon the edge of the sword, & many a thousand taken prisoners; so as the Boians have none left, but old folke and young children. Can any man make a wonder then, why a victorious armie, leaving no enemie behind in the province, is come to Rome to honour the triumph of their Consull? Whose employment, if the Senat be disposed to use in any other service and province, Whether of these two waies thinke they, will make them more willing and readie, to put themselves into new daungers, and enter into other fresh labour and travell; either to pay them without delay & content them with the due and deserved hire of their former peril and pain, or to send them away with bare hope only, in stead of the substance, for to expect still without effect: since they have beene once already put by and disappointed of their first hope and expectation? Now for mine owne part, I obtained honour ynough that day, on which the Senat sent me (deemed & declared the best man in all the city) to receive that great goddesse & dame of *Ida*. This title alone, without any other addition of triumph, shall be sufficient to recommend to all posteritie for honesty and honor both, the image of *P. Scipio Nasica*. This said, not only the whole Senat themselves condescended generally to graunt him triumph, but also with their countenance and authoritie compelled the Tribunes of the Commons to give over their hold, & surcease their interposition of a negative voice. So *P. Cornelius* the Consull triumphed over the Boians. In which triumph he caused to be carried for shew in French chariots, armor, ensignes, & spoils of all sorts: also French vessels of bras & copper. He commaunded likewise to be led in pomp a number of horses taken, together with noble men and gentlemen captives. Of chains of gold he made a shew of 1470. Besides, there was born in pompe, of gold 245 pound weight: of silver unwrought and wrought into plate, not unworkmanly after their maner (& namely in sundry French vessels) 2340 pound weight: lastly of bigats in coin 234. To his soldiours that followed his triumphant chariot he gave 225 Asces apeece, double as much to a Centurion, & triple to an horsman. The next day after he called the people to a generall assembly, where after he had discoursed again of his exploits, & complained of the wrongs that the Tribune had offered unto him, in that he would have tied him to the war of another, with intent to defraud himselfe of the fruit of his own victorie, he called his soldiours, & discharged them quite.

Whiles these affaires thus went in *Italie*, *Antiochus* remaining at *Ephesus*, rested very secure and carelesse of the *Romane* warre, as if the *Romanes* had no purpose nor intention to passe over into *Asia*. This securitie of his was occasioned by many of his friends, who partly upon ignorance, and partly upon flatterie persuaded him so. Onely *Annibal*, who at that time was of greatest credite, and might doe most with the king, said unto him, That hee rather marvelled much why the *Romanes* were not already in *Asia*, than doubted of their comming. For a neerer cut (quoth he) it is by sea out of *Greece* into *Asia*, than out of *Italy* into *Greece*; and a greater motive to warre is *Antiochus* than the *Aetolians*. And as for their valour and power, as hardie they are and mightie at sea, as on land; and their fleet hath hovered a good while already about *Malea*. Moreover, I heard say of late, that new ships be arrived, and a new Generall come out of *Italy*, to follow and performe this warre. And therefore, let *Antiochus* feede no longer upon a vaine hope, and promise himselfe a permanent peace: for shortly hee must make account to fight with the *Romanes* in *Asia*, yea, and for *Asia*, both by sea and land; and no mean there

there is, but that either himselfe must loose his kingdome, or take from them their soveraigne G
 siegnorie, who affect and pretend to be LL. of the whole world. He was the only man thought to
 forecast, & truly to foretell what would ensue. Whereupon the king himselfe in person, with those
 ships which he had readie rigged & furnished, sailed to Cherfonnesus, with intent to strengthen
 those places with good garrisons, if happily the Romanes should come by land. The rest of the
 navie he commaunded *Polyxenus* to prepare and put to sea. And all about the Island hee sent
 about his pinnaces and brigantines as espials to discover the coasts. C. *Livius* the Admirall of
 the Romane navie, was arrived at Naples from Rome with fiftie covered ships. At which place
 he gave commaundement, That the open vessels, which by covenant were due to bee sent from
 the allies of all that tract, should meet. From whence he sailed to Sicilie, and passed the streights
 by Messina. And when he had received sixe Carthaginian ships sent to aid him, and called upon H
 the Rhegines and Locrines, and other associates comprised in the same league & holding by the
 same tenure, for that shipping which of dutie they were to find, when he had also taken a survey
 of all his armada at Lacinium, he weighed anker, and put to the maine sea. Being arrived at Cor-
 cyra, which was the first citie of all Greece that he came unto, hee enquired in what termes
 the warre affaires stood? (for as yet all was not thoroughly quiet in Greece) and where the Romane
 fleet was? After he heard that the Romane Consull and king *Philip*, were about the pale of Ther-
 mopylae, and there lay in guard; that the fleet rid at anker in the port and harbour of Pyraeum, he
 thought it good to use expedition, and to make speed for all occasions whatsoever, and incont-
 nently determined to saile forward to Peloponnesus. And having at one instant wasted Samos
 and Zacynthus as hee went, because they chose rather to band with the Aetolians, he set saile for I
 Malea, and having a good wind, within few daies hee arrived at Pyraeum, where the old fleet an-
 kered. At Scyllaun king *Eumenes* met him with three ships: who had been a long time at Egi-
 na, unresolved in himselfe, whether he should returne to defend his owne kingdome (for he heard
 that *Antiochus* made preparation at Ephesus for warre, as well by sea as land) or not to depart a
 foot from the Romanes, upon whose fortune depended his whole state. *Aulus Avilius*, so soone
 as he had delivered to his successor five and twentie close ships of war, loosed from Pyraeum, and
 came to Rome. So *Livius* with a fleet of eightie one ships, armed at their beakeheads with bra-
 sen pikes, besides many other smaller vessels, (which open as they were, had brasen heads, as is
 aforesaid; or if they were without such pikes, served for espials) sailed to Delos. Much about that
 time the Consull *Acilius* assailed Naupactum. At Delos, *Livius* for certaine daies was staid by K
 contrarie winds (for that quarter among the Cyclades is exceeding windie, by reason that these
 Islands are divided asunder, some with broader gulfs, some with narrower.) *Polexenus* being
 certified by the post-ships (set in diverse places to discover) that the Romane armada rid at anker
 neere Delos, dispatched messengers to the king, who leaving all matters which he enterprised in
 Hellespontus, returned to Ephesus, as fast as ever hee could make saile with his ships of warre, pi-
 ked at the head: and presently called a counsell, where it was debated, whether hee were best to
 hazard a battell at sea or no? *Polyxenus* was of opinion, That he should not slacke the time, but
 in any wise give battell and trie a fight, before that the fleet of *Eumenes* and the Rhodian ships
 were joined with the Romanes: for so in number they should not bee much overmatched, & for
 all other things have the better, as well for nimblenesse and agilitie of ships, as for varietie of aid. L
 souldiours. For the Romane ships, as being unworkmanly built, they are heave of steerage and
 unweldie, loaden they are and fraught besides with provision of victuals, as they are commonly
 that come into the enemies countrey. But as for your ships (seeing they leave all about them
 peaceable and quiet) they shall be charged with nothing but with men and ammunition. Besides, the
 skill of these seas and lands, & of the winds in these quarters, will be a great helpe unto you; whe-
 reas the enemies must needs be much troubled, for want of knowledge in them all. The deviser of
 this counsell had credite given unto him on all parts, and the rather, for that hee was the man
 himselfe to put in execution the same counsell. Two daies they made stay to set all things in or-
 der and readinesse, the third day they set forward with a fleet of a hundred saile, whereof seven
 were covered, the rest open, and all of the smaller making; and for Phocaea they shaped their
 course. The king hearing that the Romane armada approached, departed from thence (for that
 he was not to bee present in person at the conflict upon the sea) and went to Magnesia neere Si-
 pylus, for to levie land-forces. But his navie made saile to Cyslus, a port of the Erythraens, to at-
 tend the coming of the enemy there, as in a place more commodious. The Romanes, when the

A the Northren winds were once laid (for they were aloft for certaine daies, and locked them in) sail-
 ed from Delos to Phanae, a haven towne of the Chians, bearing toward the Aegaeon sea. From
 thence they cast about with their ships to the citie, and there having victualled themselves, they
 crossed over to Phocaea. *Eumenes* who was gone to Elaea toward his fleet, within few daies af-
 ter, with foure and twentie covered ships, and more uncovered, returned to the Romanes; whom
 hee found preparing and marshalling themselves (a little short of Phocaea) for a battell at sea.
 Then set they all forward with a hundred and fiftie close covered ships, and more open and with-
 out hatches: and being with side Northren winds, at the first driven to the sea shore, they were
 forced to saile single in ranke one after another. But afterwards, as the violence of the wind be-
 gan to be allayed, they assayed to crosse over to the haven Corycus, which is above Cyslus. *Poly-
 xenus*, as soone as he heard that the enemies were at hand, rejoiced that hee had occasion pre-
 sented unto him of a navall battell: and himselfe stretched forth the left point of his fleet embar-
 telled farre into the sea, willing the captaines of the ships to display the right wing broad, toward
 the land: and so with an even front, he advanced forward to the fight. Which the Romane Ad-
 mirall seeing, stricke saile, tooke down the masts, and laying together all the tackling of the ships
 in one place, attended their coming that followed after. By which time there were thirtie in a
 ranke afront, with which, because he would make them equal to the left wing of the enemy, hee
 set up the trinkets or small sailes, meaning to make way into the deepe, commanding them that
 followed still, to make head, and direct their prowes against the right wing neere the land. *Eu-
 menes* was the rere-admirall, and kept the rereward close together: but so soone as they began
 C to bee troubled with taking downe their tackling, he set forward with all speed and hast that hee
 could make: and by this time were they in view one of the other. Two Carthaginian ships led
 before the Romane navie, which were encountred with three of the kings ships. And consider-
 ing the ods of the number, two of the kings came about one. And first they wiped away the
 oares on both sides, then they shewed themselves aloft with their weapons, and boarded her,
 and after they had either overturned or killed the defendants, they were masters of that ship. The
 other that was in single fight, and assailed but by one, seeing the other ship taken by the enemies,
 fled backe into the maine fleet, before shee was environned by the three enemies. *Livius* cha-
 sing hereat, and angrie at the heart, advanced forward with the Admirall ship afront the ene-
 mie: against her, those other two which had enclosed the Carthaginian ship aforesaid, hoping to
 D doe the like by this, came onwards which *Livius* perceiving, commaunded the rowers to let their
 oares hang in the water on both sides, for the more stay and steadinesse of the ship, and likewise
 to cast their yron hookes fashioned like hands, for to grapple the enemies ships, as they appro-
 ched and came neere unto them; and when they were come to close fight in manner of land-ser-
 vice, then to remember the valour of the Romanes, and not to hold the kings slaves for men of
 any worth. And with much more facilitie and ease, than the two ships before conquered one, this
 one for that gained two. By this time the maine fleet on both sides encountred on all sides, and
 fought pell mell. *Eumenes* who being in the rereward, came last in place, after the conflict was be-
 gun, perceiving that *Livius* had disordered the left wing of the enemies, made head against the
 right, where he saw them fighting on even hand, not long after the left wing began to flie. For *Po-
 lyxenus*, so soone as he saw himselfe without all question overmatched in valor of the soldiours,
 caused the trinquets and all the cloth he had to be let up, and purposed to flie amaine. Those like-
 wise that were toward the land, and fought with *Eumenes*, within a while did no lesse. The Romans
 and *Eumenes*, so long as the mariners were able to plie their oares, and so long as they were in
 hope to annoy the taile of the enemies, followed the chase lustily ynough: but after that they per-
 ceived their owne ships (charged & heavily loaden with victuals) follow after to no purpose, & to
 lag behind, nor like to overtake them which were the swifter, because they were the lighters, staid
 at length their pursuit, after they had taken 13 ships both with their soldiours & mariners, & sunke
 ten. Of the Romane Armada there perished but one Carthaginian, which at the first encounter
 was beset with two ships. *Polyxenus* never gave over flight, but made way still, until he had recove-
 red the haven of Ephesus. The Romans abode that day in the place from whence the kings arma-
 da came, purposing on the morrow to make fresh saile after the enemy. And in the mids of their
 course they met with those 35 Rhodian ships covered, conducted by *Pisistratus* their admirall, and
 taking those also with them, they followed the enemy even as far as Ephesus, where in the mouth
 of the haven, they rid in order of battell: by which bravado, having wroong as it were from the ene-
 mies

mies a plaine confession that they were vanquished, the Rhodians and *Eumenes* were sent home. G
The Romanes setting their course for Chius, first sailed by Phoenicus, an haven towne of Ery-
threa, and having cast anker that night, the next day they weighed, and arived within the Island,
close to the citie it selfe, where having sojourned some few daies, especially to refresh their row-
ers, they passed forward to Phocæa. Where leaving foure quinquereme galeaces, the fleet arri-
ved at Canæ, and because the Winter approched, the ships were laid up in their docks on drie
land, and for their safetie were trenchd and paled about. In the yeeres end the Generall assem-
blie for election of magistrates was holden at Rome, wherein were created Consuls, *L. Cornelius*
Scipio, and *C. Lælius*. For now all men had an eie to the finishing of the warre against *Antiochus*
The next morrow were the Pretours also chosen, namely, *M. Tuccius*, *L. Aurunculeius*, *Cneus*
Fulvius, *L. Aemilius*, *P. Iunius*, and *C. Atinius Labeo*. H



THE XXXVII. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the seven and thirtieth Booke.



Veius Cornelius Scipio the Consull, having for his lieutenant *P. Scipio Africanus* (according as hee
had promised, that he would be lieutenant to his brother, if Greece and Asia were ordained to bee
his province, whereas it was thought, that *C. Lælius*, for the great credite that hee was in with the
Senate, should have had that province given him) tooke his voyage for to warre against *Antiochus*,
and was the first Romane that ever sailed over into Asia, as capitaine and commander of an
armie. *Aemilius Regillus* fought fortunately with the aid of the Rhodians before *Mymusius*,
against the viall navie of *Antiochus*. The soune of *Africanus* taken prisoner by *Antiochus*, was
sent home to his father. *M. Acilius Glabrio* triumphed over *Antiochus*, whome hee had driven out of Greece, as also over
the Rhodians. Afterwards, when *Antiochus* was vanquished by *L. Cornelius Scipio* (with the assistance of king *Eumenes*,
the soune of *Sitalis* king of Pergamus) hee had peace granted unto him, upon condition, that hee should quit and forgoe
all the provinces on this side the mount *Taurus*. And *Eumenes*, by whose helpe *Antiochus* was overcome had his king-
dome enlarged. To the Rhodians also, for their helping hand, certaine citties were given and granted. One Colonie was
planted, called *Bononia*. *Aemilius Regillus*, who vanquished the captaines of *Antiochus* in a navall battell, obtained also
a navall triumph. *L. Cornelius Scipio*, who finished the warre with *Antiochus*, had the like surname given him as his brother,
and was called after *Asiaticus*.



When *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Lælius* were Consuls, after order taken for the ser-
vice of the gods, there was no matter treated of in the Senate, before the suite
of the *Ætolians*. And as their embassadours were instant and earnest, because
the terme of their truce was but short, so *T. Quintius*, who then was returned
out of Greece to Rome, seconded them. The *Ætolians*, relying more upon the
mercie of the Senate, than the justice of their cause, and ballancing their old
good turnes done to the Romanes, to the late harmes and trespasses committed, used humble
supplication. But so long as they were in presence before the Senatours, they were wearied with
their interrogatories of all hands, who fought rather to fetch & wring from them confession of
a fault, than any other answer; and when they were bidden to void out of the Senat house, they
caused

A caused much debate within. For in the handling of their matter it was seen that anger bare more
sway than pitie, because they were not so much offended with them, for being enemies, as they
blamed them for an unruly, untamed, and unsociable nation. And after much hard hold for cer-
taine daies together, they relaved at length, neither to graunt nor denie them peace. Two con-
ditions were tendered and presented unto them, either to referre themselves wholly to the plea-
sure and disposition of the Senate, or els to deliver a thousand talents: and withall to hold those
for friends or foes, whomsoever the Romanes reputed theirs. And when they were desirous to
draw from the Senatours thus much, as to know in what points, and how farre forth, they should
submit themselves to the discretion of the Senate; they could have no certaine answer to build
upon. And thus without any peace obtained, they were dismissed, with expresse commaundement
to void the citie that very day, and to be gone out of Italie within fiftene daies following. Then
they fell to consultation in the Senate about the government of the Consular provinces. Both
Consuls desired to have the charge of Greece. And *Lælius* was a great man with the Senat. Now
when the house was minded that the Consuls should either cast lots or agree betweene them-
selves for their provinces, hee rose up and said, That it was more decent and besitting to put the
matter to the judgement of that honourable court, than to the blind hazard of lots. To this *Sci-
pio* for the present made answer, that he would consider better of it: and after he had conferred se-
cretly with his brother apart (who advised him to be bold & put it to the Senat) he gave *Lælius* to
understand, that he was content to do as he would have him. When this strange course and man-
ner of proceeding (either new & unheard of before, or els after so long disuse of the practise ther-
of, forgotten and taken up again) caused the Senat to arme themselves against a great strife and
contention, then *P. Scipio Africanus* said, That if they would ordaine his brother *L. Scipio* to have
the province of Greece, he would accompanie him in that voiage, in qualitie of his Lieutenant.
This one word of his (accepted of them all with a generall consent) staied all debate: for a great
mind they had to make a trial, whether *Anniball* being vanquished could aid king *Antiochus*
more, than *Africanus* the conquerour assist the Consull and the Romane legions. And all in a
manner assigned Greece to *Scipio*, and Italie to *Lælius*. But the Pretours had their provinces set
out to them by lot; *L. Aurunculeius* obtained the civill jurisdiction of citizens, and *L. Fulvius* of
forainers: *L. Aemilius Regillus* was *L.* Admirall of the armada, *P. Iunius* governed Tuscanie, *M.*
Tuccius Apulia and the Brutij, and *L. Atinius* Sicilie. Moreover that Consull, who was to bee
employed in Greece, had a commission graunted, besides that armie which he should receive
of *M. Acilius* (and those were two legions) to furnish himselfe with a supply of three thousand
foemen, and one hundred horsen of Roman citizens; also of five thousand foot and two hun-
dred horse of allies that were Latines: and besides, graunted it was in the same commission, that
when hee was arrived into his province, hee should passe over with his armie into Asia, if hee
thought it so expedient for the Common-weale.

Vnto the other Consull was allowed an entier whole armie of new souldiours, consisting of
two Romane legions, and fiftene thousand foot and sixe hundred horse of the Latine allies.
Q. Minutius had direction (by reason that hee wrote how he had performed in his province all
that there was to be done, and that the whole nation of the Ligurians had yeelded subjection) to
translate his forces out of Liguria into the Boians countrey, and to deliver the same to *P. Corne-
lius* the Proconsull. Out of that territorie which hee had taken away from them after they were
vanquished, those citie legions were withdrawn, which had bene levied and enrolled the yeere
before; and committed they were to the charge of *M. Tuccius* the Pretour, besides 15000 foot
and sixe thousand horse of Latine allies: and all these forces were to be employed for to defend
and keepe in obedience, Apulia and the Brutians countrey. As for *A. Cornelius* the Pretour of
the former yeere, (who with an armie had the government of the Brutij) he was commaunded
to deliver unto *M. Acilius* (if the Consull thought so good) the legions transported over into *Æ-
tolia*, if he would remaine there still: but if *Acilius* would rather returne to Rome, then *A. Cor-
nelius* with that armie, was to remaine in *Ætolia*. Thought good it was, that *C. Atinius Labeo*
should receive of *M. Aemilius*, the government of Sicilie and his armie: and if it pleased him,
to take up and enroll out of that verie province 2000 foot and 100 horse, for to supplie and ful-
fill the broken companies. *P. Iunius Brutus* had commaundement to levie a new armie for the
government of Tuscanie, to wit, one Romane legion, and 10000 foot of Latine allies, and 400
horse. Also *L. Aemilius* the Admirall, was to receive of *M. Iunius* the Pretour of the former
yeere,

yeere, twentie gallies, and the mariners and oars thereto belonging; and besides, to levie himselfe 1000 mariners more, and 2000 footmen: and with those ships and souldiours to saile into Asia, and to receive the fleet of *C. Livius*. As for them that were already in the government of both the provinces of Spaine and of Sardinia, they were to continue there still for one yeere longer, and to have the same armies at commaund. This yeere were two tenths of corn levied of Sicilie and Sardinia: and order was given for all the Sicilian corn to be sent into *Ætolia* to the armie: but out of Sardinia, that one part should be brought to Rome; and the other transported over into *Ætolia*, even to the same place that the other of Sicilie aforesaid.

Before the Consuls set forward into their provinces, it was thought meet, that the Pontifex should give order for the expiation of certaine prodigies: for at Rome the temple of *Iuno Lucina* was smitten with lightning; so as both the lanternes, yea and the leaved doores thereof, were foully disfigured. Likewise at Puteoli, the towne walles in many places, and one gate, was blasted with lightning, and two men besides were stricken dead therewith. At Nursia it was for certaine knowne, that the day being faire and cleere, there arose a stormie tempest, wherein also two men lost their lives. The Tusculanes reported, that with them it rained earth. And the men of Reate brought word, that within their territorie a female mule foled. These prodigies (say) were expiated: and the Latine festivall holydaies were celebrated anew, for that the dole of flesh was not given unto the Laurentines, which of duty should have been delivered. Moreover, a solemne supplication was ordeined, in regard of all errors and faults escaped in divine service and religious observances. Also out of the bookes of *Sibylla*, the Decemvirs declared and shewed, to what gods, sacrifice should be made: and ten young springalls free borne, & ten virgins likewise, whose fathers and mothers yet lived, were employed about the ministry of those sacrifices. The Decemvirs also by night sacrificed young sucklings. And *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, before hee tooke his journey, erected an arch in the Capitoll (over-against the high street that leadeth thither) with 7 gilded statues and 2 horses: and before that arch, he set up two celsures or lavers of marble. About this time, 43 principall persons of *Ætolia*, (among whom were *Democritus* and his brother) were conveyed to Rome, by two squadrons or cohorts sent of purpose from *M. Atilius*; and there were laid up fast in the prison called * The stone quarries: which done, the cohorts aforesaid were commaunded by *L. Cornelius* the Consull, to make returne to the armie. From *Ptolomeus* and *Cleopatra* (king and queene of *Ægypt*) there came embassadors, testifying their joy which they conceived in the behalfe of the Romanes, in these termes, That *M. Atilius* the Consull had chased king *Antiochus* out of Greece: exhorting also the Romanes to transport an armie into Asia: for that not in Asia only but likewise in Syria, all men were smitten with fear and amazed. As for the KK. of *Ægypt*, they would be ready to doe for their parts, whatsoever the Senat should set downe. Thankes were returned to the K. and Q. aforesaid, and order was taken, that to the embassadors for a reward should be given 4000 brasen Asles apeece.

L. Cornelius the Consull, having accomplished all things to be done at Rome, published an Ediēt in a generall assembly, That aswell those souldiours whom himselfe had enrolled for supply: as they who wer with *A. Cornelius* in the Brutians country, should all meet at Brundisium upon the Ides of * Quintilis. Moreover he nominated three lieutenants, *Sex. Digittus*, *L. Apusius*, and *C. Fabricius Luscinus*, for to gather ships together out of all the sea coasts into Brundisium. And when hee had prepared and set all things in good order, hee departed from the citie, clad in his rich coat of armes. There presented unto the Consull as he went forth, to the number of 5000 voluntaries, Romanes and allies together, who had served their full yeeres in the wars under the conduct of *P. Africanus*, and now wer exempt from soldierie, who all offered to go with him and to be enrolled as prest souldiours. Much at the time that the Consull tooke his journey (during the festivall Apollinare games in the honour of *Apollo*, upon the fift day before the Ides of Iuly) it chaunced, that in the day time when the aire was cleere and faire, there arose a suddaine darknesse during the eclipse of the sunne, by reason that the body of the moone was directly under the circle and rounde of the sunne. *L. Aemilius Regillus* also admirall of the warre, at the same time went to sea. *L. Aurunculeius* was charged by order from the Senat, to build thirte galeaces with five bankes of oars, and twentie gallies with three bankes, because a bruit was blowne and blazed abroad, that *Antiochus* upon the late battaile at sea, was about to prepare a much greater armada.

The *Ætolians*, after their embassadors were returned from Rome and had made relation, that there

A there was no hope of peace, albeit all their sea coasts (especially toward Peloponnesus) were spoiled and wasted by the Achæans, yet minding more their perill like to ensue, than remembring their losse received, seized the mountaine Corax, intending to impeach and stop the passage of the Romanes. For they made no question nor doubt, but that the next spring they would returne to besiege and assault Naupaetum. *Atilius*, who wist well what they expected, thought it better to go in hand with an enterprise unlooked for, and namely to assault Lamia: for thus hee thought, That seeing they had beene already brought to a great under and extremitie by king *Philip*, now they might be taken suddenly and surprised at unawares, because they stood in feare of nothing lesse. Whereupon, remooving from Elatia, he encamped first in the country of his enemies neere to the river Sperchius: from whence by night he dislodged, and advanced forth with his ensignes, and by the day breake had invested their walles round about. Great feare and hurley there was, as in an accident unlooked for: yet all that day they defended the city more resolutely, than a man would have beleeved and thought they could have done in so sodaine a daunger: while men stood at defence upon the wals, women set up ladders in many places, and brought the men weapons and darts of all sorts, yea and stouies up to the wals unto them. *Atilius*, after he had founded the retreat, brought backe his men into the campe about noone: and after they had there refreshed their bodies with meat and rest, he gave them warning (before he dismissed the Prætorium) that ere day-light the next morning they should be ready in armes: for that he would not come backe againe with them into the campe, before they were masters of the towne. At the same time as the day before, hee gave assault in many places: and for as much as the townsmens strength decayed, their darts and weapons failed, and above all, their hearts fainted, within few houres hee wanne the citie. After hee had made a riddance of the pillage, sold some part, and given away the rest, hee fell to take counsell what to doe afterwards. There was not one man of opinion to go against Naupaetum, considering that the *Ætolians* held and kept the pafe of Corax. Howbeit *Atilius*, to the end that he would not keepe the field in sommer without doing some exploit, and that the *Ætolians* might not enjoy that peace by the slacknes of the Roman souldiours, which obtaine they could not at the Senates hand, he purposed to besiege Amphissa: and so the armie was conducted thither from Heraclea, by the mountaine Oeta. When he had encamped himselfe under the towne walls, he began not to invest it round with men as he did Lamia, but with ordinance and engins to batter it. In many places at once he ran with the ramme against the wals: and albeit they were shaken, the townsmen went not about either to make redie, or to devise and invent any meanes of defence against that instrument or engin. All their hope was in trusty armour and hardie valour. And so often they sallied forth, that they disordered and troubled not only the guards of the enemies, but also those that attended about the fabricks and artillerie. Howbeit, in many places the wall was battered and breaches made: and even at that very instant newes came unto him, that his successor had landed his armie at Apollonia, and was comming by the way of Epirus and Thessalie. Now came the Consull with a power of 13000 foote, and five hundred horse. And by this time was he passed as far as to the vale and levell of Malea: and having sent certein afore to summon the citie Hypata, and received answer againe, that they would do nothing but by a publick decree of the *Ætolians*; because the siege of Hypata should not stay him, and Amphissa not yet woon, he led his forces against it, and sent his brother *Africanus* before. Ere they came, the *Oppidanes* had quit the towne, for by this time the wall in many places lay open and naked, and were all fled armed and unarmd into a castle which they had, imprenable. The Consull pitched his tents fixe miles from the towne.

Thither arrived the Athenian embassadors, and first they repaired to *P. Scipio*, who, as we have said, was gone before the maine armie, and afterwards to the Consull, intreating for the *Ætolians*. Of the twaine they received a gentler answer at the hands of *Africanus*, who seeking some honest occasion to leave the *Ætolian* warre, set his heart and eye wholly upon Asia and king *Antiochus*: and to this purpose he willed the Atheniens to persuade not only with the Romanes, but also with the *Ætolians*, to preferre peace before warre. And speedily, through the motion and persuasion of the Atheniens there was a solemne embassage of the *Ætolians* dispatched from Hypata. Induced they were the rather to hope for peace by the speech of *Africanus* (for to him they came first) who discoursed unto them, how that many nations and cities in Spaine first, and afterwards in Africke, had put themselves under his protection, and in them all hee had left greater

greater testimonies of his clemencie and bountie, than of his warlike valour and martiall pro-
 wesse. Thus they had brought the matter (as they thought) to a good passe, and made it sure: but
 when they came before the Consull, they had the same answer of him, with which they were
 sent away from the Senate, and commaunded to avoid. The Ætolians wounded therewith anew,
 seeing they could win nothing neither by the mediation of the Athenien embassage, nor the
 gracious answer of *Africanus*, said they would make report thereof unto their States and coun-
 trymen. So, they returned from thence to Hypata, where they were to seeke what to do, and
 could not resolve: for neither had they whereof to raise a thousand talents: and againe if they
 should absolutely put themselves into their hands, they feared to feeble the smart thereof in their
 bodies. Therefore they commaunded the same embassadors to go againe to the Consull and to
Africanus, and to exhibit a petition, that if they were minded indeede and veritie to graunt them
 peace, and not by vaine shew and semblance only to frustrate and delude the hope of poore
 suppliants, they would either rebate them a quantitie of that grand summe of money, or else ac-
 cept so of their absolute surrender, that no free citizens might be touched thereby in his person.
 But nothing could be gotten at the Consuls hands, for to alter or relent any jot: thus was this
 embassage also sent away as it came, and nothing done. The Atheniens came after them in
 place, the principall man of whose embassage, *Echedemus*, seeing the Ætolians wearied with so
 many repulses, and lamentably to no purpose bewailing the miserable estate of their countrie;
 put them still in some new hope, and gave them counsell to crave truce for sixe moneths, that
 they might addresse their Embassadors to Rome, and receive an answer from thence: shewing
 unto them, that this delay could not augment their present calamitie, which could not worse be;
 but contrarywise, time and space comming betwene, might afford many accidents whereby
 their present miserie might be mitigated and alayed. So by the aduise of *Echedemus*, the same
 men were sent once againe, who had communed before with *P. Scipio*, and by his meanes obti-
 ned of the Consull a truce for that terme; which was the thing they craved. The siege being ray-
 sed before Amphissa, *M. Acilius* after he had delivered up his armie into the hands of the
 Consull, resigned his government, and departed out of the province: and the Consull likewise
 from Amphissa returned into Thessalie, intending through Macedonie and Thracia to conduct
 his armie into Asia.

Then *Africanus* entred into speech with his brother, and said: The journey which you en-
 terprise *L. Scipio*, I for my part approve and thinke well of, but all resteth in the will and pleasure
 of *Philip*: who if he be fast and faithfull to the state and empire of Rome, he will graunt us pas-
 sage, he will afford us victuals, he will furnish us with all things, which in so long a voyage are
 necessarie to the help and sustenance of our armie: but if he faile and forsake us once, you must
 make accompt of no safetie and securitie throughout all Thracia: therefore I am of aduise that
 the kings affection be first founded. And that will best be done, if the messenger who shall be dis-
 patched unto him, may come upon him on a sodaine, and take him unprovided, and having no
 time to put any prepened plot in practise. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a most nimble and adive
 yong gentleman, was at that time chosen for the fittest person to performe this action: who tak-
 ing fresh post horses all the way as he rode, with incredible celeritie made such speede, that
 from Amphissa (for thence he had his dispatch) in three dayes space, he arrived at Pella. The
 king was at a feast or banquet when he came, and wine he had taken full liberally. And finding
 him thus disposed to solace and recreate his spirits, he had no reason to suspect that he was mind-
 ed and inclined to any change or alteration: and so for that time this guest was bidden wel-
 come, and had good cheere made him. The morrow after, he saw the provision of victuals in
 great store readie for the armies, he beheld the bridges made over the rivers, and the high waies
 mended and prepared, where passage was difficult. With these intelligences he returned to the
 Consull, with as great speed as he went, and met him at Thaumacia. From whence, the armie in
 much joy, and with greater and more assured hope, entred into Macedonie; where all was provid-
 ed to their hands. The king at their comming received them right stately, and at their depa-
 rture conducted them on the way as royally. Very willing, redie and courteous he shewed him-
 selfe: which *Africanus* much liked and highly commended, being a man, as in all other things
 singular, so in allowing of elegancie and humanitie, if it were without superfluitie and excesse,
 nothing nice and streight-laced. Thus they held on their journey unto Hellespontus, passing
 through Macedonie and Thrace, and *Philip* still accompanied them, and provided all things
 for

A for their use afore-hand.

After the battaile fought at sea neere Corycum, *Antiochus* having had all the winter
 time free without any empeachment to furnish himselfe with forces both for land and sea,
 above all things studied and devised how to reparaire his fleet, for feare hee should bee quite
 diffized and dispossessed of the sea. And evermore this ran in his mind, that he had an over-
 throw, and yet the Rhodians fleet was away. For thus he cast with himselfe, that if they also
 should be present at the next conflict (and surely the Rhodians, thought he, will not for any
 thing be behind againe) hee then should have need of a mightie number of ships, to match the
 enemies Armada as well in greatnes as goodnesse. And therefore he had both sent *Anibal*
 into Syria for to take up the ships of the Phænicians, and also commaunded *Polyxenidas* to
 reparaire those vessels which he had already, and to make and rig others, with so much more dili-
 gence as his fight afore was lesse fortunate. Himselfe passed the winter in Phrygia, and seeking
 for aid out of all places, he sent out as farre as into Gallogræcia. The people there at that time
 were great warriours; keeping still the courages of Gaules, for that the race of that nation was
 not yet extinct and worne out. His sonne *Seleucus* he had left in Æolis with an armie to keepe
 the maritime cities in obedience, which *Eumenes* from Pergamus of one side, and the Romanes
 from Phocæa and Erythræ on the other side, sollicitated to rebellion. The Romane fleet, as I
 said before, wintered at Canæ. Thither in the mids almost of winter came *Eumenes* with two
 thousand foote, and a hundred horse. Who having given out unto *Livius*, that great prizes
 might be raised out of the enemies territorie about Thyatira, had so perswaded and wrought
 with him, that he sent with him five thousand souldiours: who being set forth to this rode and
 expedition, in few dayes drove away a mightie bootie. Amid these matters, there hapned a mu-
 tinie in Phocæa, by occasion of some that would have withdrawne and turned away the hearts
 of the multitude unto king *Antiochus*. The wintering of the fleet was chargeable to that ci-
 tie. The imposition of a tribute was heauie, in regard that they were put to the finding of five
 hundred side castocks, and as many coates for liveries: the scarcitie of come also was grie-
 vous unto them; for which default the ships and the Romane garrison abandoned the place
 and departed: wherupon that faction which in all their speeches and assemblies drew the com-
 mon people to side with *Antiochus*, was rid of all feare. The Senate and the principall citizens
 of Phocæa were of opinion to continue to the last, in the association of the Romanes: but the per-
 suaders and counsellors of a revolt were of more credit with the multitude.

The Rhodians were not so slow the summer past, but they were as forward now in the spring:
 for before mid-March, they sent out the same *Pausistratus* admirall of a fleet of six & thirtie saile.
 And by this time *Livius* loosed from Canæ, and sailed toward Hellespontus, with thirtie ships,
 and seven gallies of foure bankes of oares, which king *Eumenes* had brought with him, to the end
 that he might prepare things necessarie for the passage of the armie, which hee supposed would
 come by land. And first he fel with the bay or port which they cal, The rode of the Æchiæns, from
 whence he went up to Ilium, where, after he had sacrificed to *Minerva*, hee gave gracious audi-
 ence to the embassages of the neighbors bordering, which came from Eleus, Dardanus, & Rhœ-
 tium, who committed their cities unto his protection. From thence he directed his course to the
 streights of Hellespontus, and leaving ten ships in the rode over against Abydus, with the rest of
 the fleet he passed over into Europe, to assault Sestos. As the armed souldiours approached their
 wals, the franke priests of *Cybele* called Galli, bestraught of their wits, presented themselves first
 unto them before their gates, in their solemn habit and vestiments, saying, That they being the
 servants and ministers of Dame *Cybele* the mother of the gods, were come by the instinct and
 commandement of that goddesse to beseech the Roman Generall to spare the wals and the citie.
 And not one of them had any harme done unto them. Anon, the whole bodie of the Senat with
 the magistrates came forth to yeeld the towne. From thence they crossed over to Abydus, where
 (after many parties, in which they had founded their minds, and could have no answer tending
 to peace) they addrested themselves to lay siege to the citie, and to assault it.

Whiles these things stood thus about Hellespont, *Polyxenidas* a Rhodian borne, but banished
 his country, and a captaine for king *Antiochus*, hearing that a Rhodian fleet was gone to sea, and
 that *Pausistratus* their admirall, had in open audience given out certaine proud and disdainfull
 speeches against him, entred into a privat quarell with him, tossing & devising in his mind night
 and day nothing els, but how he might by some effectuall and worthie deedes, checke and con-
 sute

pute those brave and glorious words of his. He dispatched therefore unto him as a messenger, G a man well knowne unto him, with credence and instructions to give him to understand, that himselfe would (if he might) stand both *Paussistratus* and his countie in good steed: and that *Paussistratus* (if it pleased him) had meanes to restore him againe into his native countie. When *Paussistratus* marvelled hereat, and was very inquisitive to know how this might be effected; and gave him his faithfull promise (at his request) either to joyne with him in the action, or els to conceale all and keepe counsell: then the messenger declared, that *Polyxenidas* would make over unto him the kings navie either entier, or the greater part thereof: and in consideration and recompense of this so great merit, he desired no more but that he might returne into his country. The importance of this matter was so great, that he neither beleaved his words, nor yet neglected and despised the same. So he went to Panormus, a place in the land of Samos, and there he abode to view & see the thing that was offered unto him. Couriers there H ran betweene, and never would *Paussistratus* give credit to the partie, untill *Polyxenidas* wrote a letter with his owne hand in the presence of his said messenger, that he would performe whatsoever he had promised, yea and sent the same letters sealed with his owne signe Manuell. By this sure pledge or gage, *Paussistratus* made full account that he had the traitour surely bound and obliged unto him. For thus he thought, that *Polyxenidas* living as a subject under the king, would never hazard the danger of such pregnant matter to appeere against himselfe, testified under his owne hand-writing: so from that time forward the meanes of this pretended and counterfeited treason was devised and agreed upon. *Polyxenidas* gave him to understand, that he would of purpose lay aside and neglect preparation of all furniture, that he would neither have rowers nor other mariners in any number about his fleet: moreover, under a colour of calking and calstretting he would lay up some ships on dry land: others he would send away into the havens neere at hand, and keepe some few riding at anker before Ephesus in the haven, and those (if he were forced to battaile) he would set out to fight. The same negligence that *Paussistratus* heard say *Polyxenidas* would use in his fleet, the same himselfe presently shewed in his owne. For some of his ships he sent to Halicarnassus for victuals, and other to Samos the citie, to the end that he might be in redinesse when the traitor gave the signall of assault. *Polyxenidas* still by false semblance increased the errors and vaine imaginations of *Paussistratus*: for some ships indeed he drew aland and laid up dry: and as if he ment to hale up more, he repaired and amendeth the docks. Oremen and mariners he sent not for out of their winter harbours to go to Ephesus, K but secretly assembled them to Magnesia. Now it fortuned that a certaine souldier serving under king *Antiochus*, who was come to Samos about some private affaires of his owne, was apprehended there for a spy, and brought to Panormus before the Admirall *Paussistratus*. Who, being demanded what they did at Ephesus; I know not whether for feare, or upon small loyalty that he bare to his prince and countrey, discovered all: namely, that the fleet rid in the haven rigged, decked and trimmed in redinesse: *Item*, that all the rowers and mariners were sent to *Sipylus* in Magnesia: *Item*, that some vessels, and those very few, were drawne up to land, and the docks and harbours were shut up close: and lastly, that never at any time before, the navie was so carefully looked unto, nor sea affaires so well managed. But the mind of *Paussistratus* was so possessed before, with foolish conceits and vaine hopes, that he would not beleieve these informations and intelligences for true. *Polyxenidas* having set all things forward and in good readinesse, by night sent for the rowers and mariners from Magnesia: and having in great hast shot to sea and set afloat those vessels which lay at one side upon the land, after he had spent the whole day, not so much in making provision, as trifling out the time for the nonce, because he would not have the fleet to be seene when it set forth, weighed anker and losed after the sunne was gone downe: and with 70 saile of covered ships, because he had a contrary wind, entered the Bay of Pygala before day, where resting all the livelong day for the same purpose as before, the next night he sailed to the neereft coasts of Samos. From whence he gave commaundement to one *Nicander* an Archpirate, to set saile for Palinurus, with five close covered ships, there to land; and from thence to march with his armed souldiers over the fields the neereft way to Panormus, and M to come upon the back of the enemies: himselfe in the meane while divided his fleet into two parts, and made way to Panormus, there to keepe the entrie and mouth of the haven on both sides. *Paussistratus* at first was troubled for a while at this unexpected occurrent: but afterwards, as one that was an old beaten souldiour, he quickly tooke hart againe, and calling his wits together, supposed

A supposed that he might more easily repulse the enemies by land than by sea; and led his souldiours in two squadrons unto the promontories which bearing out into the sea like two hornes, to force the haven: from which two capes or heads he supposed that he might easily set back and put by the enemies with shooting darts from both sides. But *Nicander* who was sent by land, impeached this disfine of his, so that he was forced sodainly to change his mind and alter that course, and therefore commaunded all his men to go a shipboord and away. Hereupon exceeding feare there was both among the souldiours and also the mariners, as if they were to take their flight by sea and not to fight, seeing themselves invironed at once both by land and sea. *Paussistratus* supposing the only way to escape and save themselves, was to make way through the mouth of the haven, and so to recover sea-roume; after he had seene all his men embarked, commaunded the rest to follow, and himselfe first plying and labouring hard with ores, skudded amaine with his ship to the entrance of the haven. Now when she was once past the streight and come into the open sea, *Polyxenidas* was there to welcome him with three Galeaces of five banks of ores, and so beset him. The poore ship was wounded with the yron pikes bearing out in the beake heads of the galeaces, and so bouged and funke withall. The defendants upon the hatches were overwhelmed with shot of darts, and among the rest, *Paussistratus* himselfe manfully fighting lost his life. The rest of the ships were bourded and taken, some before the haven, others within: and some there were that by *Nicander* were seized as they laboured to lose from the land, and to launch forth. Five ships only of Rhodes, and two of Cous, escaped cleere and fled, which made themselves way even among the thickest of their enemies, by the meanes of a C fearefull burning flame of fire that they had with them. For they ferme two long perches or poles bearing forward at the prow, like two sprit sailes, in every ship, carying yron pots and pans afore them full of light fire. The Gallies of Erythrea, meeting the Rhodian ships not farre from Samos as they fled, the which were comming to help them, turned their count backward into Hellepontus, unto the Romanes. About the same time *Seleucus* gained the citie of Phocaea by treason, entering in at a gate which the warders set open of purpose for him. And for feare, Cymæ and other townes of that coast revolted unto him.

Whiles these things thus passed in *Eolis*, and that *Abydus* had endured the siege for certain dayes by the defence of the kings garison that manned the walls: now that all were overtired and wearied, the magistrates of the citie (by the permission of *Philotas* captaine of the garison) D articulated with *Livius* upon conditions to render the towne. The only point whereupon they stood, and which stayed the conclusion, was this, for that they could not agree whether the kings souldiours should be sent away armed or disarmed. And whiles they debated hereabout, newes came of the Rhodians defeature, and so the oportunitie of gaining the towne slipped out of their hands. For *Livius* fearing, lest *Polyxenidas* pulled up with the successe of so great an exploit, would surprize the fleet that rid at Canæ, leaving presently the siege before *Abydus*, and the garding of Hellepont, put to sea afresh those ships that lay dry at Canæ. And *Eumenes* came to Elea: But *Livius* went to Phocaea with all his fleet, to which he had adjoynd two tireme gallies of Mitylenæ. But when he heard say it was kept with a strong garison of the kings, and that *Seleucus* was encamped not far off, after he had pilld the sea coast, and charged hastily his ships E with a good bootie, and those were prizes of men especially, he stayed no longer there than untill *Eumenes* might overtake him with his fleet; but directed his course streight to Samos. The Rhodians upon the first newes of this their overthrow, feared much, and withall mightilie sorrowed: for besides the losse of their sea-souldiours and ships, they lost also the very floure and strength of their youth: for as much as many yong gentlemen of their nobilitie, accompanied *Paussistratus*, among other motives, in regard of his authoritie, which was right great and for good desert among his countrymen. But afterwards considering how treacherously they were over-raught, and namely, by one of their owne citizens, borne among them, their melancholic turned into choler; and their sorrow into anger. Whereupon they sent forth ten ships immediately, and few dayes after other ten, under the conduct of *Eudamus* the Admirall over them all: F who albeit he were not for other feates of armes and martiall skill equall to *Paussistratus*, yet they supposed verily he would be a leader so much the more warie and circumspect, as he was the lesse hardie and courageous. The Romanes and king *Eumenes* first fell with the land Erythrea, where they stayed one night, and the morrow after gained the point of Corycus, a promontorie of the Tians. From whence when they purposed to crosse over to the neereft parts of Samos, not waiting

ring for the sunne-rising, by which the Pilots might observe the disposition of the weather, they G
hoisted up sailes against a very doubtfull and dangerous tempest: for the wind turned from
North-east to full North, as they were in the mids of their course, whereby they began to be
mightily tossed among the surging billows of the rough & angry sea. *Polyxenus* supposing that
the enemies would take their course directly to Samos, there to joyne with the Rhodian fleet,
departed from Ephesus, and first ankered at Myonesus: from thence he sailed to an Iland called
Macris, to the end that as the enemies fleet sailed by, he might take advantage to set upon either
some ships singled & severed from the bodie of the fleet, or play upon the tail and reregard ther-
of. After that he perceived the whole fleet to be dispersed by force of the tempest, he thought first
to take that occasion to fall upon them: but the wind rising still more and more, and raising
greater waves, because he saw he could not possibly come neere to bound them, he cut over to H
the Iland Ethalia, minding the next day to assaile the ships in the maine sea as they passed to
Samos. Some small number of the Roman ships in the beginning of the night put into the
haven of Samia, which they found void and empty: the rest of the fleet after they had bene
tossed and tormented all the night long in the deepe, at length light upon the same harborough.
Where being advertised by the peasants of the country, that the enemies ships lay in the rode of
Athalia, they fell to consult, whether presently to bid battaile & put it to the hazard, or expect the
arrivall of the Rhodian fleet. Deferring therefore that enterprise (for so upon advertisement they
were agreed) they traversed to Coricus, from whence they came. *Polyxenus* likewise, having staid
at anker in vain, returned to Ephesus: & then the Roman ships, while the seas were thus cleere of
enemies, sailed over to Samos. Thither also arrived the Rhodian fleet few daies after: and that it I
might appeare how long looked for it was, they all presently set saile for Ephesus, with purpose ei-
ther to trie an issue by a battell at sea, or else if the enemy refused the triall, to expresse and wring
from him a plaine confession of cowardise: which was a materiall point and of great importance
to moove the minds of the other neighbour-cities. Being arrived to the very haven mouth, they
embattailed their ships & stood directly affront opposed unto it. And when they saw none make
saile nor set out against them, the one part thereof rode ashore at ancre still in the very haven
mouth; the other discharged the souldiours & set them a land. Vpon whom (as they were driving
a mightie bootie which they had raised by harrying all the country over) *Andronicus* a Macedo-
nian, who lay in garison at Ephesus, sallied forth, even as they approached the walles of the citie;
and having eased them of a great part of their prey aforesaid, he chased themselves to the sea un- K
to their ships. The morrow after, the Romans having bestowed an ambush about the mid-way
between, marched in order of battaile against the citie, to see if peradventure they could traine
forth the Macedonian again without the walles: but perceiving that no man durst come abroad
for suspicion & feare of an await, they returned to their ships again; and when they saw their ene-
mies would not abide them neither at sea nor on land, in the end the fleet sailed againe to Samos
from whence it came. Thence the Pretour made out two gallies of Italian confederates, and as
many Rhodians under the conduct of *Epicrates* the Rhodian Admirall, to defend and keepe the
streights of Cephalenia, which *Hibristas* the Lacedæmonian together with the youth of the
Cephalenes, infested with his roving and robbing, in so much as there could no ships passe by
sea to and fro with victuals betweene Italie and that coast. At Pyrcæum *Epicrates* met with *L. A-* L
emilius Regillus comming to succed in the Admiraltie: who hearing of the destitute of the
Rhodians, and having himselfe but two Quinquereme galleaces, brought *Epicrates* backe with
him into Asia with foure ships. There accompanied them also the open ships of the Atheni-
ans. And he passed over by the sea * *Ægeum*. Thither also arrived *Timasocrates* the Rhodian in
the dead of the night with two Quadrireme gallies from Samos. Who being brought unto *A-*
emilius, declared how he was sent to quiet and defend that sea coast, which the kings roving ships
and men of warre by their often excursions from Hellepontus and Abydus, had made too hot
for the hulkes and other ships of burden which used to passe that way. As *Aemilius* sailed from
Chios to Samos, two Rhodian Quadrireme gallies were sent by *Livius* to meet him: and king
Eumenes also with two Quinquereme galleaces presented himselfe unto him. Being all arrived M
at Samos, *Aemilius* after he had received the navie of *Livius*, and sacrificed orderly as the ma-
ner was, called a counsell. At which *C. Livius* (for his opinion was asked first) spake and said,
That no man giveth more sound and faithfull counsell than hee, who persuadeth another man
to that which himselfe would doe in the same case. As for mee, my intent and purpose was, to
got

* Archipelago.

A goe against Ephesus with the whole armada, and thither to bring with me the vessels of burden
charged with heavie ballace of gravell and sand, and to sinke them in the verie haven mouth, for
to choke it up. And to make this barre against the haven, it was a matter (said hee) of lesse diffi-
culty, for that the mouth and gullet of the haven, was in manner of a river, long, narrow, and
full of shelves and shallows. By which meane I should have cut off the benefite of the sea from
the enemy, and make him loose the use altogether of his navie. But no man there besides him-
selfe thought well of this devise. King *Eumenes* demaunded, what they would doe then after this
choking up and stoppage of the haven passage, by sinkeing the ships? whether they would depart
from thence with their owne navie at libertie, to helpe their allies and terrifie and affright their
enemies; or never the later still, keepe the haven (as it were) in siege with the whole fleet? For if
they departed, who could make doubt but that the enemy would plucke up those dammes and
barres that there lay drowned; yea, and with lesse adoe and trouble, open the haven againe, than
it was stopped? and if they meant to tarie there nevertheless, to what purpose then was the ha-
ven shut up? But contrariwise, they within Ephesus (quoth hee) being in surety for any daunger
from their haven, and having a most rich and wealthie citie of their owne, furnished with all
things out of Asia, would passe the sommer season in rest and repose; whiles the Romanes flo-
ting in the open wide sea, exposed to the violence of waves and lying at the mercy of tempests,
should be driven to keepe a continuall guard, disturnished of all things, and rather tied up and
debarred themselves, for being able to effect those things that were needfull to be done, than in
case to impeach and shut up their enemies. Then *Eudamus* the admirall of the Rhodian fleet,
opined for his part, and spake to the question, saying, That he rather disliked of that course, than
C knew himselfe a better, or could advise what was to be done. *Epicrates* the Rhodian was of mind,
to leave Ephesus for the present, and to send part of his ships into Lycia, for to associate unto
them Patara, the capitall citie of that nation: shewing two things of great consequence, that
hereby would accrue. For, both the Rhodians assured of peace, and secured from all daunger
of those quarters that lie about their Island, might thereby attend wholly, and employ all their for-
ces upon the regard of this onely warre against *Antiochus*: and also the Armada which was
prepared in Lycia might be stopped & impeached, for ever joining with *Polyxenus*. This opi-
nion imported, & prevailed most. Howbeit, thought good it was and agreed upon, that *Regillus*
should present himselfe before Ephesus, with the whole fleet, to strike a terror into the enemies.
D And *C. Livius* was sent with foure Rhodian quadrireme gallies, and two Smyrnean open ships
into Lycia, with direction to take Rhodes in the way, and with them there to communicate all
his counsels. The cities which he passed by, namely, * *Miletus*, * *Myndus*, * *Halicarnassus*, * *Cni-*
* *dus* and *Cous*, performed willingly whatsoever was enjoined and imposed upon them. Being ar-
rived at Rhodes, hee declared unto the Rhodians the effect of his commission, and withall requi-
red their advise. They all approved the designe, and when hee had taken of them to the fleet that
he had of his own, three quadrireme gallies more, he sailed to * *Patara*. At the first he had a mer-
rie gale of wind, that set them forward directly toward the citie, and good hope they had with
their suddaine terrour to doe some good with the inhabitants: but afterwards, the wind being
come about, the sea rose, and the surging waves began to make it troublesome and daungerous;
E howbeit they laboured so with oares that they gat to the shore side. But neither was there about
the citie any safe bay to ride in, neither were they able to keepe the sea with anker without the ha-
ven mouth of the enemies citie, the sea was so rough, and the night so neere. So passing along by
the wall side of the citie, they sailed to the port of *Phænicus*, lesse than two miles distant from
thence, which was a safe rode for their ships from all daunger of sea, but high cliffs and rocks
there were over their heads which commanded them, & those the townsmen quickly seized, with
the assistance of the kings souldiours whom they had in garison. Against whom *Livius* sent out
the aid-souldiers of the Ilians, and the nimblest and most deliver young men of the Smyrneans,
notwithstanding the landing places were very difficult and untoward. These sustained the fight
at first, so long as they shot darts, and made pettie excursions and profers rather of skirmishes,
F than a direct battell, as being but few in number. But after that they ran out of the citie in great
numbers, and that the whole multitude was issued forth, *Livius* feared least not onely those auxi-
liars should be environned and enclosed, but also the ships distressed and endaugered from the
land: so he brought forth to fight, not the souldiours onely, but all the rable of the mariners also
and the towers, armed and furnished with whatsoever weapons they could find. And even then
also

also there was a doubtfull and dangerous conflict, wherein besides certaine souldiours *L. Apu-
stus* died in the medley of this suddaine and tumultuarie skirmish. Yet in the end, the Lycians
were discomfited, put to flight, and chased into their citie. The Romanes likewise retired to their
ships, carrying away with them no bloudlesse victorie for their part. From thence they shaped
their course to the gulfie or narrow streight of Telmessus (which of one side toucheth Caria, & Ly-
cia on the other) laying aside all hope to assaile Patara any more; and so the Rhodians were dis-
charged and sent home. *Livius* after he had coasted along Asia crossed over into Greece, to the
end, that having communed and conferred with the *Scipios* (who then abode about Theffalie)
he might saile directly into Italie.

Aemilius when he had intelligence, that the designement intended in Lycia was given over,
and that *Livius* was departed into Italie, being himselfe also returned to Samos (for that he was
by violence of tempest repulled from Ephesus, without effect of his enterprize) thought it was a
shame and dishonour, that the adventure was given upon Patara in vaine, and therefore determi-
ned in proper person to make a voyage thither with his whole fleet, and to assault the citie with
all the force he could possible. And having passed along Miletus, and all that coast of the associ-
ates, they disbarked from the gulfie or creke of Bargillæ, and came a land neere Iassus. The citie
was held by a garrison of the kings: and the Romanes wasted by way of hostilitie, the territorie
about it. Then *Aemilius* sent certaine to parle with the cheefe citizens and the magistrates, to
found them how they were disposed, & also to sollicite them to revolt: but being answered again
that it lay not in their owne power to doe as they would, hee marched forward to give an assault
to the citie. Now there were certaine Iassians, banished persons, in companie with the Romanes,
who in great number befought and importuned the Rhodians, not to suffer a citie, so neere a
neighbour and linked in blood unto them, for to perish and come to ruine, especially having no
way offended: allcading, that the onely cause of their banishment was their loialtie unto the
Romanes, and by the same violence of the kings garrison souldiours, were they also held in awe
who remained in the citie, by which themselves had been expelled. For all the Iassians in generall
were of one mind, most willing and desirous to avoid and shake off the servitude under the king.
The Rhodians were moved in compassion with their praiers, and joining unto them king *Eume-
nes* also, partly by shewing the consanguinitie and kindred betwene them, and partly by pitying
and lamenting the distressed state of the citie (besieged, as it were, already by the kings garrison)
they prevailed so much, that they forbore to assaile it. So they departed from thence, & because
all other parts were peaceable, they sailed along the coast of Asia, untill they arrived at *Loryma*,
a port or haven towne even against Rhodes. There in the Principia began first a secret whispering
among the Colonels (which afterwards came to the ears of *Aemilius* himselfe) namely, That the
navie was led away farre ynough off from Ephesus, where by right and of dutie hee was to warre;
to the end, that the enemie being left at libertie behind their backs, might attempt to do what
he list without controulment, against so many cities and States of the Romane allies, neere unto
him. *Aemilius* was mooved herewith, and calling unto him the Rhodians, demanded of them,
Whether the whole armada might ride conveniently within the haven of Patara? And when
they answered No, he tooke that occasion to passe no further, but to give over the voyage, and so
brought backe his ships to Samos.

In this same time *Seleucus* the sonne of *Antiochus*, after he had kept his armie all winter time
in *Aeolis*, employing it partly in succouring his associates, and partly in sacking and pilling those
whom he could not draw into association, intended to invade the confines of king *Eumenes* his
realme, whiles he (together with the Romanes) was busied farre from home, in assailing the ma-
ritime parts of Lycia. And first hee approached Elæa in countenance of an enemie, with banner
displayed; but afterwards, leaving to besiege the citie, after spoile made in hostile manner of the
territorie, he marched forward to besiege and assault the head citie and capitall strength of all his
kingdome * *Pergamus*. *Attalus* at the beginning seemed rather to brave and provoke him unto
fight with his strong guards that hee had placed without the citie, and excursions with his horse-
men and light armour, than to stand upon his guard and defence, and to receive the forces of his
enemie: but at length, seeing by these light skirmishes that hee was in no respect able to match
Seleucus, hee retired himselfe within his walls, and so the citie began to bee besieged. And much
about the same time, *Antiochus* also being departed from Apamea, first lay encamped at Sardis,
and afterwards, not farre from the campe of *Seleucus*, neere to the head or source of the river

* *Caicus*,

A * *Caicus*, with a mightie armie composed of diverse and sundrie nations. The greatest thereof
terror in this armie was a redoubled regiment of Gauls, to the number of foure thousand, hired
for wages, whome with some few other among them, hee sent out to waite and destroy all parts of
the territorie about *Pergamus*. When newes hereof came to Samos, *Eumenes* at the first, being
called away by this warre; (begun at home, even at his very dores) made hast with his fleet to
Elæa; where finding in readinesse certaine horsemen and footmen both lightly appointed, by
their sure convoy and safe conduct, hee came to *Pergamus* before the enemies had knowledge
thereof, or enterprised any thing. Where once againe they began to make light skirmishes by
way of excursions, for in truth *Eumenes* lay off, and was not willing to hazard the maine chaunce
upon a throw. Few daies after, both the Romane and Rhodian fleet came from Samos and
B were arrived at Elæa for to aid the king *Eumenes*. When *Antiochus* was advertised that they had
landed their forces at Elæa, and that so many armades were met together in that one haven,
and hearing with all about the same time, that the Consull was already with a power in Macedo-
nie making preparation of all things for his passage over Hellespont: hee supposed now it was
high time (before that he were pressed at once both by land and sea) to treat for peace, & there-
fore hee seized a certaine hill over against Elæa, to fortifie and encampe in. Where, leaving his
whole power of Infanterie, he defended into the plaine, under the very walls of Elæa, with all his
Cavallerie, to the number of sixe thousand horse. And sending an herald to *Aemilius*, hee gave
him to understand, that hee was desirous to have a treatie of peace. *Aemilius* sent for *Eumenes*
from *Pergamus*, and they both, together with the Rhodians, debated in counsell what to do. The
C Rhodians refused not the offer. But *Eumenes* said it was neither honourable to parle of peace at
that time, ne yet possible to conclude thereof, if they went about it. For being as wee are (quoth
hee) pinned up within our walls and besieged, how can we receive from another, conditions of
peace, saving our credite and honour? and who will hold that for a firme and assured peace, which
we shall contract without the presence of the Consull, without the authoritie of the Senate, and
without the graunt of the people of Rome? For I demand of you, when yee have made a peace,
whether you will return presently into Italie or no? whether you will withdraw your fleet & armie?
or rather wait and expect to know the Consull his mind and advise, the Senats pleasure and or-
D dinance, and the generall assent of the people in that behalfe? It remaineth then after that is done,
that you stay still in Asia, and that your forces being brought backe againe into their wintering
D harbours, (after they have done with warfare) shall to consume and eat out our allies, by charging
them with provision of victuals: and afterwards, if it shall so please the higher powers, & those that
are in authoritie so to ordaine, we must begin that war anew, which now we are able (if we slacke
not the time, nor stop the forward course wherein we are) before winter come, with the favor and
power of the gods, to finish and bring to a finall end. This advise tooke place; and answer was re-
turned unto *Antiochus*, that there could be no treatie of peace before the Consull his coming.
Antiochus having thus in vaine sought for peace, when he had first forraied and wasted the terri-
torie of Elæa, and afterwards of *Pergamus*, left his sonne *Seleucus* there, and went himselfe
in person to * *Adramytteum*, pilling and spoiling all the way as he journeyed, in all kind of hostilitie.
Now this territorie is a rich country, called, The champaine plaines of Thebe: much renowned
E by the Poet *Homer* in his poeme; and in no one place besides of all Asia got the kings souldiers
a greater bootie and more pillage. Thither arrived also to *Adramytteum* both *Aemilius* and *Eumenes*
(having set a compass by sea) for the defense of the said citie. During this time, they sent
for a thousand foote, and a hundred horse out of Achæa to come unto Elæa: all which forces
were commaunded by captaine *Diophanes*. So soone as they were disbarked and landed, there
were readie to receive them certaine men sent from *Attalus* of purpose to meete them, who
by night conducted them to *Pergamus*. They were all old souldiours, and well experienced in
feates of warre: and their leader *Diophanes* had bene brought up & trained under *Philopemenes*,
the greatest warrior in those dayes of all the Greekes, who tooke but two dayes for to rest his
horse and men, and to take view of the enemies gards, namely, in what places and at what time
F they used customably either to come forward, or to retire. The kings souldiours were approched
almost to the very foote of the hill, where the citie is situate. By meanes whereof they might
forage behind at their will, and there was not one issued out of the citie so much as to launce
a dart aloofe against the corps de gard of the enemies. After they were once so neere driven for
feare, that they were faine to keepe themselves close within the walls, the kings souldiers without,
began

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began

began first to conteinne, and afterwards to neglect them. Many of them had not their horses so much as saddled and bridled, and some few were left in armes and in ordinance of battaile: the rest were gone aside and spread over all parts of the champaine: some went to play and tooke themselves to youthfull sports and wanton riot: others fell to feeding, pampering their bellies, and making good cheere under couvert shade, and many were laid along asleepe. *Diophanes* beheld all the manner hereof aloft from an high turret of the citie Pergamus, and presently gave commaundement to his souldiers to take armes and to be readie at the gate. Himselfe went to *Attalus*, and told him, that he purposed to assaile the enemies *corps de gard*. *Attalus* (although he were very loth) gave him leave; for he saw full well, that he was to fight with one hundred horie against three hundred: and one thousand foote against four thousand. Being out of the gate, he led him downe not far from the enemies *corps de gard*, waiting when some good opportunitie and occasion would offer it selfe. Both they within Pergamus of one side, deemed this to be follie rather than hardinesse; and also the enemies on the other side making towards them for a while, and perceiving them not to stirre, altered nothing of their usuall negligence, and that which more was, made a mockery and skorne of their small number. *Diophanes* kept his men still a good time, as if he had brought them forth only for a shew, to see and to be seene: but after he perceived once the enemies to be disbanded out of their ranks and raunges, he commaunded the footmen to make all the hast they could after, whiles himselfe leading the way first among his horsemen; ran with his whole troupe upon the spurre as hard as ever he could, and setting up a shout and cry aloud on all hands, as well with foote as horse, charged sodainly upon the enemies gards, ere they were ware of them. Man and horse both were greatly skared: and the horses especially having broken their collers and halters wherewith they stood tied, made foule worke and much trouble among their owne partie. Some few of the horses kept their standing still unafrighted, and even those they had much ado to saddle, to bridle, and to mount upon; with to great a terror came the Achæans, and with much more than so small a number could be thought to make. And as for the footmen in order arranged and well provided, they fell vpon those that were negligently dispersed abroad, ere they looked for them, and in manner halfe asleepe. Great execution and butcherie was committed upon them all the fields over, and they fell amaine. *Diophanes* having followed the chase as they ran away in scattering wise, so farre as he might well with safetie of himselfe, returned to the guard and defence of the citie, having won great honor to the nation of the Achæans by this exploit: for not only the men, but women also beheld this service, and looked on him from the walls of Pergamus. The next day after, the kings *Corps de gards* were better ordered and kept closer together, yea and retired halfe a mile farther from the citie, where they encamped themselves. The Achæans likewise much about the same time advanced to the very same place. Many houres together they looked one upon another who would begin first, expecting every minute when the charge should be given. But after the sunne was neere going downe, and that it was time to returne into the camp, they of the kings part began to ruffle their ensignes and guidons together, and set forward with their bands, ordered in manner of a march for the way, more like than marshalled for to fight a battaile. *Diophanes* sat still so long as they were within sight: but then he charged upon their rereward, with as great violence and furie, as the day before, and put them againe into so great affright and trouble, that they gave them leave to wound them on their backs, and not one would stay to make head and resist, but trembling for feare, and hardly keeping the order of a march, they were beaten into their camp. This boldnes of the Achæans forced *Seleucus* to dislodge and remove out of the territorie of Pergamus.

Antiochus after he heard say that the Romanes and *Eumenes* were come to the defence of *Adramyteum*, medled no more with the towne it selfe, but after he had laid the fields wast, departed from thence, and forced *Peræa*, a Colonie of the *Mitylenæans*. As for *Cotton* and *Corylenus*, *Aphrodisias* and *Pryene*, they were won at the first assault, and so he returned to *Sardis* by *Thiaira*. *Seleucus* remaining still upon the sea coasts, as he affrighted some, so he defended others. The Romanes fleet together with *Eumenes* and the Rhodians sailed first to * *Mitylene*, and back againe from thence, returned to *Elea* from whence she came. So they held on their course to *Phocæa*, and sel with an island called *Bacchius*, situate above the citie of the *Phocæans*: and after they had pilld and rifled by way of hostilitie the temples, which heretofore they had foreborne, and taken away the images (for the island was magnificently adorned and beautified therewith)

* *Tire*.* *Mitylen*.

A therewith) they crossed over to the citie it selfe, which they assaulted in divers quarters, according as they had divided their forces into three parts: but seeing that it might not be won with bare skaling and strength of armes, without planting engins of batterie and other fabricks; and besides, that three thousand armed men sent from *Antiochus* for defence, were entred into the citie, presently they gave over the siege: and the fleet retired to the Islands, having done no other exploit, but only pilld the territorie about the citie.

This done, it was thought good that *Eumenes* should have licence to depart into his owne kingdome, that he might provide for the Confull and the armie, all necessaries toward the passage over *Hellepontus*: also that the Romanes and Rhodian fleets should returne to *Samos*, and there remaine in gard, and have an eye unto *Polyxenidas*, least he removed from *Ephesus* and made some attempt that way. So, the king returned to *Elea*, the Romanes and Rhodians to *Samos*, where *M. Amylius* the Pretor his brother departed this life. The Rhodians, after his funeral obsequies performed, sailed to *Rhodes* with thirtene ships of their owne, one quinquere me galeace of *Cous*, and one other of *Gnidos*, there to lye in rode, readie to make head against the fleet, which as the bruit blazed, was astore and coming out of *Syria*. Two dayes before that *Eudamus* losed from *Samos* with the Armada, thirtene ships sent from *Rhodes* under the conduct of Admirall *Pamphilidas* to encounter the said *Syriak* fleet, taking with them foure other ships, which were for the gard of *Caria*, delivered from siege *Dardala*, and other petie forts which the kings souldiers assailed. Then it was advised that *Eudamus* should incontinently set forward on his voyage. And to that fleet which he had under his charge, he adjoynd also foure open ships. Being departed, he made saile in all hast that he possibly could, and arrived at the port called *Megile*: where he overtooke those that were gone before; from whence they came in one band and traine jointie together unto *Phaselis*, and then they judged it the best way, in that place to attend the coming of the enemy. This *Phaselis* standeth upon the confines betweene *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*. It lieth farre within the sea, and is the first land that sheweth it selfe, to them that saile from *Cilicia* to *Rhodes*; and from thence a man may ken and discover ships under saile a farre off: for which cause especially, this was chosen for a fit and convenient place, wherein they might encounter the enemies fleet. But by reason the aire was unhollome, and the season of the yeere unhealthfull (for it was midsummer) and the smells and stinking savours such, as they had not bene acquainted with many contagious diseases and maladies D which they foresaw not, began to spread commonly abroad, and especially among the mariners: for feare of which plague & mortallitie, they departed from thence, and passed beyond the gulph of *Pamphylia*: and being arrived in the river *Eurymedon*, they received advertisement from the *Alpendians*, that the enemies were already before *Sida*. Those of the kings side had sailed but slowly in regard of the adverse season of the winds named * *Etesia*, which keepe their set and certain time, like as those do which they call * *Favonij*. Now of the Rhodians there were 32 quadreeme Gallies, and 4 other trieme besides. The kings fleet consisted of 37, and those of greater burden and wastie: among which were three mightie Galleaces of * 7 banks of ores on a side, and four of * 6, besides 10 ordinary trieme gallies. There were others also that knew by a sentinell or watch-towre standing on a certain high place, how the enemies were at hand. The next morning by breake of day both these fleets set forth of the haven, as if they would have fought that very day. And after that the Rhodians had passed the cape, which from *Sida* hangeth over into the sea, then presently were they discovered of the enemies, & the enemies likewise descried by them. The left wing of the kings fleet, flanked with the maine sea, was commaunded by *Anniball*: and *Apollonius* one of his gallants and courtiers led the right: so as now they had raunged their ships broad in a front-ranke. The Rhodians advanced forward ordered in length, & casting their battaile into files. In the vaward the Admirall ship of *Eudamus* was foremost; *Cargæus* governed the reregard; and *Pamphilidas* had the conduct of the middle ward. *Eudamus* seeing the enemies battaile arraunged & redy for conflict, put forth into the open sea, commanding those that followed after in order to keepe their array, and so directly to assault the enemy: which at the first caused some trouble, for he was not so farre advanced into the deepe, that all the ships could be set in array along the land side: and besides, himselfe making too much hast, with five ships only encountred *Anniball*, for the rest followed not after him, because they were bidden to range affront. Now the rereward had no roume left them toward the land: and thus whiles they hastily were jumbled together, the fight by that time was begun in the right wing against

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against

againt *Anniball*. But at one instant the Rhodians cast off all feare, as well in regard of the goodnes of their ships, as of their owne experience and usuall practise in service at sea. For their ships with great quicknesse and agilitie making faile into the maine sea, made rounge for every one that came after along the land side: and withall, if any one hapned to run upon a ship of the enemies with her piked beake head, either it rent the prow, or wiped away the ores, or passing cleere through, betwene the ranks and files turned againe and charged upon the poupe. But the thing which terrified the enemye most was this, That a great galeace of the kings which had seven bankes of ores on a side, was bouged and rooke a leake with one onely knocke, that it received by a Rhodian ship farre lesse: whereupon the right wing of the enemye doubtlesse enclined to flye away. But *Anniball* pressed *Eudamus* very much in the open sea, most of all with multitude of ships: for otherwise in all respects *Eudamus* had the ods and better hand of him by farre: and certainly he had compassed and enclosed *Eudamus* round, but that a flag was put out of the admirall, (by which signall the disperfed ships are wont to rally themselves together:) whereupon all those that had gotten the better of the enemy in the right wing, made haile to joyne in one for to succour their fellowes. Then *Anniball* also and the ships about him, tooke their flight: but the Rhodians were not able to make way after them and to mainteine the chase, by reason that their rowers many of them were sicke, and therefore the sooner weary. Whereupon they cast ancre in the maine sea, and stayed to eat and take some refectiō for to strengthen their bodies. And in this while *Eudamus* espyed and beheld the enemies how they hailed and towed by ropes at the taile of the open ships (that went only with ores) certaine other which were lame, maimed, sore brused and cracked: and might see 20 others not much foundier than they, to leave the rest and depart: whereupon causing an *Oyez* and silence to be made from an high turret in the fore-castle of the admirall, Arise my hearts (saith hee) and see a pleasant sight yonder and a goodly spectacle. So they all arose at once and beheld how the enemies were afraid, and what poore trust they made in haile to flye, and with one voice they all in a manner cryed out to follow after & pursue them. Now *Eudamus* his owne ship was shaken in many places and forebrused; whereupon he commaunded *Pamphilidas* and *Chariclitus* to make way after them, so farre forth as they thought they might without danger. And for a good time they held them in chase: but seeing *Anniball* approching neere the shore, and fearing least the wind would locke them within the enemies coast, they returned toward *Eudamus*, and drew along with them the great galeace which they tooke, and which at the first encounter was pierced, and with much adoe traigned it to Phaelis. From thence they retired themselves to Rhodes, not so joyous for this victorie, as blaming one another that they had not either funke or taken the whole fleet of the enemies, having so good meanes as they had to doe it. *Anniball* daunted with this one unfortunate battell, durst not even then passe along the river of Lycia, but desired to joyne unto the old fleet of the kings as soone as possibly hee could. To impeach him for effecting that, the Rhodians set out *Chariclitus* and twenty war ships with piked stems, toward Patara and the port of Megiste; and commaunded *Eudamus* to returne unto the Romanes to Samos with seven of the tallest ships in all that fleet whereof he had the command: to the end, that hee might induce the Romanes with his counsell and advise, yea and with all the countenance and authoritie that he had, force them to lay siege unto Patara and to assault it. The Romanes tooke great joy and contentment, first at the newes and report of this victorie, and afterwards at the returne of the Rhodians. And it seemed, if that one city stood not in their way to stay them, and that they were once rid of that care, they would without any let and emperachment, make all the sea coasts sure enough for any danger and damage from those quarters. But because *Antiochus* was departed from Sardis, the Romanes held them backe, and would not suffer them to abandon the guard and defence of *Æolis* and *Ionis*, for feare least the cities upon the sea side might be surprisid. And so they sent *Pamphilidas* with four covered ships, to the fleet that lay about Patara.

Antiochus gathered together not only the garrisons and aids of all the cities that were about him, but also addressed his embassadours with letters to *Prusias* the king of Bithynia, wherein he gave out hard words of the Romanes for their passage into Asia: namely, That their coming was only was for this, to demolish, put downe, and overthrow all kingdoms, & to set up the only Roman Empire, that none els might stand in the whole world. That *Philip* and *Nabis* already were subdued and deposed, and now himselfe was to make the third, against whom they were come. Neither would they make an end there but goe on still, like a continuall fire that burneth forward,

ward, and take all afore them, and ever as they vanquished one, proceed to another that is next. And no doubt, they would make a bridge of him to passe onward into Bithynia, now that *Eumenes* hath gently taken upon his necke the yoke of voluntary servitude. *Prusias* was somewhat touched with these letters, but when there came others written from *Scipio* the Consull, and his brother *Africanus* especially, he was wholly averted from enterreining any such suspition. For *Africanus* besides the continuall custome that the people of Rome had, to advance and amplifie the majesty of KK. their allies and confederates, with all kind of honour; alledged for his part, the domestickall examples of his owne house and family: inducing *Prusias* thereby to enter into a desire to win his love and friendship. For he discourtled and said, That those princes and pettie KK. in Spaine, whome he had received into his protection, he leit behind him when hee went away, mightie monarkes: also, that he not only had placed and established *Masissa* in his fathers realme and throne, but settled him in the kingdome also of *Syphax*, who before had chased and expelled him: so as now he was not only the richest potentate and most wealthy king of all Africke, but also for majestie & puissant forces a paragon, equall to any other king in the whole world. As for *Philip* and *Nabis*, enemies they were and vanquished by *T. Quintus*, howbeit they remained kings afterwards within their owne realmes. And *Philip* verily the yere that is past, had his tribute forgiven him and his sonne an hostage delivered unto him: yea and some cities without the dominion of Macedonie, have received him as their king; and the Roman Generals have winked thereat and beene contented. And surely *Nabis* had beene likewise graced and honoured, but for his owne peevish folly first, and the faineurous falsehood afterwards of the *Ætolians*, which was his utter undoing and overthrow. But the chiefe thing of all that most confirmed the mind of king *Prusias*, was the coming of *Livius* unto him in embassage from Rome, he, who aforetime in qualitie of Pretour, had been Admirall of the navie. Who shewed and declared unto him, how the hope of victory was much more assured to the Romanes than to king *Antiochus*; and withall, how the Romanes would be the faster and surer friend of the twaine, yea and make more conscience of keeping amitie.

Antiochus being put besides all hope of the association with *Prusias*, departed to Ephesus from Sardis, to visite and see the fleet, which for certaine moneths had been rigged and in readinesse: & this he did the rather, because he saw that hee could not hold out with the Roman armie and the two *Scipios* the commaunders thereof, than for that his sea-service in it selfe at any time before sped well, or could assure him now of great & certaine successe. Yet some little dram he had of good hope for the present, in that his intelligence was, that a great part of the Rhodian fleet was about Patara, and king *Eumenes* also with all his own ships departed into Hellespontus, to meet with the Consull. Besides this, in some measure his spirit was puffed up with the remembrance, how the Rhodian Armada had beene defeated at Samos by a careful plot and practise contrived beforehand. Having laid these conceits for a ground, he sent *Polyxenidas* away with the navie, to hazard the fortune of a battell in some sort or other (it made no matter how:) whilst himselfe in person led his whole armie to Notium (a towne of the Colophonians, seated upon the sea, and distant about two miles from the auncient citie Colophon.) The citie it selfe he had a good mind to conquer and bring in subjection unto him: for being so neere unto Ephesus as it was, there could not any thing bee done either by sea or land but it was within the cite of the Colophonians, and by their meanes notified streightwaies to the Romanes. Now hee made full account that they would remoove their fleet from Samos to succour that afflicted citie of theirs, and so *Polyxenidas* might thereby take his time and good opportunitie to execute some notable exploit. Whereupon he went in hand to plant fabricles against Colophon, and having raised his rampiers, and cast trenches on both sides alike, even to the very sea, hee approached with mantelets & terraces, as well the one part as the other, close unto the walls, and under the rowles, plaid upon them with the push and peise of the ram. The Colophonians much troubled and affrighted with these daungers and distresses, sent their Oratours to Samos unto *L. Aemilius*, to crave in humble manner the aid and succour of the Pretour and people of Rome. *Aemilius* was much discontented and offended in his heart, that he had made so long abode at Samos and performed no service. Nothing lesse thought he than that *Polyxenidas*, whom twise already in vain he had chalenged and bidden battell, would now offer to fight. He reputed it also for a disgrace and shamefull indignitie unto him, that *Eumenes* his fleet assisted the Consull to waite over the legions into Asia, and himselfe was assigned and enjoined to succour and aid the citie of Colophon.

Colophon besieged, the issue whereof would be so doubtful and uncertaine. *Eudamus* the Rhodian, G who was the man that had detained and kept him still at Samos, when hee was desirous to passe over into Hellespont, yea, and all the rest were instant with him, shewing & declaring how much better it was, either to deliver his allies from siege, or to defeat the fleet againe, which had bene once vanquished, and so to put the enemy quite besides the possession of the sea; than with the abandoning of his confederates, and betraying Asia both sea and land into the hands of *Antiochus*, to depart into Hellespont (where *Eumenes* with his fleet was sufficient to hold him play) and to quit that part of the warre which was committed to his charge. Well, they lofed from Samos to provide victuals, for that all their owne provision was spent, and shaped themselves to crosse over unto Chios. That was the garner and storehouse of the Romanes; and the very place unto which all the ships of burden, and the hulkes sent out of Italie, used to set saile and direct their H course. So they set a compassse about, toward the coast of the Island that lay farthest off from the citie, opposite to the Northeast, in regard of Chios and Erythraea. And as they were about to passe over thither, the Pretour was certified by letters, that great store of corne was come out of Italie to Chios: that the ships which were charged with wine, were kept backe by contrarie and crosse winds. Likewise, reported it was, that the Teians had furnished king *Antiochus* his fleet with victuals plentifully and liberally, and had promised also unto him five thousand vessels of wine. Whereupon he shifted saile suddainly in the midst of his direct course, and made head for Teios, intending either with their good wils to serve himselfe of the provision prepared for the enemy, or else to hold them for no better than enemies. Having directed the prowes of their ships toward the land, they might describe as it were, a fiftene ships neer unto Myonesus. Which I the Pretour supposing at the first to bee of the kings fleet, resolved to make way after them: but afterwards it appeared, they were brigantines or pinnaces, and certaine small barks of rovers and men of warre. These rovers having harried and spoiled all the maritime coasts of the Chians, were upon their returne with great store of prizes and pillage: but when they discovered a fleet in the deepe sea a farre off, they made all the saile they could, and fled. Yare of sterage they were and good of saile, by reason that their vessels were more light, and made of purpose to tid way, and besides neerer they were to land. And therefore they had recovered Myonesus, before the fleet could come any thing neere unto them. The Pretor thinking verily to force them out of the haven, made after without direction of a skilfull pilot, & knowledge of the place. Now this Myonesus is a promontorie or cape betwene Teos and Samos, a very mountaine made in fashion K of a sleepe, broad ynough at the foot, but rising narrower still, and runneth up to the top sharpe pointed. On the maine or land side it hath one advenue by a streight and narrow path. From the sea it is founded upon rockes, beaten and eaten with the continuall firling waves of the sea, in so much, as in some places the cliffes that hang over, bear more into the sea than the vessels that lie under in the harbour, take up of the sea. The Pretor with his ships durst not approach neer unto those crags, for feare of being within the shot of the pirates, who were perched upon the top of those sleepe rockes, and so they spent that day and lay off. At the last, a little before night, they gave over that vaine enterprise without effect, and the morrow after arrived at Teios; and having lodged their ships within the harbour, which themselves call Geraisticus (and it lyeth out at the backe side of the citie) the Pretour set ashore, and sent out his souldiours to forray the territorie L about the citie. The Teians seeing how their lands were spoiled even under their very noses, addressed certaine Oratours to the Romane Admirall, arraied all in white, after the manner of humble suppliants. And as they would have seemed to excuse their citie, for having done or said any thing against the Romanes tending to hostilitie; hee both charged them directly, that they had releevd the fleet of his enemies with victuals, and also told them what quantitie of wine moreover, they had promised to *Polyxenidas*. But and if they could be content to doe the like by the Romane fleet, he would recall his souldiours from pillage, otherwise hee would repute them for his enemies. The embassadours aforesaid made relation of this heave answere. Whereupon the magistrates of the citie assembled the people together, for to consult and conclude about this matter what they were best to doe. Thither as it happened, was *Polyxenidas* arrived with the M kings armada; who having lofed from Colophon, when hee heard that the Romanes were departed from Samos, that they had chased the Pirates as far as Myonesus, & were now waiting & harrying the lands of the Teians, also that their ships ankered in the rode Geraisticus, himselfe also cast anker over against Myonesus, hard by an Island which the sailers and mariners call Macris, in a secret

A a secret bay hard by, escouting and espying from this neere harbour, what the enemies did and intended. And at the first in good hope he was to discomfite and defeat the Romane fleet, like as hee had beforetime the Rhodian armada neere unto Samos, by seizing the mouth of the haven, and empeaching their issue forth. For this bay was in all respects like unto the other, lying just betweene two capes, which meet so neere, and in manner enclose the mouth thereof, that hardly two ships at once can goe forth together. And to this purpose *Polyxenidas* intended in the night season to take possession, and make himselfe sure of the said streights, there to place ten gallies under either cape, which standing there at the vantage, should from both points flanke the broad sides of his enemies ships in their going forth; and withall out of his other vessels to disbarke and land armed souldiours, like as he had done at Panormus, and so at once to assaile them both by sea and land, and make an end of them for all. VVhich designement of his no doubt had taken effect, but that the Romanes, after that the Teians had promised them to doe whatsoever they should command, thought it more commodious for the receiving of their provision of victuals, to passe with their ships unto the other harbour which was before the citie, to the open sea. Some say that *Eudamus* the Rhodian, shewed the inconvenience and discommoditie of the other harbour, by occasion that two gallies fortun'd in that streight to bee so entangled, that they brake one anothers oares with justeling together. And among other motives the Pretour was induced to change the harbour, because from the land side there, hee should lie within danger, considering that *Antiochus* himselfe was not encamped farre off. Thus the fleet being brought about close to the citie side, the souldiours and mariners (without the C knowledge of any commanders) were disbarked, for to dispose and disperse the victuals and wine especially, to every ship. But about noon-tide a certaine peasant of the cuntry chanced to bee brought before the Pretour, who gave intelligence, That there was a fleet of ships which two dayes already rode at anker under the island Macris; and that but a while agoe, certain vessels of them were seene to weigh anker, as if they would hoise up saile and bee gone. The Pretour moved at this sodaine occurrent, commanded the trumpets to sound the alarme, and to give knowledge and warning, that in case any were stragling abroad in the fields, they should retire. The Colonels he sent into the citie to gather the souldiours together and the mariners, that they might repaire to ship-board. This alarme caused as great a trouble and confusion, as usually is seene in a sodaine skarefire, or when a citie is surpris'd by the enemies. Here was skudding D into the city to recall their fellows; there was running out of the citie to recover their shippes; not knowing who commanded, by reason of the dissonant noise of men and sound of trumpet: howbeit as hap was, at length they ran all toward the ships, but in such a hurlyburly and disorder, that they scarcely knew their own vessels; or if they did, they could hardly for the crowd and prease, get thither and embarke themselves. Neither had this affright passed cleere without danger both by sea and land, but that *Aemilius* gave direction to every one what to do, and put out of the haven first himselfe with the Admirall ship into the open sea, and there received every vessel as they followed one after another in their order, and ranged them all affront: and if *Eudamus* also with the Rhodian fleet had not staid at the shore to see good order, that the soldiers might be set aboard without hurrying in fearefull hast, and every ship goe forth as it was E fitted and made ready. By this meanes both the foremost of the vaward were arraunged in the sight of the Pretor, and the Rhodians also kept their order in the reregard in such sort, as they put themselves into the open sea in as good array, as if they had seene the kings fleet under saile. But they were betweene the two promontories, Myonesus and Corycus, before they descried the enemy. The kings armada came forward in long files, two and two in a ranke, who displayed and spread themselves also affront towards the wing in such wise, that they might be able to compassse and enclose the right wing of the enemy. VVhich *Eudamus* the arriere-admirall perceiving, and seeing withall that the Romans could not possibly make head alike and extend themselves as broad as the enemy, and were at the point already in the right wing to be environed, made fast with his owne vessels (for the Rhodian barks were of all other in the whole fleet swiftest by farre) and after he had fronted equally and marched wing for wing, he made head with his owne F ship against the very admirall of the enemies, wherein *Polyxenidas* himselfe was aboard. By this time the battell began between both the maine fleets, all at once from every part. Of the Romans side there fought fourescore in all, whereof two and twentie were Rhodians. The enemies armada consisted of fourescore and nine, all ships of the greatest wastie and making, and had among them

them three galeaces of fixe banks of ores on a side, and two of seven. For goodnes and strength G of ships, as also for valiancie of souldiours, the Romanes farre surpassd the Rhodians. But for agilitie and nimblenes of their vessels, for skilfull knowledge of pilots, and expert cunning and redinesse of mariners, the Rhodians were as much beyond them. And those above all the rest that caried fire before them in their noses, troubled and skared the enemies most: and that stratagemie and devise which had bene their only help and meanes of safetie, when they were surprised and beset at Panormus, was now the thing that stood them in best steed to win the victorie. For the kings ships fearing the fire that threatened their very faces, turned aside, because they would not run afront with their proes: so as they neither could themselves smite & hurt the enemies with their brasen pikes in the beake head, ne yet avoid them, but expose their own broad sides open to receive all pusses and violence from them. If any one fortun'd to encounter and run upon them, he was sure to be paid and sped with fire that was slung and cast into her: and more running there was to quench the same, than otherwise to fight. Howbeit, the resolute valour of the Romanes souldiours (which ever in warre prevaileth most) was it that did the deede. For after the Romanes by fine force had broken and cloven the maine battailon of the enemy in the very midst, they turned about againe, and presented themselves behind, and plaid upon the backs of the kings ships whiles they fought afront and made head against the Rhodians: and thus at one instant the battailon in the mids, and the ships in the left wing that served king Antiochus, were beset round about, and sunke to the botome of the sea. The right wing as yet entier and sound, was more terrified at the losse and overthrow of their fellows, than for any proper danger of their owne. Howbeit, after they saw the other invetted, and the Admirall her selfe with Polyxenidas in her, to abandon her companions and to halfe up sailes, they likewise in haist set up all their cloth and small trinquet sailes (for a good forewind they had for Ephesus) and fled as fast away as they could. Two and fortie ships they lost in this fight: of which thirteene were bourded and taken for the use of the Romanes, the rest were either consumed with fire, or devoured of the sea. Two Romanes ships were shattered and broken to fitters, and some other hurt, bruised and cracked. One Rhodian chaunced to be taken by a notable and memorable adventure. For having with her piked beake head stricken a Sidonian ship, with the violence of the blow she shooke out her owne anker, which by one of the floukes tooke fast hold as if it had bene a grappling hooke by the pro of the other ship. The Rhodians much troubled herewith, gave over rowing straight, as willing and desirous to be loose and parted from the enemy: and whiles they were busie thereabout, the gable which the anker drew with it caught among the ores of her owne ship, and swoopt them cleane away, and so left one side of it naked, whereby the ship being much weakened and enfeebled, was taken by the other that was fittinen and tied fast unto her. Much after this manner was the battaile fought at sea neere Myonesus. Whereupon Antiochus was sore affrighted: for being thus dispossed of the sea, he distrusted himselfe that he should not be able to hold and defend the places farther off: and therefore commaunded the garison to retire from Lysimachia, for feare it should be surprised there by the Romanes. But this was but a bad peece of counsell, as the sequell and issue proved afterwards. For it had bene an easie matter not only to defend Lysimachia against the first assault of the Romanes, but also to hold out the siege all winter: yea and by drawing out the time on length, to bring the very assailants themselves lying in leaguer, to extreme necessitie and want of all things: during which space they might have taken some occasion and opportunitie, to find a meane and make way for peace. Neither did he only quit Lysimachia and leave it for the enemies after this unfortunate battaile, but also raised his siege before Colophon and dislodged, yea and retired himselfe to Sardis: from whence he sent into Cappadocia to Attarates for aid, and to all other places where he could, to gather more forces: and now was he set upon no designe, but to geve battaile, and to hazard all upon the fortune of the field.

After this Navall victorie, Regillus Aemilius sailed directly to Ephesus, where he embattailed his ships in array even before the haven, and when by this bravado he had at last wrung again from the enemies a plaine and evident confession that they had abandoned the sea unto him, he set saile for Chios, unto which he had intended to shape his course from Samos before the late battaile upon the sea. There he repaired and calked his ships which were shaken & cracked in the foresaid fight: which done, he sent L. Aemilius Scaurus with thirtie saile toward Helle-spontus to transport the armie. And when he had rewarded the Rhodian ships with part of the

pillage,

A pillage, and honored them with the navall spoiles, he gave them the renvoie, and sent them home. But the Rhodians lustily out-sailed Scaurus, and prevented his ships to set over the forces of the Consull: and after they had performed that service also, then they returned to Rhodes.

The Romanes Armada sailed from Chios to Phocæa. This citie is seated faire within the gulle of the sea, builded so, as that it lieth out in length. The wall containeth in compasse the space of two miles and an halfe: and from both sides it groweth narrow still, and meeteth in the mids, resembling the forme of a wedge or * coin, which the inhabitants themselves call Lamp-ter, in which place the citie is a mile broad and a quarter with the vantage. From which canton or corner there is a banke of firme land running a mile on end into the sea like a tongue, which devideth the haven just in the mids, marked out (as it were) just by a certaine line.

B Where it joyneth to the narrow streights it hath two most sure harbours of both sides, and those lying two contrarie wayes. That which looketh toward the South, is called according as it is in deed, *Naustathmos* [namely, a ship-rode, or harbour] for it is able to receive a great number of ships: the other haven is neere unto the very Lampter aforesaid. When the Romanes there was once possessed of both these most sure and safe harbours, the Pretour thought good before he set in hand either to skale the walls, or to raise any fabricks and plant engines against the citie, to send certain of purpose to found the minds and affections of the principall citizens and the magistrates within. But after he perceived they were obstinately bent, & would not come on, he began to lay batterie against it in two severall quarters. The one part was not much peopled, and had but few dwelling houses in it; and the temples of their gods tooke up a good space there- of; and there began he first to approach with the ramme, and therewith to batter the walls, and shake the turrets: and by that time that the multitude ran thither in great numbers, and presented themselves readie to defend, the ramme was jurring also at the other part: So as now the walls were laid along in both places; and upon the fall thereof whiles some of the Roman souldiers presently gave the assault at the very breach, mounting & marching upon the ruines of the stones that were faine: others also assaid to gaine the top of the upright walls with skaling ladders. But the townsmen withstood them so stiffely, & with such resolution, that it was well seene they reported more hope of defense in armes and valor, than in the strength of their walls. Whereupon the Pretor seeing in what danger his souldiers stood, and fearing to expose & sacrifice them ere they were aware to the fury of these people so enraged like desperate and mad persons, commaunded

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D to found the retreat. And notwithstanding the assault ceased and was given over, yet betooke not the townsmen themselves to rest and repose, but ran from all parts every one, to raise countermures, fill up the breaches, and repaire the ruines where the wall was downe. As they were wholly employed about this businesse, Q. Antonius sent from the Pretour, came toward them: who, after hee had reprooved and rebuked their wilfull obstinacie, and made remonstrance unto them, that the Romanes had more care and regard than they themselves of the citie, that by continuall assaults and batteries it should not utterly be destroyed: and how if they would be reclaimed and forgoe their outrageous folly, he would make them this offer, That they should yeeld under the same condition and in those very termes, as afore-time they had submitted to C. Livius when they came under his protection: At the hearing

E of that, they demanded and had five dayes space to consider of the matter: during which time they made meanes to receive some aid from Antiochus; but after their embassadors whom they dispatched to the king, had made relation, That there was no succour to be expected from him; then they set open their gates, having articulated and capitulated beforehand, that no outrage by way of hostilitie should be exercised & committed upon them. As the Romanes entered into the city with banners displayed, the Pretour declared with a loud voice, That his will and pleasure was they should be spared, forasmuch as they had yeelded. Whereat the souldiours on all hands set up a great cry, That it was an intollerable shame that the Phocæans (who were never true and loyall confederates, but alwayes dogged and malicious enemies) should goe away so scotfree, and not suffer for their sinnes. At which word (as if the Pretour had given them a signall of ransacking) they ran into all parts of the citie to rife and spoile. Aemilius at first stayed them what he could and reclaimed them againe, saying, That it was not the manner to sacke cities rendered by composition, but such as were forced and woon by assault; and even those also were at the disposition of the Generall and not of the souldiours. But seeing that they in their angrie mood of revenge, and covetous desire of goods, were of more power than the respective reverence

rence of his person, his qualitie and commandement; hee sent out beaules and trumpeters G throughout the city, charging all persons of free condition whatsoever, to repaire before him into the market place, to the end, that no vilany and outrage might be done upon their bodies. And so the Pretor did his best to perform his word and promise, in whatsoever lay in his power: for he restored unto them their city, their lands, & their own laws. And for that the winter approached, he made choise of the two harbors of Phocæa to bestow his ships ther for the winter time.

Neere about that time, the Consull having passed beyond the borders of the Adrians and Maronites, received newes, that the kings navie was defeated at Myonesus, and Lyfimachia furnished of the garrison: and this latter tidings was more acceptable and pleasing unto him, than the other of the navall victory; and especially, when they came thither: where in very truth the city (plenteously stored with all sort of victuals, as if they had been provided of purpose against the coming of the army) received them courteously; whereas they made no other account, but to endure extremity of want and painful travel in besieging thereof. There they abode some few daies as it were in campe, untill such time as their carriages and sickly persons of their traine might reach unto them; such as they had left behind in all the forts and castles of Thrace, wearied with long journey and enfeebled with divers infirmities. When all were come and well refreshed and recovered, they put themselves againe in their journey, and marching through Cheronefus, they came to Hellespont: where, finding all things in readines for their transporting (such was the industrious care and diligence of king *Eumenes*) they passed over without trouble and molestation into the peaceable coasts of their allies and friends, without empeachment of any person, notwithstanding some ships arrived in one place, and some in another. And this was the thing that much contented the Romanes and mightily encouraged them, to see they had so free passage into Asia, which they made full reckoning would have been a matter of great difficultie and trouble. After this, they encamped and made their abode a certain time neere Hellespont, by occasion of those daies which happened then to be, wherein the Salij used to daunce with their scutchions called *Ancilia*; during which time they made scruple of conscience to take any journey [untill those *Ancilia* were bestowed againe in the temple of *Mars*.] By reason of which daies, *P. Scipio* also withdrew himselfe apart from the armie upon a more strict regard of conscience and religion, which touched him neerer than other, because he was himselfe one of the Salij, and was the cause that the army stayed behind and came not forward to overtake the campe.

And even then there happened to come unto the camp from *Antiochus*, one *Heraclides* a Biantine, having in charge to treat as touching a peace: and good hope he conceived to obtain the same with ease, by reason of the long abode and stay of the Romanes in that one place: of whome hee had looked for no other, but that as soone as they had set foote in Asia, they would have marched apace straightwaies against the kings campe. Howbeit this course he tooke, not to goe directly unto the Consull before he had spoken and conferred with *Scipio*, (and in deed such direction and charge he had from the king himselfe) in whome he had reposed his greatest hope: for besides his magnanimitic and noble courage, as also the satietie of glory and honour, whereof already hee had his full, (great inducements unto the king that hee would bee easily wrought and made most pliable to hearken after peace) all the world knew full well how soberly he had carried himselfe in his victories, first in Spaine and afterwards in Africke: and more than all this, a sonne of his was captive in the said kings hands. But where, when, and by what chance he was taken prisoner, writers agree not no more than in many things els. Some say, that in the beginning of the warre, he was beset and enclosed round within the kings ships, at what time as hee sailed from Chalcis to Oreum. Others write, that after the Romane army was passed over into Asia, hee was sent out in espiall with a troupe of Fregellane horsemen to view and discover the kings campe: and when the kings Cavallerie made out to charge upon them, hee made hast to retire, and in that hurrie his horse fell with him, and so hee and two other men of armes with him, was surpris'd, taken, and brought to the king. But this one thing is for certaine knowne, that if there had beene sure and firme peace betweene the king and the Romanes, nay if there had beene familiar acquaintance and hospitalitie betweene him and the *Scipios*, this young gentleman could not possibly have had more friendly entertainment, nor beene more kindly intreated, liberally used, yea and honorably regarded than he was. For these causes the Embassadour attended the coming of *Scipio*; and so soone as he was arrived, presented

A sented himselfe unto the Consull, requesting that hee might deliver his message and be heard. Whereupon in a frequent assembly he had audience given him, and thus hee spake: Whereas (quoth he) there have beene divers and sundry embassages passed to and fro as touching peace, and no good as yet done; I lay this for a ground and assure my selfe now to speed, because the former embassadours hitherto have effected and obtained nothing: for in all those treaties and disputations the question was about Smyrna, Lampfacus, Alexandria, Troas, and Lyfimachia, which is in Europe. Of which cities, the king my master hath already quit Lyfimachia, to the end you should not say, that he hath any one city at all within Europe: and as for those other in Asia, he is ready to surrender them also; yea and all the rest whatsoever, which the Romanes would recover out of the kings hands and dominions, in regard they had sometime sided and taken part with him. And for the charges which the Romanes have defraied about this warre, the king will be willing to disburse and make good the one moitie unto them againe. And thus much spake he concerning the articles and conditions of the peace. The rest of his speech behind, was bestowed in advertising and putting them in mind of the alternative revolution of this world and the affaires thereof; that as they should use their owne good fortune and prosperity with measure and moderation, so they ought not to presse down others in their adversity; but hold themselves contented within the bounds and limits of Europe, and that was a dominion sufficient (a man would thinke) and exceeding great: considering this, that it is an easier matter to win one thing after another by way of conquest, than to hold and keepe them all together when they are won. To conclude, if the Romanes were minded to dismember any part from Asia, so they would make an end once, and limit out the same within certaine precincts without any further doubt and difference, the king for the love of peace and concord, would suffer the Romanes in their immeasurable desire and appetite, to surmount and outgoe his temperance and moderation. But those matters which the Embassadour supposed were of great importance and effectuell to obtaine peace, the Romanes made a pish at it, and lightly regarded: for they judged it but meet and reason, that the king should discharge all the expences they had been at in this warre, considering through his default it first arose: also that he ought to withdraw his garrisons not only out of Ionia and Æolis: but also, like as all Greece hath beene made free and delivered, so the Greeke cities likewise in Asia ought to be enfranchised and set at liberty: which possibly might not be unlesse *Antiochus* were disleized of the possession of all Asia on this side the mountaine *Taurus*. The Embassadour perceiving well, that there was no reason to be had in the assembly, assayed privately to sound and to win the heart and good will of *Scipio*, according as hee had in charge from the king. And first this way he went to worke and said, That the king was minded to send him his sonne againe freely without rancome: then (ignorant as hee was both of *Scipio* his nature and the manner of Romanes) hee promised him a mighty masse of gold, yea and to be made equall companion in the government of the whole kingdom (the kings name and royall style onely reserved) in case he would be an instrument and meanes to effectuate peace. To these motives and offers *Scipio* returned this answer, That you neither know the Romanes all in generall, nor my selfe in peticular unto whom you were sent, I lesse marvell, seeing you are altogether ignorant of the state of him who hath sent you hither. For if yee had meant to have sought for peace at our hands, as of men who were in care for the doubtfull event and issue of the warre, yee should have held and kept Lyfimachia still, for to have empeached our entrance into Cheronefus, or else yee should have made head against us in Hellespontus, and staid our passage into Asia: but now seeing yee have graunted passage into Asia, and suffered your selves not onely to be bridled and curbed, but also to bee yoked, and like beasts to beare and draw too; since I say there is no remedie but ye must endure to be under our subjection, what equall and indifferent meanes of treatie is there left for you? Now, as concerning my sonne, I will accept it as a great present, and becomming the munificence and liberalitie of a king, in case hee send him to me againe. As for the other matters, I pray God I be never driven in regard of mine estate, to have that need: for surely I carrie a mind that will never find the misse and want thereof. And for these great offers that the king maketh unto mee, hee shall find me thankfull unto him, if it please him for any private benefit unto mee done, to require at my hands a private favour and pleasure againe: but as touching the State and publicke weale, he shall pardon me; I will neither receive ought from him, nor bestow any thing upon him. And all that I can doe for him at this present, is to give him good and faithfull counsel. Goe your waies therefore and tell him from me, That

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his best course is to abstaine from war, and not to refuse any condition of peace whatsoever. But G all this nothing moved the king, who made reckoning that any hazard and fortune of war would bee good and safe for him, since that there were lawes imposed upon him already, as if hee had been quite vanquished and overcome. Whereupon, without any more parle of peace for this time, hee bent his whole mind and employed his studie about provision and preparation for warre.

The Consull having given order for the execution of all his plots and designes, dislodged from thence, and marched first to Dardanum, and after to Rhœteum: the inhabitants of both which citties came forth to meet him upon the way in great multitudes. From thence hee went forward to Ilium, and encamped in a plaine under the very walls: then hee entred into the towne, and ascended up into the castle, where he offered sacrifice unto *Minerva*, the patronesse of that cittie. The Ilians entertained them with all shew of honour, as well in deed as in word, acknowledging that the Romanes were descended from them, and the Romanes againe were as joious and glad to see the place of their first originall and beginning. From thence they removed, and the sixth day after arrived at the head or spring of the river Caicus. Thither also *Eumenes* the king (who at first assaied to bring his fleet backe from Hellepontus, to winter before Elæa, and afterwards, when he could not for certaine daies double the point of *Leçtos*, by reason of the contrarie winds, went a land) because he would not faile but bee present at the beginning of these great affaires, made hast the next way with a small power to the campe of the Romanes. From the campe he was sent backe to Pergamus, to give order for purveyance and provision of victuals: and after he had delivered out corne to those whom the Consull had appointed to receive it, he returned againe to the same leaguer. The Consull his purpose and intent was to be provided aforehand of victuals sufficient for many daies, and together in one traine to go against the enemy, before the winter surprised them.

Now the kings campe lay about Thyatira: where *Antiochus* hearing that *P. Scipio* was carried sick to Elæa, sent certain embassadors of purpose, to present and deliver his son againe unto him. At which present of his, he tooke not only great contentment in his spirit, as a father might doe for receiving his deere son, but much easement also and comfort to his sicke bodie. After he had satisfied himselfe at length with much embracing of his son, Yee shall (saith he) recommend me unto the king your maister, and tell him from me, that I thanke him most heartily, and that I have no good thing at this time to send to him again, but only this, That I advise him to take heed that hee enter not into the field to give battell, before hee hath heard for certaine, that I my selfe am returned to the leaguer. Vpon relation hereof, *Antiochus* albeit hee was in campe sevenie thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse and above strong (which puissant power otherwhile animated, and fed him with the hope of good issue of battell) yet mooved with the authoritie of so great a personage as *Scipio* was, in whome hee reposed his whole refuge against all doubtfull events of the fortune in warre, hee retired backe, and passed over the river Phrygius, and pitched his campe about Magnesia neere unto Syulum. And fearing, least (if he should bee minded to make long stay and abode there) the Romanes would assaie to force his defences, he cast a trench, sixe cubites in depth, and twelve in bredth; and this trench hee environned with a double banke and course of strong stakes and pales, and upon the inward circuit and enclosure he opposed a mure with maine turrets, for the more easie empeachment of the enemy, when hee should passe over the trench. The Consull supposing the king to bee about Thyatira, marched continually, and upon the fifth day came downe into the plaines of Hircania. And when hee understood, that the king was dislodged and departed thence, he followed him by the trackes, and on this side the river Phrygius encamped foure miles from the enemy. Where about a thousand horsemen shewed themselves (for the most part * Gallogrecians, some Dacians, with certeine archers on horsebacke of other nations entermingled among them) who in great hast having passed over the river, charged upon the *corps de guard* of the Romanes. At the first they put the Romanes to some trouble, finding them out of order and array: but as the skirmish grew hotter and continued longer, and the number of the Romanes soone increased, (by reason their camp was so neere to yeeld them succours) they of the kings side beeing now wearied and not able to make their part good against so many of them, began to retire: and certain of them before they could take the river, were overtaken by those that followed the chase, and killed outright. For two daies after they stirred of no hand, for neither the one nor the other went over the river. The

* People of Galatia, now called Celts.

A third day after the Romanes all at once passed over, and encamped about a mile and an halfe from the enemies. But as they were pitching their tents, and busied about fortifications and defences, three thousand chosen horsemen and foot together from the kings campe, came upon them with a great trouble and affray. The number of them that were in guard, was lesse a good deale; howbeit of themselves alone, without calling to helpe and aid the souldiours from their worke about the fortification and defence of the campe, they not onely at first received the charge with equall valour, but also afterwards, as the fight increased, put the enemies to flight, when they had killed some hundred of them, and taken prisoners almost as many. For the space of foure daies next ensuing, both armies stood embattelled on either side before their campe. And upon the fifth day the Romanes advanced forth into the middle of the plaine. *Antiochus* came not forward with his ensignes, insomuch, as the hindmost were not an hundred foot off from the trench. The Consull perceiving that he fell off and would no battell, called a counsell the next day, to bee advised and resolved what hee were best to doe, in case *Antiochus* would not be fought withall. For considering that the winter approached, the souldiours were either to lie in the field under their tents, or els if they minded for the winter season to retire unto their garison townes, the warre must be put off untill the next summer. Now the Romanes never made so small reckoning of any enemy as of him. Whereupon, throughout the whole assembly they called upon the Cos, with one voice to lead forth to a battell out of hand, and take the souldiours whiles they were in this heart, readie if the enemies would not come out into the field, to passe over ditch and rampier, and breake into the campe amongst them; making account, that they were not to fight with so many thousands of enemies, but rather to make a slaughter and butchery of so many beasts. Whereupon *Cn. Domitius* was sent to discover the way, and to view the place where was best entring upon the trench and rampier of the enemies. After he had brought certaine relation of all things, it was thought good the next morrow to approach neer unto their campe: and on the third day the ensignes were displayed forth into the midst of the plaine, and they began to raunge the armie in battell array. *Antiochus* likewise supposed it was not expedient to lie off and haile any longer, for feare least in refusing still to fight, hee should either abate the courage of his owne men, or increase the hope of his enemies, and therefore came abroad with all his forces, and advanced so farre forward from his campe, that it appeared well he meant to fight. The Romane armie stood embattelled in one manner of forme, as well for men, as munition and armour: for of Romanes there were two legions, and of Latine associates as many, and every legion consisted of five thousand foure hundred. The Romanes put themselves in the main battell, and the Latines kept both the points. The Hastati were placed with their ensignes formost in the vaward. After them the Principes in the middest, and the Triarii in the rereguard. Without this complete battell thus marshalled, the Consull set to the right point the auxiliarie souldiours of *Eumenes*, mingled together with the targatiers of the Achæans, to the number almost of three thousand, whom he raunged equally afront, and beyond them more outward he opposed about three thousand men of armes; whereof eight hundred were sent from *Eumenes*, the rest were the Cavallerie of the Romanes. Without all these in the utmost place, he put the Trallians and Candiotes, who in all made up the number of five hundred. As for the left wing, it seemed to need no such succours, by reason it was flanked with the river and high steepe bankes, howbeit in that side there were planted foure troupes of horsemen. Thus you see all the forces that the Romanes had besides two thousand Thracians and Macedonians medled and blended together, who followed as voluntaries, and were left for the guard of the campe, and sixteene Elephants; which they bestowed in the arrereguard for the defence of the Triarii. For, over and besides that they were not like to hold out against the kings Elephants, which were in number sixtie and foure, you must consider that those of Africke are not able to match them of India, say they were in number equall: either because in bignesse the Indians exceede the other (as in truth they are much greater by ods) or surpasse them in courage and stomacke. But the kings armie was composed of divers nations, different as well in armes as in souldiours. Hee had of Macedonians sixteene thousand footemen, heavily armed after their manner, called *Phalangia*; these made the maine battaile, and in the front stood divided in tenne squadrons, parted and severed one from the other by two Elephants placed betwene. Withinforth behind the foremost, the battaile was displayed in two and thirtie rankes of souldiours. This was the strength of the kings armie, and as in other respects, so especially in regard

gard of the Elephants surmounting aloft over all the souldiours, represented to the eye a fearful G and terrible sight. For besides that they were high and loftie of themselves, their crested head-stalls with plumes upon them, their turrets upon their backs, and in every turret foure men standing in glittering armour, besides the maister and governor himselfe, made the apparence and shew far greater. On the right wing, he placed close unto the Phalangites, a thousand and five hundred horsemen of the Gallogreeks: unto whom he adjoined three thousand lances in compleat armour, mounted upon bard horses, and those men of armes they themselves called *Cataphracti*. To these were added another wing of a thousand horsemen, which they named *Agema*. Medes they were, elect and chosen men, together with more horsemen of the same region, mingled of many nations one with another. Close unto them in the arrieregard was set a troupe of sixteene Elephants. On which side also in a wing somewhat farther drawne out stood H the king his owne cohort, bearing the name of *Argyraspides*, by occasion of the silvered shields which they bare. After them followed 1200 Dacians,* archers on horseback. Then, three thousand footemen lightly armed, and composed partly of Candiot, and partly of Tralleans, in number almost equall, and 2500 Mysians attended upon the archers. And the utmost side and taile of that wing was guarded with foure thousand Cytician slingers and Elymean archers forced together. On the left wing likewise there stood fast unto the Phalangites aforesaid 1500 horsemen Gallogracians: and two thousand Cappadocians armed after the same manner, sent from king *Ariarathes*. Then the Auxiliaries of all sorts 2700; besides three hundred lances in compleat harness upon barbed horses armed at all pieces, and 1000 other horsemen. As for the I Cornet of the kings, it was more lightly armed, as well themselves as their horses: but their setting out and furniture otherwise, all one. And these were Syrians for the most part, with Phrygians and Lydians together. Before this cavallerie went the chariots of foure wheeles, and drawn by as many horses, armed with sharp and trenchant hookes like sith blades, and the camels called by them for their swiftnesse Dromedaries. Upon these were mounted the Arabian archers, who also were armed with keene swords foure cubits long, that sitting as they did so aloft, they might notwithstanding reach their enemy. Then after these were set another multitude equall to that in the right wing, whereof the foremost were certaine horsemen called Tarentines, and after them 2500 Gallogracian horse. Likewise of Neocretians a thousand: and of Carians and Cilicians one with another 1500 armed alike. As many Trallians: and three thousand K targuatiars. These were Pisidians, Pamphylians and Lycians: and last of all the succors in the arrieregard of Cirtians and Elymeans, in like number as they that were placed in the right wing, with sixteene Elephants also distant a pretty way asunder. The king himself in person had the conduct of the right point of the battaile, and ordeined *Seleucus* his sonne and *Antipater* his brother sonne to commaund the left. The maine battaile in the mids was committed to the leading and governance of three capitaines, to wit, *Minio*, *Zeusis*, and *Philip* the maister of the Elephants. There was a certaine mist arose in the morning, and as it waxed farther day gathered aloft into thick clouds, and made the weather darke: besides by the South wind it resolved into a small drizzling raine, which wet and drenched all. This did little harme to the Romanes: but contrariwise, was much hurtfull to the kings side. For, albeit the aire was dim and darke, yet by reason that the Roman battailons tooke up no great compasse of ground, they could for all the aire L was overcast, discerne from one end to the other: and the moisture that fell, dulled nothing at all (to speake of) either the swords or javelins of them that were heavily armed: whereas the kings armie being embattailed so broad, had much ado, and hardly could see from the middle of the maine battaile to the wings of each hand, and much lesse discerne from one skirt and flanke of the battaile to the other. Moreover, the dropping weather slugged their bowes, softened their slings and loupes of their darts. Their sithed chariots also, wherewith *Antiochus* made full account to breake the arrayes of his enemies, turned to the disorder and fright of themselves. Now these chariots aforesaid were in this manner armed for the most part: certaine sharpe M pikes they had about the spire-pole, bearing forward from the spring-tree, ten cubits in length, like unto hornes, with which pointed pikes they would pierce through whatsoever they encountered. Also at each end of the said spring-tree there were two blades stood out, the one of just and even heighth with it, the other lower and bearing downward to the ground: the former was devised to cut through whatsoever came neere the side therof, the other to reach and teare them that were fallen to the earth, or came under the chariot. Semblably at

A at both ends of the axeltree without the nave of the wheele there were two such like hookes fastened and bended divers wayes. These chariots thus armed the king had placed in the front of the battaile as we said before, because if they had bene set either in the middle or the reregard, they should have bene driven through their owne battailons. Which *Eumenes* perceiving, one that knew well enough the manner of that kind of service, and how dangerous it was, in case a man rather frighted the horses than charged them directly by ordinary warlike force: hee commaunded the Candiot archers and slingers, with some other horsemen that launched darts, to runne forth not thick in troupes, but skattring as farre asunder as they could, and at once from all parts to discharge their shot upon them. This forerunning tempest (as it were) so maddened the horses partly by galling, wounding, and pelting them with darts, arrowes, and stones, B discharged from all sides at them, and partly with the strange and uncouth noyse which they made, that suddenly as if they had bene unbridled and without their geeres, they flang out every way, and ran at random: which violence of theirs the light armed souldiers, the nimble slingers, and swift running Candiot avoided easily with a trice. And the horsemen withall following the chase, redoubled the fright and hurrey amongst the horses, yea and the dromedarie camels too; which likewise were unruly and set a madding: and this hurlyburley, the manifold cries from the multitude all about, helped well forward. Thus were the chariots chased in the middle of the plaine betwene both armies: and when these vaine buggs were once rid out of the way, then the alarme and signall was geven on both parts, and they charged one another in battaile wise. But as foolish an occurrent as that was, it caused anon a discomfiture C and overthrow indeede. For the auxiliaries and aids behind-foorth which were placed next unto them, terrified with the feare and affright of the chariots, fled, and left all naked and dis-furnished even to the bard horses. In such sort, that when the arrieregard was put in disarray, the Romane Cavallerie entred upon the foresaid horse, and charged them so hotely, that part of them was not able to endure the first shock and encounter: some were put to flight, others were borne downe with the poise and waight of their harness and weapons. And presently thereupon the whole left wing of the battaile began to recule. And after that those succours were disbanded and in disaray which were betwene the Cavallerie and the heave-armed footemen called Phalangites, the disorder and feare went as farre as to the mids of the maine battaile: where so soone as the ranks and files were broken and shuffled together, by D reason of the entercourse of their owne fellows among them, they had no use at all of their long pikes, which the Macedonians call *Sarissæ*. Then the Romane legions advanced their ensignes, and launched their darts against those disordered ranks huddled together. The very Elephants that were placed betwene, nothing troubled and affrighted the Romane souldiers, as who had bene used in the Affricane warres, both to avoid the furious rage of those beasts, and also either with their javelins to flanke and hurt them overthwart, or else if they could come neere unto them, to hough them and cut their ham-strings with their swords. By this time now was the front of the maine battaile defaied and beaten downe: and the arriere-gard behind environed and cut in peeces: when as the Romanes withall, might perceive their owne fellows flying from the other part, and heare the crye of those that were affrighted, E even almost as farre as to their campe. For *Antiochus* keeping the right wing, seeing in the left point of the Romanes no other defense (by reason that they trusted upon the river) but onely foure troupes of horsemen, and those also by drawing themselves close to their fellows, to leave the banke side voyd and naked, charged that point with his Auxiliaries and lances upon bard horses, and not onely made head and pressed them afront, but from the river also set a compasse and enclosed them; and flanked that wing so long, untill the horsemen were first discomfited, and then the footemen next unto them, were put to flight, so as they ranne amaine toward their campe. *M. Amylius* a colonell, and sonne to *M. Lepidus*, who a few yeeres after was created the High-Priest, had the charge of the campe: he with his whole guard came forth, and where as he saw them to flee, there he opposed himselfe, and F first commaunded them to stand, and afterwards to returne to battaile, checking and rebuking them for their beastly feare, and shamefull running away. Moreover, hee proceeded to minatorie words, saying, That in case they would not be ruled by his direction, they should runne headlong like blind beetles upon their owne mischiefe: and in the end, he gave a signe to his owne company, for to lay upon the foremost of them that thus fled, and caused

the multitude that followed, with dint of sword and drawing blood of them, to turne their face G againe upon the enemies. Thus the greater feare overcame the lesse: for seeing danger before and behind, first they staid their flight, and afterwards returned to the battell. *Aemilius* also with his owne regiment (which for the guard of the campe had 2000 tall and valiant men in it) withstood the king right stoutly as hee followed hore in chace upon those that fled. Moreover, *Antalus* (brother of king *Eumenes*) in the right point of the battaile, who at the first charge had discomfited the left wing of the enemies, perceiving that his fellows fled in their left point, and hearing a great stirre about the campe, came to the rescue in good time with 200 horsemen. *Antiochus*, when he saw them turne head againe whose backs ere-while were toward him, and begin to fight afresh, & perceived withall a number comming against him, both out of the camp and also from the battell, turned his horse head and took himselfe to flight. By this means the Romans obtained the victory of both the wings, & passed directly to the rising of the kings camp over the dead bodies, which in the main battell most of all were massacred & lay by heaps: where the strength and flower of the hardiest men ranged close together and the weight besides of their heave armor, would not give them leave to flee away. The horsemen of *Eumenes* were the first of all others: that pursued the enemies: after them, the rest of the Cavallery followed the chace all over the fields, and ever as they overtook any of the hinmost, killed them out-right. But that which troubled and plagued them in their flight more than all besides, was their chariots, elephants and camels, intermingled among them as they fled; for so much as being once disbanded and put out of their ranks, they tumbled one upon another like blind men, and were brused and crushed under the beasts feet which came sunning upon them. Great execution also there was committed in the campe, yea and more in manner than had beene in the medley: for the first that fled, and those that fought in the vaward, tooke their way most of them to the campe, and upon assured confidence of this multitude, the garrison within fought more valiantly, and held out longer in the defence of the hold. The Romans being thus stayed in the gates, and kept out of the rampier which they thought verily to have forced and won at their first assault, when they were once at length broken through and gotten in, made the more bloody carnage amongst them, for very anger and despight that they had kept them forth so long. It is said, that there were slaine that day about fittie thousand footmen and 4000 horsemen, 1200 taken prisoners, together with fittie elephants with their governours. A number of the Romans were hurt and wounded, but there dyed not in the field above 300 footmen and 24 horsemen: and of the regiment of king *Eumenes* not past five and twentie. And for that day verily, the conquerours after they had ransacked only the tents and pavillions of their enemies, returned to their owne camp with great plentie of pillage: but the next morrow they fell to spoiling the bodies of the dead and gathered their prisoners together. And upon this victory, there came embassadours from Thyatira and Magnesia unto Syphilus, for to surrender and deliver up their cities.

Antiochus, who fled accompanied with some few, having gathered unto him many more in the way, who rallied themselves unto him, arrived at Sardis about midnight with a small power of armed men; and hearing that his sonne *Selenus* and some other of his friends were gone before to Apamea, himselfe also at the fourth watch departed thence with his wife and daughter toward Apamea; after hee had committed the charge of guarding the citie Sardis unto *Zeno*, and appointed *Timon* governour of Lydia. But the inhabitants of the said city and the garrison souldiours within the castle, despised these governors, and by generall consent addressed embassadors unto the Consull.

Much about the same time also, there arrived embassadors from Tralles, and Magnesia (which standeth upon the river *Mæander*) and likewise from Ephesus, to yeeld up their cities. For *Polyxenidas* (advertised of the issue of this battaile) had abandoned Ephesus; and having sailed with the fleet as farre as Patara in Lycia, for feare of the Rhodian ships which rid in guard within the harbour of Megiste, disbarked and put himselfe ashore, and with a small company marched by land into Syria. The cities of Asia were surrendered into the hands and protection of the Consull, and submitted to the people of Rome. By this time now was the Consull possessed of M Sardis, and thither repaired unto him *Scipio* from Elæa, so soone as ever hee could endure the travell of journey.

At the same time there came an herald from *Antiochus* unto the Consull, who by the mediation of *Scipio*, made request and obtained thus much, That the king might send his oratours and

A and embassadours unto him. And after few daies *Zenis* (who had beene governour of Lydia) together with *Antipater* (*Antiochus* his nephew, or brothers sonne) arrived. Who first dealt with king *Eumenes* and communed with him, whome (by reason of old jarres and quarels) they supposed verily to be the greatest enemy unto peace, and that he would never abide to heare thereof: but him they found more reasonable and enclining to peaceable tearmes, than either the king their master or themselves hoped & looked for. So by the means of *Scipio* & him together, they had access unto the Consull; who at their earnest petition, granted them a day of audience in a frequent assembly, thereto declare their commission & what they had in charge. Then *Zeus* (quoth *Zenis*) we are not so much to speake and deliver ought of our owne selves, as to aske and be advised of you (Romans) what course to take and by what meanes of satisfaction we might expiate and satisfie the trespass of the king our master, and withall obtaine grace and pardon at your hands who are the victours? Your manner alwayes hath beene of a magnanimous and haucie spirit, to forgive kings and nations by you vanquished: How much more then is it decent and becoming you to doe the like; yea, and with a greater mind and more generous and bountifull heart, in this victory and conquest, which hath made you LL. of the whole world? For now it behooveth you to lay downe all debate and quarrell with mortall men here upon earth, and rather like the immortall gods in heaven, to provide for the good and safety of mankind, and them to pardon and forgive. Now was it agreed upon before the coming of the embassadours, what answer to make unto them; and likewise thought good it was that *Africanus* should deliver the same, who spake by report in this wise: Wee Romanes, of all those things which are in the power of the immortall gods, have that measure which they vouchsafed to give us: as for heart and courage which dependeth upon our owne will and mind, wee have borne (and ever will) the same without chaunge and alteration in all fortunes: neither hath prosperitie raysted and lift it up aloft, nor adversitie debased and put it downe. For prooffe hereof, I might produce your friend *Annibal* as witnesse, to say nothing of others, but that I can report mee to your owne selves. For after wee had passed over Hellefpont, even before wee saw the kings campe and armie, when the hazard of warre was indifferent, when the issue doubtfull and uncertaine, looke what conditions of peace wee then offered on even hand, and whiles wee were equall one unto the other, and stood upon tearmes of advantage, the same and no other wee present unto you at this time, now that wee are conquerours. For beare to meddle with him Europe: depart wholly out of Asia, so much as is on this side Taurus. Moreover in regard of the expenses defraied in this warre, yee shall pay fittie thousand Talents of silver, according to the computation of Eubœa: five hundred in hand, two thousand and five hundred at the assurance & making of the peace, by the Senat and people of Rome; and a thousand talents yeerely for twelve yeeres next ensuing. Also yee shall make payment unto *Eumenes* of foure hundred talents, and the remnant behind of the corne and graine which was due unto his father. And when wee have contracted and concluded these covenants, to the end that we may rest assured that ye will performe the same, we demand for a gage and sufficient pawning that yee deliver into our hands twentie hostages, such as wee shall like well of and chuse. And for as much as wee can never bee persuaded that the people of Rome shall enjoy long peace there, where *Annibal* is, we demand above all things to have him in our custodie. Also you shall deliver into our hands *Tboas* the *Ætolian*, the principall authour and firebrand of the war with the *Ætolians*, who caused you to take armes against us, upon assurance that he gave you of them; and likewise armed them upon the trust they had in you, *Nem*, together with him you shall deliver *Mnasimachus* the *Acarnanian*, together with *Philo* & *Eubulidas* the *Chalcidians*. The king shall now contract peace in worse estate than he was, by reason that he maketh it later than hee might have done. But in case he hold off still and delay, know he well thus much, That the roiall majesty and port of kings is with more difficultie abated and taken down from the highest pitch and degree unto the midst; than from that mean estate, cast downe headlong to the lowest. Now these embassadours were sent from the king with this charge, to accept of any articles of peace whatsoever. And therefore it was decreed that embassadors should be directly sent to Rome. The Consull devided his armie into garisons for to winter, some in Magnesia upon the river *Mæander*, others in Tralleis & Ephesus. After few daies the hostages above said, were brought to Ephesus from the king, and embassadours also came who were to goe to Rome. *Eumenes* likewise went to Rome at the same time that the kings embassadours: and there followed embassages more over

over of all the States of Asia.

Whiles the affaires of Asia passed thus in these tearmes, there were two pro-consuls returned out of their severall provinces, both in manner at once, upon hope to obtaine triumph, to wit, *Q. Minutius* out of Liguria, and *M. Acilius* out of Aetolia. When the exploits were heard, as well of the one as the other, *Minutius* was flatly denied triumph, but *Acilius* had it graunted with great consent of all men: who rode into the cittie triumphant over king *Antiochus* and the Aetolians. In which triumph there were carried before him two hundred and thirtie ensignes, three thousand pound weight of massie silver in bullion; of coine in Atticke Tetradrachmes one hundred and thirtene thousand; in Cistophores two hundred and eight and fortie thousand. In plate many vessels engraved and chased, of great weight. Hee carried also in pompe the implements of the kings house all of silver, with rich & sumptuous apparrell. Also crownes of gold five and fortie presented unto him by cities associate: besides all sorts of rich spoiles; and moreover hee led divers noblemen prisoners, and last of all sixe and thirtie captaines, as well Aetolians as those who served under the king. As for *Democritus*, a great commander of the Aetolians, who some few daies before had broken prison & escaped by night, he was by his keepers that made fresh suit after him, overtaken upon the banke of Tybris: but before he could be attached by them, he fell upon his owne sword, and ran himselfe through. Onely there wanted those that should have followed after his charriot; otherwise the triumph had beene magnificent and stately, both for the pompous shew, and also for the honour and renoume of exploits atchieved. But the joy of this triumph was blemished with heave tidings out of Spaine, of a losse and overthrow received of the Portugales, in the countrey of the Vascetanes, neere the towne Lyco, under the conduct of *L. Aemilius*: where sixe thousand and one hundred of the Romane armie were left dead in the place, and the rest discomfited and beaten backe into their campe; which they had much ado to defend and hold, and were forced to retire in manner of flight, and by long journeys recovered the peaceable quarters of their friends. And this was the newes out of Spaine.

From out of Fraunce the embassadours of the Placentines and Cremonians, were brought by the Pretour *L. Aurunculeius* into the Senat: where they made much mone and complaint for default and want of inhabitants, whereof some were devoured by the edge of the sword in wars, others consumed by maladie and sicknesse, yea, and certaine of them departed out of their colonies for wearinesse they had of the Gauls their neere neighbours. Whereupon the Senat ordained *C. Lelius* the Consull to enroll, if hee thought so good, sixe thousand families, for to be distributed among those Colonies aforesaid: and *L. Aurunculeius* the Pretour to create three Commissaries called Triumvirs, for the conducting of the coloners and inhabitants aforesaid. And created there were, *M. Attilius Serranus*, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the sonne of *Publius*, and *L. Valerius Tappus* the sonne of *Caius*.

Not long after, against the time of the Consuls election which approched neere, *C. Lelius* the Consull returned out of Fraunce to Rome, and he not onely by vertue of the act of the Senat made in his absence, enrolled certaine Coloners to supplie the want in Placentia and Cremona, but also proposed a bill, and according to it the LL. of the Senat ordained, That two new Colonies should be conducted into the land that appertained to the Boians. And at the very same time were letters brought from *L. Aemilius* the Pretour, as touching the battell at sea fought neere to Myonessus: which letters also gave intelligence, that *L. Scipio* the Consull had transported his armie into Asia. For joy of the said navall victorie, there was ordained a solemn procession for one day: & in regard that the Romane armie was then first on foot in Affricke, the said procession continued another day with supplication to the gods, that this voiage might turne to the prosperitie and joy of the Commonweale. And the Consull was enjoined at each procession and supplication, to sacrifice twentie head of greater beasts. After this ensued the solemn assembly for the chusing of Consuls, which was holden with great strife and contention. For *M. Aemilius Lepidus* stood to be Consull, a man growne into an ill name, and hardly spoken of among the people, in that hee had left his government and charge in Sicilie for this occasion, and businesse onely, without making suite unto the Senate and craving leave so to do. Together with him were competitor in election, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *Cn. Manlius Volsus*, and *M. Valerius Messala*. But *Fulvius* was chosen alone, because the rest had not sufficient voices of the Centuries, and he the morrow after nominated *Cn. Manlius* for his colleague, and gave the repulse unto *Lepidus*; for *Messala* kept silence and held his tongue. Which done, the Pretours were elected

namely,

A namely, the two *Quinti Fabij*, the one surnamed *Labio*, the other *Pictor* (who had been consecrated that yeere for the Flamin Quirinall) *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, *Lucius Plantius Hypseus*, and *L. Babius Dives*.

During the time that *M. Fulvius Nobilior* and *Cn. Manlius Volsus* were Consuls, *Valerius Antias* writeth, That there was a rise rumour raised at Rome, and held for certaine, that *L. Scipio* the Consull, together with *P. Africanus*, were called forth to a parley with king *Antiochus*, as touching the enlargement and deliverie of young *Scipio* the sonne of *Africanus*, and by that meanes were both of them arrested and taken prisoners: also that when these cheefe commanders were under arrest, the kings armie incontinently advanched against the Romane campe, the same was surprisid and forced, and the whole power of the Romanes utterly defeated. By occasion whereof, it went currant also, that the Aetolians began to looke aloft, refused to obey, and shooke off their alleageance: also that their princes and cheefe States were gone into Macedonie, Dardanie, and Thrace, to levie & wage auxiliarie forces: moreover, that *A. Terentius Varro*, and *Marci Claudius Lepidus* were sent out of Aetolia, from *A. Cornelius* the Propretour, for to report these newes at Rome. Last of all, to make up the tale, he addeth and saith, that the Aetolian embassadours among other things, being examined in the Senate about this matter, and demanded of whom they heard and understood that the Romane Generals were taken prisoners in Asia by king *Antiochus*, and the whole armie overthrowne answered directly, That they had advertisement thereof by their owne embassadours, who had beene with the Consull. But because I find no other authour besides him that maketh mention of this rumour, I dare not, for any thing that I can say of my selfe, report it for a certaine truth, ne yet omit it as a meere fable or lowd lie.

The Aetolian Embassadours were permitted to come into the Senat house; and being induced (in regard of their owne cause and present condition) to confesse a truth, and as humble suppliants to crave pardon and forgiveness either for their fault, or mesprission and error; began with a bedroll of their favours and good turnes done unto the people of Rome, yea and in manner to upbraid the Romans with the valour which they shewed in the warre against *Philip*. But with their arrogant and insolent language they offended the eares of the Senatours: and by ripping up old matters done and past (time out of mind and utterly forgotten) they handled their owne cause so, & brought it to this passe, that the LL. of the Senat began to call to mind much more harme and mischief contrived and practised by that nation, than kindnesse & courtesies received at their hands; inso much as the Aetolians having need of their mercie, incurred their heave displeasure, and provoked them to anger and hatred. Being asked this question by one of the Senators, Whether they would referre & submit themselves to the censure and judgement of the people of Rome? and likewise of another, If they could be content to hold them for their friends or enemies whome the Romans so accounted? they answered not a word: and thereupon immediately were commaunded out of the Court: and presently all the Senat began to crie out with one voice, That the Aetolians were all still for king *Antiochus*, depending wholly & only upon that hope, and therefore they ought to war against them as undoubted enemies, and to take downe and tame these proud and fellonious hearts of their owne. Over and besides all this, another thing there was that incited and kindled the stomacks of the LL. against them, because at the very same instant when they seemed to require peace at the Romanes hands, they warred against Dolopia and Athamania. So there passed a decree of the Senat, (& the same was moved by *M. Acilius*, who had vanquished and subdued *Antiochus* and the Aetolians) That they should void that very day out of the city of Rome; and within fiftene dayes next ensuing, out of all Italy. *A. Terentius Varro* was sent to safe-conduct them on the way: and this warning they tooke with them, That if ever after there came any Embassadour from the Aetolians, without the warrant, license, and permission of the chiefe Generall who governed that province, or not accompanied with a Romane Legate, they should be taken and reputed all of them for no better than enemies. In this manner were the Aetolians dismissed and sent away.

After this the Consuls proposed unto the Senat, as touching the government of the provinces. And thought good it was, that they themselves should cast lots for Aetolia & Asia. Vnto him whose lot it should be to governe Asia, was appointed that armie which *L. Scipio* had. And for to furnish it fully out and make up the decayed bands, hee was allowed to have foure thousand footmen of Romanes with two hundred horsemen: of allies that were Latines, eight thousand foot, and foure thousand men of armes, and with these forces he was to make war against *Antiochus*.
The

The other Consull had assigned unto him that armie which was in Ætolia: and libertie he had for supplie of that broken armie, to levie the same number of citizens and allies that his companion in government had enrolled. To the same Consull was graunted a commission likewise to set in order, furnish, and take with him those ships which the former yeere were prepared and rigged, and not only to make warre with the Ætolians, but also to saile over into the Isle Cephalenia. And withall, the said Consull had in charge to returne home to Rome for the election of Magistrates, if he might so do conveniently with the good of the Common-weale. For besides the annuall Magistrates (who were to be chosen one under another) it was agreed upon, that Censors also should be created. But in case his affaires detained him, that he might not returne in person, then he was to give advertisement, and signifie so much to the Senate, that he could not possibly be present at the time of the foresaid Election. So Ætolia fell by lot to *M. Fulvius*, and Asia to *Cn. Manlius*. Then the Pretours fell to draw lots for their provinces. *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* had the jurisdiction over citizens and forreiners both: *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* governed Sicilie: and *Q. Fabius Piclor* the Quirinnall Flamin, Sardinia: *Q. Fabius Labeo* was admiral of the navie at sea: and *L. Plautius Hypseus* was allotted to the rule of high Spaine, and *L. Baebius Dives* of the lower. For Sicilie one legion was appointed, together with that fleet which was already in that province. Also there was order given that the new Pretour should impose two tenthes of come upon the Sicilians, and send the one into Asia, and the other into Ætolia. The like imposition was laid and exacted upon the Sardinians, and the said come to be conveyed into the same armies that the Sicilian come was. A supplie was graunted unto *L. Baebius* for Spaine of a thousand Rom. footmen, and fiftie horse: besides fixe thousand Latine foote, and two hundred horsemen. Vnto *Plautius Hypseus* for the higher Spaine were allowed a thousand Romane footmen: with two thousand Latine allies, and two hundred horse. Besides these supplements, both the provinces of Spaine were allowed each of them one legion. The magistrates and governours of the former yeere continued still in place of command for one other yeere, to wit, *C. Lelius* with his armie, and *P. Annus* also the Propretor in Hetruria with those forces which were in the province. *M. Tuccius* likewise in the Brutians countrie and Apulia.

But before the Pretours went forth into their provinces, there happened a variance betweene *P. Licinius* the Arch-Pontife or chiefe Prelate, and *Q. Fabius Piclor* the Quirinnall Flamin, like unto that which sometime fell out betweene *L. Metellus* and *Posthumius Albinus*. For at what time as *Posthumius* the Consull was upon his departure and journey to his fleet in Sicilie, together with *C. Lucilius* his colleague, *Metellus* the Archbishop for the time being, kept him back upon occasion of certaine sacrifices to be celebrated: semblably, when as *Fabius* the Pretour would have gone into Sardinia, *P. Licinius* the high priest detained him. Much strife and hard hold there was hereabout, as well in the Senate house, as before the people. Inhibitions passed to and fro. Cautions and pledges were distrained: fines they imposed one upon anothers head: the Tribunes were called unto on both sides for to interpose their authoritie, and they appealed both unto the people. In fine, religion, and the regard of holy rites tooke place, and caried it cleare, and the Flamin was enjoined to obey the chiefe priest: and by order and expresse commaundement from the people, all fines were taken off and forgiven. And when the Pretour for very anger and spite that he was debarred from his province, would have surrendered and resigned up his government, the LL. of the Senat impeached and terrified him by their absolute authoritie, and ordeined that he should minister justice, and exercise civill jurisdiction betweene aliens. After that the musters were ended within few dayes (for many souldiours were not to be levied and enrolled) both Consuls and Pretours tooke their journey into their provinces. After this, there arose a bruit concerning the occurrences and affaires in Asia, blowen and spread abroad I wot not how, nor from what head and author it proceeded: but after few dayes, there came certaine messengers with letters from the Generals of the Romane armie, sent of purpose to the citie, which caused not so great joy presently ensuing upon the fresh feare aforelaid (for why, they were no more afraid of Ætolia by them already conquered) as dashed quite the same and opinion that went of *Antiochus*, whom in the beginning of this warre they supposed would have bene a dangerous enemy unto them, as well in regard of his owne puissance, as for that he had the direction and conduct of *Annibal* in the warre: howbeit, they thought good to alter nothing, either as touching the sending of the Consull into Asia, or diminishing his forces, for feare they should have warre with the French.

Not

A Not long after *M. Aurelius Cotta*, a lieutenant of *Scipio*, came to Rome with the embassadors of king *Antiochus*, and likewise king *Eumenes* and the Rhodians. *Cotta* reported & declared first in the Senat, and afterwards in a full assembly of the people (by order & commaundement from the LL. of the Counsell) what affaires had passed in Spaine. Whereupon ordeined it was, That there should be holden a solemne proceffion for 3 daies together: and order was given, that 40 head of greater cattaille should be killed for sacrifice. This done, the Senat assembled for to give audience to king *Eumenes*, first above all other matters: who briefly in few words having rendered thanks to the LL. of the Senat, for that they had delivered him and his brother from siege, and protected his realme against the wrongs and outrages offered by *Antiochus*: also having testified his joy by way of gratulation for their prosperous & fortunat affaires achieved both by land and sea: namely, in that they had discomfited & put to flight *K. Antiochus*, and driven him out of his campe that he could not keepe the field; and withall disseized & dispossessed him first of Europe, and afterwards of all that part of Asia which lieth on this side the mountain Taurus: he concluded and knit up all with this, That as touching his owne demerits and employments about their affaires, he had leiffer they tooke knowledge by their owne generals, captains and lieutenants, than from his mouth. They all approved wel of this speech of his, and willed him to speak boldly without bashful modestie in that case, What he thought in equitie & reason the Senat & people of Rome was to yeeld unto him by way of just recompense: assuring him that the Senat would do it more willingly and liberally (if possibly they could) according to the worth of his desert. The king answered thus again, That in case any other had made him that offer, & given him the choise of his own rewards, he would gladly have used the counsaile of that right honorable court of the Roman Senat (so he might have the meanes & libertie to aske their advise) to the end that he would not be thought, either to exceede measure in covetous desire, or passe the bounds of modestie in craving a recompense. But now considering they are themselves to give that reward, much more reason it is that their munificence & bountie to him and his brethren should be referred to their own arbitrement & discretion. The LL. of the Senat were nothing moved at this language of his, but urged him stil to speake himself in his own cause. And after a certaine time that they had strived a-vie, the LL. in courtesie & kindnes, the king in modestie & shamesfastnes, yielding one unto the other reciprocally, in such amiable and mutuall manner as hardly can be expressed, *Eumenes* departed out of the temple. The Senat persisted nevertheless in their resolution, saying it was very absurd & undecent that the king should be ignorant upon what hopes he was come, and what he purposed to make suite and petition for: and himself must needs of all others know best what was meetest & most expedient for his own kingdom: yea, and was far better acquainted with the state and affaires of Asia than the Senate was. And therefore no remedie, but he must be called again, and compelled to declare and deliver what his will, desire and mind was to have. Hereupon the king was brought back into the temple by the Pretour, and urged to speake. Then at last, My LL. (quoth he) I would have persisted still in silence, but that I knew that anon ye wil call the embassage of the Rhodians in place; and that after audience given unto them, I must neither will nor choose but make some speech of necessity: and verily with so much more difficultie shall I speake, because their demaunds will be such, as if they would seeme not only to require nothing prejudiciall and hurtfull unto me, but also (which more is) matters little or nothing pertinent to themselves. For plead they will and maintaine the cause of the cities in Greece, saying, They ought to be set free and at liberty: which being once obtained, who can make doubt, but ready they will be to withdraw from our obeisance, not only the cities which shall be freed, but also those which have bene homagers and tributaries unto us of old time? yea and will keepe them as subjects in very deed and wholly at their devotion, whome being thus bound and obliged to them by so great a benefit, they call by the name of Associates, and would make the world beleve they repute for no other? Yet forsooth (I wot well) in affecting and aspiring to this so great power and puissance, they will carry it so cleanly and make semblant, as though this in no wise touched and concerned them: but that it is besitting you alone, correspondent and answerable to other former deeds of yours. But be yee well advised, and let not their glosing words deceive you; take you heed (I say) that yee goe not with an uneven hand nor beare your selves equally, whiles ye depresse and abase too much some of your allies, in promoting and advancing others beyond all measure; and about all, beware that they who have lift up their speare and borne armes against you, be not more kindly intreated & in better condition,

The Oration of
King Eumenes
in the Senate
at Rome.

condition, than your loving friends and faithfull confederates. For mine owne part, in all other things I would gladly be thought of every man, rather to keepe within my compasse; yea and yeeld somewhat of my right whatsoever it is, than to strive too much in the maintenance and holding thereof: but in the question of your friendship, of my affection and love towards you, and of the honour which shall come from you, I cannot endure with patience that any one should out-goe and surmount my selfe. This I account the greatest inheritance left unto me by my father, the first (of all those that inhabit in Greece and Asia) who was entertained in your amitie, and continued in the same alwaies most fast, most constant and sure even to his dying day: who not onely shewed sound affection and loyall heart unto you, but also was in person employed in all your warres which yee made in Greece, as well on land as at sea; assisted and aided you with all kind of provisions, in such sort, as none of all your allies besides was any way comparable or came neere unto him. And finally, as he earnestly exhorted the Boeotians to accept of your society, he sunk down, swooned in the very assembly, and not long after yeilded up his spirit and dyed. His footsteps have I troden, and followed his good example. For affection verily and studious desire to honour you, I could not have more than he had (for I suppose it was impossible to surpass him therein:) but in kind pleasures, effectuell services, offices, courtesies, and favours, to surmount and goe beyond him; the goodnes of fortune, the occasion of times, king *Antiochus* and the warre in Asia, have ministred ample and sufficient matter unto me. *Antiochus* (king of Asia and part of Europe) gave me his daughter in marriage, and with her endowd me with the repossesseion of those cities which had revolted from us. Hee fed me moreover with great hopes of encreasing my dominion in time to come, if I would have sided with him against you. I will not glory and vaunt of this, that I have done nothing to offend and displease you: I will rather rehearse those pleasures and services which are becoming the ancient amity and friendship betweene our house and you. In forces as well for land as sea, I have friended and helped your Generals in such wise, as I forbid all your allies besides to doe the like: furnished them I have with victuals on the land, with provisions at sea. In all the battailes and conflicts by ships (which were many and in sundry places) I was present in person. I underwent all travails, I adventured all perils, and no where favoured my selfe and thought much of my paines: nay, that which is the greatest calamitie and misery that followeth wars, I was besieged, and endured it: enclosed I was and shut up within Pergamus, to the utter hazard of my life and of my realme and royall dignity. And after I was delivered from that daunger and the siegeraied, albeit *Antiochus* of one side and *Selencus* on another, lay encamped about the principall fortress of my kingdome, I quit mine owne affaires and laid all aside, to come with my whole fleet into Hellespont, and there to meet with *L. Scipio* your Consull, and to aid him in transporting and waisting his armie into Asia. And when your forces were passed over, I never afterwards departed from him: there was not a Romane souldiour more resiant ordinarily in your campe than my selfe and my brethren. No expeditions, no rodes, no exploit of horse service was there without me. In battaile have I stood on foot and guarded that quarter which the Consull hath appointed me to keepe. I will not say (my LL.) what one person there is that hath done so good service for you in this last warre as I my selfe, and who is any way comparable unto me: nay, I dare make comparison with all states and princes whatsoever, whome you esteeme and honour so highly? *Masanissa* before he was your friend, was your professed enemy: hee came not to you with his aids in the time of his upright fortune, and whiles his kingdome flourished in good estate; but when he was banished, driven out of his kingdome, and turned out of all, he fled into your campe, accompanied onely with a small troupe and corner of horsemen: Yet nevertheless, because he stood fast to you and bare himselfe in all loyalty, and shewed his prowess in your behalfe against *Syphax* and the Carthaginians in Affricke, you not onely restored him to his fathers kingdome, and placed him again in the royall throne, but you laid unto his dominion the richest part of the realme of *Syphax*, and made him the most puissant and greatest prince of all the kings in Affricke. What reward then, nay what honour are we worthy to have at your hands; wee (I say) who never were enemies, but ever friends? My father, my selfe, my brethren, have borne armes in your quarrell by land, by sea, not only in Asia but farre from our own home and native soile, in Peloponnesus, in Boeotia, in Aetolia, during the warres with *Philip*, with *Antiochus*, with the Aetolians. What recompence demaund you then? may some man say. Forasmuch as (my LL.) you will have it so, and it is your pleasure that I should speake my mind, good reason

A reason it is that I obey. This shall stand for all; if you have dispossessed *Antiochus* of all on this side Taurus, with this intent, to hold those lands your owne selves; none better than you, and whom I would wish rather to bee my neighbours and to confine upon mee: neither can I beleeve, thinke me, of any meanes in the world more important to the safetie and strength of my kingdome. But in case your purpose be to depart and to retire your forces from thence, I dare be bold to say, That of your allies, (and put them all together) there is not one more worthy than my selfe to have and hold that which you have woun by conquest. But an honourable deed it is and magnificent, to set free and deliver cities out of thraldome and servitude. True, and I my selfe am of the same opinion; provided alwayes, that they have attempted nought by way of hostility against you. But in case they have taken part and sided with *Antiochus*; how much more standeth it with your wisdom, nay with equity & reason, to be respective of your allies who have so well deserved at your hands, than to regard your enemies. This oration of the king much pleased the LL. of the Senat, and soone it was seen by their countenance that they would deale bounteously and liberally with him, yea and gratifie him in what they might. Then audience was given to a brieve embassage of the Smyrneans, who by occasion that some of the Rhodians were absent, came betweene and delivered their message. Highly were these Smyrneans commended, in that they chose rather to endure all extremities, than to yeeld themselves unto king *Antiochus*. Then the Rhodians entred in place: and the chiefe man of their embassie, after he had declared the first occasion and beginning of the amitie which they had with the people of Rome, and shewed withall the good deserts and services which the Rhodians had performed in the warres, first against *Philip* and then against *Antiochus*, went on and spake as followeth. Right honourable, there is nothing more difficult and troublesome unto us, in all the businesse that we have in hand than this one thing, that there is some variance and matter to be debated betweene us and *Eumenes*, the only K. of all others, with whom especially every one of us in private, and (that which toucheth us more) our city in publicke, doth entertaine the bond of friendship and mutuall hospitalitie. Howbeit no repugnancie is it in our affections (my LL.) but even the course of this world and nature it selfe (the mightiest thing of all) which disjoyneth us and causeth difference: this maketh us (being men free born) to defend and maintaine the freedom of all others: this is it, that mooveth KK. to be desirous for to have all in servitude and subjection under them, and at their commaund. But howsoever it is, our modestie and the reverent regard we have of the kings person hurteth us more, than either the debating of our cause with him is otherwise difficult unto us, or the deciding thereof like to be intricate and troublesome unto you. For in case it were so, that you could not honour and reward a king, your ally and friend, for his good service done in this warre (for recompence whereof yee now sit in consultation) by no other meanes, unlesse yee deliver free citties into his hands, to serve in bondage; then were it hard for you to resolve; for feare least either yee should send away a prince (your friend and confederate) without guerdon and honour; or seeme to chaunge that laudable enterprise of yours which you have begun, to stain and blemish your glory now (which you have acquired by the warre against *Philip*) with reducing so many citties and states into servitude. But your happie fortune causeth you right well of this difficultie and necessitie, that you need not feare either to empaire your credite and favour with your friends, or to endamage your reputation and honour among men. For (the gods be thanked therefore) you have achieved a victory, no lesse rich than glorious, and sufficient (if I may so say) to discharge all your debts, and set you cleare with all the world. For Lycæonia, Phrygia both the great and the lesse, whole Pisidia, Chersonesus, and in breefe, all the confines of Europe are under your dominion. Of all which provinces, if you lay but one by (which you will your selves) for king *Eumenes*, you shall mightily enlarge and amplifie his kingdome: but, give him all, you will make him egall to the greatest princes and monarchs that are. You see then by this, that you may recompence and enrich your allies out of the conquests gotten by warre, and nathelesse hold on your good custome that you have begun, remembering alwaies what title you pretended first in your warre with *Philip*, and now lately with *Antiochus*: considering withall, what you did then after *Philip* was vanquished, and what is required and expected at your hands, now: not so much because you have used it already, as for that it was meet and decent you should so doe. Many causes there bee (and those colourably just & lawfull) to enter into arms: one pretendeth this, another that; some in right of lands and territories, others of villages; some lay claime to towns and cities, others challenge the possession.

possession of ports and havens, and one tract or other of the sea coasts. As for you, before you G
 enjoyed these things, you desired them not: since then yee have now compassed the whole earth,
 and are LL. of the world, you cannot possibly cover the same any more. Warred you have and
 fought for honour and glorie, in the sight of all the nations of the earth, who now this long time
 behold and regard your name and empire, no lesse than they doe the gods immortall. And I wor
 not well, whether those things which we hardly come by, be not with more difficultie holden and
 kept afterwards, than they were purchased. You undertooke to deliver and rid out of the servitude
 and oppression of kings, and to maintaine in libertie, a most auncient and noble State, renowned
 for their worthie and famous acts, and right commendable for their singular learning and know-
 ledge in all sciences. For your honour it is, having once received all this nation into your safeguard
 and protection, to defend and preserve the same for ever. And thinke not, that those cities onely H
 are more Greeke which are built and seated upon the auncient soile of Greece, than their colo-
 nies which have bene drawne from them, and in times past went from thence into Asia: for the
 change of aire and place hath wrought no alteration, either in the nature and complexion, or
 the manners and fashions of the people. As for us, endeavoured we have to doe better and better,
 and each citie hath entred into an honest contention and religious emulation to outgo and sur-
 mount their forefathers and first founders in all good arts and commendable vertues. There be
 many of you who have been in Greece, many have visited the cities of Asia, and setting aside this
 onely, That we are farther distant and remote from you; there is no difference and ods betwene
 us and them. The Massilians, whom (if possible it had bene, that an inbred temperance might
 be altered and overcome with the strength and nature, as it were, of the soile) so many wild, bar-
 barous, and untamed nations, environning them round about, would have made cruell and fa-
 vage long before this day; wee heare say and understand to bee in that request and estimation (by
 good right, and their desert) among you, as if they dwelt in the very middest and heart of Greece:
 for not onely they retaine still the very naturall language of their own, they keepe them to their
 old fashion of apparell and attire, and carrie the same port in their gesture and countenance, but
 also above all things they have kept and observed their customes, their manners, their lawes and
 naturall disposition pure and entire, notwithstanding the frequent commerce with those, in the
 middest of whom they converse and inhabite. Well, the mountaine Taurus at this day is the limit
 of your empire and siegnorie one way: and therefore whatsoever lieth betwene you and that
 bound, you must not thinke it remote, but looke how farre your armes have reached, so farre let K
 your lawes and jurisdiction extend. Let Barbarians, who know no other lawes than lords hefts,
 have their kings, since they take such pleasure in them, and much good may they do their hearts:
 as for the Greekes, they must doe as they may, and are not (wee confesse) in so good case as you,
 howbeit they carrie with them as brave a mind as your selves: and the day hath been, when they
 were monarchs, when they conquered by their owne sword a mightie dominion, and held the
 same when they had it. Now they are content with that empire where it now is, nay, they wish it
 may remaine and continue there for evermore, where it is settled at this present. They shall bee
 well apaid, and thinke they are well, to maintaine their libertie by your force of armes, since they
 have no meanes of their owne to defend the same. But (will some man say) there be certaine cities L
 that held a side and banded with *Antiochus*: I answer againe, So were others before that took part
 with *Philip*, so there were that combined with *Pyrrhus*, as for example the Tarentines: and to
 say nothing of other States, which I could name and rehearse, even Carthage it selfe enioieth
 freedome, and is governed by her owne lawes. Consider then my LL, what a precedent therein
 yee have set downe to your owne selves, and how yee ought to confinne and uphold so good an
 example. You must resolve to denie that unto the covetous desire of *Eumenes*, which you would
 not graunt to your owne ire against the Carthaginians, which they had most justly deserved.
 And as for us Rhodians, with what valour and loialtie wee have served and aided you, as well in
 this warre, as in all others which yee have had in those parts and quarters, wee report unto
 your owne selves, and leave it to your judgement. And now in time of peace, wee here present
 unto you that counsell, which if you will accept and approve, all the world will believe and
 say, That you have borne yourselves more honourable in the usage, than in the achievement
 of your victorie. This Oration seemed to fit well the greatnesse and majestie of the Romanes.
 When the Rhodians had done, the embassadours of *Antiochus* were called in. Who after the
 usuall and stale manner of those that crave pardon, confessed the king was in fault, and humbly
 besought

A besought the LL. of the Senate to have more regard of their own accustomed gracious clemen-
 cie, than remember the kings trespassse, who had paid sufficiently for it already: and finally, that
 they would ratifie and confirme by their authoritie, the peace graunted by *L. Scipio* their L. Ge-
 nerall, according to those conditions, which by him were capitulated and set downe. So both the
 Senate thought good to admit of that peace, and also within few daies after the people gave
 their assent and established the same. And this accord was solemnly confirmed in the Capi-
 toll, with the kings Procurator or agent, to wit, *Antipater*, the cheefe of the embassage, who also
 was *Antiochus* his brothers sonne. This done, the other embassages of Asia had audience, & were
 all dispatched with this one answer, That the Senate would send ten deputies or commissio-
 ners, according to the auncient custome of their auncestours, to heare, decide, and compose all
 the affaires of Asia. But the finall conclusion of all should be this, That whatsoever pertained to
 the dominion of *Antiochus* on this side the mountaine Taurus, should be assigned to king *Eu-
 menes*, excepting the countries of Lycia and Caria, so farre as the river Maender, all which must
 lie to the signorie of the Rhodians. As touching the other cities of Asia, which had been tributa-
 ries to *Antiochus*, those also were to pay tribute to *Eumenes*: but such as were sometime homagers
 to *Antiochus*, those should bee enfranchised and remaine free. The ten Commissioners whome
 they appointed were these, to wit, *Q. Minutius Rufus*, *L. Furius Purpureo*, *Q. Minutius Thermus*,
App. Claudius Nero, *Cn. Cornelius Merula*, *M. Iunius Brutus*, *L. Aurunculeius*, *L. Acnilius Paulus*,
P. Cornelius Lentulus, and *P. Aelius Tuberus*. These men had plenarie power and full commission
 to take order and determine as they thought good, in all the occurrences that were presented in
 C these affaires. But they had direction from the Senate, as touching the principall points: *Impru-
 mis*, That all Lycaonia and Phrygia, both the more and the lesse, that Mysia, with the kings cha-
 ces and Forrests, that the cities of Lydia and Ionia, except those that were free at the day of the
 battell fought with *Antiochus*, and expressly by name Magnesia neer Sipylus, together with Can-
 dia, which is called Hydreia, and all the territorie of Hydreia lying toward Phrygia; moreover,
 Telmessus and the forts of the Telmessians, reserving only that territorie which belonged to *Pto-
 lomeus* the Telmessian: that all these countries, I say, and citties above written, should bee given
 and graunted to king *Eumenes*. Item, That the Rhodians should bee enfeofed in Lycia, without
 the foresaid Telmessus, the forts and territorie, appertaining sometime to *Ptolomeus Telmessius*:
 which parcels, I say, were reserved as well from *Eumenes*, as the Rhodians. Item, To the Rhodi-
 D ans was graunted that part of Caria, which lieth beyond the river Maender, neere unto the isle
 Rhodes, together with the townes, villages, fortresses, and lands bounding upon Pisidia; except
 those townes which were free the day before the battell with king *Antiochus* in Asia. The Rhodi-
 ans, when they had given thanks to the Senate for these gratuities, were in hand with them for
 the citie Soli in Cilicia: they alleaged, that they likewise as well as themselves, were descen-
 ded from Argos; by occasion of which confraternitie and neere alliance, they loved together
 as brethren by nature: in regard whereof, they made petition, that over and besides other donati-
 on, they would doe them this extraordinarie favour, as to exempt that citie also from the servi-
 tude and subjection of king *Antiochus*. Then were the embassadours of king *Antiochus* called
 for, and treated withall about this matter, but to no effect. For *Antipater* stood stoutly upon this
 E point, and pleaded hard, That the accord was past already, and might not be revoked or altered:
 and that against the tenour of the articles and covenants therein comprised, it was not the citie
 Soli, but all Cilicia that the Rhodians demanded; and never would they rest till they were got-
 ten over the mountaine Taurus. Then were the Rhodians called back againe into the Senate,
 unto whom the LL. of the Senat, after they had made relation how earnest the kings embassadour
 was with them upon the point, added thus much moreover & said, That if the Rhodians deemed
 in very deed that the matter concerned the honor of their citie and State, the Senat would worke
 all possible meanes to cause the kings embassadours to relent, how stiffe and obstinate soever they
 stood. For this courtesie, the Rhodians thanked them much more hartly than for all the rest be-
 fore, and said withall, that they would yeeld and give place to the arrogant spirit of *Antiochus*, ra-
 F ther than seeme to give any cause or occasion of troubling the peace. And so as touching the
 citie Soli, there was no alteration made.

Whiles these matters were thus debated and passed, the embassadours of the Massilians
 brought intelligence, that *L. Babius* the Pretour, being in his journey towards his province of
 Spaine, was entrapped and enclosed by the Ligurians, and many of his traine killed outright in
 Oooo ij the

the place, that himselfe mortally wounded fled without his listours and sergeants into Massilia, G and within three dayes left this life. The Senate upon this advertisement ordeined *P. Iunius Brutus* the Propretour in Hetruria, to go in person into the farther Spaine, and governe the same as his owne province: but first to leave Hetruria and the armie there unto one of his Lieutenants whom he pleased to make choise of. This decree of the Senat, together with letters from *Spurius Posthumus* the Pretour of the citie, was sent into Hetruria: and so *P. Iunius* departed as Propretour into Spaine. In which province *L. Aemylus Paulus* (who afterwards was a right glorious victorie of king *Perseus*) having the former yeere fought unfortunately, now alittle before the arrivall of this succesor gave battaile to the Lusitanians with an armie rallied and assembled in hatt, in which the enemies were put to the worfe and driven to flie. One thousand eight hundred of them well armed were left dead in the field, three thousand three hundred taken prisoners, H and their camp forced and ransaked. The bruit that went of this victorie set all matters of Spaine in greater quietnes.

The same yeere, upon the * third day before the Calends of Ianuarie, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *M. Attilius Serranus*, and *L. Valerius Tappo*, the three Triumvirs, by order from the Senate, planted a Latine Colonie at Bolonia; and three thousand people were thither sent to dwell. Every gentleman by calling that served on horseback had 70 acres of ground set out unto him, and the rest of the coloners sitie apeece. The land divided thus among them had bene conquered from the Boians in Gaule: and those Gaules first had dispossessed the Tuskans of the same.

This yeere there were many men of marke and name that sued to be Censors: and this competition as if it had not bene of sufficient importance it selfe to move matter of debate, I was the occasion of a contention and variance much greater. The competitor was these, *T. Quintus Flaminius*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the sonne of *Cneus*: *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *M. Porcius Cato*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *M. Atilius Glabrio*, even he who had vanquished *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* at Thermopylae. To this man last reherfed the peoples favour and affection most inclined, by reason of many congiaries and largesses which he had given amongst them in publick, by means whereof many a man was obliged and bound unto him. The rest, being so many and nobly descended withall, tooke it to the heart, and could not endure that such a person as hee newly risen and come up, and a gentleman of the first head, should be preferred before them: whereupon *P. Sempronius Gracchus*, & *C. Sempronius Rutilius*, two Tribunes of the comminatie, K commended action against him to answer at a day, laying to his charge, that there remained a surplusage of the kings monie and other pillage gotten in the camp of *Antiochus*, over and above all that which he either caried and shewed in triumph, or brought in accompt into the citie chamber. Many and sundrie depositions there were to prove this enditement, as well of lieutenants as of colonels. But *M. Cato* above all other witnesses was most noted: whose great authority acquired in the whole course of his life (which he had passed hether to in all upright conversation & constant gravitie) was much empaiied and discredited now, with his white robe that he bare on his back. He being produced as a witnes, depofed & gave evidence, that he had seene certaine plate as well gold as silver, among the rest of the pillage found in the kings camp, which he never could set eye on in all the triumph abovesaid. In the end, *Glabrio* because he would bring some displeasure particularly, and most of all upon *Cato*, said he would give over his suite L for the Censorship, since that there was another competitor as newly come up as himselfe, (whereat the Nobles indeed tooke indignation inwardly, although they said nothing) who pursued the cause so against him, even with incredible and inestimable perjurie. Well, a fine was set upon his head of a hundred thousand asses. And twise was the matter traversed, whether the mulct should be taken off or paid. But when the third day was come, and the partie in trouble (*Atilius*) had quite surceased to sue for the dignitie, the people would not give their voyces as touching the payment of the fine abovesaid, and the Tribunes also themselves let fall their action. So *T. Quintus Flaminius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were created Censors.

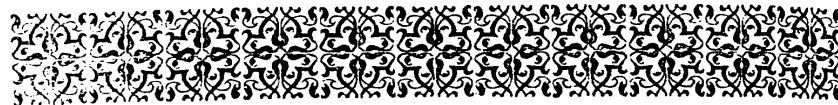
About the same time the Senate sate without the citie in the temple of *Apollo*, in regard of *L. Aemylus Regillus*, who had vanquished the Admirall of king *Antiochus* in a battaile at sea; M where he had audience given. And when he had declared what exploits he had done, namely, against how puissant Armadaes of the enemies he had fought, and how many ships of theirs he had either sinke or taken; the LL. of the Counsell with one generall consent and accord, graunted unto him a navall triumph. And hee triumphed upon the Calends of February. 11

A In which triumph, there were borne in shew fiftie crownes save one, of beaten gold: but nothing that store of coine as such a royall triumph required, onely there were caried in pompe 34700 Attick tetradrachmes, and 132300 cistophores. After this (by decree of the Senate) there were processions celebrated in consideration that *L. Aemylus Paulus* had brought his affaires in Spaine to happie issue.

Not long after *L. Scipio* came also into the citie, who because he would not be inferiour to his brother in the honorable addition of his name, caused himselfe to be surnamed *Asiaticus*. He discoursed before the Senate, and in the publick audience of the people, as touching his worthie acts. Divers there were who construed the thing thus and said, That the warre was greater in name than difficult unto him in the managing: for with fighting one onely memorable battaile, the matter was atchieved and ended, but the glorie indeed of that victorie was begun unto him and prepared for his hand at Thermopylae. But if a man should judge hereof aright, and according to a truth, the battaile at Thermopylae may rather be accompted an exploit against the *Ætolians* than king *Antiochus*. For what great forces I pray you had king *Antiochus* there in field of his owne? But in the last battaile smitten in Asia, the whole power and puissance that he had in all Asia, stood there to be seene, yea and all the aids and succours which he could levie out of the nations as farre as to the utmost parts of the East. Great cause therefore they had both to render much praise and thanksgiving to the immortal gods, in as ample manner as possibly they could devise (for vouchsafing unto them so brave a victorie as it was, and the same with such ease and expedition) and also to graunt a C triumph to the Generall. He triumphed upon the last of Februarie, even the very day that maketh the leape yeere. This triumph of his was much greater than that other of his brothers, in regard of the magnificent pomp and shew represented to the eye: but if one call to mind the substance of the things themselves, and compare the dangers, the conflicts and difficulties of the one warre with the other; there is no more equalitie betweene them, than if a man should in comparison of captain with captain, set *Antiochus* to match with *Anniball*. He shewed in triumph two hundreth thirtie foure field ensignes and standers: hee caried before him the portraicts of two hundreth thirtie foure townes and cities: a hundreth thirtie four teeth of yorie: two hundreth thirtie foure crownes of gold: 237300 pounds weight of silver: 234000 Attick tetradrachmes: 331070 cistophores: 140000 Philip-peecees of gold: of silver plate, D and that was all graven and chased, a thousand foure hundred twentie foure pound weight: of golden plate as much as weighed 1024 pound. Moreover there were led before his chariot thirtie two great commanders; either gouvernors of provinces under the king, or attendant in his court. Every souldier serving on foot, had given unto him * 25 deniers: every centurion had * 15 sili. 7 d. ob. double so much; and the gentlemen or knights triple. After the triumph done, the souldiours had their pay double in money, yea and the portion of corne likewise was doubled. He had moreover given them alreadie a double proportion in Asia, presently upon the end of the battaile. A yeere it was almost after his Consulship expired ere he triumphed.

And much about one and the same time, both *Cn. Manlius* the Consull entred into Asia, and *Q. Fabius Labeo* the Pretour repaired to the fleet. Moreover the Consull had worke enough and wanted not matter of warre within Fraunce. The seas were quiet after that *Antiochus* was defeated and subdued: *Fabius* therefore studied which way to take, and how to employ himselfe and his forces at sea, because he would not be thought and reputed idle in his province: so hee resolved at length to put over with his fleet into Crete. Now they of Cydon warred at that time against the Gortynians and the Gnosians: and the voice went that there was a great number of Romanes and Italians, captives, living in slavery and bondage in every quarter of that yland. Hee looked therefore from Ephesus and set saile for Candie, and so soone as he was arrived and set a land, hee sent his messengers about to the cities, willing them to abandon their armour and surcease from warre, and to search and seeke up throughout all their cities and territories those captives and prisoners abovesaid, and to bring them to him: and moreover, to send their E embassadours or agents, with whom hee would treat concerning the affaires that in common touched as well the Candiots as the Romanes. The ylanders made small regard of these his messages: and unlesse it were the Gortynians, there was not one that delivered the captives. *Fabius Antias* hath recorded, That out of the whole yland there were rendered to the number of foure thousand; because the inhabitants were frighted with threats of warre. And that this was 11

the cause why *Fabius* although he performed no other exploit, obtained of the Senat a navall triumph. From Crete, *Fabius* returned to Ephesus; from whence hee fet forth three ships to the coast of Thracia, and commaunded that the garrisons of *Antiochus* should quit *Aenus* and *Maronia*, to the end, that those cities likewise might be set free and enfranchised.



THE XXXVIII. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the eight and thirtieth Booke.



Marcus Fulvius the Consull besieged the Ambracians in Epirus, and received them upon composition to mercie. He subdued Cephalonia, vanquished & brought under his subjection the Etolians, and made peace with them. The Consull Cn. Manlius his colleague, overcame the Gallogreeces, the Tolistobogians, the Tectosages, and the Trocmians, who were passed over into Asia under the conduct of Brennus: the only people that within the mountaine Taurus yielded not obedience to the Romanes. Their first beginning and rising is set down: also the time when as they seized first of those places which they hold. Here is recounted also the example of the rare valour and chastitie of a woman, who being the wife of a certaine king of the Gallogreeces, chanced to be taken prisoner: and when a Centurion had forced and abused her body, shee killed him with her owne hands. The Consuls held a sising of the citie: in which by computation were numbered 258328 souls of Roman citizens. Amicitie was contracted with Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. Cn. Manlius triumphed over the Gallogreeces, notwithstanding the contradiction of those ten Commissioners, by whose advice and assistance he had obtained the accord and alliances with Antiochus, and pleaded his owne cause himselfe in the Senate against them. Scipio Africanus was indicted, as some say, by Quintus Petilius Aferius a Tribune of the Commones: as others, by Nervius. For that he had defrauded the citie chamber of some part of the pillage which hee got from Antiochus. When the day was come that he should make his answer, hee was called up to the publicke pulpit and place of audience, and with a loud voice said unto the people: My masters, you that are citizens of Rome, This very day have I won Carthage: and with that hee ascended up into the Capitoll, and the people accompanied him thither: and from thence, because hee would avoid those hard and iniquitous coses of the Tribunes, and be no more troubled with them, he retired himselfe to Liturnum, as it were into voluntary exile: and whether he ended his dayes there or at Rome, it is not well known: for his tombe and monument was to be scene in both places. L. Scipio Asiaticus (the brother of Africanus) was accused of the same crime of embezzling the publicke treasure and robbing the common-weale, and thereof condemned: but as he was led to prison, and should have beene laid up in bonds and yrons, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus a Tribune of the Commones (who before-time had bene an adversarie and enemy unto the Scipiores) interposed himselfe and rescued him: and for that pleasure done, hee took to wife the daughter of Africanus. When the Pretour sent the treasures of the citie to seize upon all his goods for the use of the citie, so farr off they were from finding any remnant or token of the kings riches and money, that they could not meet with as much as would satisfie the fine wherein hee was condemned. And when his kinsfolke and friends had contributed and raised an infinite masse of money for him, hee would not receive the same: and as much onely was redeemed and bought againe, as might serve for his necessities to find and maintaine him.



During the time of the warres in Asia, the affaires also in Aetolia were in small rest and quietnes: which troubles arose first from the Athamanians, who after that *Aminander* was dispossessed of his kingdome, were held in obedience by garrisons under the captaines of king *Philip*; and they bare themselves so proud, insolent, and outrageous in their government, that the Athamanians found a great misse of *Aminander*, and were desirous of him againe. Now remained hee at that time as a banished person in Aetolia; and upon letters received from his

A his owne nation (containing the state wherein Athamania then stood) he conceived some hope to recover his crown again: wherupon he sent the messengers back to Argitheia (the chiefe city of Athamania) unto the principall men of the countrey, with this credence, That if he might be assured of the affection & love of the people, he would procure the aid of the Etolians & come into Athamania, accompanied with the elect personages (and those are the counsell of that nation) and *Nicander* the Pretor. When he understood and perceived that they were prest and redy to doe him all service, he advertised them eiesoones upon what day he would enter with his armie into Athamania. At the first there were but foure persons that conspired against the Macedonian garrison, and these tooke every one fixe more unto them for to be assistant in the execution of their complot. But afterwards, trusting but little in this small number of their adherents and complices (who indeed were fitter to keep counsell and conceale a matter secretly, than to performe any action valiantly) they adjoynd unto them the like number unto the other: so as now they were two and fiftie in all; and they devided themselves into foure companies. One crew of them went to Heraclea; another to Tetrachylia, where as the kings treasure was usually kept; a third sort tooke their way to Theudoria; and the fourth to Argitheia. But they all agreed upon this course: to hold themselves quiet and peaceable at their first coming, and to converse in the market place of these cities, as if they were come about some particular negotiation of their own: and upon a certain day appointed, to set to it at once, and raise the whole multitude for to expell the Macedonian garrisons out of their fortresses. Now when the day was come and *Aminander* ready upon the frontiers with his forces of a thousand Etolians, the garrisons of the Macedonians were at one instant chased out of those foure cities aforesaid, like as it was comploted beforehand: and letters were dispatched from all parts into other cities, advising them to deliver and free themselves from the tyrannie of *Philip*, and to restore *Aminander* into his lawfull kingdome and throne of his father. Thus the Macedonians were expelled in every quarter: only the town Theium made resistance and held out some few daies against the siege, by occasion that *Zeno* (captaine of the garrison there) had intercepted the letters, and they that sided with *Philip* were possessed of the castle. But in the end surrendered it was likewise unto *Aminander*, and all Athamania reduced unto his obedience, excepting only the fort of Athenaeum, situate upon the marches of Macedonie.

Philip advertised of the revolt of Athamania, accompanied with a power of fixe thousand fighting men, put himselfe in his journey, and with exceeding expedition, marched as farr as Gomphi. Where he left the greater part of his forces, (for they had not been able to endure so long a journey) and with two thousand came to Athenaeum, the onely place held by his garrison to his use. And from thence, after hee had sounded the next neighbours, and soone found that there was nothing but hostilitie among them, he retired to Gomphi, and jointly with all his forces together returned into Athamania. Then hee sent *Zeno* before with a thousand footmen, and gave him in charge to seize upon Aethopia, a place that directly for his purpose commanded Argitheia: and seeing that his men were possessed thereof, himselfe sat him downe, and pitched his tents about a certaine temple dedicated to the name of *Jupiter*. There hee was forced by reason of the foule and stormie weather to stay one whole day, and the morrow after hee went forward with his armie to Argitheia. As they marched, behold they discovered the Athamanians, running from divers parts to the hil tops, which stood over the way along. They had no sooner espied them, but the foremost ensignes made stay, and all that regiment of the vaward was surprised with feare and fright. Every man began for his part to cast many doubts, and think with himselfe what should become of them, in case their companies were entered once into the valleys, so checked by those rockes abovesaid. This tumult and trouble caused the king perforce to call backe those in the forward, and to retire the same way that hee came, notwithstanding hee was very desirous (if they would have seconded him) to have made quick speed, & gotten through those streights. The Athamanians at first followed after them aloofe quietly ynough: but when they had once joined with the Etolians, leaving them behind to come upon the taile of the enemy, they spread themselves all about, and flanked them on the sides: some of them also got afore their head by the next waies which they were acquainted with, and beset the passages; inso much, as the Macedonians were so greatly troubled, that forced they were (more like men that fled in disarray, than marched in good order) to leave much of their armour, and many of their men behind, to passe over the river; and there the chase ended. From thence the Macedonians returned safely

safely to Gomphi, and so forth into Macedonie.

The Athamanians and Ætolians assembled from all parts to Ethiopia for to surprise and defeat *Zeno* & that regiment of a thousand Macedonians which was with him. But the Macedonians reposing no great trust in that place, retired from Ethiopia, to an hill much higher & steeper on all sides, and therefore lesse accessible. The Athamanians having found out diverse avenues unto it, entorced them to forgoe that hold also. And when they were dispersed among the blind rockes, and to them unknowne, and could not readily find the way out, some of them were taken prisoners, and others slaine. Many for feare tumbled down headlong from the pitch of the cliffes, and brake their neckes, and very few escaped with *Zeno* to thieking. The next day after they obtained truce, untill they had committed their dead to earth.

Aminander having thus repossessed his realme, sent embassadours to Rome unto the Senate; likewise unto the *Scipios* in Asia (who after the great battell with *Antiochus*, sojourned in Ephesus.) He craved peace and pardon, he excused himselfe in that he had recovered his fathers kingdom, by the meanes and helpe of the Ætolians, and withall laid great fault and blame upon king *Philip*. As for the Ætolians, they departed out of Athamania, and made an expedition against the Amphiloichians, and by consent of the greater part, reduced the whole nation under their puissance and subjection. Having thus regained Amphiloichia (for in times past it appertained to their siegnorie) upon the same hope they passed over into Aperantia, which yielded also for a great part thereof, and came under their obedience. As for the Dolopians, they never belonged to the Ætolians, but unto *Philip*. And at the first they assembled together in arms, but understanding once that the Amphiloichians tooke part with the Ætolians, that *Philip* was fled out of Athamania, and that his garrison there was put to the sword, they revolted likewise from *Philip*, and turned to the Ætolians. Who making now full account that they were sure ynough on all sides from the Macedonians, by reason of so many nations which environned them about, they tooke knowledge (by the common bruit) of the defeature of *Antiochus* by the Romanes in Asia: and not long after their owne embassadours returned from Rome without hope of peace, relating withall, that *Fulvius* the Consull had passed the seas alreadie with an armie. Upon these newes, they were much troubled and afraid: and in this perplexitie, they induced and procured first the Rhodian and then the Athenian embassages, to the end, that by the credite and countenance of these two States, their prayers lately rejected, might have more easie access to the Senate: and with them they sent to Rome once againe the principall personages of their nation, to trie their last hope of obtaining peace; and never forecast to prevent warre, before the enemy was come welneere within their sight. Now had *At. Fulvius* transported his forces to Apollonia, and devised with the princes and States of the Epirotes, where to begin warre. The Epirotes advised him to assaile Ambracia, which as then was united to the Ætolians. And why? if either the Ætolians should come to the defence of the place, they had a goodly large and open plaine all about to bid them battell; or if they refused the field, and would not fight, they should find no great difficultie to assault and force the towne. For not onely there was at hand store ynough of timber and other matter to raise mouats, mantelets, and other fabrickes; but also Arethon a river navigable, very commodious to transport all necessaries unto them, runneth under the walls of the citie; and besides, the summer was a fit season for warre-service. With these reasons they persuaded the Consull to conduct his armie through Epirus. But when the Consull was come before Ambracia, hee found it was no easie peece of worke to besiege and assault the towne. This Ambracia is situate under a stonie & craggie hill, which the inhabitants call Perranthæ. The citie it selfe looketh into the West, what way as the wall reacheth toward the fields and the river: the fort and castle thereof standeth upon the hil, and regardeth the East. The river Arethon running out of Acamania, dischargeth it selfe into an arme of the sea, which beareth the name of the citie neere adjoining, and is called Ambracia. This towne, besides that it is well guarded with the river of one side, and defended with hils on the other, is fortified also with a strong wall, in circuit somewhat more than three mile about. *Fulvius* encamped strongly on the fields side, in two holds of a prettie distance asunder, and raised one skonce upon an high ground, opposite against the fortresse of the towne. All these places he determined to enclose within the compasse of a trench and rampier, to the end, that they who were shut up within the towne, might have no egress, and that from without forth there should bee no ingresse, for any aid and succour whatsoever. The Ætolians were assembled alreadie at Stratus by an edict from the Pretor *Nicaner*, incontinently upon

upon the rumour that ran of the siege of Ambracia, intending fully at first to march from thence with all their forces. But afterwards, when they perceived that a great part of the citie was streightly beleaguered alreadie, and blocked with trench and rampier; and withall, that the Epirotes were encamped upon a plaine on the other side of the river, they were of advise to devide their forces in two parts. *Enpolmus* accompanied with a regiment of a thousand men lightly appointed, passed through the fortifications of the enemies, before they were joined and united together, and entered Ambracia. *Nicaner* with the rest of the forces purposed at the first by night to assaile the campe of the Epirotes, considering that the Romanes could not easily succour them, by reason of the river running betweene. But afterwards upon better advise, supposing this to be a dangerous enterprise (for feare lest the Romans should discover their march, and so intercept them that they might not retire againe in safetie) he altered his mind, & turned to the spoiling and wasting of Acarnania. Now when the Consull had made an end of all his fabrickes devised for to invest and enclose the citie, and finished his engines wherewith he meant to shake the wall, hee approached neere and gave assault in five places at once. Three batteries hee planned in equall distance asunder, and where the easiest advenue and access was from the plaine, full upon that place of the citie which they call Pyrrhæum: one over against the temple of *Asculapius*; and another opposite to the castle. With rams hee shooke the walls, with long poles and hookes he fetcht off and plucked downe the battlements of the walls. The oppidanes at the first were afraid to see these strange engines, and quaked to heare so terrible a noise of their walls battered: but afterwards, seeing that the wals stood uprightly beyond their expectation, they plucked up their hearts again, and with swipes weighed up either great counterpoises and weights of lead, or huge stones, then with a swinge they let them fall againe upon the rams of the enemies, or els tumbled mightie big logs of timber aloft, and so either brake them apees, or bare them downe. And as for their hookes aforesaid, they caught hold of them with yron floucks like anchors, and so drew them over the walls to the other side with a witnesse, and brake both them and their poles. Moreover they sallied out in the night upon the watch that attended their engines, issued forth of themselves in the day time, assailed the corps de guard, and put them in great feare. As things stood in these tearmes before Ambracia, the Ætolians by this time were returned to Stratus from their rodes which they made into Acarnania. And then *Nicaner* the Pretour conceiving some hope to levie the siege by some audacious and hardie adventure, devised that one *Nicodamus* should put himselfe within the towne of Ambracia with five hundred Ætolians; and appointed one certain night, and an houre also of the same night, when both they from out of the towne should assaile the fabrickes and engines of the enemy planted against Pyrrhæum, and also himselfe charge upon the campe of the Romanes at the same time, and put them in fright: supposing by this twofold alarme (especially in the night which maketh every thing more fearefull) there might be some notable act and memorable exploit done. And *Nicodamus* verily for his part, in the dead time of the night, having passed unscene and not descried by some of the sentinels, & by resolute force broken through the rest of the watches, passed over an arme of the river and recovered the citie, and in some measure by this meanes hardened the besieged inhabitants to adventure anything, & put them in better hope to accomplish all. And when the night appointed was come, all on a sodaine he set upon the engines, as it was before accorded betweene them. The adventure of this enterprise was much more than the effect, because there were no forces without to joyne with him; were it that the Pretour of the Ætolians was afraid to be too bould, or that he thought it was a better peece of service to aid the Amphiloichians newly recovered, whom *Perseus* king *Philip* his sonne, sent from his father to reconquer Dolopia and Amphiloichia, assailed with great force and violence. The Romanes had planned their ordenance and artillerie, as is above said, in three places against Pyrrhæum, which the Ætolians charged all at one time, but not with like preparation of means, nor with the same violence. For some came with burning & flaming firebrands, others caried tow & hurds with pitch; and faggots of drie stickes, & other like matter easie to be kindled, in such sort as all their companies shone againe with a light fire. Many of the warders they killed at the first onset, but when the alarme and tumult was heard within the campe, and the signall given by the Consull, they took armes, and ran apace out of all the gates for to rescue and defend them. In one quarter the Ætolians did their deed, and fought with fire and sword: but in the other two places after they had given the attempt, rather than began any skirmish, they retired and went their wayes. The

heate

heate of the medly inclined wholly to one quarter, where the two captaines *Eupolemus* and *Nicodamus*, encouraged their men as they fought from two divers parts, and interteined them with an assured hope, that *Nicander* according to agreement would be there and charge upon the back of the enemies. This for a good while maintained the courages of the souldiours: but perceiving there was no signe appeared of their countrymen, and that they kept not touch with them, and seeing withall how the number of the enemies encreased, and themselves dis-appointed and destitute, they slaked their fight, and were not so eage upon the enemy, and in the end gave over: and having much ado to retire in safetie, were chased into the citie, after they had burnt some of the Romane engines, and slaine a few more of their enemies than there died of themselves. And surely if the service had bene followed in execution according as it was com-plotted and agreed, those devised engins no doubt might have bene destroyed, if not wholly, H yet in the part at leastwise, and that with great murder and carnage of the enemies. The Am-bracians, together with those *Ætoli*ans which were within the citie, not only gave over that nights enterprise, but ever after shewed more coldnes to hazard themselves againe, as if they had bene betrayed by their owne fellowes. Not a man would fallie forth upon the ward and watch of the enemies, but they all from their walls and turrets stood upon their guard only, and with the vantage of the place defended themselves in safetie.

Perseus advertit that the *Ætoli*ans approched *Amphilochia*, quit the siege of the citie which he was about to assault: and after he had only haried and wasted the territorie about it, retired from those quarters and returned into *Macedonie*. The *Ætoli*ans likewise were enfor-ced to depart from thence, by reason that their sea coasts were spoiled and overrun: for *Pleura-tus* the king of the *Illyrians*, was entred into the river of *Corinth* with a flecte of 60 barks, and with the help of the *Achaean* ships that lay in the rode of *Patraz*, invested the maritime tract of *Ætolia*. Against whom were sent a thousand *Ætoli*ans, who waited upon this flecte at every tunc as they doubled any reaches, and with the vantage of the short wayes and next advenues by the land, were readie to welcome them on the bankes and make head against them.

The *Romanes* lying still in siege before *Ambracia*, by battring and shaking the walls in many places, had dismantled a great part of the citie, and laid it open: howbeit, they could not enter within it. For at every breach where the wall was broken downe, they were readie to make a new countermure, and the souldiours standing upon the very ruines, served in flecte of a bulwarke. The Consull seeing he could not prevaile by open force, determined to undermine K and make a secret way in the ground into the citie; but first he covered the place where they wrought, with mantilers. For a good while the pioners were not perceived by the enemies, nor withstanding they wrought both night and day, not only digging under the earth, but also ca-sting up the mould as they went. But an huge heape of earth bearing up aloft from the rest, was discovered, and gave them within the towne to understand, what the enemies were about: and fearing least they had wrought so farre already as under their walls, and that they were at the point to make a way into the towne, they within began likewise to strike another trench just a-gainst the place covered with mantilers aforesaid: and when they had digged to that depth as the botome might be of the enemies mine, they made no words within, but in great silence laid their care too in divers places closeto the earth, herkening if haply they might heare any noise L of the pioners: and when they once had gotten an eare of them, they countermined directly against them. And long they were not about it: for anon they came as farre as to the void holow ground whereas the foundation of the wall stood upon staies and proppes, which the ene-mies had set to beare it up. Now when their works were met together, and that there was a con-tinued passage out of this trench into the mine, the pioners fitt fell to it and skuffed with their spades, shovels and mattocks, and such other tooles that they had used to worke withall: but soone after, armed souldiours entred and encountred within the vault, and closely skirmished under ground. But within a while that manner of dealing grew more cold and slack by reason that they stopped up the mine betweene when they list, one while with sacks and hairecloth, otherwhiles with dores and such trash as they could come by in hast and stood next hand. One M new invention above the rest was devised against those within the mine, and the same but a slight matter, and made without any great trouble, and this it was. The townesmen took a great tunne or dryfat with a hole bored in the botome, of that capacite, as might receive a pretie pipe like a faucet within it; and withall they made a pipe indeed of yron to fit it, and an yron lid like

A wife to cover the other end or mouth thereof, but the same had many holes in divers places of it. Now this vessell they stuffed full of downe and soft fethers, and then set it with the head tor-ward against the very mine. From the lid or cover aforesaid there stood proking out long sharp pikes, which the *Macedonians* call *Sarissæ*, for to keepe off the enemies. Within the fethers they put a cole or sparke of fire, and then with a paire of smithes bellows (the nose whereof went into the pipe aforesaid) they blowed the cole and set it on a smuddering fire within the fe-thers. By which meanes there arose not only a mightie deale of smoke, but also it carried with it a stinking savour, by reason of the fethers burning within, and so filled all the mine underneath, that scarce durst any man abide within for feare of being choked.

During these affaires about *Ambracia*, *Phaneas* and *Demoteles* two embassadors sent from B the *Ætoli*ans by a generall decree of the whole nation, came with a full and plenarie commis-sion unto the Consull. For their Pretour (seeing of the one side *Ambracia* besieged, and on the other side the sea coast endammaged with the enemies ships, and in a third quarter the *Am-philochians* and all *Dolopia* piteously wasted by the *Macedonians*; and that the *Ætoli*ans were not able to oppose themselves and make head at once against three warres in divers parts) had assembled a generall Diet for to consult with the chiefe of the *Ætoli*ans what was to be done in this case. All their opinions jumped in this one point, To seeke for peace (if it were possible) under equal & indifferent conditions: if not, yet in as tollerable termes as they might. C In confidence and assurance (say they) of *Antiochus*, the warre began: and now that *Antiochus* is vanquished both by land and sea, yea and hunted as it were out of the compasse of the world into an angle beyond *Taurus*, what hope remaineth to mainteine and wage the warre any lon-ger? and therefore *Phaneas* and *Demoteles* were to deale, as in such a case and time, as they thought best, according to their wisdom and fidelitie, and the common good of the *Ætoli-ans*: for what other counsel remaineth, what course else can they take, or what choise beside hath fortune left them? With this so large and free commission I say, were these Embassadors sent: who besought the Consull to spare their citie, to have mercie and pitie of their nation sometime linked in amitie unto them, and forced through very calamitie and miserie (for loth they were to speake of any injuries and wrongs offered) to fall into such follies: neither have the *Ætoli*ans in this late warre of *Antiochus* deserved to suffer more harme than they were worthy to receive D good for their service in the former warre against *Philip*: and as they were not largely rewarded and recompensed then, so they ought not to be punished and chastised extremely now. The Consull made answere againe, That the *Ætoli*ans had made a suing for peace many a time, but sincerely and truly at no time: and since they had sollicitated and drawne *Antiochus* to warre, let E them hardly follow his example in craving peace. Like as he therefore hath not quit and ren-dred some few cities which were in question about their libertie and freedome, but parted with a rich and wealthie kingdome, even all *Asia*, betweene this and the mountaine *Taurus*: so un-lesse the *Ætoli*ans will simply lay all armes aside, and come to treat for peace unarmed, hee would never give them audience. And to be short, if they will peace have, they must deliver up their armour and all their horses first, yea and make payment of a thousand talents of silver, and the one moiitie thereof to pay downeright upon the naile before hand. Over and besides this F branch, I will annex unto the accord and covenant, That they shall hold for their friends and enemies, those whom the people of *Rome* reputeth to be theirs, and none other: To this answere the Embassadors said never a word, both for that they were very hard and grievous im-positions, and also because they knew the natures and minds of their countrymen and neigh-bors at home, how untractable they were and not to be removed if they once tooke a pitch: whereupon they returned unto them, without doing any thing at all, to know the advise once a-gaine of the Pretour and the principall States, what to resolve upon in every respect, whiles all stood whole and upright. But they were welcomed with outcries, and well thent for their labour, in that they had not dispatched and made an end, and so were sent away, and com-manded to bring back with them one peace or other. As they went againe toward *Ambracia*, they were forlayed and surprized in an ambush laid for them neere the high way side by the *A-camanians* (with whom at that time they warred) and were had to *Tyrreum* and there impriso-ned. And by this occasion the peace was delayed.

Whiles the embassadors of *Athens* and *Rhodes* (who were come already to intreat for them) remained with the Consull, *Aminander* also (the king of the *Athamans*) presented himselfe un-der

der safe-conduct in the Romane campe, and tooke more care for the citie of *Ambracia (where G he had sojourned the greater part of his exile) than in the behalfe of the Ætolians. By them, the Consull was certified of the hard hap of the Ætolian Embassadors; and then he gave commandement, that they should be brought from Tyrreum. When they were come, they began to treat of peace. *Aminander* in the meane while laboured what he could in that enterprife which he especially had undertaken, namely, to induce the Ambracians to submit unto the Romans: but when he saw he did but small good, for all his parling with the principall persons of the city from their walls: at length by the Consull his permission he entred into the towne; where, partly by good counsell, and partly by prayer and entreatie, hee perswaded them in the end, to put themselves into the Romanes hands. Now as touching the Ætolians, they found much favour by the meanes of *C. Valerius* the sonne of that *Levinus*, who first contracted amity with that nation; and was besides halfe brother unto the Consull by the same mother. And the Ambracians after capitulation made, that the Ætolians who came to aid them might goe forth without harme, set open their gates. Then articulated it was with the Ætolians: *Imprimis*, To pay 500 Euboike talents of silver; two hundred presently, and the other 300 at fixe payments yeerely by even portions. *Item*, To render all Romane captives and fugitive traitors and rennegates that they had, into the hands of the Romanes. *Item*, To chalenge jurisdiction over no city, which since the time that *T. Quintus* passed over into Greece, was either forced by the Romans or entred voluntarily into amity and society with them: provided alwaies, that the yle Cephalenia be not comprised within this capitulation. These articles, albeit they were somewhat easier than they looked for, yet the Ætolians requested, that they might acquaint their counsell withall: and I permitted they were so to doe. Some small variance and debate distracted and held them awhile as touching those cities, which having beene in times past within their seignorie and jurisdiction, they hardly could abide to be dismembred (as it were) from their body. But in the end, there was not one but agreed to accept of the peace. The Ambracians gave unto the Consull for a present, a coronet of beaten gold weighing 150 pound. Their statues of brasse and marble, their painted tables (wherewith Ambracia was better stored and adorned, than all the other cities of that region, because it was the royall seat of king *Pyrrhus* where he kept his court and residence) were all taken downe and carried away: nought else was touched, nor any hurt done besides.

The Consull dislodged then, and remooved from Ambracia into the higher and more inland parts of Ætolia, & encamped before the city called Argos Amphilocheium, two and twenty myles distant from Ambracia: and thither at length repaired the Ætolian embassadors unto him, who marvelled much at them, why they stayed so long. When hee understood by them that the generall counsell of the Ætolians had approved of the peace, hee willed them to goe directly to Rome unto the Senat: and permitted also the Athenians and Rhodians (their mediators and advocates) to go with them and as orators to speake in their behalfe; and moreover he graunted, that his halfe brother *C. Valerius* should accompany them: which order when he had taken, him selfe crossed over the water to Cephalenia.

When they were arrived at Rome, they found both the eares and the hearts of the chiefe Senators wholly possessed behorehand, with many complaints and imputations that *Philip* had enforced against them: for hee by meanes of his embassadours and letters (complaining that the Ætolians had unjustly taken from him the Dolapians, the Amphilocheians, and Athamania; and that his garisons, yea and last of all his sonne *Perseus*, were driven out of Amphilocheia) had wholly averred the Senat from giving any care at all to their requests and prayers: howbeit the Rhodians and Athenians had audience given them with patience and silence. The Athenian Ambassador *Leon* (by report) mooved and perswaded the Senat with his eloquent tongue: and by a familiar parable and similitude, hee compared the people of Ætolia to the nature of the sea: For like as it, being of it selfe calme, is troubled and made rough by the winds: even so (saith hee) the people of that nation, all the while they entertained friendship with the Romanes, and performed their faithfull promise unto them, so long were in their right kind, and continued peaceable and quiet; but after that *Thoen* and *Dicaarchus* began to blow from out of Asia, as after that, *Menetas* and *Damocritus* blustred and puffed from the parts of Europe, then arose a storme and tempest, with the ghufts whereof driven they were to *Antiochus*, and cast (as a man would say) upon a rocke. Well, the Ætolians after they had bene much tossed a long time from post to pillar, in fine effected, that these articles of peace ensuing, were freely agreed upon. *Imprimis*,

A *primis*, The nation of Ætolia shall mainteine faithfully and truly the empire and seignorie of the people of Rome. *Item*, They shall suffer to passe through their countrey and confines no armie that shall bee conducted against their allies and friends; nor assist them with any aid or maintenance whatsoever. *Item*, They shall repute the enemies of the Romanes for their enemies, and wage warre against them. *Item*, They shall deliver unto the Romanes and their confederates, all rennegates, all fugitives and prisoners that are among them, excepting such as having beene once taken and returned home, chaunced to be caught againe the second time: or those, who being Romane enemies, were taken prisoners by them, at what time as the Ætolians served in garrison under the Romanes. As for the rest, as many as are forth-comming and may be found, shall be delivered (without fraud or covin) within 100 dayes next ensuing, to the magistrate of Coreyra: but those that appeare not within that time, shall bee likewise rendered whensoever their fortune is to be met withall. *Item*, They shall yeeld fortie hostages, such as the Romane Consull in his discretion will approve and like well of: provided, that none of these pledges be under twelve yeeres of age, nor above fortie. Neither shall there be taken for hostage any Pretour or capitaine over horsemen, nor publicke Notarie or Secretarie to the state, nor yet any one that hath lien in hostage before-time. Provided also, that Cephalenia shall be exempt from the articles of this accord. *Item*, As touching the summe of money which they are to pay, and the manner and termes of the payment, there shall be nothing changed of that which hath bene concluded with the Consull: yet, if they had rather pay the same summe in gold than in silver, they may so doe; provided then, that they keepe the rate and proportion, of one for ten, to wit, that one golden peece of coine goe for ten times so much in weight of silver, and no more. *Item*, What cities, what lands and territories, what persons soever, which having at any time heretofore held tenor of the Ætolians, were by the Consuls *T. Quintus* and *C. Domitius*, or any time since their Consulship, either subdued and conquered by force of armes, or otherwise of themselves came under the obeisance of the people of Rome, the Ætolians shall make no claime nor chalenge unto them. Finally, the Æniades with their citie and territoire, shall appertaine to the Acarnanians. Under these conditions above-said, the accord was concluded with the Ætolians.

Notonely in the same summer, but also much about those very daies wherein these affaires were managed by *M. Fulvius* in Ætolia, *Cn. Manlius* the other Consull maintained warre in D * Gallogrecia, whereof at this present I will begin to write. This Consull in the beginning of the spring came to Ephesus; where, after he had received the armie of *L. Scipio* and taken a review and survey thereof, he made an oration to his souldiours; wherein, first he praised their valour and vertue, in that with one battell they had finished the warre against *Antiochus*: then hee exhorted them to enter into a new warre with those Gaules who had succoured king *Antiochus* with aid; and were beside of nature so untamed, that unless their puissance were abated & their courage taken downe, to little or no purpose it was that *Antiochus* was remooved beyond the mountaines of Taurus. Last of all, some discourse he made of his owne person, which was nothing prolix and long, implying neither vaine untruthes nor excessive reports. The souldiours gave audience to the Consull with great joy and a generall applause, making this account, that E since king *Antiochus* was vanquished, the Gaules alone (who were one part of his forces) would be of no puissance to withstand them. But the Consull supposed that it was much out of his way, that *Eumenes* should be absent (for then he was at Rome) who knew the countries, was acquainted with the nature of the people, and whome it imported and concerned very much, that the power of the Gaules should be enfeebled and abated. And therefore he sent for *Attalus* his brother, from Pergamus, and exhorted him to enter into action with him and take arms. And when *Attalus* had made promise to aid him both in his person and with all the power that he could make, he sent him into his country to levie souldiours. After some few dayes, when the Consull was departed from Ephesus, *Attalus* (accompanied with a regiment of a thousand foot and two hundred horse) met him at Magnesia; and had given order to his brother *Athenus*, to follow after with the rest of the forces; having committed the guard and government of Pergamus and the kingdome to those, whom he knew to be fast and faithfull to his brother and himselfe. The Consull, after he had praised and commended the young gentleman, marched forward with his whole power as farre as *Maender, and there encamped, because it was not possible to passe the river at any found, and therefore boats and barges were to bee gotten together, for to P P P P ferrie

ferrie and transport the armie. When they were set over the river, they went to Hiera Come, G where there was a magnificent and stately temple of *Apelle*, and an Oracle in it. And by report the priests and prophets there, deliver the responds and answers of the Oracle in verses, & those not rudely composed without rithme & meeter. From hence they removed, & at two daies end arrived at the river *Harpasus*: and thither were embassadours come from the *Alabandians*, requesting the *Consull* either by vertue of his authoritie, or by force of armes to compell one of their fortresses which lately had revolted from them & rebelled, to return again to their former obedience. And hither *Athenus* also, brother to *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, was come together with *Leusius* the *Candiot*, and *Corragus* the *Macedonian*, bringing with them 1000 foot, and 300 horse, of divers nations mingled together. The *Consull* sent one of his martiall Tribunes or Colonels with a mean companie, to summon the castle or fortress above said, & after it was forced and recovered, H he delivered it into the hands of the *Alabandians*. Himselfe kept on his direct way, and turned on no side, untill he came to *Antiochia* upon the river *Mæander*, where hee encamped. This river *Mæander* ariseth from *Celæna*, where the first head & source thereof is to be seen. Now this *Celæna* had ben in times past the capitall citie of al *Phrygia*. But in proceffe of time this old *Celæna* was abandoned by the inhabitants, & not farre from it they peopled a new citie called *Apamea*, bearing the name of *Apamea* the sister of king *Seleucus*. The river *Marfyas* likewise springing not far from the foresaid sources of *Mæander*, dischargeth it selfe therinto. And as the common fame goeth, at this *Celæna* it was, where *Marfyas* the musician gave defiance to *Apollo*, & challenged him to play upon the flute. This *Mæander* above named, issuing out of an high hill at *Celæna*, runneth through the mids of the citie, & first keeping his course along the country of the *Carians*, and afterwards of the *Ionians*, falleth at the last into an arm of the sea, between *Priene* & *Miletus*.

Whiles the *Consull* lay encamped about *Antiochia*, *Seleucus* the sonne of *Antiochus*, presented himself unto him with corn for his armie, according to the covenant contracted with *Scipio*. Some small variance & difference there was as touching the aid demanded of *Antiochus*: for *Seleucus* pleaded that *Antiochus* had capitulated only to find corn for the Roman soldiours. But this debate was soone at an end, by reason of the stiffe resolution of the *Consull*, who sent a Colonell to warn and charge the soldiours to accept no corn, before the aid-soldiours of *Antiochus* were received. From thence he marched to **Gordiu-tichos* (a citie so called) & so forward the third day to *Tabæ*. This citie is seated upon the frontiers of the *Pisidians*, in that coast which boundeth upon the *Pamphylian* sea. This quarter was able to yeeld lustie men for war, when it had not ben any way endamaged, but remained entire & whole. For prooffe whereof, even then also there issued out of the citie a corner of horsemen, who charged upon the Romans as they marched, and at the first on-set troubled them not a little. But afterwards, seeing themselves neither for number, nor yet for prowes comparable unto them, they were driven back into the town, & craved pardon for their trespass, readie to surrender their citie into the *Cos.* his hands. The *Consull* imposed upon them a payment of 25 talents of silver, and 10000 medimnes of wheat, and upon that composition their surrender was accepted. Three daies after, the Romans came to *Chaus* the river, & from thence to the citie *Eriza*, which at the first assault they woon. After this the armie marched as far as to a castle called *Thabusion* standing over the river **Indus*, so called of a certain Indian, whom an elephant threw and cast into it. Now they were not far from *Cibyra*, and yet no embassage appeared from the tyrant of that country and State, *Maagesites*, a dissoliall and trecherous man in all his dealings, and besides, extreame hard and unreasonable. Whereupon the *Cos.* sent out before, C. *Helvius*, with 4000 foot and 500 horse, to sound his disposition and mind. As these companies entred into his frontiers, there encountered them his embassadours, giving them to understand that the tyrant their maister was readie to do whatsoever they would command: only his request was unto *Helvius* to passe peaceably through his country, & to restrain his soldiours from wasting and spoiling the territories, and fifteen talents they brought with them for to make a crown of gold. *Helvius* promised to save his lands for being spoiled and wasted, but he willed the embassadours to goe to the *Consull*. Now when they had related the same unto him, he made them answer in these tearmes, We cannot gather by any signe or token (quoth he) that the tyrant beareth good will and affection to us Romanes: and againe, if hee be such a one as the world taketh him for, we are to thinke rather of his chastisement, than of admitting him into our amitie. The embassadours fore troubled at this word, requested him for that present no more, but to take the crowne of gold, and to permit that the tyrant himselfe might have access into his presence for

* The same that is now called Gordiopolis.

* Hiji, Nigro. Din, incolis.

A to parle with him: and cleare himselfe. The morrow after, by permission of the *Consull* came the tyrant into the campe, bearing no port of a prince. For a private person and meane man of small wealth would have gone in better apparell, and caried a greater traine about him than hee: either went he so meanelly, but he spake as lowly, hacking and hewing his words, as if hee had not been able to speake them out. He complained of his owne barenesse and want, and likewise of the poverty of the cities under his feignorie (for besides *Cybira*, he held in possession *Sylius*, & that which is called *Alimne*) Yet he promised to see what he could doe, if haply by undoing himselfe, and spoiling his subjects, he might make up five & twentie talents. Mary he mistrusted greatly that he should never effect so much. Are you therabout? (quoth the *Consull*) Now verily I can no longer endure this paltering and mockerie. Was it not ynough, that in your absence you bashed not to delude and disappoint us by your embassadours, but you must persist still in the same impudencie now that you bee heere your selfe in person? And would you make us beleieve indeed, that the disbursing of five and twentie talents will begger you and your whole kingdom? Come on sir, I say; Bring me hether within these three daies, and lay me downe in readie mony five hundred talents, or looke for no other favour, but your territorie to be wasted, and your citie besieged. Greatly affrighted was he at these minatorie words, howbeit hee continued still obstinately, counterfeiting and pretending his needinesse and poverty, and after much bafe hucking, and rising by little and little, one while hasting and wrangling, another while praying and entreating, (and that with whining & putting finger in the eie) he was fetcht over at length, and came off to pay a good hundred talents of silver, and to deliver 10000 medimnes of come besides. And all C this was exacted of him to be performed in fixe daies. From *Cibyra* the *Consull* conducted the armie through the country of the *Sindensians*, and after he had passed over the river *Calanis*, he there pitched downe his tents. The morrow after they marched by the lake or meere *Caralitis*, and set them downe and rested upon the river *Mæander*. As they advanced from thence toward *Ligon* the next citie, the inhabitants fled for feare: whereupon, the towne void of people, but replenished with abundance of all things was ransacked and rifled. This done, they arrived at the head or spring of the river *Lycus*, and the next day marched toward the river *Cobulatus*. The *Termessians* at the same time having forced and woon the citie of the *Lyrians*, were now upon the point to assault the castle. They who were within besieged, seeing no other hope of succour, sent their embassadours to the *Consull*, beseeching his helpe, and making pittifull mone, D how they with their wives and children were shut up within the fortress, and looked every hour for death, either by famine or the sword. This fell out as the *Cos.* wished, namely, to have so good an occasion presented unto him, of turning his way into *Pamphylia*. At his first comming hee delivered the *Lyrians* from the siege. To *Termessus* he granted peace, upon composition that he should receive first 30 talents. In like sort he dealt by the *Aspendians* & other States of *Pamphylia*. In his returne from thence, the first day he encamped fast by a river called *Taurus*, & the next day following, neer a town which they call *Xylinc-Come*. From whence he marched & held on his journey continually, untill he came to the citie *Corniasa*. The next citie unto it was *Darsa*, which he found abandoned by the inhabitants for feare, howbeit, full of all kind of goods. As he marched still along the marishes, there met him embassadours from *Lyfinia*, who came to render E their citie into his hands. After this he entred into the territorie of *Sagalassus*, a fertile & plentiful quarter, for all sorts of corn & fruits. The *Pisidians* inhabit those parts, who are the best warriors in all that country. In regard whereof, as also for that their territorie is fruitful & well peopled, and their citie strongly situate (as few like unto it) they were growne to be hardie and courageous. The *Consull* seeing no embassage presented unto him in the entrance of the frontiers, sent out forraiers to fetch in booties. When they perceived once their goods harried and caried away, before their faces, their stomacks came downe, and then they sent their embassadours, and upon composition to pay fiftie talents, twentie thousand medimnes of wheate, and as many of barley, they obtained peace. From thence he passed to the fountaines of *Obrina*, untill he came to a village which they name *Aporidos-Come*, and there he encamped. Thidier repaired F the next day *Seleucus* from *Apamea*. And the same day, after he had sent away unto *Apamea* his sick folke and other baggage and pelfe that he had (good for nothing) he tooke guides of *Seleucus* for the way, and entred into the plaines of *Metropolis*, and the next morrow marched as farre as *Dinæ* in *Phrygia*. After this, he entred into *Synada*, where he found all the townes about abandoned for feare, and left desert. With the bootie and pillage whereof his armie was

so heavily charged, that hardly he could march five miles aday; and so he came at length to G Bendor, named The old. From thence he passed to Anabura, and the next day to the source of Alander, and the third day pitched downe his tents neere Abassus. There he lay encamped many dayes together, because he was now arrived into the countrie of the Tolistobogians.

The Gauls in times past being a mightie people in number, were induced to take a voiage either for want of land to inhabit, or for hope of boorie and prizes: and supposing withall, that they could not passe through any nation whatsoever, comparable to themselves in feates of armes, entred under the conduct of *Brennus* into the countrey of the Dardanians. Where, they began to mutine among themselves: by occasion whereof it hapned, that to the number of twentie thousand of them, following two of their princes *Lomnorus* and *Lutarius*, departed from *Brennus*, and tooke their way into Thracia: where partly by warring with them that made resistance, and partly by imposing tribute upon them that craved peace, they came at length as farre as to Bizantium: and after they had held tributarie a good time the coast of * Propontis, they possessed themselves also of the good townes and cities of that quarter. After this, they had a mind and desire to invade Asia; for they heard say, being so neere, how fertile and plenteous the soile of that country was. And after they had surprized and woon *Lysimachia* by a wile, and by force of armes conquered all *Chersonesus*, they descended to *Hellepont*. Where seeing how they were devided from Asia but only by the streights, and that it was but a small cut thither, their desire was much more inflamed to passe over. And for this purpose they dispatched certaine curriers to *Antipater* the governour of that coast, to demanda passage. But by reason that they effected not this so soone as they hoped, there arose another new sedition betweene the princes themselves. Whereupon *Lomnorus* accompanied with the greater part, retired to Bizantium from whence he came. But *Lutarius* tooke from the Macedonians (who under colour of an embassage were sent from *Antipater* in espiall) two covered ships, and three brigandines. By meanes of these vessels, within few dayes he had ser over all his armie, transporting them one after another day and night continually. Not long after *Lomnorus* also passed over into Asia from Byzantium, by the aid of *Nicomedes* king of Bithynia. After this, the Gauls joined againe together in one, and succored *Nicomedes* in his warres against *Zyba*, who held a part of Bithynia, and by their help and assistance especially, *Zyba* was vanquished, and all Bithynia became subject to *Nicomedes*. Then they departed out of Bithynia into Asia. Now of twentie thousand there were not above ten thousand armed. Yet so great a terror they struck into all nations on this side the mountaine *Taurus*, that both they to whom they approached not neere, and also they whom they came unto, as well the farthest as the neere, submitted themselves, and raunged under their obedience. In the end, being three nations of them, to wit, the Tolistobogians, the Trocmians, and the Tectosages, they divided Asia likewise into three parts, and parted them so equally among themselves, that each nation of them possessed a severall tract which paid them tribute. The coast of *Hellepontus* was given to the Trocmians: the Tolistobogians had for their share *Eolis* and *Ionis*: and unto the Tectosages were allotted the inland parts of the maine continent of Asia. And in one word they demanded tribute of all Asia on this side *Taurus*. But they planted and seated themselves about the river *Halys*. The bruit of their name was so fearefull and terrible, and especially after their issue was multiplied and increased in great number, that the KK. also of Syria in the end, refused not to be their homagers and give them tribute. The first of all the inhabitants in Asia that denied them homage, was king *Attalus* the father of *Eumenes*: and fortune beyond the expectation of all men, favoured his hardie and courageous enterprize: for he vanquished them in battaile. Howbeit, he daunted not their harts so much, but still they upheld and maintained their soveraigne seignorie, in such sort, as their puissance continued untill the warre betweene *Antiochus* and the Romanes. Yea and after that *Antiochus* was vanquished and chased out of part of his realme, they conceived great hope to hold their owne still; by reason they were so remote from the sea, and therefore thought that the Romane armie would never pierce so farre as to them. The Consull now, for as much as he was to warre with this nation, so terrible to all their neighbours in those quarters, assembled his souldiours to a publike audience, and in this manner made speech unto them.

I am not ignorant, my souldiours, that of all the people which inhabit Asia, the Gauls are most renowned for valiance in warre. And why? this fierce and cruell nation having runne over the world in a manner, and warred with all countries, chose them a place of abode, and to

A settle themselves in the mids of a generation, of all other most mild & tractable. Big & tall they are of stature & personage: their hair they weare long in golden criped and shining locks: they are of bucklers of huge bignes, and handle swords of exceeding length. Besides, when they enter into battaile, they use to sing, to houp and daunce, and with clattering their targuets & weapons together after the guise of their country, they make an horrible noise. And all this is done of purpose by them to terrifie their enemies. But such devises as these be, let the Greeks, the Phrygians and Carians be afraid of, who are not used and accustomed to heare and see such things: as for the Romanes, acquainted with the Gauls sodaine and tumultuous warres, they can skill well enough of these their royes and vanities also. Once in deed, and but once, at the first encounter they discomfited the Romanes at the river *Allia*: but since that time, our Auncestors for the space of two hundred yeeres have made havock of them, killed, put to flight, and driven them like sheepe before them: and oftner, I dare well say, have they triumphed of the Gauls, than of all the world besides. Thus much we know of them by experience, that if a man be able to stand out their first shock and violence (which upon a furious heate of their owne bynature, and in blind choler and anger they spend all at once) all the parts of their bodie run to sweate and become faint: their weapons are readie to fall out of their hands: their bodies are so tender, their courages so feeble (after their cholerick anger is once playd and passed) that the very heate of the sunne, the dust and the drought is able without drawing sword, to overthrow them and lay them along. Prouse and tryall wee have had of them, not onely legions to legions, but man to man. *T. Manlius* and *M. Valerius* have shewed plainly how farre Romane vertue and prowesse surpasseth the furious rage of Gauls. Why? even *Marcus Manlius* one man alone, repulsed and beat downe the Gauls as they climbed up by numbers to the Capitoll cliffe. And those auncestours of ours before named, had then to deale, with naturall Gauls in deed, borne and bred in their owne country: where as these here, by this time now are a bastard sort of them and cleane degenerate; mingled they are with others, and in truth, as they be called, so are they Gallo-greeks. And it fareth with them as with plants, fruits, and living beasts, in which wee see that the seed is not of that vertue, and so effectually to keepe and receive still the owne kind and nature, as the proprietie of the soyle and the aire where they are nourished, is to change the same. Thus the Macedonians who inhabit *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, who dwell in *Seleucia* and *Babilonia*, and other Colonies dispersed over the earth, are growne out of their owne kind, and in manners become Syrians, Parthians, and Egyptians. *Masius* seated among the Gauls, hath drawne somewhat of the nature of the nations adjoyning and bordering upon them. And what have the Tarentines left in them of that severare, rough, and hard discipline of the Spartanes? For, what soever is ingendred and bred in the owne proper place, is ever more kindly, and retaineth it owne nature better; but looke what is transplanted into another soyle, doth soone degenerate, and grow into a bastard kind: for nature transformeth her selfe, and changeth into that wherewith she is nourished. Be sure therefore, that like as ye have defeated these Phrygians (for no better they be) overcharged and laden with French armes in the battaile against *Antiochus*, even so being now conquerours, yee shall subdue and hew them in peeces once already vanquished. And I feare me more that ye shall win too small glory of them, than I doubt by fighting so litle with them that ye shall have your hands too full of war against them. Why, even *K. Attalus* many a time and often hath discomfited and put them to flight. Neither would I have you to thinke, that savage beasts only newly taken, and keeping at the first their fell and wild nature, after a time that they have bene fed by mans hand, grow to be tame and gentle; but that the fiercenesse and crueltie of man, is likewise of the same nature to be dulced and made tractable. Are ye persuaded that these Gauls resemble their fathers & grandfathers in conditions? Their forefathers long since left their native country for fault of ground and land to possesse; and being driven to passe through the most rough and difficult countrey of *Illyricum*, first came into *Paonia*, and afterwarde traveled all over *Thracia*, fighting ever as they went with most fierce and cruell nations, untill at length they seized upon these parts and settled there. After (I say) they had been hardened and made more fell by so many travailes and dangerous adventures, they were received in the end within such a land, as through the abundance of all good things, might feed & franke them up. All that fiercenes and savage nature of theirs, which they had when they first came thither, is (no doubt) mollified by the goodnes of a most fertile soile, by the sweetnes & pleasure of a most temperat aire, & last of all

by the gentle and debonair nature of the inhabitants their neighbours. And even you also (in G
 good faith) are to looke unto it; (martiall men although you be, and the very off spring of Mars
 himselſe) yee are (I ſay) to take heed and beware of theſe delights of Asia, and betimes to get you
 forth from them. So forceable are theſe ſortaine pleaſures and delicate entice-ments, to quench
 and corrupt the vigor of your ſpirits; ſo powerfull is the commerce and converſing with ſtran-
 gers; ſo potent is the contagion (as it were) of their maners and diſcipline of neighbour inhabi-
 tants. Yet this one good turn ye ſhall have, that as againſt you they have not that courage which
 in times paſt they had; ſo among the Greekes here, they are of as great name as ever they were
 in auncient time. So that amongſt your allies, you ſhall win as great honour by your victorie, as
 if you ſhould have conquered the Gaules, when they were at the height of their valour and
 proweſſe. After the aſſembly diſmiſſed, and Embaſſadors ſent to *Epoſognatus* (the onely prince H
 in thoſe parts who perſiſted in amitie with *Eumenes*, and had reſuſed to aid *Antiochus* againſt
 the Romanes) the Conſull marched forward. The firſt day hee came to the river Alander, and
 the morrow to a certaine village which they call Tyſcon. Thither repaired unto him the Embaſ-
 ſadors of the Oroadians, craving to be accepted as friends; but they were enjoined to pay two
 hundred talents: and when they requested leave to make relation and report hereof at home,
 they were permitted. From thence the Conſull led his armie to Plicendum; and after that, hee
 encamped at Alyattos. Thither returned they who had been ſent to *Epoſognatus*, together with
 the Embaſſadors of prince *Compulſus*, requeſting the Romans not to war upon the Teſtoſages;
 for that both himſelſe and *Epoſognatus* alſo, would goe in perſon to them, and perſuade the na-
 tion to doe whatſoever they ſhould be commaunded. The prince obtained his requeſt; and ſo I
 from thence the armie began to march through the land which they call * *Axylos*: and well it
 might ſo be called, for it hath no wood at all in it, nor beareth ſo much as thorns, or any thing
 els to burne and maintaine fire: cow-dung is all their burning, for want of other fewell. Whiles
 the Romanes lay in campe before Cuballum, (a forteſſe of Gallogræcia) they diſcovered the
 Cavallerie of the enemies comming toward them with a great hurry and tumult: and they
 charged ſo ſiercely and ſodainly upon the *corps de guard* of the Romans, that they not only trou-
 bled and diſordered them, but alſo killed ſome of them. The alarme beeing given within the
 campe, the Romane horſemen at once iſſued forth of all the gates, diſcomfited the Gaules, and
 ſlew certaine of them in the chaſe. The Conſull perceiving now that hee was come into his ene-
 mies countrey, marched not from thenceforth without ſending out his eſpials before, and kept K
 his armie together in battail array with great heed and carefulneſſe. Thus hee held on his jour-
 ney continually untill he came to the river Sangarius, where he purpoſed to make a bridge, be-
 cauſe there was no paſſage over at any ſound. This Sangarius ariſeth out of the mountaine A-
 doreus, and running through Phrygia it joyneth with the river Thymbris neere unto Bithynia,
 and ſo growing bigger by receiving a double current, keepeth his courſe through Bithynia, and
 diſchargeth himſelſe into Propontis; a river, not ſo famous and noble for the greatnes thereof, as
 becauſe it yeeldeth fiſh abundantly to all the nations bordering and dwelling thereupon. When
 the bridge was finiſhed and the armie paſſed over, as they marched along the banke ſide, the
 Galli or prieſts of *Cybele* (the great mother of the gods) were come from Peſſinus, and with
 ſtreamers, inſules, and other ornaments, met them: and in their ſanaticall verſes (as men be- L
 ſtraight and out of their wits) ſeemed to prophetic and foretell, that the goddeſſe vouchſa-
 fed the Romanes a faire way to warre and victorie, yea and the conquett and ſeignorie of that
 countrey. Hereat the Conſull ſaid, That he accepted their words for a preſage of good fortune,
 and thereupon in that very place he pitched his tents. The next day he went as far as Gordium:
 a towne verily it is none of the greateſt, but more frequented and reſorted unto for traffique and
 merchandize, than uſually ſuch drie townes are that ſtand farre within the land. Three ſeas there
 be triangle wiſe, of equall diſtance all from it. On the coaſt toward Sinope, it hath Helleſpont
 and the ſhores of the other tract whereas the Cilicians inhabite by the ſea ſide. Moreover, it bor-
 dereth upon the confines of many great nations, who for their mutuall need and commoditie,
 have commerce of negotiation, and meet together in that one place. This towne at that time M
 they found altogether diſpeopled, by reaſon that the inhabitants were fled for feare; but well ſto-
 red, & full of wares and goods of all ſorts. Whiles the Romanes lay there encamped, there came
 Embaſſadors from *Epoſognatus*, reporting unto them, that hee had made a journey to the
 princes of the Gaules, but could obtaine no reaſon at their hands: alſo, that they were diſlodged
 out

out of the champaine countrey, had quit their villages and lands in great numbers, and together
 with their wives and children drave before them and carried with them whatſoever they could,
 and were retired to the mount Olympus, from whence they purpoſed to defend themſelves by
 force of armes and the ſtrong ſituation of the place. The embaſſadors likewiſe of the O-
 roadians, gave more certaine intelligence, to wit, That the whole people in generall of the
 Toſtobogians had ſeiſed the hill Olympus; that the Teſtoſages ſeverally by themſelves
 had taken another mountaine called Magana; that the Trocmians, had committed their wives
 and children to the guard of the Teſtoſages, minding with a maine armie to aid the To-
 ſtobogians. Now at that time the princes of thoſe three States were *Orgiſo*, *Combaloma-
 rus*, and *Gaulotus*. And the principall reaſon and meanes that theſe had to enterpriſe warre;
 was this, That being poſſeſſed of the higheſt hilles of that countrey, and having brought thi-
 ther proviſion of all things to ſerve them for a long ſpace, they ſuppoſed to wearie and wearie
 out their enemies in proceſſe of time. For this account they made, that they would never ven-
 ture to march againſt them, through ſo hard, ſo difficult, and diſadvantageous places; and if they
 aſſaid ſo to doe, they might be impeached, repulſed backe and beaten down with a ſmall com-
 panie again, if they would ſit ſtill in leaguer at the foot of thoſe frozen mountaines and doe no-
 thing, they were never able to endure the cold and the ſcarcitie which they ſhould find there.
 And notwithstanding the very altitude and height of the places defended them, yet over and be-
 ſides they caſt a trench, and made other defences round about the tops of the mountaines which
 they held. Alſo for proviſion of darts and other ſhot, it was the leaſt of all their care, ſuppoſing
 C that the rough places would furniſh them with ſufficient ſtore of ſtones to ſling. The Conſull
 forecaſting in his mind that hee ſhould not deale with theſe enemies cloſe at hand-fight, but a
 far off when he was to aſſaile their holds, had made proviſion aforehand of great ſtore of darts,
 light velitarie javelines, arrowes, bullets of lead, and ſmall ſtones that might be levelled and ſent
 out of ſlings. Thus being well appointed and furniſhed with ſuch kind of ſhot, hee led his armie
 toward the mountaine Olympus, and about five miles off he encamped. The next day hee toge-
 ther with *Attalus* advanced forward with 500 men of armes to view the nature & ſtanding of the
 mountain, together with the ſituation of the Gaules campe. But the enemies horſemen being dou-
 ble in number to them, iſſued out of their campe, and put them to flight, ſlew a few of them in the
 rout, and hurt many. The third day hee ſet forward with all his forces to diſcover the places, and
 D by reaſon that there came not one of them out of their defences and fortifications, hee rode
 round about the mountaine in ſaſetie at his pleaſure, and perceived that on the South ſide,
 there were certaine little hills, all of cleane earth without ſtones, and the ſame riſing up with an
 eaſie aſcent to a certaine place; but to the North were high rocks, and the ſame in maner ſteepe
 upright. And whereas all the reſt were inacceſſible, three onely waies and advenues hee found,
 the one directly toward the miſt of the mountain (where thoſe little mounts of earth ſtood) the
 other two were difficult, the one lying Southeaſt, and the other Northweſt. After hee had conſi-
 dered and viewed theſe places that day, hee pitched his campe at the very roote and foot of the
 hill. The morrow after he ſacrificed, and finding by the firſt beaſts which hee killed, that the gods
 were pacified and favourable unto him, hee divided his armie into three battaillons, and ſo ad-
 E vanced againſt the enemy, and himſelſe in perſon with the greateſt part of his forces, mounted
 up the hill, whereas it yeilded the eaſieſt aſcent. Hee commaunded his brother *L. Manlius*, from
 the Southweſt to get up the hill, as the place would permit with ſaſetie, giving him in charge
 that if he met with any dangerous places ſteepe and hard of aſcent, that hee ſhould not wreſtle
 with the difficulties of the ground, nor ſtrive againſt thoſe things, which to force and overcome
 were unpoſſible; but rather to traaverse the ground, and retire toward him, and ſo to join with his
 battaillon. As for *C. Helvius*, hee willed him with a third part of the forces, to wheele about by
 little and little, and fetch a compaſſe at the hill foot, and then from the Northweſt to mount up.
 Likewiſe the aids of *Attalus*, he divided into three equal parts, and tooke order that the young
 prince himſelſe in perſon ſhould keepe with him. The Cavallerie and the elephants hee left in
 F the next downes beneath the hills, and charged the captaines thereof to have a careful eie and
 good regard to marke what was done in every place, yea, and to make haſt to reſcue and ſuccour
 whereſoever need ſhould be. The Gaules making full reckoning that on two ſides they were ſure
 enough, and the place that way to be inacceſſible; becauſe they would ſtop the other advenue by
 force of armes on the South ſide, ſent forth about foure thouſand armed men to ſeiſe upon a
 certaine

certaine hill within a mile of their campe, which hill commaunded the way, supposing there, as G from a skonce and fortreffe to debarre them of passage. Which when the Romanes perceived, they put themselves in readinesse to fight. A pretty space before the ensignes, marched the skirmishers, together with the Candiote archers & slingers from *Attalus*; likewise the Triballians of Thrace. The ensignes of the footmen followed softly after (as well as they might) against the hill, bearing their targets before them so, as they seemed to cover themselves only to avoid the shot, and meant not to enter into any fight hand to hand. The fight at first was equall, perfonned with shot a good distance off: for as the Gaules gat the advauntage of the ground, so the Romans had the ods for varietie and store of darts. But as the skirmish continued and encreased, there was no more equalitie scene. For the shields of the Gaules being made long, and not broad ynough for their bodies, and withall flat and plaine without, hardly covered and defended them: H and by this time all their shot was spent; and weapon had they none but their very swords, whereof there was no use at all, considering the enemy came not to close fight. The onely helpe they had was with stones, and those too big for their handling and not easie to weld, by reason they were not provided before, but such as in that hast came next to their hand without any choise. Moreover, being not used and exercised to flinging, they had neither the artificiall sleight, nor yet sufficient strength to helpe themselves withall: but contrariwise, from all parts were pelted with bullets of lead, and galled with arrowes and darts at unwares, which they could neither ward nor avoid; and for that with anger and fear together their wits and understandings were blinded, they wist not what to doe, seeing themselves surprisid and overtaken in a kind of fight whereunto they were least of all fitted. For as in close conflict hand to hand, where blows are dealt, where raps I are given and taken interchangeably, choler kindleth courage: even so, when men are wounded aloofe with light darts, and from whence they know not, they wot not upon whom to run, and at whom to make in that blind fit of theirs, but they turne upon their owne fellows without all reason at a venture, like wild beafts galled with arrowes sticking in their sides. Now, they receive not a wound but it is seene, by reason that they fight naked, and their bodies are faire, slicke, and white, as being never bare but in battell: by which meanes greater store of blood gush out of the wounds in their fleshy bodies, the gashes appeare greater, and their white skin much more stained with black blood. But they passe not so much for broad and wide slashes (for otherwhiles when the skin is cut away, & the wound rather broad than deep, they take more pride therein, and think they fight with greater honor.) Mary, if it happen at any time, that an arrow head or a bullet K sticking within the flesh all hidden, put them to paine and torment, notwithstanding the hurt be small in apparence, yet when they seeke to plucke out an arrow, and the head will not follow, then they take on & are starke mad, for shame that so small a prick should plague them so, and be readie to kill them, insomuch as they cast themselves on the ground, & lie wallowing along every where. Others there be of them that ran full upon their enemy, and those were sticke with arrowes and darts from all parts, and when they came neere to hand, were by the skirmishers killed and cut in peeces with their swords. These souldiours use to cover themselves with a shield of three foot long, carrying in their right hand certaine speares to use aloofe, and weare by their side a Spanish sword. Now in case they come to hand fight, they shift their speare out of the right hand into the left, and take them to their swords. By this time there were but few of these Gaules left alive; who L perceiving that the light armed skirmishers of the enemies were too good for them, and seeing withall the ensignes of the legions to approach neere unto them, tooke them to their heeles on all hands, and began to flie amaine toward the campe; which now was full of feare and trouble, as where women and children and a multitude of feeble folke (not fit to beare armes) were thrumblid and jumbled together. The Romanes following the traine of their victorie, seized the hills abandoned by the enemies that were fled. About the same time *L. Manlius* and *C. Helvius*, having mounted so farre as they could find way, traversing the sides of the hill, when they were come to an end, where they could see neither way nor path, they turned to that quarter of the hill which onely afforded a way, and both of them began to follow the Consuls battailon, a prettie distance asunder, as if they had agreed beforehand so to doe: and that which at first M had been simply the best thing to be done, they were of necessitie forced at last to put in execution. For in such difficulties and places of disadvauntage, succours behind in a rereward, have oftentimes served in right good steed: that if those in the vauntguard should chauce to be beaten backe, they in the second place might receive and protect them, and also freshly

A begin freshly a new fight. After that the formost ensignes of the legions, were come to those hills, which the light armour before had seized, the Consull commaunded the souldiours to rest them a while and breath themselves, and shewed them withall where the bodies of the Gaules lay dead along all over the mountaines. And if (qd. he) the light armed skirmisher, have made such a rid- dance of them, what is to be looked for at the hands of the legionarie souldiours, armed all over in complete harness? what will they do that carie the hearts of most noble warriors? surely they must needs win the campe, into which the enemy is chased and driven by the light armed souldiours. Howbeit he commaunded the light armour to goe afore, who all the while that the legions rested themselves, spent not the time in vaine, but employed it in gathering together the darts and javelins that lay about the hills, to the end that they might have sufficient shot. Now the Romans B marched forward and approached the campe. The Gaules likewise for their parts, fearing least their defences would not be able to defend them, stood armed before their trench and rampier. But afterwards being overcharged with all sorts of darts, they were driven in the turning of an hand within their hold, (for the more they were in number, and the thicker they stood, the lesse lighted any dart in vaine) onely they left strong guards about the gates and entrance into the campe. Moreover, among the multitude which was driven into the hold, there was discharged at randon a mightie number of darts: and that many of them were hurt thereby, appeared by their cry mingled with the shrieks of women and children. Now against them that warded the gates, and took up the avenues with their guards, the legionarie souldiours in the forefront let flie their javelins. And albeit these were not wounded in their bodies, yet by reason that their shields & bucklers were pierced through, they were most of them entangled one within another, & stuck fast. C Long they could not abide the violence of the Romanes, insomuch as before that the victours could enter into the campe, the Gaules fled forth at all the gates wide open, and ranne they wist not whither like blind men, as wel through places which had no way, as those that were passable. No rocks so steep with downsalls, no cliftes so rough with crags, could stand in their way; and nothing feared they affront; their enemies only at their heels affrighted them. And therefore most of them either fell headlong downe a mightie height and brake their necks, or else for very feeblenesse lost their breath, were windlesse, and readie to die. The Consull after he had taken their campe, would not suffer it to be ransacked, but commaunded the souldiours every one to follow the chase hard; and whiles the enemies were thus affraid, to affright them thoroughly. Then came D the other regiment with *L. Manlius*, but the Consull would not suffer them to enter the camp, but sent them forthwith to pursue the enemies. Himself also in person anon after followed, when he had delivered the charge of keeping the prisoners, unto the militarie Tribunes of the armie: for this reckoning and resolution he made, that the warre was at a small end, if in this tumultuous fight of theirs he might either kill or take prisoners a number of them. The Consull was no sooner departed, but *C. Helvius* came with his third regiment, but he could not hold his souldiours from the pillage of the camp, in so much as the bootie and prizes were most unjustly dealt among them who were at no end of the skirmish. The Cavallerie stood all this while still and wist not of the fight, or that their fellows had gotten the victorie: but afterwards they also E spying the Gaules dispersed about the roote of the mountaines, made after them as well as their horses would mount against the hills: some they slue, and others they tooke prisoners. The just number of those that were slaine can not easly be counted, because they fled farre and neere among the cranks and windings of the mountaines, where they were killed in blind corners. Many of them besides, having engaged themselves to the craggs and rocks that had no way forward, tumbled downe into the vallies of a monstrous depth underneath. Yea and some hapned to be killed in the woods amid the greives and bushes. *Claudius* who writeth of two battailes fought upon the mount Olympus, reporteth that there died there fortie thousand enemies. But *Valerius Antias*, who otherwise is wont to overreach and exceede in number, hath recorded nor above ten thousand. But without all question the prisoners amounted to fortie thousand full, because they went with a traine of all sorts and ages, more like men dislodging and removing F out of one country unto another, than going to warre. The Consull after he had burned all the armour of his enemies in one heape, commaunded his souldiours to bring forth the rest of the pillage and spoile into one place, and either sold and made money of that which was to come into the publicke treasure of the citie, or els parted it amongst the souldiours indifferently, with great regard, that every one should have a just and even portion. Moreover hee commaunded them

them all in open audience, and rewarded every one besides with gifts according to their several deserts. But above the rest, and with the generall accord of all, he both praised, and also recompensed *Attalus*. For surely that yong gentleman shewed not only singular valour and forwardnes in all travailes and dangers, but also a speciall modestie and rare sobrietie.

There remained yet entire and whole the warre with the Tectosages, against whom the Consull made an expedition, and upon the third day arrived at Ancyra, a noble citie in those parts, from whence the enemies were little more than ten miles distant. During the time that he lay there encamped, there hapned a memorable act, performed by a captive Lady. Among many more prisoners, there fortun'd to be kept in ward, the wife of prince *Ortiagon*, a woman of surpassing beautie. The Centurion who had her person in safe custodie, was lecherous and covetous withall, as many of these souldiours are. Her he solicited and tempted first to commit folly: but seeing her altogether unwilling, and that she abhorred to prostitute herselfe unto him, he did violence upon that bodie of hers, which fortune had made bond & thrall unto him. But afterwards to mollifie and assuage the indignitie of this villanie, he put the woman in good hope, and promised that she should returne home againe to her friends: mary he would not do all for pure love alone and freely without ranfome, for he bargained to have a certeine summe of gold besides. And to the end forthwith that no person belonging to him might take knowledge thereof, he permitted her to send one of the prisoners whom she would herselfe as messenger to her friends & kinsfolke, & appointed a place neere unto a river, whether the next night following should repair two and no more (of the said captive ladies friends, with the gold above-said) for to receive her at his hands. It fell out so that among the rest of the captives committed to his guard, there was a bondslave of her own: this messenger at the shutting in of the evening the Centurion conducted without the *corps de guard*. The morrow night after came accordingly to the place appointed, both the two friends aforesaid of the gentlewoman, and also the centurion himselfe with his prisoner, where they shewed the gold, amounting to the full summe of one Attick talent (according as it was agreed betwene them) and with that the woman spake unto them in her language, and commaunded them to draw their swords, and kill outright the Centurion as he was weighing the gold. Which done, she caused his head to be stricken off, and wrapped it her selfe within her garment, and so carried it home to her husband *Ortiagon*, who from Olympus had fled and escaped to his owne house. But before that she clipped and embraced her husband, she threw downe the Centurion his head at his feete. And when he wondered what mans head it was, and what act this might be, far passing a womans deed, she confessed to her husband the injurie that her bodie had suffred, and likewise the revenge for the abuse of her chastitie by force and violence: and (as it is reported) she maintained the honor of this matron-like act ever after even to her dying day, in all sanctimonie of life and modest carriage of herselfe like a chaste dame.

Whiles the camp lay at Ancyra, the Oratours of the Tectosages shewed themselves unto the Consull, requesting him not to dislodge and remove from thence before hee had parted with their lords and princes: saying withall, that they would accept any conditions of peace whatsoever, rather than warre. The time was set downe, even the next morrow, and a place likewise appointed, as just in the mid way (as it could be guessed) between the camp and Ancyra. The Consull thither came at the houre assigned, accompanied with a guard of five hundred horse: but perceiving no Gaule at all there, he returned unto the camp. And thither repaired the same oratours unto him the second time, excusing the default, and saying that their princes could not come in person by occasion of some scruple of conscience that arose the while: howbeit, the chiefe personages besides of the whole nation, should appeare, by whom all matters might be composed as well as with themselves. The Consull made answer, that hee likewise would send *Attalus* in his steed. So they came to this enparling from both parts. *Attalus* had three hundred men of armes about him for his guard: and certeine conditions of peace were drawne and propounded: but for as much as they might not grow to any final conclusion in the absence of their chiefe commaunders, accorded it was that the day following the Consull and their Princes aforesaid should meet in that place together. Now the drift of the Gauls in making these delays and trifling off the time, was this, that first they might gaine some convenient space to transport over the river *Halys* all that ever they had (which they would not hazard with their owne persons, together with their wives and children) and afterwards to lay a

A traine of an ambush for the Consull himselfe, who tooke small regard, and was not provided for to prevent their vilanie intended under the colour of that conference. For that purpose, they chose a thousand horsemen out of all their cavallerie, of especiall valor and approved hardines, for the execution of this treacherous designe. And surely this their fraud had taken effect, if fortune had not defended and maintained the law of nations, which to breake and violate they had comploted. Certeine souldiers of the Romanes sent out to purvey forage and sewell, were directed to those very quarters whereas the partie abovesaid should be kept. The Colonels thought it the surer place for them, because they were to have the Consuls guard also opposed for their defense against the enemies: howbeit, they set another *Corps de guard* of their owne, consisting of 600 horsemen neerer to the camp. Now by reason that *Attalus* assured the Consull so certeinly, that their Princes would come, and that the matter might be soone knit up and dispatched, he departed out of the camp with the same guard of horsemen as before, and when he had marched almost five miles forward, and was not far short of the place appointed, he discovered all of a sodaine the Gaules riding full gallop against them in most furious maner as enemies; whereupon he staid the march and made a stand, commaunding the horsemen to make readie their weapons and resolve to fight. The first charge & thock he received right valiantly, & stepped not back one foot: but afterwards as the multitude preased still upon him, he began to give ground & recule, but so as he brake not the ranks of his troups. But in the end, when they found more danger in longer stay, than commoditie and help in keeping their arraies, they all at once turned their horse heads & fled. When they were disarrained once, the Gaules pursued hard and killed them: and no doubt a great part of them had died for it, but that the foragers guard of 600 horse aforesaid came in to reskue them. For they hearing a far off the fearefull cry of their fellowes, made readie their armour & horses, and being fresh and in hart, entred upon the fight that was given over by their wearied and discomfited companions: whereupon fortune quickly changed, and the feare turned from the loofers to the winners; for at the first encounter the Gaules were put to flight: and withall, the said foragers & fewellers came running out of the fields, and from all parts made head & affronted the Gaules; in so much as they could neither flie readily nor escape surely, because the Romans with their fresh horses followed them in chafe, and they themselves were already tired: few therefore went away with life, & not one was taken prisoner, for the greater part by ods paid derely by the losse of their lives, for violating this their parly under the colour of truth and fidelitie. The Romanes whiles their stomachs were inflamed with anger, the very next day came against them with the puissance of all their forces. But the Consull employed two whole daies himselfe in viewing and discovering the situation & nature of the hill, because he would not be ignorant of any thing requisit. Vpon the third day, after he had first taken the auspices & presages of the birds, and afterwards killed a sacrifice, he led forth his armie divided into 4 battailons. Two of them were to mount up the mids of the hill, and the other two to helpe in the sides to flanke the wings of the Gaules, and to march up against them. The Tectosages and Trocmians, who were the whole floure and strength of the enemies, made their maine battaile in the mids, consisting of 50000 men; and because there was no use of horse among those rough & uneven rocks, the cavallerie alight on foot to the number of 10000, & those they put in the right wing. The Cappadocians with *Ariarates*, and the auxiliarie Morzians, who arose to the number almost of 4000 men, held the left. The Consull (like as before in the mount Olympus) marshalled his light armour for skirmish in the forefront of the vaward, and gave order to have ready at hand as great store of darts & other shot of all sorts as he had before. When they approached one another, all things answered both of the one side & the other, like as in the former conflict, saving that the courage of the victors increased in regard of their fortunate successe, and the hearts of the enemies were much abated and daunted. For albeit themselves had not yet beene killed and vanquished, yet they tooke the overthrow and losse of their countymen for their owne. And therefore as the beginning of the battaile was furable, so the issue was semblable. For the Gaules battaile was overspred and covered againe as it were with a cloud of light shot. And not one of them durst run forth out of his raunge, for feare he should discover his whole body and lay it open to take all that came: and keeping still together as they did, the thicker they stood, the fairer marke they were for the enemies to levell at, and the more wounds they received. The Consull perceiving they were already of themselves troubled, and supposing that if he set forward and presented unto them the ensignes of the legions, they would immediately all of them

them flie, received the light armed loose shot, & the rest of the auxiliarie souldiers within his own G ranks & files, and then advanced his legions. The Gauls affrighted with the fresh remembrance of the late defeat, & overthrow of the Tolistobogians, carrying also about themselves the darts sticking in their bodies, weary besides with long standing afoote, and overcharged likewise with many a wound, could not abide so much as the first onset and shout of the Roman legions. Then began they to take their heeles and flie toward their camp, but few of them recovered it, and gat within the rampier and other defences. The greater number fled here and there on both hands, and dispersed themselves into all parts as it tooke them in the head, and as every man in this confused fright caught a way by himselfe. The conquerors followed them still even hard to the very camp, and all the way charged upon their backs, and beat them downe. Which done, they staid and stuck still in the camp for desire of pillage, and there was not one that followed H one foot after. The Gauls in the wings stood to it longer, by reason that it was later ere they were set upon, but able they were not to abide the first charge and shot of the Romanes darts. The Consull, who could not possibly pluck those out of the camp that were once entred in, for greedines of spoiling and rising the tents, sent out those immediatly that were in the wings to follow the enemies in chase still forward. These pursued them a certaine space: howbeit in this flight (for in truth it was no fight at all) there were not above eight thousand that left their carriages behind them, all the rest recovered the other side of the river Halys. Many of the Romanes remained that night within the enemies camp; the rest the Consull brought back againe to his owne. The next day he tooke account and survey of the prisoners and prizes, which was so great as a man would conceive that a nation of all others most greedie of spoiling and spoiling, might possibly rake and heape together for so many yeeres, as they held all those parts within the mountaine Taurus by force of armes. The Gauls thus skattered in flight, rallied themselves into one place, and being many of them hurt or disarmed, and stripped cleane out of all they had, sent their embassadors unto the Consull to treat for peace. The Consull willed them to give attendance upon him at Ephesus: himselfe made hast to remove out of those cold quarters, by reason that the mountain Taurus was so neer (for now it was the mids of Autumne) and led back his victorious armie to passe the winter neere the sea side.

Whiles the affaires thus passed in Asia, all was quiet in the rest of the provinces. At Rome the Censors *T. Quintius Flamininus* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* made a new choice of Senators: and *P. Scipio Africanus* was chosen the president of the Senat now the third time: four K onely were left out and discarded; but not one of them had borne office of State, and had the honour to sit in the Curule chaire. The Censors shewed themselves likewise passing mild in the revision of the Cavallery and order of knighthood. They put out to framing the foundations and ground-works upon the *Æquielium* in the Capitoll: and likewise they bargained for to pave the street with hard flint or pebble, from the gate Capena to the temple of *Mars*. The Campanians demanded of the Senat, in what place they should be assessed and enrolled: and thereupon a decree passed for their enrolment at Rome. The rivers were out, and great deluges happened that year. The Tyber overflowed his bankes twelve times, and drowned *Mars* field and all the low parts of the cittie.

After that *Cn. Manlius* the Consull had brought the Gauls warre to an end in Asia, the other L Consull *M. Fulvius* having utterly subdued the *Ætolians*, passed over into *Cephalenia*; and sent to all the cities about the yland certaine messengers, to sound them whether they would rather yeeld themselves unto the Romanes, or hazard the fortune of warre? And so forcible was feare among them all, that there was not one person refused to surrender. And being enjoyed (according to the ability of the people who were but bare) to give hostages, the *Nesioties*, *Cranians*, *Peleusians*, and *Sameans* delivered twentie apeece. This peace no looner shone upon the *Cephalenians* beyond all their expectation, but sodainly one city of the *Sameans* revolted, and upon what cause it is not known: themselves alledged and said, That forasmuch as their cittie was leated in a commodious place, they feared greatly to bee dispossessed and turned out of it by the Romanes. But whether they onely imagined this and put themselves in fright, and so changed their quiet repose for vaine and foolish feare: or whether there had bene question hercof among the Romanes, and upon much canvassing in mens mouthe the rumour of such a matter, ran unto them, it is not certainly known. Only thus much; after they had given their hostages, they shut their cittie gates upon a sodaine; and desist they would not from their enter- prise,

A prise, for all the entreatie and prayers that their owne hostages made, whome the Consull had sent (for the nones) even under their walls, to moove their countrey men and parents to pity and compassion. When as therefore they would make no answer tending unto peace, the Consull began to assault the citie: and all the ordenance of artillerie and engines of batterie were under his hand, which had bene brought from the siege of *Ambracia*. And looke what workes and fabrickes were needfull besides to be made, the souldiours with great diligence and forwardnes performed. So in two places at once they planted rammes against the city and battered the walls. The *Samæans* on the other side for their part omitted & neglected nothing, that might either annoy the enemy or impeach the workes. But two things there were principally wherewith they made resistance and withstood their violence: the one was, a countermure within the cittie, B which they ever raised new in stead of the old, and full as strong as it that was demolished and broken downe: the other was, their often sodaine sallies, one while upon the fortifications and fabrickes, otherwhiles upon the *corps de guard* of the enemies: and for the most part in these skirmishes they had the better hand. But one meane there was devised, and the same of small thew to speake of, to restraine and keepe them in from sallying forth. The Romanes sent to *Ægium*, ** Patrae*, and ** Dimæ*, for an hundred slingers. These nations from their childhood used to exercise themselves (after the manner of the country) to discharge out of slings into the open sea certaine round stones, which commonly the shore is overspread with among the sands: C by reason of which exercise, they have more skill both to sling farther from them, and also to strike more surely and give a smarter rappe and stroke than those of the *Baleare* Ilands: for their sling is not made with one onely cord as the *Balearians* are, and those of other nations; but it hath three leather thongs hardened and made stiffe with many sutures and seamcs, least if the leathering were soft and gentle, the bullet and stone within should wagge too and fro and roll out in the delivery and hurling of it: but being setled and counterpoised (as it were) it went merrily away, as sent and driven out of the noose of a stone-bow. And so well practised they were in this feate, that they could a great way off level a bullet through garlands, rings, and hoops of small compasse, and misse not: nay they would be sure to hit, not onely the head of an enemy, but any part of the face that they aimed at, point blanke, and never faile. These slings (I say) made the *Samæans* to plucke in their heads, that they durst not sally out neither so often nor so boldly as they did. In somuch as from the walls they requested the *Achæans* for a while to goe D aside and repose themselves, and see them how they skirmished with the *corps de gard* of the Romanes. Four moneths space the *Samæans* endured the siege. Now when of that small number which they had, some or other daily dropt away, and wer either killed outright or wounded; and they that remained, were both tyred in bodie, and daunted in courage; the Romanes one night passed over the wall, by the fortresse which they call *Cyatis* (for the city where it boundeth upon the sea, lyeth toward the West) and entred so farre as the market place. After that the *Samæans* perceived, that one part of the citie was taken by the enemies, they fled with their wives and children into a greater fortresse, and the next day yielded: the towne was ransacked, and they themselves were all sold in ouvert market, to who would give most.

The Consull having set the state of *Cephalenia* in good order, and put a garrison within *Samæa*, passed into *Peloponnesus*, having bene called and sent for to come thither a long time, principally by the *Ægians* and *Lacedæmonians*. Time out of mind, and from the first beginning of the Diets of *Achæa*, the whole nation used to assemble and meet at *Ægium* ordinarily, were it for to grace and honour the citie, or because the place was commodious therefore. This ancient custome *Philopamen* that yeere began first to infringe, and went about to make a law and ordinance, That in all the cities of *Achæa*, their Counsels & Diets shall be holden in course and order at their times. And against the comming of the Consull, when the Demiurges of the free cities and states summoned the Diet to be kept at *Ægium*, *Philopamen* (Pretor for that time) came with a countre-summons and proclaimed it to be held at *Argos*. And when it was evident to be seen, that they all in manner minded thither to resort; the Consull also (albeit in affection F he favoured the *Ægians*) came to *Argos*: where, after much debate, seeing the matter growing the other way, he desisted from his desigine and gave over the cause. After this, the *Lacedæmonians* averted him from thence, and drew him away to the deciding of their controversies and dissensions. Certaine banished persons they were who most of all disquieted and troubled that state: and many of them had their abiding place in the castles coasting along the frontiers of

*F. 101.

the Laconian territorie toward the sea, which was taken wholly from the citie. The Lacedæmonians much discontented and offended hereat, entered one night a certaine borough called* Las, surprisid it unawares to the inhabitants, & kept it to their use; to the end, that if need were at any time to send Embassadors to Rome or els whither, they might have some free access unto the sea: and withall, be served of a mart-towne for vent, and a place of receit for all forreine merchandise from straungers to their necessarie uses. The townesmen within, as also the exiles aforesaid (there dwelling) were terrified at the first with this sodaine and unexpected occurrence: but afterward (before day-light) when they had once rallied themselves together, with small adoe and skirmish chased forth the Lacedæmonians: howbeit, the feare spred over all the sea coast, so that in one generall accord, the castles and villages every one, yea and the exiled persons (as many as there inhabited) dispatched their Embassadors to the Achæans. *Philopamen* their Pretour (who ever from the beginning friended the cause of the banished, and had alwaies advised and counsellid the Achæans to abate and take downe the puissance and reputation of the Lacedæmonians) graunted them at their suite and seeking, a Diet. In which (upon a motion by him made) there passed a decree in this forme: That whereas *T. Quintius* and the Romanes, had committed and delivered to the safegard and protection of the Achæans, the fortresses, burroughes, and villages, situate along the sea coast of the Laconians, and (by vertue of a covenant and accord) the Lacedæmonians had nothing to doe therein, but ought to forbear them; and yet notwithstanding, the towne Las was by them forced, and a great massacre there committed: therefore unless the principals and accessaries both of that outrage, were yielded to the Achæans, they deemed the covenant and accord in that behalfe provided, to be broken. Hereupon incontinently were embassadors addressid to Lacedæmon, to challenge and demand the parties aforesaid: but the Lacedæmonians took this for so proud a commaundement, and as thought it such an indignitie, that without all doubt, if they had beene in as good estate then, as sometimes they were, they would immediately have taken aimes. But nothing troubled and disquieted their spirits so much as this, for feare least if once they received the yoke of subjection upon their neckes, in yielding obedience to their first hefts, *Philopamen* would effect and put in execution that which he long intended and went about; even to deliver the citie Lacedæmon into the hands of the banished aforesaid. Enraged therefore with choller and anger, they fell upon thirtie of that faction who were comploted in counsell with *Philopamen* and the exiles, and slew them out-right; and withall made a decree, To renoune and reject all societie with the Achæans; and forthwith to send their Embassadors to Cephalenia, with commission, to deliver Lacedæmon unto *M. Fulvius* & the Romanes; and to beseech him to take the pains to come into Peloponnesus, there to receive the citie Lacedæmon under the obeisance and protection of the people of Rome. When the embassadors had made relation herof to the Achæans, presently war was proclaimed against the Lacedæmonians, by common consent of all the states of that assembly and generall counsell: but the winter impeached them for entring into any action & present execution. Howbeit they made small rodes into their frontiers, and wasted the same not only by land, but also by sea, after the maner of robberie & piracie, rather than of warlike hostilitie. These troubles drew the Cos. into Peloponnesus, and by his commaundement a Diet was published to be holden at Elis; and thither were the Lacedæmonians sent for to argue and debate their cause. Where there was not only much reasoning and dispute, but also wrangling and altercation. The Consull who in other points bare himselfe nicely ynough, and answered in doubtfull tearmes, as one willing to entertaine both parts, determined and ended the controversie in one only word, warning them both to put up their swords, and lay armes aside, untill they had sent their embassadors to the Senate of Rome. So there were embassages addressid both from the one and the other to Rome. In likewise the banished Lacedæmonians joined their cause and embassie with the Achæans. *Diophanes* and *Lycortas*, both Megapolitanes, were the chiefe in the embassage of the Achæans, who as they jarred and disagreed in the managing of State-affaires, so they accorded not but varied in the speeches that they delivered. *Diophanes* referred the decision of all matters unto the Senate, as who were best able to compose all controversies between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians. But *Lycortas*, instructed by *Philopamen*, required that the Achæans might do and execute whatsoever they had ordained; according to the covenant, & the conditions therein comprised; and that they would maintaine their full libertie without abridging and empairing the same, according as they had received it at their hands. The nation of the Achæans

Ans in those daies was in great credite and reputation at Rome, howbeit the Senate thought it not good to make any chaunge and alteration in the State of the Lacedæmonians. In conclusion, they returned such an intricate and doubtfull answer, that both the Achæans might construe it, as if they had permission and free libertie to doe what they would with Lacedæmon, and the Lacedæmonians againe tooke it, as though they had not so large a scope and absolute power allowed them, as to doe their pleasure in every thing. But this authoritie and libertie whatsoever it was, more or lesse, the Achæans stretched beyond all measure and compasse, and used it too proudly and insolently. *Philopamen* continued still in place of soveraine government, and levied a power to be readie in the beginning of the spring, and so encamped upon the frontiers of the Lacedæmonians. This done, hee sent his embassadors to demand the deliverie of them into his hands, who were the authours of the revolt; promising withall, that if they would so doe, their citie should remaine in peace without any molestation, and they suffer and sustain no harm, before they had answered for themselves in open audience. All the rest for feare kept silence and said not a word, only they whom he had challenged by name, made offer of themselves to go, under safe conduct received from the embassadors, and faithfull promise that no violence should be done upon their persons, untill they had pleaded their answer. Accompanied they were with divers noble personages of great marke and name, both as advocates unto them in their particular quarrels, and also in regard of the Commonweale, as farre as their private cause any way touched and concerned it. Never had the Achæans beforetime brought the Lacedæmonian exiles with them into the confines of Lacedæmon, because they supposed that nothing might so much alienate and estrange the hearts of the whole citie as that. But then the whole head, as it were, of the vaward, were no other but those banished persons. And as the Lacedæmonians aforesaid were coming, who should meet and affront them arraunged in order of battell at the very gate of the campe, but they? At the first they welcommed them with chiding and railing, after that they fell to bitter words and braules, and their bloud was up on both sides, insonmuch as those of the banished crew who were of hottest spirit and sharpest metall, made no more adoe but ran upon the Lacedæmonians: whereupon they called the gods to witnesse, and cried to the embassadors for protection; who together with the Pretour himselfe came between, voided the prease, and safeguarded the persons of the Lacedæmonians, empeaching and staying some of their hands who were already about to bind them and make them sure. But the tumult still increased, and the multitude was all up on a hurrey. The Achæans ran first to see only what the matter was, and to be lookers on. But afterwards, when the exiles began with a loud voice to crie out, and report what wrongs and injuries they had sustained, beseeching them of their helpe, and avouching withall right confidently, that if they let slip this opportunitie, they should never have the like againe, alleading moreover, That the league first made in the Capitoll, after renewed at Olympia, and last of all confirmed by a sacred oth in the castle of Athens, had ben broken and disannulled by them, and therefore the guiltie and culpable parties were to be punished accordingly, before they entreed into any bond of new accord. At these words the multitude was incensed, and by occasion of one mans voice, who cried to strike and knocke them downe, fell to flinging stones at them. And by this meanes seventene of them, who during the garboile chanced to be tied in bonds, were stoned to death. The rest, to the number of fixe and thirtie, were the next morrow apprehended, whom the Pretour had sheelded and protected from violence, not for any desire hee had to save their lives, but because hee would not have them miscarie and perish before they were heard. These were presented and exposed as a prey to the unruly and angrie multitude: & when they had made some small speech unto them, from which they turned away their eares, they were all condemned and delivered over to be led to execution. When the Lacedæmonians were once put in this feare, then they were commaunded, *Imprimis* To demolish and breake downe their walls. *Item*, That all forraigne auxiliarie souldiours, who were waged and served for pay under the tyrants, should avoid out of the Laconian countrey. *Item*, That all the slaves whom those tyrants had set free (and of such there was a great number) should depart before a certaine day; and that it might be lawfull for the Achæans to attach the bodies, to sell and carrie away as many as staid and remained behind. *Item*, That they should abolish the lawes ordinances and customes of *Lycurgus*, and frame themselves to live after the fashions and manners of the Achæans, so that they should be incorporate into one civile bodie, and better accord and sort together in all things. They condescended to none of all these conditions

tions more willingly and sooner, than to the raising of their walls, and nothing troubled them so much and vexed their heart, as the restoring of the banished persons. Howbeit there passed an act at Tegea for their restitution in a generall Counsell of all the Achæans there held. In which assembly, upon a report and mention made, that the mercenarie strangers above specified, and the new enrolled Lacedæmonians called Alcripti (for so they termed them, who by the tyrants were enfranchised and endued with freedom) had abandoned the citie, and were departed sundry waies into the countrey, it was thought good before the armie was dissolved and cased, that the Pretor should go with a companie lightly armed and appointed, to lay hold upon all that sort of people, and make sale of them, as of a prize and bootie gained from the enemies. Many of them were apprehended and sold. And with the money raised of them, that porch or gallerie at Megalopolis, which had been ruinate by the Lacedæmonians, was by the permission of the Achæans reedified. Likewise the territorie of Belbina, which the Lacedæmonian tyrants unjustly held in possession, was laid againe to that citie, according to an old decree of the Achæans, which was made during the reigne of king *Philip*, sonne of *Amyntas*. The citie of the Lacedæmonians by this meanes much enfeebled, continued a long time in subjection and thraldome under the Achæans. But their State received dammage by no one thing so much, as by the abolishing of the discipline of *Lycurgus*, to which they had bene used and accustomed for the space of seven hundred yeares.

Presently after the holding of this Diet, wherein the Achæans and Lacedæmonians debated their causes before the Consull, *M. Fulvius* repaired to Rome (for that the yeare was almost expired) against the solemne election of new magistrates; wherein he created for Consule, *M. Valerius Messala*, and *C. Livius Salinator*, and gave the repulic to *M. Aemilius Lepidus* his enemy, who that yeere made suite also to be Consull. This done, there were Pretours also chosen, to wit, *Q. Martius Philippus*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, *C. Stertinius*, *C. Catinius*, *P. Claudius Pulcher*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*. When this election was ended, it was thought expedient that *M. Fulvius* should returne into his former province to the armie there: and not only he, but his colleague also *Cn. Manlius*, had their commission revived, and they continued in government another yeere. The same yeere according to the direction of the Decemvirs, there was brought unto the temple of *Hercules* the statue of the same god: and within the Capitoll were set up by *Cn. Cornelius* sixe steeds in gold drawing a chariot with this inscription, That he being Consull, gave that present. Also *P. Claudius* and *Serv. Sulpitius Galba*, *Ediles Curule*, hung up twelve brazen shields, made of the fines that certeine commudgins paid, for hourding up and keeping in their graine. Moreover *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* an *Edile* of the Commons, erected two golden images raised of the monie that one guiltie person was condemned in (for they commended their actions severally by themselves.) As for *A. Cecilius* his companion, he condemned none. The Romane great games were set forth all throughout, thrice: and the Plebeian plaies exhibited likewise full and whole, five times.

After this, *M. Valerius Messala* and *C. Livius Salinator*, entred their Consulship upon the 15. day of March, and proposed before the Senat as concerning the affaires of the State, touching their provinces also, and the armies. As for *Ætolia* and *Asia*, there was no change at all. The Consull, by a decree of the Senat had the charge, one of *Pisæ*, together with the *Ligurians*; and the other of *Gaul*: and they were commaunded either to agree betwene themselves, or to cast lots for their provinces. They were enjoyned also to levie new armies, and each of them to enroll two legions, and either of them to charge the allies of the Latine nation with 15000 foot, & 1200 horsemen. Vnto *Messala* fell the government of *Liguria*: and to *Salinator* of *Gaul*. After this, the Pretors likewise cast lots for their provinces: the jurisdiction within Rome of citizens was allotted to *M. Claudius*, and of forainers to *P. Claudius*. Sicilie to *Q. Martius*, *Sardinia* to *C. Stertinius*, high Spaine to *L. Manlius*, and the low to *C. Atinius*. As for the armies, ordeined it was, that the legions under the conduct of *C. Lælius* should be withdrawne out of *Gaul*, and made over to *M. Tuccius* the Propretour for to serve in the *Brutians* countrie. Item, That the forces which were in Sicilie should be discharged: and that *M. Sempronius* the Vizpretor there, should bring from thence the fleet to Rome. Ordeined likewise it was, that either of the provinces of Spaine should have one legion, which at that time served there; and that both the Pretors should for supplie levie of the allies three thousand foote and two hundred horsemen apeece, and transport the same over with them. Now before that these new governors went

to their provinces, by order from the whole colledge & societie of the Decemvirs, there was published a generall procession and supplication to be holden for 3 dayes in all the quarters or crosse streets of the citie: for that in the day time between the third hour & the fourth, there arose a generall darkenes which continued almost all that while. Moreover, a Novendiall sacrifice was published to be celebrated for 9 days together, because on the *Aventine* hill it had rained stones.

The Campanes, when as the Censors (by vertue of an act of Senat which passed the former yeere) compelled them to be enrolled at Rome, (for aforesaid they knew not where to be enrolled) made petition now that they might contract mariages and take Romane citizens to their wives; and that whosoever had wedded any of them before, might keepe them still; and what children soever they had borne before that day, should be reputed legitimate and their rightfull heires. Both suites were graunted. As concerning the free burgeses of *Formiæ*, *Fundi*, and *Arpinum*, *C. Valerius Tappo* a Tribune of the Com. preferred a bill, that they might be privileged to geve their voyces in Rome: for before that time, citizens in deed they were of Rome, (and that was all) for libertie of suffrages they had none. This bill was crossed and nipped by foure other Tribunes, because it was propounded without the warrant and approbation of the Senat. But being afterwards better adviled and enformed, that it appertained to the people and not to the Senat to geve their voyces where it pleased them, they gave over their enterprise, and opposed themselves no more to hinder the proceeding thereof. So it passed; and enacted it was, That the *Formians* and *Fundans* should geve their voyces in the tribe *Æmilia*; and the *Arpinates* in *Cornelia*: so in these tribes then first and never before, were they enrolled by an act of the same *Valerius*. *M. Claudius Marcellus* the Censor tooke a survey of the citie, and by lot obtained the preeminence thereof before his colleague *T. Quintus*. In which there were numbred 258308 polles of Romane citizens. This review being accomplished, the Consuls tooke their journeyes into their severall provinces.

During that winter season whiles these things thus passed at Rome, there resorted embassages from all States, cities and nations which inhabit on this side *Taurus*, unto *Cn. Manlius* first Consull, and afterwards Proconsull, whiles he kept his winter in *Asia*. And as the victorie achieved over *Antiochus* was more honorable & glorious to the Romans, than that over the Gauls, so the conquest of the Gauls was more joyous and pleasing to the Romane allies, than that other of *Antiochus*. For the servitude in which the king held them was more tolerable, than the crueltie of these savage and inhumane barbarians, and the doubtful feare and fright wherein they stood every day; as not knowing how far forth they would proceede, caried so (as it were) in a tempest to wait & spoile them cleane. And therefore as nations who by the defeature of *Antiochus* recovered libertie, & by the subduing of the Gauls enjoyed peace, they presented themselves not only to geve thanks and shew their contentment in that behalfe, but also brought with them certeine coronets of gold, every one according to their abilitie. Likewise there came embassadors from *Antiochus*, as also from the very Gauls, to have conditions of peace ministred unto them: yea and from *Ariarates* king of the *Cappadocians*, who craved pardon, and offered to buy out his trespasses for mony, in that he had given aid unto *Antiochus*: and fined he was to pay 200 talents of silver. The Gauls had this answer returned unto them, That *K. Eumenes* when he came should tender unto them articles of peace. The embassages of the other states and cities were dismissed with gracious answers, and went away better pleased and contented, than they were at their coming. The embassadors of *Antiochus* were commaunded to bring monie into *Pamphylia*, and come likewise, according to the covenant made with *L. Scipio*: for thither the Consull purposed himselfe to come with his armie. After this, having taken a review and survey of his forces, he set forward in the beginning of spring, and within 8 daies arrived at *Apamea*. There he sojourned in camp for three daies: from thence he removed, and at the third daies end came to *Pamphylia*, whither he had given order to the kings embassadors to convey their mony & corne. There he received 1500 talents of silver which were transported unto *Apamea*. The corne was divided in the armie. From thence he marched to *Perga*, which was the only country in those parts held with a garison. When he approached, the captain of the garison met him on the way, requesting xxx daies space, in which time he might know the pleasure of *K. Antiochus* as touching the rendering of that citie. The time was granted, & within that day the garison quit the place & departed. From *Perga* he sent his brother *L. Manlius* with 400 souldiers to *Oroanda*, for to demand the rest of the money which by promise was due: and himselfe because he was advertised that

K. *Eumenes* and the deputies or commissioners were come from Rome to Ephesus, retired with G his armie also to Ephesus, and commanded the embassadors of *Antiochus* to follow him thither. There, by the advice of the ten commissioners, a small league was concluded, and comprised in these or such like termes: There shall be amitie and friendship betweene king *Antiochus* and the people of Rome, under these conditions ensuing. *Imprimis*, The king shall not suffer to passe through any part of his realme, or their countries that are under his dominion, any armie that intendeth to make warre against the people of Rome or their associates, nor aid them with vituals or any other succour whatsoever. *Item*, The Romanes and their allies shall doe the like by *Antiochus*, and all those that are under his subjection. *Item*, It shall not be lawfull for *Antiochus* either to make warre with those that inhabit the Ilands, or to passe over into Europe. *Item*, He shall quit all cities, lands, villages, and fortresses on this side the mountaine Taurus unto the H river Tanais; and moreover from the foot and valley under the said hill, unto that ridge thereof which bendeth toward Lycaonia. *Item*, Out of those townes, territories, and castles which he is to void, he shall carrie away no armour: and if he have conveyed from thence any already, he shall duly restore the same to everie place accordingly. *Item*, He shall receive neither souldiour nor any other person out of the kingdom of *Eumenes*. *Item*, If any citizens belonging to those cities which are dismembred and cut off from his realme, chauce to remaine now with him, they shall returne all to Apamea within a certaine day. *Item*, As many as appertaine to the kingdom of *Antiochus*, and are now with the Romanes or their allies, may depart home or stay still at their pleasure. *Item*, All slaves, whether they be fugitives or taken captive in warre; likewise all other persons free of condition before, and afterwards either taken prisoners or revolted, he shall deliver againe to the Romanes and their allies. *Item*, He shall make deliverie of all his elephants, and shall provide himselfe of no more hereafter. *Item*, He shall yeeld up all his galleies of warre, with the tackling to them belonging: neither shall hee keepe above ten small vessels, and none of them shall have more than thirtie oars to guide and row them; nor so much as one *galley with a single banke of oars, to serve in any warre that himselfe shall first begin. *Item*, Hee shall not saile within the promontories of Calycadnum & Sarpedon, unless haply there be some ship that bringeth moyny, embassadors, or hostages. *Item*, It shall not be lawfull for king *Antiochus* to levie and wage any souldiours out of those nations which are subject to the people of Rome; no nor to entertaine so much as voluntaries from thence. *Item*, What houses and edifices belonging to the Rhodians and their allies, are now within the precincts of the realme of *Antiochus*, shall returne to the said Rhodians and their associates, in as good estate and tenour as they were before the warre began. And if any money or debts be to them due, they may demand and recover the same. *Item*, If ought have been taken from them, they shall have good law and right to search, owne, demand, and challenge it againe. *Item*, If any of those cities which ought to be rendred, be held by those unto whom *Antiochus* hath committed them, he shall withdraw the garrisons from thence, and take order that they be surrendered accordingly. *Item*, Hee shall pay within twelve yeeres by even portions, 12000 Atticke talents of good and lawfull silver: provided, that every talent weigh no lesse than eightie pound after Roman poise; besides 540000 modij of wheate. *Item*, Hee shall pay unto king *Eumenes* 350 talents within five yeeres; and for corne according to the rate and proportion 127 talents. *Item*, He shall send L unto the Romanes 20 hostages, and change them for others every three yeeres: provided, that they be not under 18 yeere of age, nor above 45. *Item*, If any allies of the people of Rome, begin of their owne motion to make warre upon king *Antiochus*, it shall be lawfull for him to revenge himselfe, and use forcible meanes to withstand their violence: yet so, as he hold no citie in right of warre, nor receive any into amitie: and all controversies which shall arise betweene them, shall be decided by law and justice; or if both parties be so pleased, they shall trie the issue by force of armes. *Item*, It was comprised also within the covenants of this accord, That hee should deliver into the Romans hands, *Annibal* the Carthaginian, *Tibeca* the Etolian, *Mnasimachus* the Acarnanian, *Enbulus* likewise and *Philo* the Chalcidians. Finally, if ought hereafter happened to be added moreover, or chaunged otherwise, the same in no case to prejudice any M thing contained within the covenants aforesaid. To this accord the Consull swore; & to receive the kings oth likewise, there went unto him *Q. Minutius Thermus* and *L. Manlius*, he who returned at that time to returne from the Oroadians. And the Consull wrote his letters to *Q. Fab. Labeo* admirall of the fleet, presendly to come to Patara, and what ships soever of the kings were there, to

A to hew them in pieces, and make a light fire of them. So he departed from Ephesus, and either brake into fitters or burnt, 50 covered ships belonging to the king. In the same voyage & exploit he surprised and woon Telmessus, by reason that the townesmen were so affrighted at the sodaine coming of the flecte. Then forthwith hee departed out of Lycia, and having given order to those that were left behind at Ephesus to follow after, he crossed the seas (betweene the Ilands) over into Greece. After he had sojourned some few daies at Athens, untill the ships from Ephesus were entered into the harbour of Pyraeum: from thence he brought backe his whole armada to Italie. *Cn. Manlius* having received (among other things which were to be yeelded up of *Antiochus*) the elephants also, and bestowed them all freely upon *Eumenes*, gave audience to the controversies of many cities and states, amongst whom (during these changes and alterations) there arose sundry troubles and much variance. And *Ariarates* the king, who by the means and mediation of *Eumenes* (unto whom about that time he had affianced his daughter in marriage) was discharged and had acquittance for the one moitie of the mony imposed upon him, entered into amitie with the people of Rome. When the differences of the cities aforesaid were debated and known, the ten Commissioners set down an order betweene them, respectively to their condition. To as many as had beene tributaries to king *Antiochus*, and yet sided with the people of Rome in affection, they graunted franchise and immunitie: but as many as tooke part with *Antiochus*, or were tributaries unto king *Attalus*, those were commaunded to pay their customes and duties to king *Eumenes*. Moreover, they freed and exempted from all taske and tallage (expressly by name) the Colophomans inhabiting Notium, together with the Cymeans and the C Milesians. Unto the Clazonemians (over and besides the same freedome) they gave the Iland Drymusa. To the Milesians also the territorie called Sacer: to the Ilians, they annexed Rhæteum and Gergithus, not so much for any fresh and late deserts, as in memoriall of their auncient beginning and foundation; which was the cause also that they set Dardanus free. Semblably the Chians, Smyrneans, and Erythraeans, for their singular loyaltie and devoir which they shewed in that warre, they not only indued with faire lands and territories, but also graced with all kind of honour and reputation above the rest. Moreover, the Phocæans had both their owne lands restored unto them which they enjoyed before the war, and also libertie to live under their auncient lawes. As for the Rhodians, they had those things now confirmed and established unto them, which by a former decree were granted: and to better their estate, Lycia and Caria were D bestowed upon them, as farre as the river Maeander; all save the citie Telmessus. Unto the dominion of king *Eumenes*, they laid Chersonesus in Europe; and Lyfimachia, with all the castles, villages, and lands thereto belonging, in as large termes and ample manner as *Antiochus* held the same: also within Asia, the one and the other Phrygia, as well that which continueth upon Hellespont, as the other which they call the Greater. Moreover, they restored unto him Mysia, which king *Prusias* had taken from him: over and besides, Lycaonia, Mylias, and Lydia; together with these cities by speciall name, Tralleis, Ephesus, and Telmessus. As touching Pamphylia, some debate there was betweene the agents of *Eumenes* and the Embassadors for *Antiochus*, because one part thereof is situate on this side the mount Taurus, and the other lyeth beyond. The decision of this controversie was wholly referred to the arbitrement of the Senate. *Manlius* having set downe these covenants and decrees, departed with the ten Legates and all his armie toward Hellespont; and when he had caused the princes of the Gaules thither to repaire before him, he declared unto them in what termes, & under what conditions they should entertaine peace with *Eumenes*: and therewith he gave them warning, to leave their manner of roding and roving in hostile wise by force of armes, and to containe themselves within the precincts and bounds of their owne territories. After this, having gathered into one place all the vessels from the sea coasts, together with the entire flore of king *Eumenes*, which by his brother *Atteneus* was brought from Elea, he transported all his forces into Europe. From whence hee marched through Chersonesus by short and easie journies, because his armie was heavily charged with prizes and booties of all sorts, and encamped at Lyfimachia, purposing there to rest a while, F to the end that his travelling beasts of draught and cariage, might be fresh and in good heart to passe through Thracia, which was a voiage and journey commonly feared and abhorred. The same day that hee dislodged from Lyfimachia, he came to the river which they call Melas; & from thence the next day to Cypsela. When they were past Cypsela, they had for ten miles almost no other way, but through wild woods, narrow streights, and those rough withall and uneven under

derfoot. For the difficultie of which passage, the armie was devided into two parts. The one hee G
 commaunded to march before, the other to come behind in the rereward a great distance after,
 and in the middelt betweene, he bestowed the carriages with bag and baggage, & amongst them
 were waggons and waines, laden with the publicke treasure, and other pillage of great price. As
 he thus marched through the streight passe, there were about ten thousand and not above, raised
 out of foure nations of Asia, to wit, the Astians, Cæniens, Maduarenes, and Cœletes, who beset
 the streights to debarre them of passage. It was supposed that king *Philip* of Macedonie his hand
 was herein, and that they entred not into this action without his privitie and fraudulent practise;
 who as he knew that the Romanes could returne no other way but by Thracia, so he was ware and
 wist well enough what a masse of money they carried with them. The Romanes Generall himselfe
 was in the vaward, careful only & troubled about the difficultie of the way. All this while the Thra- H
 cians sat still and stirred not, untill the armed souldiours were passed by. But when they perceived
 once, that the vauntguard was gotten out of the streights, and that the rereward was farre ynough
 behind, they fel in hand with the packes and coffers of the carriages; and after they had killed the
 guards, some of them ransacked and rifled that which was in the waggons, others led away the
 packe horses and other sumpter beasts with their lode and burden on their backs. Hereupon
 arose a crie and alarme, and was first heard of those that followed, but afterwards of them also in
 the forward, and so from both ends they ran to the middelt, and at one time in diverse places,
 skirmished without all order confusedly. The Thracians heavily charged and encombered with
 pillage, and most of them without any weapon at all, because they might have the use of their
 hands more nimble and deliver to snatch and catch unto them their prizes, were by this meanes
 more exposed to receive hurt, and soone killed. The Romanes againe were much distressed and
 annoied through the disadvantage of the ground and the waies; which the barbarous people
 were well ynough acquainted with, and out of them would issue forth to encounter, and other-
 whiles lurke within hollow blind caves, and not bee seene. The very packes likewise and the wag-
 gons, standing and lying untowardly in the way, sometime of one, and sometime of other (as
 it happened) troubled and hindered them much in their fight. So as here in one place lay the
 theete dead, there in another the true man that pursued him. And according as the plot of
 ground was good or bad, as well for the one sort as the other, as their hearts and courages ser-
 ved or failed them, and as the number was more or lesse, so the medley and fight was variable:
 and in one word, of both sides many a man lay in the dust and lost his life. By which time the
 night approached, and the Thracians departed out of the conflict, not so much to avoid wounds
 and for feare of death, as for that they had sped themselves sufficiently of prizes. The Romanes
 vaward encamped without the Forrest, in the open ground about the temple of **Bendis*. The
 rereward remained still behind in the middelt of the woods to guard their carriage, fortified
 within a double pallisado of strong stakes. The morrow after, when they had well discovered by
 their espials the way before them, they joined themselves with the vauntguard. In this battell
 (over and besides a great part of their pillage lost, and a number of camp-followers and lac-
 kies slaine, with some souldiours also, for that there was skirmishing every where throughout
 the chafie) there died *Q. Minutius Thermus*: and a right great losse there was of him, for he
 was a man of much valour and execution. That day the armie marched as farre as to the river
 Hebrus. From whence they passed through the confines of the *Ænians*, neere unto the temple
 of *Apollo*, whome the inhabitants name *Zerynthius*. And there they met with another streight
 passage about a place called *Tempyra*, as rough and comberfome under foot as the former. But
 for as much as there were no woods about it, it yeilded no good place for ambushes. Howbeit
 the Thrausians (a people likewise of Thrace) assembled together, hoping also to light upon the
 like bootie. But by reason that the vallies lay naked and open, so as if any beset the narrow waies
 they might be discovered a farre off, the Romanes were lesse afraid and troubled. For, say that they
 were to fight in some place of disadvantage, yet they might arrauange themselves in battell ray
 in open field, and joine in close fight hand to hand. Being therefore embattelled in squadrons
 thicke and strong, they charged the enemy with a great shout and crie, and at the first shooke M
 forced them to recule and lose ground, and afterwards to turne backe and flie. And in the rout
 they were beaten downe and killed; for even their owne streights which they seized for their van-
 tage, empeached and hindered themselves. The Romanes having gotten the victorie, encamped
 neere a village of the Maronites, called *Sare*. The next day they marched through the champion
 open

A open countrey *Priaticus*, where they sojourned three daies to take in corne, partly from out of
 the fields of the Maronites, which willingly of themselves they conferred upon them, and partly
 out of their owne ships, which followed after, well furnished with all kind of provision. From this
 giste they made but one daies journey to *Apollonia*, and so passing through the territorie of the
Abderites, they came to *Naples*. All this way they journeyed peaceably through the Colonies
 of the Greeks. But the rest behind, if it were not dangerous unto them for any hostilitie, yet sus-
 pected still it was; all the whiles that they passed night and day through the middelt of the Thra-
 cians, untill at length they came into *Macedonie*. The same armie conducted sometime before
 by *Scipio* that very way, found the Thracians more gentle and tractable, for no other cause, but
 that they had lesse store of pillage and bootie with them to set their teeth on water, and fingers
 B on itching. And yet even then also (as *Claudius* writeth) there were a fiftene thousand Thracians
 that encountered *Mutines* the Numidian, as hee marched before the avauntguard to discover
 the coasts; and hee saith, that he had in his companie foure hundred Numidian horsemen, and
 some few elephants: also that his sonne, with an elect wing of a hundred and fiftie horse, brake
 through the middelt of the enemies, who also within a while after, (when his father *Mutines* ha-
 ving placed the elephants in the middelt, and the horsemen in the flanks, joined in battell with
 his enemies, charged them upon the backs, and put them in great feare) by meanes of which
 storme and tempest (as it were) of the Cavallerie, they never came so farre, as to deale with the
 battell of the footmen. *Cn. Manlius* led his armie through *Macedonie* into *Thessalie*, and march-
 ing on by the way of *Epirus*, arrived at *Apollonia*, where hee abode all winter. For hee made
 C not so light a matter of winter sailing, that hee durst take the sea, and hazard the passage at that
 time of the yeere.

The yeere almost expired, *M. Valerius* the Consull returned out of *Liguria* to *Rome*, for the
 creation of new magistrates, having achieved no such memorable exploit in his province
 during the time of his government, as might have yeilded any colourable reason of his long
 stay, in that he came more tardie (than the usuall manner was) to the assembly for an election
 of Consuls: (for holden it was upon the * 12 calends of March) wherein were created, *Mar- 13 of Februarie.*
Aemilius Lepidus and *C. Flaminius*. The next day after, these Pretors were elected; namely, *Ap-
 Claudius Pulcher*, *Ser. Sulpitius Galba*, *Q. Terentius Culleo*, *L. Terentius Massiliota*, *Q. Fulvius
 Flaccus*, and *M. Furius Crassipes*. After the election of magistrates, the Consull proposed to the
 D Senate as touching the provinces and governments of the Pretors. And the LL. decreed, that
 two of them should remaine at *Rome*, to minister lawes and execute justice: other two should
 bee employed out of *Italie*, in *Sicilie* and *Sardinia*: two in *Italie*, to wit, at *Tarentum* and in
Gaulle. Immediately before they entred into office, they were enjoyned to cast lots: and *Ser. Sul-
 pitius* had the jurisdiction of the citizens, and *Q. Terentius* of strangers and aliens: *L. Terentius*
 took the charge of *Sicilie*, *Q. Fulvius* of *Sardinia*, *Ap. Claudius* was to govern *Tarentum*, & *M. Fu-
 rius* to rule *Gallia*. It fortuned the same yeere, that *L. Minutius Myrtilus* and *L. Manlius* were de-
 livered to the Carthaginian Embassadors, by the hands of the *Fæciall* heralds at the comman-
 dement of *M. Claudius* Pretor of the citie for the time being, and transported over to *Carthage*,
 for that the voice and speech went, That they had beaten the said embassadours. A bruit and ru-
 mour there was of a great warre begun in *Liguria*, and which encreased every day more than
 E other. Whereupon the Senate ordained to both the new Consuls the province of *Liguria*, that
 day on which they propounded unto the Senate to consult about the provinces and the affaires
 of the Commonweale. But *Lepidus* the Consull opposed himselfe against this their act and or-
 dinance, alledging That it was a shameful indignitie, that both the Consuls should be shut up
 and enclosed within the vallies of *Liguria*; whereas for two yeers alreadie *M. Fulvius* and *Cn-
 ce Manlius* had reigned like kings, the one in *Europe*, the other in *Asia*, in steed of *Philip* and *An-
 tiocchus*. And if (quoth he) it bee the pleasure of the Senate that there should bee armies maintai-
 ned in those parts, more meet ywis it were, that Consuls should have the command & conduct
 therof, than those privat persons. As for them, they raunge about those nations, terrifying them
 F with threats of warre, against whome there hath bene none proclaimed; making merchandise
 and selling peace among them for summes of money. Now if it bee requisite and needfull
 to keepe two armies for the government and defence of those provinces, like as *M. Fulvius* and *Cn.
 Manlius* Consuls, succeeded *M. Atilius* and *L. Scipio* Consuls: so *C. Livius* and *M. Valerius* the
 Consuls ought to have entred in place of *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. At leastwise now, when the *Atto-
 lian*

lian warre is finished and brought to an end, Asia recovered and conquered from *Antiochus*, and the Gauls vanquished and subdued, either ought Consuls to bee sent unto their armies, or else the legions to be brought back from thence, and at length delivered to the Commonwealth. The Senate notwithstanding they gave him the hearing, persisted still in their resolution, that both Consuls should be imployed in the province of Liguria. Yet thought good it was, that *Marcius* and *Fulvius* should leave their provinces, withdraw their forces from thence, and returne to Rome. An old grudge there was and a cankred enmitie betwene the said *M. Fulvius*, and *M. Aemilius* the Consull: and among other matters of discontentment, *Aemilius* gave out, that by the meanes of *Fulvius*, himselfe was created Consull two yeeres later than otherwise he should have bene. And therefore to worke him despight and make him odious to the world, he caused the embassadors of Ambracia (whom he had suborned and set on for to lay matters to his charge) to enter into the Senate house. These being in place, complained that *M. Fulvius* had warred upon them, at what time as they were in peace, performed all that other Consuls before had imposed upon them, and were also readie in all dutie and allegiance to do the same unto him. First our lands and territories say they, were piteously spoiled & wasted: then were we terrified with the sacking of our citie, and threatened with the killing of our people, that for very feare we were forced to shut our gates. Afterwards we were beleaguered and assaulted, and against us all kinds of hostilitie practised, by sword, by fire, by ruining and ransacking our citie. Our wives, our children, have bene led and haled into captivitie and bondage; our goods violently taken from us (and that which above all went neereest to our heart) our temples throughout the whole citie despoiled and robbed of their goodly ornaments: the images of our gods, and finally our gods themselves plucked out of their shrines and places and so caried away; yea, the very walls and pillers left bare and naked, so as the Ambracians have no gods remaining amongst them to adore, and to whome they might make their prayers and supplications. As they poured out their complaints, the Consull of a mind to aggravate and heape more matter upon his adversarie, ceased not to propose unto them many interrogatories (as it was complotted betwene them before) and drew them on to speake many things, as if with their good will they would not have uttered them. When the rest of the LL. were moved herewith, then the other Consull *C. Flaminius* undertooke the apologie and defence of *M. Fulvius*, saying, That the Ambracians trod in an old beaten way, and did no otherwise than some before them had done. For even so was *M. Marcellus* accused by the Syracusians, so was *Q. Fulvius* charged by the Capuans. And why by the same meanes suffered they not *T. Quintius* to be charged by king *Philip*, *M. Atilius* and *L. Scipio* by *Antiochus*, *Cn. Manlius* by the Gauls, and the same *Fulvius* himselfe by the Aetolians and people of Cephalenia? That Ambracia was assaulted, battered, and forced in the end; that images and ornaments were taken from thence; that other acts were done and committed, which usually follow upon the winning of townes, thinke yee my LL. that either I in the behalfe of *Fulvius* will denie, or *Fulvius* himselfe will disavow? who, in regard of these worthie exploits and noble acts, is minded to demand at your hands the honor of a Triumph, who purposeth to carie before his triumphant chariot the portraiture of Ambracia as it was taken, the images which they accuse him to have caried away, and other spoiles of that citie; yea and to set them upon the posts of his house for a memoriall to posteritie? No reason theris that the Ambracians should sever themselves from the Aetolians, and do more than they, for their case and condition is all one. And therefore let my colleague shew his rancor and malice, and bewray a festered enmitie in some other cause: or if he will needs follow and pursue this forward, let him intertaine and keepe still his Ambracians unto the coming of *M. Fulvius*. And for mine owne part, I will suffer no act to passe either of the Ambracians or the Aetolians, so long as *M. Fulvius* is absent. *Aemilius* accused his enemy for having a craftie head of his owne, and for his fittle fetches, as being notorious and well knowne to all men for no better; saying, that full cunningly he would trifle out the time, and make delays all the yeere long, that he might not come to Rome so long as his adversarie was Consull. Thus in this debate betwene the two Consuls two dayes were spent, and nothing els done. And it appeared evidently that so long as *Flaminius* was in place and presence, nothing could be concluded and determined. Whereupon a time was spied out when *Flaminius* chanced to be sick, and by that occasion was away. Then upon a motion made by *Aemilius* there passed an act of the Senate, That the Ambracians should have all their goods restored unto them againe; that they should enjoy their

their freedome and franchises, and live under their owne lawes: and finally might take what customs, toll and imposts they would for portage, as well by land as sea: provided alwayes that the Romanes, and their allies the Latines, should be exempted and free therefrom. As for the images and other ornaments which they complained were taken out of their sacred temples, the Senate ordeined that when *M. Fulvius* was returned to Rome, the colledge of the Pontiffes should have the hearing and deciding thereof, and looke what they awarded; and set downe, it should stand and be performed accordingly. And the Consull not content with all this, tooke the vantage when there were but few Senatours in the house, and procured an other act of Senate in this forme, That they judged Ambracia not to be reputed a citie forced by assault. This done, there was by vertue of an order from the Decemvirs a solemne supplication holden three dayes for the helth of the people, in regard of a grievous pestilence that dispeopled both citie and countrey. After that, the Latine feasts and holidais were celebrated. When the Consuls had accomplished these devotions, and rid their consciences of scruple, and withall made a full and compleat levie to furnish their legions (for both of them were desirous to have new soldiers) they departed into their provinces, and cased all the old.

After the Consuls were set forward on their journey, the Proconsull *Cn. Manlius* returned home to Rome. For whose sake the Pretour *Servius Sulpitius* assembled the Senat in the temple of *Bellona*. Where after relation made of his deeds atchieved, he demanded that in consideration thereof, due honor and thanksgiving should be rendred to the immortall gods, and withall, that himselfe might ride triumphant into the citie. The most part of the Legates and Commissioners, who had bene with him gainfayed and denied the same, and above all the rest *L. Furius Purpurio*, and *L. Aemilius Paulus*, who stepped forth, and enformed against him in these termes: That they had bene sent in commission to assist *Cn. Manlius*, for the making of a peace with *Antiochus*, and finishing of that accord and those covenants and conditions, which were commensed and begun betwene him and *L. Scipio*. Yet *Cn. Manlius* say they, envied all that ever he could to trouble that peace, yea and to have surprised and entrapped *Antiochus* by traines of ambush, if he had ever come in his way, or within his reach. But the king being ware of the Consull his fraud and deceit, albeit there was made great meanes many a time to have caught him by color of parley and conference, yet avoided evermore not onely to have speech and communication with him, but also to come within his sight. And when *Manlius* would needs have passed over Taurus, hardly and with much ado could he be kept back, notwithstanding all the commissioners prayed and besought him to stay, and not to hazard himselfe and incur the danger of a notable losse and overthrow, foretold by the verses and propheties of *Sibylla* to light upon them that would passe beyond the bounds limited by the fatal destinies. All this notwithstanding he advanced forward and approached with his armie, yea and encamped neere the very pitch and top of the mountaine, where all the water that falleth from above, runneth contrary wayes into divers seas. And when he could find no quarell there for which he might make war (because the kings people & subjects were still and quiet) he turned the armie about to the Gallogreeks, against which nation there was no warre intended, either by warrant and authoritie from Senat, or by graunt and commission from the people. And what man was ever so hardie and bold, as to warre upon his owne head? The wars against *Antiochus*, *Philip*, *Anniball*, and the Carthaginians, are most fresh in each mans remembrance: and of all these, the Senate was consulted with, and the people graunted their ordinance. Embassadors many a time and often were addressed before: restitution & amends were by order demanded: and last of all, heralds were sent, solemnly to denounce & proclaim war. Now tell me, *Cn. Manlius*, Which of all these things were done; that wee may call this by the name of a publicke warre, allowed by the State of the people of Rome, and not rather a private brigandage & robbrie of your own? But contented you your self with this, & did you no more? marched you directly forward, and tooke you nothing but that which was in your way; leading your armie against those onely whome you tooke to be your enemies? or rather at all turnings and quarrells, nay at every forked high way leading on both hands, when you were at a stand, followed not you like a mercenarie and waged Consul unto *Attalus* (king *Eumenes* his brother) with the Roman armie, what hand soever he turned and marched? There was not a cranke and nooke but you visited; there was not a corner that you left unsearched, in all Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Phrygia. There was not a tyrant, prince nor potentate, there was not a lord of any borough

or cattle, how farre soever out of the way, but you had a saying to them to pill and poll them, G
and to picke pence out of their purses. For what businesse had you with the Oroandians? What
had you to doe with other nations, as innocent and guilelesse as they? Now as concerning the
warre, (in regard whereof you demaund a triumph) in what sort managed you it? Fought you
a battaile either in place commodious, or time convenient? Certes, I must needs say, great rea-
son you have and good cause, to require that honor and praise be given to the immortall gods:
first, for that their gracious will and pleasure was, that the armie should not sipart for the teme-
ritie and rashnesse of their chiefe leader, warring as hee did against the law of nations: then, in
that they presented unto us, not men indeed for enemies, but very beasts and no better. For yee
must not think, that it is the name only of the Gallogreeks, which is mingled and compounded,
for long time before, both their bodies and minds have beene mixed and corrupted, and the H
men themselves bastard and degenerate from their first nature. Had they been the same Gaules
with whome we have fought a thousand times in Italie, and with doubtfull issue, and lost as much
as we woon, and every foot received as good as we brought, thinke yee there would have retur-
ned one messenger from thence, to bring us newes, for any good at least wise that our Generall
there did? Twise he came to conflict with them; twice he encountred them in place of disadvan-
tage; mounting with his armie against the hill, and raunged in the botome of the valley even
under the enemies feet: in such sort, that if they had lanced no darts against us from the higher
ground, but onely come upon us with their naked and disarmed bodies, they had beene able to
have overcome us and gone over our bellies. And what happened hereupon? God-amerie
the good fortune of the people of Rome: wee may thanke (I say) the great and terrible name I
of the Romanes. The fresh renowe of the late ruines and overthrowes of *Anniball*, *Phi-
lip*, and *Antiochus*, amazed and astonished (as one would say) these men with their fo corpulent
and mightie bodies; with slings and arrow-shot onely were they discomfited and put to flight,
so affrighted were they. There was not a sword once bloudied in all this Gaules war: at the first
twang of the bow and singing of the arrow, they fled away, like swarms of bees with ringing of ba-
sells. And yet beleewe me, even we the same & no other (as if fortune would admonish and shew
what had become of us if we had affronted an enemy indeed) in our returne, when we returned
to light upon certaine petty robbers and thieves of Thrace, were soundly beaten, killed, and
put to flight, and spoiled and well stript of our bagge and baggage. *Q. Minutius Thermus* (by
whose death we have sustained a farre greater losse, than if *C. Manlius* had miscaried, whose K
rashnesse was the cause of all this calamitie and misfortune) with many a tall and valiant man
besides, lost his life in this skirmish. Our host, bringing away with them the spoile and pillage
of king *Antiochus*, was dismembred and parted into threecroupes: the vaward in one place, the
reeguard in another, and the cariages in a third, were faine to take up their lodging one whole
night amongst bushes, briars, and brambles, and lurke within the caves and denes of wild
beasts. Are these the brave and worthie exploits, for which you demaund a triumph? But say,
that you had received in Thrace, neither damage nor dishonour; which be the enemies over
whome you would needs triumph in all the hast? I trow they be those, whome the Senate and
people of Rome destined and assigned to be your enemies: for so, was triumph graunted to this
L *L. Scipio* here in place: so likewise to that *M. Acilius* before him, over king *Antiochus*: so also
erewhile to *T. Quintius* for the victorie of *Philip*: and so to conclude, unto *P. Africanus* for sub-
duing *Anniball*, the Carthaginians, and king *Syphax*. And when the Senate had ordeined war,
yet before they enterprised and began these high and haucie affaires, they made some doubt and
pause in such petty circumstances as these, to wit, unto whome they should send defiance and
denounce the said warre: whether to the kings themselves in their owne person; or it were suffi-
cient to give intimation to one garison or other within their fortresses. And would ye now (my
masters) that all these observations and ceremonies should be polluted and confounded, that
the rights and lawes of the Feciales and heralds should be abolished, and that there shall be no
more Feciall at all. But let religion and divine service (God forgive me if I seeme to blaspheme)
be troden under foot: suppose the gods were utterly forgotten of you, and their remembrance M
quite exiled out of your hearts: Is it your pleasure also, and thinke yee it meet, that the Senat be
consulted no more for their advice in question of war? or that a bill be not propounded to the
people, in this wise: Pleaseth it you or no, to ordeine that warre be levied against the Gaules?
The other day, and no longer since, the Consuls were desirous and earnest to governe Greece
and

A and Asia, yet when they perceived you to bee resolute and persist still in assigning unto them
both, the province of Liguria, they were content and obeyed. Great reason shall they have
therefore to demaund a triumph at your hands, after they have achieved an happy victorie
and finished that warre, which they first enterprised under your warrant and authoritie. After
this manner as yee have heard, spake *Furius* and *Æmylius*. And *Manlius* againe, as we find in
record, answered thus, or much to this effect, as followeth: Right honorable and my very good
LL. the Tribunes of the Commons were ever wont afore-time, to repugne and crosse them
that demaunded triumph: and I take my selfe much beholden unto them for this favour, that
either in their love to my selfe, or in regard of my great and notable exploits, they have not on-
ly by their silence given their consent for my honor, but also seeme readie and prest to propound
B the same unto the people, if need had beene. But now forsooth, whome have I (and God will)
for mine adversaries, but even some of my ten adjacents or suffraganes, whome our ancellors
thought good to give unto their Generals in the war, as a counsell both to assist and aid them,
and also to countenance and grace them in their victorie? *L. Furius* and *L. Æmylius* are the men
and none but they, who inhibit and debarre me for mounting up into the triumphant chariot;
they are ready to plucke from my head the glorious and honourable crown that I should weare:
even those (I say) whome (if the Tribunes had hindred and impeached my triumph) I would
have reported my selfe unto as witnesses of my worthie acts. Certes (my LL.) fare be it from
me, that I should envie and repine at the honour of any man: but I remember well, that of late
daies when certaine Tribunes of the Common state (men of great courage and action) went
C about to stay and forbid the triumph of *Q. Fabius Labeo*, yee by your authoritie diverted and
skared them from that intended enterprise; and hee triumphed in the end, notwithstanding his
adversaries gave out and said aloud, not that hee had fought a warre unjustly, but in reprochfull
manner charged him, That he had not so much as set eye upon the enemy. And I, who have so
often in ranged battell fought with an hundred thousand most fierce and warlike enemies, slain
or taken prisoners more than 40000 of them, forced and woon two of their camps: and left all
places on this side the ridge of the mountaine Taurus, more peaceable and quiet than is the land
of Italie, am not only frustrate and put beside my triumph, but also stand here before your ho-
nours to defend my selfe against the challenge of these mine owne Counsell and Suffraganes.
Which accusation of theirs, consisteth (as yee have heard my LL.) of two principall points:
D for objected they have, first, that I ought not at all to have made warre with the Gaules; and
secondly, that I conducted and managed the same, rashly and without discretion. The Gaules
(say they) were no enemies of ours; but being quiet in peace, and readie to do whatsoever they
were charged, were by you abused and wronged. I will not require (my LL.) that yee should have
the same hard conceit of the Gaules which inhabit in Asia, as touching their crueltie and
mortall hatred against the Romane name, which yee know generally to be in the people of
the Gaules: Doe but consider and judge of these Gaules as they bee in themselves simply
without respect of the infamous name and odious opinion that goeth of the whole generation:
so that king *Eumenes* were here. Would to God that all the States of Asia were present in place,
that yee might heare them rather what complaints they would make, than my selfe accusing of
E them. Send but your embassadors to all the cities of Asia, and enquire whether servitude were
greater and more greivous, that which they were delivered from by the chafing of *Antiochus*
beyond the mountain Taurus, or this whereof they are now eased by the subduing of the Gauls?
Let them relate unto you, and make report how often their territories have been wasted by them,
how many booties have beene driven, and prizes carried away out of them, and how they were
brought to so low a passe, that they hardly could find meanes and make any shift to redeeme
their prisoners by ransom. Let them tell you what they heard there besides, how they killed
men, yea and their children, to sacrifice, unto their gods. But know yee now from mee, that your
allies yielded tribute to the Gaules, yea, and should have paid still at this day, notwithstanding
they were by you delivered from their subjection under king *Antiochus*, if I had not bestirred my
F selfe the better. For the farther that *Antiochus* was removed from them, the more proudly and
outrageously would these Gaules have ruled like LL. over all Asia, and whatsoever lands had lien
on this side the top of the mount Taurus, you should have laied to the seignorie of the Gaules
and not annexed to your owne Empire and dominion. All this is true will some one say, & what
of all that? These Gaules likewise once spoiled the temple at Delphos, reputed in times past the
common

common Oracle of the whole world, and situate in the very heart and midst of the earth, and yet the people of Rome neither denounced nor made warre for all that. Certes I alwaies would have thought there had been some difference to be made betweene those daies, when as neither Europe nor Asia was under your iurisdiction and obedience (that you should need to take care in regard of what was done in those parts) and this present time, in which ye have set the mountain Taurus to be the bound and limit, wherunto your Empire extendeth in which you give freedom and immunitie to cities; in which ye enlarge the confines of some, & take in the precincts of others; ining these cities with forfeiture & losse of their territories, punishing those with taxes and tributes in which I say, you augment and diminish realmes, give and take away kingdomes at young and pleasure; and in one word, in which yee judge it a matter that concerneth you, to provide that there may be a generall peace both on land and sea. Were you of opinion indeed, H that Asia might not be counted free, unlesse *Antiochus* had withdrawn his garisons, which kept quiet within their fortresses and castles, and stirred not forth? and thought you withall, that your gifts graunted unto king *Eumenes*, might bee assured unto him, and the freedome likewise of the cities, established unto them, if whole armies of Gauls might raunge all about too and fro in those countries? But why stand I so much arguing and reasoning in this manner, as if I had not found the Gauls enemies, but rather caused them to be our enemies? O *L. Scipio*, I call you here to witnesse, into whose charge and government I succeeded, whose vertue and felicitie withall, I besought the immortal gods to vouchsafe unto me (and my praiser was not in vain:) and you likewise, O *P. Scipio*, who with the Cos. your brother & in the whole armie, had the rounne & place indeed of an adioinct lieutenant & no more, but caried the maiestie of a Colleague & joint companion; I speak frankly both of you upon your knowledge, whether whole legions of Gauls served not in the armie of *Antiochus*? Tell us, whether you saw them not in the field, marshalled in both the points and flanks of the maine battell, as the very flower & strength of the whole puissance of *Antiochus*? Say directly, fought yee not with them, slew you them not, & caried away their spoils, as undoubted and lawfull enemies? And yet both Senate decreed and people ordained war with *Antiochus* by name, and not with the Gauls. But I trow (or els I am much deceived) within this decree and ordinance, they included all those besides that came to aid and assist him. Of whom (excepting *Antiochus* himselfe, with whom *Scipio* had articted peace and alliance, and yee also had expressly given order therfore) they all were our enemies no doubt, who had born arms against us in the quarrell and behalfe of the said *Antiochus*. Now albeit the Gauls above all others were K computed in this number, together with some pettie kings and tyrants besides; yet I contracted accord and peace with others, (after I had forced them to suffer due punishment according to their trespass) as faine I thought it expedient for the honour of your Empire: yea, and I attained also to gaine and win the hearts of the Gauls, if happily it had beene possible to have dulced and reclaimed them from their inbred fiercenesse and naturall crueltie. But when I perceived that they were untractable, untamed, and implacable, then and not before I resolved, that it was high time to bridle and bring them into order by violence and force of armes. Now that I have cleared the former point of my accusation, as touching the enterprise of the war, it remaineth that I yeeld you an account of the conduct thereof. Wherein verily I would make no doubt to approve mine innocence, and justifie the goodnesse of my cause, if I were to plead, I say not, L in the Senat of Rome, but even at the counsell table of Carthage; where (as men say) they make no more ado, but trusse up, hang, & crucifie their Generals, if they proceed to execution of any service in war with bad advice and counsell, although the issue and event be never so good. But in that citie, which therefore useth the name of the gods both before they begin, & also when they proceed to the managing of all their affaires, (because no person should come to detract or deprave that maliciously, which the gods have once approved) and which citie in the grant and ordinance either of procession or triumph, useth this solemn forme of words: *For that hee hath well and happily administred and managed the weale publike*; In this citie, I say, if I were unwilling, nay, if I reputed it an odious matter, and favouring too much of pride and arrogance, to vaunt my selfe and boast of mine owne prowesse; yet if in regard of the happie successe and felicitie of M my selfe and mine armie, in that without any losse of souldiours, wee vanquished and subdued so great and mightie a nation, I demaunded first that due honour and thanksgiving should be rendered unto the immortal gods, and then, that I might my selfe ascend and mount up the Capitoll in triumph, from whence I descended to take my voiage, after I had conceived and pronounced

A, nounced my vowes, and made my praier for the solemne and religious order; would ye denie both me and the immortal gods also? Yes marrie would you, and why? Forsooth I fought in a place of disadvantage. But tell mee then, I pray you, in what ground I might have fought with better vantage? considering the enemies were seized of the hill, and kept themselves within their strength and fort. I should have gone unto them, if I had been willing to have vanquished and overcome them. What? how if they had been there within a strong citie? how if they had kept within the walls, and would not have issued forth? You must then have laid siege unto them and given the assault. Must I so indeed? And how I pray? Fought *At. Achus* (I beseech you) at Thermopylae in a place of advantage? Why? did not *T. Quintus* after this manner dispossesse *Philip* of the high mountaines, which hee held over the river Aous? In faith, I cannot yet devise B what kind of enemies they either imagine to themselves they were, or would have you to take and esteeme them to be. If degenerate, if effeminate, if enervate with the delights and pleasures of Asia, what danger was it to march up the hill against them with all disadvantage? If redoubted and terrible for fierce courage and bodily strength, denie yee triumph for so noble a victorie? Envie (my good *L.*) is blind, and can skil of nothing but to detract and defame vertues, to falsifie and corrupt the honors and rewards due therro. Pardon me I beseech your HH, and hold me excused, if I have ben over long and tedious. It is not, I assure you, any delight and pleasure that I take to put forth and glorifie my selfe, but a necessitie imposed upon me (in mine own defence, to confute these crimes objected against mee) which hath driven mine Oration out in length. To proceed, was it possible also that in Thrace I could make the passes within the forrests large and C wide, which naturally were straight & narrow? the ground plain & smooth, which by nature was uneven and rugged? Could I make leuell downs of steep mounts? open champion & fair fields of woodland overgrown, & rough wylds. Lay it in me, to prevent those Thracian thieves that they should not hide themselves within their peakish holes & ordinarie covert musets? Was it in my power, to impeache them that they might snatch and carie away nothing of our baggage? Was I able to warrant that none of our laboring beasts out of so great a number, should be driven & led away from their companie? that no person should bee hurt? and finally, that *Q. Minutius* a brave and hardie knight, should not die of his wound? My adversaries presse hard and stand much upon this misfortune, that it was our unluckie hap to loose so worthy a gentleman: but they never think that if they would say nothing but suppress & conceale all, yet you should know (since the whole D armie is here present to testifie that which I say) That although the enemy assailed us in a narrow straight, in an inconvenient place of great disadvantage, yet both of our battallions at once, as well as the vanguard as reeward, compassed the armie of the Barbarians busie & occupied in rising of our hardage, slew many thousands of them that very day, & within few daies after either killed or took prisoners a greater number of them by far. Well, if I had not drawne a sword in Asia, if I had not seen an enemy there, yet I Proconfull had deserved a triumph wel ynough for those two battles in Asia. But ynough hath ben said of these matters, and I am to request you rather (my Lords E all) to forgive me for my boldnes, if I have held you longer than my will and desire was.

The accusation that day had prevailed more than his owne defense, but that they continued arguing and debating in the Counsell-house untill it was late in the evening. Then the Senate E arose with this mind (as it should seeme) to denie him a triumph. The next morrow, the kinsfolke and friends of *Cn. Manlius*, laboured all that ever they could. Likewise the authoritie of the ancients stood him in great steed; who said plainly that the precedent could not be found in any histories, That a generall who had vanquished his enemies, accomplished the full time of government in his province, and brought his armie back, returned into the citie as a private person, without the honor of the triumphant chariot and the laurell garland. The very indignitie and shame of this example, surmounted the malice of his adversaries, in so much as the Senators in a frequent assembly graunted his triumph.

The remembrance and memorie of this debate, was afterwards drowned in a greater contention, that arose with a faire mightier and more noble personage. For as *Valerius Antias* hath F recorded, the two *Q. Petilij*, called *P. Scipio Africanus* into question, and set him downe a day peremptorily to make his appearance, and answer for himselfe. This action divers men continued diversly, according to their severall disposition and affection. Some blamed not so much the Tribunes of the Commons, as the whole citie in generall, for suffering such an abuse; discouraging in this wise: That the two chiefeest States and Commonwealths in the world were be-

come at one time unthankfull, but Rome more ungratefull of the twaine. For Carthage being G subdued, had banished *Anniball* likewise vanquished: but Rome a victresse was about to expulse *Africanus* a conquerour. Others againe reasoned thus: that in no State there ought to be a citizen so preeminent and high above the rest, that he might not be under law, and brought to answere unto interrogatories accordingly. And nothing preserveth ifonomie in a citie, & main- teineth equall libertie more, than to have the mightiest man to hold up his hand at the barre. For what may be safely committed to any man (and surely the soveraigne rule of the state least of all other things) if he be not to yeeld an account of the managing of his affaires? And verily, he that can not abide to be equall unto others, to proceed against such a one by rigor and force, is no injustice at all. Thus men commonly talked *pro & contra*, untill the judiciall day came of his personall appeerance, and answere to be made. Never was there man knowne before that H day (no not *Scipio* himselfe when he was at the highest, either Consull or Censor) accompanied with a greater traine of men of all degrees and qualities, than he that day was conducted unto the common place and court of Pleas as an accused person, there to plead his cause. Being com- manded to speake in his owne defense, he began his oration without any mention at all of the imputations and matters with which he was charged, and entered into a discourse of the acts by him atchieved; and that with such a majestie and magnificence as it was well knowne and confessed, that never man was praised either better or more truly than hee. For with what courage and mind he atchieved those his brave exploits in deed, with the same spirit he deli- vered them in words. And no man thought him tedious and was weery to heare his speech, be- cause all that he related was for his owne defence in this his danger, and not upon vaineglorie I and ostentation. The Tribunes of the Commons his adversaries, when they had laid open certeine supposed crimes committed of old, as touching his wastfull excesse whiles he wintered in Syracusa; as also the riot and outrage of *Pleminius* which hapned at Locri; they proce- ded to charge him by presumptions and suspicions, rather than by direct evidences and proues, for embezzeling and averting to his proper use certeine treasure gotten from king *Antiochus*; and namely, that his sonne being taken prisoner, was rendred unto him without ranfome; and that in all other things, *Scipio* was respected and regarded of *Antiochus*, as if he alone had caried the Romane peace and warre under his girdle. Also that he bare a strong hand over the Consull, more likewis a Dictatour and absolute commander, than a Lieute- nant and assistant unto him, all the while he was in the province. Neither aimed he and thot K at any other marke, when he went that journey, but that the same, which long before was no- toriously knowne to Spaine, Gaule, Sicilie and Africk, might as evidently appeere to Greece, to Asia, and to all the kings and nations of the East parts, to wit, that hee was the onely man, hee was the chiefe, the head and pillar of the Romane Empire; that under the shadow of *Scipio* his wing, that citie which is the ladie of the world, was couvert and protected; that a becke and nod of his head, was as good as all arests of Senat and hefts of people. Thus when they could not touch him in life, nor fasten upon him any note of infamie, they charged him all that ever they could with matter to kindle envie. Thus with orations they spent the time untill night came, and the busines was put over to another day: which being come, the Tribunes onely be- times in the morning were set in their pews within the Rostra [or common pleading place.] L The defendant was called; who garded with a great companie of his friends and followers, passed through the mids of the assembly, approched the Rostra, and stood just under it. Then after an *oyez*; and silence made: My maisters (quoth he) you that are Tribunes of the Com- mons, and ye likewise *Quirites*, my neighbours and citizens of Rome, upon this very day of the moneth it was that I fought a pight bataille against *Anniball* and the Carthaginians, with right fortunate and happie successe; meete therefore and good reason since it is, that to day all pleas and actions surcease: I will go directly and immediately from hence to the Capitoll, and present my selfe before *sup. Opt. Max.* before *Iuno*, and *Minerva*, with all the rest of other gods and goddes, presidents and patrons of that temple and forresse, to performe my humble dutie unto them, to salute and thanke them, for that they have vouchsafed me that M resolute affection and powerfull meanes withall, both on such a day as this, and also many times besides, to performe my devoir well and truly unto the Common-weale. As many of you therefore (*Quirites*) as well may, go yec with me, and pray the gods to send you like go- vernors to my selfe, and no worse. If I say (and not else) as you ever since I was seventene yeeres

A yeeres of age, even to these mine old dayes, you alwayes advaunced me to honours before the ordinarie time of mine age, so I againe devanced & prevented the said honours with good service and noble deeds. This said, he departed from the Rostra & ascended up to the Capitoll; where- at the whole audience there assembled turned at once and followed *Scipio*: in so much as at last the scribes and notaries, yea and the very sergeants left the Tribunes there alone, without any to beare them companie but their owne bondservants and the common cryer, who still from the Rostra called and cited the defendant. *Scipio* not only visited the temples upon the Capitoll hill, but also made a perambulation with the people of Rome throughout the whole citie to all the churches and chappels of their gods and goddes. This was in manner a more solemne day unto him in regard of the affectionat favour of men, and the estimation of his true grandeur B in deed, than on which he rode into the citie in triumph over king *Syphax* & the Carthaginians. But it was the last faire day that ever he saw: and never shone the sunne againe pleasantly upon *P. Scipio*. For after this, foreseeing envie growing toward him, and what a life and how full of de- bates he should have with those Tribunes, upon a longer day graunted for the processe of law against him, he retired himselfe apart to Liternum, offer purpose to make default and not appeere to plead his cause any more. He caried a greater spirit with him, his heart was too big, and used he had bene to higher degree of port & honor, than to take knowledge what it was to be accu- sed: he could not skill to vale boner and stoup so low, and to abase himselfe to the abject condi- tion of those that pleaded for themselves at the barre. Now when the day was come, and that in his absence his name began to be called, *L. Scipio* answered for him, and alledged sicknes to be C the cause why he was away. But the Tribunes his accusers, would not admit of that excuse, reply- ing & saying, That upon the same pride of heart, in which he avoided once before, his judiciall trial, and left the Tribunes and the whole assembly, he now also would not appeare to make his answere. Even so triumphed he then over the people of Rome, when accompanied with those whom he led after him as prisoners (after he had once taken from them their power & libertie to give their censure and doome of him) he sequestred himselfe that day, by way of an insurrection from the Tribunes of the Commons, into the Capitoll. VVell are ye now served therefore (say they) and justly punished for that dayes folly and rashnes. For lo, how he himselfe now abando- neth you, who was your motive & leader then, to forsake us. See how every day more than other our courage is fallen and hart abated? And dare we not now send folke to fetch him (a privat D person and no more) out of his ferme and house in the countrey, and make him to appeare and plead his answere; unto whom not past 17 yeeres ago, at what time as he was Generall of an ar- mie on land, and Admirall of the Armada by sea, we were so bould as to send tribunes of the Com. and an *Aedile*, to arrest and bring him away with them to Rome? In the end, the rest of the tribunes of the Commons, being called earnestly unto by *L. Scipio* for their lawfull favour, set downe this order & conclusion, That if sicknes were alledged for his excuse, and that there were nothing else but it that occasioned his absence, it should be received for good and lawfull, and their colleagues should adjourne his trial to a farther day. It fortunated at that time that *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus* was one of the Tribunes, betweene whome and *P. Scipio* there was some quartell and enmitie. He forbad expressely that his owne name should be subscribed to the in- strument of the foresaid decree of his colleagues. And when every man looked to heare some heavier sentence denounced against *Scipio*, he awarded in this manner. For as much as *L. Scipio* excuseth the absence of his brother by sicknes, it is good and sufficient in my opinion. And E more than that, I will not for my part suffer *P. Scipio* to be accused before he retorne againe to Rome. Yea and then also, if he call for my helping hand, I will geve him assistance, and stop the course of processe against him. And as to the maine point of the cause, this is my resolution, That *P. Scipio* being advanced so highly (as he is) to that pitch of honor, by his noble & famous exploits, and by the dignities received at the hands of the people of Rome, as if both gods and men had consented to set him aloft, for him to come downe now and stand pleading below at the barre beneath the Rostra, and there to have his eares glow and ring againe with the checks and taunts of certaine greene heads and busie youths, were a greater shame and disgrace to the people of Rome, than to himselfe. Nay, he said not thus with this bare award, but sealed & set it on surely with words of indignation, testifying his discontentment for this course and maner of pro- ceeding. And shal *Scipio* quoth he, my maisters Tribunes that renowned conquerour of Africk, stand under your feet at your devotion? Defeated he & put to flight in Spain 4 most brave & noble Generals

Generals of the Carthaginians, with their foure entire armies, for this? Tooke hee *Syphax* G
prisoner, vanquished he *Anniball*, subdued he Carthage and made it tributarie unto us? Cha-
sed he *Antiochus* beyond the mountaine *Taurus*, (for it must be confessed, that in this glori-
ous conquest *L. Scipio* had his brother compartner with him) and all for this, to be troden un-
der foot of two *Petilijs*? And that yee should seeke to triumph over *P. Africanus*? Will it never
be better? Shall great personages (with all the good deserts of their owne, for all the dignities
and honors by you upon them conferred) never reach and attaine to a strong fort and sure place
of defence, wherein they may make account to be safe and past all daunger, and wherein their
old age may rest and repose, if not with worship and honour, yet at least-wise in securitie, ex-
empt from abuse and violent outrage? The sentence it selfe of *Gracchus* (enforced with such
a speech especially) mooved not others onely, but also the very accusers themselves; who made H
no other rejoynder againe but thus, That they would consider better what they might by their
place, and what they ought of dutie to doe. When the assembly of the people was broken up,
the LL. of the Senate began to sit in counsell; where, the whole order of the Senatours (but
principally the auncients and as many as had been Consuls) highly commended and thanked
Tib. Gracchus, for that he had preferred the weale-publike, before privat grudges and particu-
lar quarrels. But the *Petilijs* were well shent and baited with reprochfull checkes and bitter re-
lar quarrels. But the *Petilijs* were well shent and baited with reprochfull checkes and bitter re-
larks, in that they would seeme to rise by the fall of another, and to grace themselves with the
bukes, in that they would seeme to rise by the fall of another, and to grace themselves with the
disgrace of *Africanus*, and seeke to triumph over him and be enriched with his spoiles. Well,
after that, there were no more words of *Scipio Africanus*. The rest of his life hee passed at Liter-
num, and never had mind to come to the citie: there ended he his daies in a countrey village; I
and (as they say) he charged his executors upon his death-bed, to interre him in that very place.
And there, his tombe or monument was built, because he would not that so much as his funerall
obsequies should be perfovrmed at Rome, (his native countrey) so unthankfull as it was. A rare
man he was, and worthy to be recommended to the memorie of all posteritie: howbeit, the for-
mer part of his life was more singular and mentorable, as well for the conduct of martiall ex-
ploits in war, as the governance of civill affaires in peace, than his latter daies. For in his youth,
he followed the warres continually; whereas in his old age, as his bodie decayed and faded, so
whatsoever he did, lost much of the wonted beautie and lustre. Besides, there was no matter
presented, to employ that wit and spirit of his. What ods was there betwene his former Con-
sullship and the second, although ye put his Censorship to it in the ballance: What comparison K
was there, and what sensible thing in that lieutenantie of his in Asia? of so litle or no employ-
ment was it by reason of his owne sicknesse; and blemished withall, by occasion of the misfor-
tune of his sonne. And afterward, his return home againe was no lesse unfortunate, for the hard
choice whereunto hee was driven, forced of necessitie to abide the triall of a doubtfull issue in
judgement, or in avoiding it by making default, to quit withall his native citie for ever. Howbeit
he alone went away with the honour above all other, of finishing the Punicke war, as great and
daungerous to the Romanes as any that ever they made.

When *Africanus* was once dead and his head laid, his adversaries and enemies were aloft: of
whome, *M. Porcius Cato* was the chiefe and principall: a man who was wont to baite (as it
were) and raile against him during his life, in regard of his greatnes. And it is thought, that the
Petilijs were set on by him, and procured through his persuasion, both in the life of *Africanus* to
have drawne out, and after his death to have preferred a bill in this forme and manner follow-
ing: May it please you to graunt and ordeine, that true search and diligent enquire be made,
what summes of mony were taken in prize, caried away, and levied of king *Antiochus* and those
which were under his obedience and dominion; and that of as much thereof as came not into
the publike treasure and chamber of the citie, *Scr. Sulpitius* (the Pretour of the citie) may pro-
pose unto the Senat, to know their advise and pleasure touching it: that whomsoever of all the
Pretours for the time now being, it shall please the Senat to appoint, hee may sit in commission
and inquisition thereof. This bill was first crossed by *Q.* and *Lucius Mummus*, who thought it
meet and reason, that the Senat alone (as at all times heretofore) should make due enquire of M
the monies so purloined and embezeled, as is aforesaid, & not brought into the common chest
of the citie. The *Petilijs* charged the *Scipions* for being over great and mightie, and as it were KK
in the Senat, to carrie all away before them. *L. Furius Purpureo* (a man that had been Consull,
and one of the ten commissioners in Asia) was of opinion, that the foresaid enquest should be
graunted

A graunted in more large and ample tearmes, namely, as touching the money not onely taken
from *Antiochus*, but also from other kings and nations: covertly taxing herein *Cn. Manlius* his
old enemy. *L. Scipio* on the other side stepped forth to dissuade this matter; albeit it was thought
he would rather speake in defence of himselfe, than against the thing. Hee complained much
and shewed his grievance, that such a bill as this should come forth now, and be set on foot af-
ter the death of his brother *Africanus*, the most valiant knight and noblest personage that ever
was. As if it were not sufficient, that *P. Africanus* wanted the solemne Panegyrick oration at the
Rostra after his death, but hee must be accused also. Why? the very Carthaginians are conten-
ted with the exile of *Anniball*, and seeke no more: but the people of Rome is not satisfied even
with the death of *Scipio*, unlesse both his owne good name after hee is buried be wounded and
mangled, and his brother also (to fill up the measure of mens malice and hatred) be killed and
B sacrificed upon his tombe. *M. Cato* spake in the behalfe of the bill, and persuaded that it might
passe. His oration as touching the treasure of king *Antiochus*, is extant to be scene: and by the
majestie of his authoritie, he diverted the two *Mummij* Tribunes of the Commons, cleane a-
way, from interposing themselves any more. When they once had renounced and given over
their negative, all the tribes in generall passed their voices affirmatively, *Vti rogasti*. After this,
Scr. Sulpitius proposed unto the Senat, Whome they would appoint for this enquest according
to the act *Petilia*? and the LL. of the Senat deputed *Q. Terentius Culleo*. This Pretor was so great
a friend to the house of the *Cornelij*, that some authors, namely those, who report how *P. Scipio*
both died and also was carried forth to be enterred at Rome (for that bruit also runneth currant)
C have written, How he went at his funerals before the biere and the mourners, with a cap of liber-
tie on his head, like as hee had done before in his triumph, and gave sweet wine or mede to all
those that attended the convoy, as farre as to the gate *Capena*. This honour he did *Scipio* at his
death, for that among other prisoners in *Affrick*, he was by his meanes recovered out of the ene-
mies hand. But it should seeme rather, that hee was such an enemy to that familie, that for the
cankred rancour and malice which he caried against that name, he was by the adverse faction of
the *Scipions*, chosen especially of purpose to sit upon and execute this inquisition. But certein
itis, before this Pretour (all in his extremities, who either in love and friendship, or in hatred
and enmitie, kept no meane) information was given immediately against *L. Scipio*. Present-
ments were made likewise, and the names received of his lieutenants *A. Hostilius* and *L. Hostilius*
D both *Catoes*: & of his treasurer besides, *C. Furius Aculeo*. And to the end that it should appeare to
the world, that they were all attaint of this crime of purloining and robbing the publike treasure
of the common weale in one complot, there were two secretaries also and one of his sergeants
called into question. But these three last mentioned, and *L. Hostilius* before-named, were found
unguiltie and acquit, before *Scipio* had his judicall triall: howbeit *Scipio* and *A. Hostilius* his lieu-
tenant, together with *C. Furius* were condemned. *Scipio*, for that he (as *Valerius Antias* writeth)
to make a more easie peace to the contentment of *Antiochus*, received 6000 pound weight of
gold, and 480 pound weight of silver more than he brought into the citie chamber. *A. Hostilius*,
for that he likewise detained eightie pound weight of gold, and 483 pound of silver: and
Furius the Questor for keeping back to his own use 130 pound of gold, & two hundred of silver.
E These summes I set downe of gold and silver, as I find them gathered and registred by *Valerius*
Antias in his Chronicle. As for the summes of gold and silver, which *L. Scipio* should embezele,
I would rather thinke that the clerke or secretarie faulted with his pen in writing the copies, than
the authour lied so lowd with his tongue in the first enditing of the Originall. For it is more like-
ly of the twaine, that the weight of the silver was more than of gold. As also that the fine where-
in he was condemned, should amount but to fortie thousand *Sesterces, than arite to two hun-
dred and fortie thousand. And the rather I am induced thus to calculate, because it is said,
that *P. Scipio* himselfe was required in the Senate to give his account but of such a summe; and
when he had bidden his brother *L.* to fetch him that booke of accounts, he tooke it of him, and
there before the Senat, tare and rent it with his owne hands, with great indignation, that having
F brought into the Treasure two millions of Sesterces, hee was called to his account for fortie
thousand. In which confident boldnesse of spirite and courage, when the Questours durst
not (against the order of law) take soorth money out of the Treasure, hee called for the keyes,
and said he would bee so bold as to open the chests of the Treasure, since hee was the cause that
they were locked. Many things besides are diversly reported of *Scipio*, especially as touching the
latter

* Sestercius, is
the fourth part
of a Roman de-
narius, 3 half-
pence farthing
each.

latter end of his life, his trouble and accusation, his death, his funerals, and last of all, of his sepulchre and tombe, which distract mee so, that I wot not what report to cleave unto, nor which records to beleve. For they accord not as concerning his accuser. Some write it was *M. Naevius*, others againe say that they were the *Petilians* that called him to his answer. Neither agree they in the time when he was thus troubled, nor in the yeere, no nor the place wherein he died, ne yet where he was entred. Some affirme he ended his daies and was buried at Rome, others at Litemum. And in both places there are monuments and Statues of his to be seene. For at Litemum there stood a tombe, and over the same tombe an image of his personage erected, which of late time we our selves saw overthrowne in a tempest. At Rome likewise without the gate Capena, there be three statues upon the monument of the *Scipios*, whereof two are said to be of *Pub.* and *L. Scipio*, and the third of *Q. Ennius* the Poet. And this difference, among authours is not touching his acts and affaires onely, but also about the very Orations (if so be they were the Orations indeed of *P. Scipio* and *Tiberius Gracchus*, which are commonly so taken and caried about) which disagree so much as they doe. For the title of the Oration that goeth for *P. Scipio*, hath the name of *M. Nevius*, a Tribune of the Commons: but through the whole Oration it selfe there is no mention at all of that accuser. He tearmeth him one while *Nebulos* [Knave] and another while *Nugator* [Cousiner.] In like sort the Oration of *Gracchus* maketh no mention at all either of the *Petilijs*, the accusers of *Africanus*, or of the day assigned unto him for his answer. And we must devise to tell the whole tale otherwise, if we would have it to agree with the Oration of *Gracchus*: and follow wee must those authours, who write, that when *L. Scipio* was accused and condemned for taking bribes of king *Antiochus*, his brother *Africanus* was embassador in Tuscane, and upon the newes of his brothers trouble and misfortune, left his embassage, & made hast to Rome. Where hee tooke his way directly from the gate to the common place (for that it was told him how his brother was going to prison) and thrutt the sergeant from his bodie, yea, and when the Tribunes themselves would have restrained him, he used violence against them, and caried himselfe in this action so, as he shewed more kindnesse and love to his brother, than manners and civilitie otherwise. For thus complaineth *Gracchus* in his Oration, That the Tribunes authoritie and power was infringed and broken by a private person. And in the latter end, when he promised to assist *L. Scipio*, hee knit up his speech with these words, That it was a thing more tollerable, that both the Tribunitian puissance and the Commonweale should seeme overcome and surmounted by Tribunes themselves, than by a private man. But hee aggravated and enforced this one violence and excessive outrage against him, & made it odious in such sort, that in blaming him for so much overthrowing himselfe and degenerating as it were from his owne nature, he rehearsed the commendable parts of his moderation and temperat carriage of himselfe aforetime, and that in so good tearmes and ample manner, that thereby he made him some part of amends for the sharpe reprehension he used for the present. For he said, that in times past he had rebuked and reproved the people, when they would have made him a perpetuall Consull and Dictator; that he had forbidden expressely, that any of his Statues in triumphant habite, should bee set up and erected in the publicke places of assemblies, as in the Comitium and Curia, in the Capitoll and chappell of *Iupiter Opt. Max.* These commendable reports of him, if they were uttered in an Oration penned of purpose for his praise, must needs testifie and shew a wonderfull magnanimitie of his, in the moderate use of high honours according to a civile port; which an enemy by way of reproch and upbraiding him, acknowledged and confesseth. But all writers accord, that *Gracchus* tooke to wife the younger of his two daughters (for the elder without all question was affianced and given in marriage by her father unto *P. Cornelius Nasica*.) But it is not so certainly agreed upon, whether she was both betrothed & wedded also unto him, after her fathers death or no. As also, whether it be true (as it is reported) that when *L. Scipio* was a leading to prison, *Gracchus*, seeing none of his owne fellow Tribunes to succour and rescue him, swore a great oath and protested, that he was an enemy still to the *Scipios* as much as ever hee was, and would not doe any thing to currie favour with them, or to come into their grace; yet could hee never endure that he should be caried to that prison, into which he had seene his brother *Africanus* lead many kings, great Generals and Commaunders of enemies, captive. Moreover, that the same day the Senate fortun'd to be at supper together in the Capitoll, and arose up all at once, and requested *Africanus* to affiance his daughter to *Gracchus*, before the supper and banquet was ended. Which espousals being performed with all due complements accordingly, during the time of

A that solemne feast, *Scipio* when hee was returned home to his house, said unto his wife *Acmylia*, that he had fianced and bestowed his daughter upon an husband. Shee then, falling into a fit of choler like a woman, and chafing that he had not made her acquainted with the matter, and taken her advice touching the maiden, who was as much her child as his, brake out into these words withall, that if hee had given her in marriage to *Tiberius Gracchus*, yet good reason it was that the mother should have been at the making of the bargain. Whereupon *Scipio* tooke great contentment and joy at this conformitie of judgement in the choise, and inferred straightwaies, that hee was the man to whome shee was espoused. Thus much I thought good to relate of this worthie and noble person, albeit there is great varietie of opinions, and diversitie of writings in that behalfe.

B After the Pretor *Q. Terentius*, had finished the inquisition and whole proceffe thereof, *Hostilius* and *Furius*, who were attaint and condemned, that very day put in sufficient sureties to be bound in recognisance to the treasurers of the citie, for the payment of their fines. But *Scipio* debating the matter still, & pleading that all the mony which he had received was in the citie chamber, & that he had purloined none of the publick treasure, was laid hold on to be had away and committed to prison. Then *P. Scipio Nasica* called unto the Tribunes for their help, & made a speech, full of true praises and commendations, nor in generall only of the whole name & familie of the *Corneljs*, but in particular also of his own house. And namely he alledged and said, That himselfe and *P. Africanus*, together with *L. Scipio* (who now was going to prison) had to their fathers *Cn. Scipio* and *P. Scipio*, most noble and famous personages: those who for certain years in the land of Spain, advanced the renoume and glorie of the Roman name, maugre the heads of many captains and armies, as well of Carthaginians as Spaniards; not only in martiall tears of war, but also in this especially, that they had given testimonie & prooffe unto those nations, of the temperate government, and faithfull dealing of the Romanes; and in the end both of them spent their blood and lost their lives in the quarrell of the people of Rome. And albeit it had been sufficient for all their posteritie to maintain only and uphold the glorie from them received, yet *P. Africanus* so farre surpassed the praise-worthie acts of his father, that it was verily beleev'd he was not borne of humane blood, but descended from some divine & heavenly race of the gods. As for *L. Scipio*, who now is in trouble (to say nothing of his worthie acts which hee achieved in Spaine and in Affricke, when hee was lieutenant there to his brother Consull) hee was both reputed by the Senate sufficient, without any casting of lots, to undertake the province of Asia and the warre against king *Antiochus*, and also esteemed by his brother *Africanus* so worthie a person, that himselfe who had been Consull twice, Cenfor once, & had ridden in triumph, thought not scorne to accompanie him into Asia in qualitie of his lieutenant. In which province (to the end that the greatnesse and resplendent glorie of the lieutenant should not dimme the brightnesse of the Consull, and drowne his vertues and good parts) it so fell out, that the very same day, on which *L. Scipio* vanquished *Antiochus* neere Magnesia, *P. Scipio* lay sicke at Elaea, a citie distant certain daies journeyes. He defeated I say an armie there, nothing inferior to that of *Annibal*, with whom his brother had encountered before in Affricke. In which battel, among other great commaunders and captains under the king, *Annibal* was himselfe employ'd in person, even he who had ben the grand-Generall in the Punick war. Which service was so well conducted and managed, that a man possibly could not find fault so much as with fortune, or any accident that happened there. And now, when the war is unblamable, there is picked matter of crimination in the peace: & it (they say) was bought and sold for mony. In which challenge the ten deputies and assistants in counsell, are also touched and noted with corruption, by whose advice the said peace was granted & concluded. Well, of those ten, there were some that stepped forth & accused *Cn. Manlius*: yet so far off was that accusation of theirs from being credited, that it did not so much as hinder & delay the very time of his triumph. But (beleev'e me) in *Scipio* his case, the very conditions of peace favour strongly of briberie and indirect dealing, for that they are advantageous, respective and favorable on the part of *Antiochus*. For, his kingdom is left entire and whole unto him; now that he is vanquished, he possesseth as much as before the war began; and *Scipio* having received from him a mightie masse of gold and silver, hath brought nothing into the common treasure, but averted all from thence, and converted it to his proper use. Why? was there not carried in pomp at the triumph of *L. Scipio* (in the very sight of all men) as much gold and silver, as in ten triumphs before (and put them all together) could not be shewed. For what should I speak of the

the confines and frontiers of his realme? Namely, that *Antiochus* beforetime held under his dominion all Asia, and the marches also of Europe adjoining? And how great a part of the world that is, which extendeth from the hill *Taurus*, and lyeth out so farre as the *Egean* sea; how many not cities onely, but spacious countries and populous nations it containeth, all men know right well: as also that this countrey, bearing out in length more than thirtie daies journey, & in breadth between two seas ten daies journey, even as farre as to the top of the mountaine *Taurus*, is taken from *Antiochus*, and he driven into the utmost angle and corner of the globe of the earth? What could hee have been disseized of more, in case his peace had cost him never a pennie of money? When *Philip* was conquered, he had Macedonie left unto him; when *Nabis* was subdued he enjoied still Lacedæmon: and no man ever went about to call *Quintius* in question for it. And why may hee had not to his brother *Scipio Africanus*, for whose sake, the envie & mallice of men hath defaced & hurt *L. Scipio*, whereas his brothers glorie ought to have graced and helped him? Would any man of sence & reason judge, that so much gold & silver was brought into the house of *L. Scipio*, as may not possibly be raised if all the goods he hath were sold to the worth? What should become of all that gold of the kings? Where be those great purchases of lordships and inheritances that he hath made therewith? Certes it cannot be, but in that house which hath not exceeded in superfluous expense, there should be seen some heap & mount of this new treasure: But what care his enemies for this? That which cannot be made, of the substance & goods of *L. Scipio*, they will make good on his bodie and back; which they meane to torture (belike) and expose to all contumelie and villanie, to the end, that a man of the best make & qualitie that ever was, should be shut up in a dungeon among robbers by the high way side, amongst night thieves and cutpurves, and there in the hard stoeks and balefull darkenes tender his last breath; and when he is dead, to have his bodie cast out naked at the prison dore. But be it whensoever it shal, this will hee no greater blot to the house *Cornelia*, than a shamefull reproch for ever to the citie of Rome. Against all these remonstrances, the Pretour *Ferentius*, opposed and red the law *Petilia*, the decree of the Senat, and the sentence given against *L. Scipio*. And he for his own part said, he could not doe withall, but if the summe wherein he was condemned, were not brought into the common Treasurehouse, hee knew no other remedie, nor what els to doe, but to commaund him (a condemned person) to be apprehended againe, and had away to prison. Then the Tribunes went apart to consult and lay their heads together: And within a while after *C. Flaminius* pronounced aloud, according to his owne advice and the opinion of all his Colleagues (excepting onely *Gracchus*) That the Tribunes were, not interpose themselves, but that the Pretour might do and execute his office and his authoritie to the full. But *Trib. Gracchus* set down his own decree in this forme, That as touching the summe wherein *L. Scipio* was condemned, he would not bee against it, nor impeach the Pretour, but that hee might use his power according to his place, and take it out of his goods, as farre as they would stretch. But that *L. Scipio*, who hath subdued the mightiest and most puissant monarch in all the world, who hath set out and extended the bounds of the Romane empire, as farre as the farthest frontiers and ends of the earth, who hath obliged and bound king *Eumenes*, the Rhodians, and so many cities and States besides of Asia, & made them beholden to the people of Rome, for favours and benefits bestowed upon them, finally, who hath himselfe laid up fast in prison many a Generall captaine over the enemies, after hee led them in triumph: that hee shal, should lie in prison many a yeere among the enemies of the people of Rome, hee would never suffer: and therefore hee commaunded him to be released and set at large. This decree was heard with so great applause, and all men were so joious to see *L. Scipio* delivered, that hardly a man would have beleevied (unless he had seene it) that there had been such a judgement passed in the same citie. Then the Pretour sent the Questours or Treasurers, to enter and seize upon all the goods of *L. Scipio*, in the name and to the use of the citie: whereof there was not to be found, so much as any one token or mention of the kings money, no nor so great a sum could be raised, as the fine came to where in he was condemned. The friends, kinsfolke, followers and well-willers of *L. Scipio*, made such a contribution of money for him, that if hee would have accepted of it, he had been a richer man by odds, than he was before this crosse and calamitie fell upon him. But he tooke never a denier. His nearest kinsmen in blood bought againe and redeemed as much of his owne goods, as served for his necessarie maintenance and no more. And the envie and hatred of men intended against the *Scipios*, turned upon the heads of the Pretour and his counsell, together with the accusers themselves.

THE

THE XXXIX. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the nine and thirtieth Booke.



Marcus Emilius the Consull after he had subdued the Ligurians, made the street or high way from Plaisance to Ariminum, untill it met with the way Flaminia. In this booke are recounted the beginnings of riotous and dissolute life brought in by the Asian armie. All the Ligurians on this side Apenine are tamed and brought under. The Bacchanales (a Greekeish feast and celebrated in the night season, the very seminarie and nurse-garden of all wickedness, being grown to this enormitie, that therein was contrived a conspiracie and complot of a mightie multitude) were now visited and searched into by the Consull, and put downe with the punishment of many persons. *L. Quintius Flamininus*, the brother of *T. Quintius*, was deprived of his Senators dignitie by the Censors, to wit, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *Mar. Pacius Cato*, a right excellent man, as well for feats of arms as peace. The cause was this, for that while he was Consull and governor in Gaule, at the request of one *Philippus Pœnus*, a notorious wanton *Ganymede* whom he loved, he slew a certain Gaule with his own hand: or, as some have written, because at the entreatie of an harlot, upon whom he was enamoured, he beheaded one of them that were condemned. The invective Oration of *M. Cato* against him is extant. *Scipio* departed this life at Liternum, and (as if Fortune would have his funeral accompanied with the death at the same time of two most renowned and great personages) *Anniball* poisoned himselfe, by occasion that *Prusias* king of Bithynia (unto whom hee was fled for succour after the defeature of king *Antiochus*) would have yielded him into the hands of the Romans, who had sent for *T. Quintius Flamininus* to demand him. Likewise *Philopamen* the Generall of the Achæans, an excellent man, was poisoned by the *Meßenians*, who took him prisoner in warre. Colonies were sent to Pollentia, Pisaurum, Mutina, and Parma. Over and besides, this booke containeth the prosperous affaires against the Celtiberians: also the beginning & cause of the Macedonian warre, whereof the originall spring arose from *Philip*, much discontented, that his kingdom was impaired by the Romans, in regard that he was forced by them to withdraw his garisons out of Thrace and other parts.



During the time that these affaires passed at Rome (if this were the yeere wherein they happened) both Consuls made warre against the Ligurians, a nation borne as it were to maintaine the militarie discipline of the Romanes, and to find them occupied in all times of respite and rest from greater warres; neither was there any other province that gave a sharper edge to the valour of the soldier. For Asia with the beautie of their cities, the abundance of all commodities as well by sea as land, the effeminate tenderesse of the enemies, and the roialtie of the kings riches, had made their armies more wealthie than valiant: and especially under the government of *Cneus Manlius*, nussed they were in much loosenesse and negligence. And therupon it was, that finding the way in Thrace a little more rough and difficult than ordinarie to travell in, and an enemy better practised and exercised to deale withall, they received a great foile and losse among them. Now in Liguria, they met with all things that might rouse and awake sleepeie souldiours: the countrey rough and full of mountaines, that much adoe they had themselves to seize the same, and as great a labour they found to disseize the enemies, that were before possessed of them: the waies, steepe up-hill, narrow, and dangerous for ambushes: the enemy, light, swift, nimble, and suddainely setting upon them, giving no time of rest, no place of repose and securitie. Driven they were of necessitie to assault strong and fortified castles, with great difficultie and daunger both: the countrey poore and needie, which caused the soldiours to spare and live hardly, and afforded them no foison of preys and prizes: and therefore no victualers, scullions,

scullions, souldiours boyes and lackies, followed the camp; neither the labouring beasts for carriage, tooke up a length in their march: nothing there, but armour and men, reposing all hope in their armes, and nothing else. And never wanted they some matter of quarrell, and some occasion or other to make war: for by reason of their barenesse and penurie, they made rodes into the lands of their neighbors, but so, as they never ventured all at once, nor put the main chance in hazard.

C. *Flaminius* the Consull having fought sundrie times with the Friniat Ligurians, and in many battailes gotten the better hand over them, even at home in their owne cuntry, brought the whole nation by composition under obedience, and disarmed them: but because in the deliverie of their armour, they dealt not soundly and faithfully, and should have bene chastised therefore, they abandoned their villages, and fled to the mountain *Auginus*; whither, the Consull pursued them hard at heeles: howbeit, being disbanded and scattered againe, and most of them disarmed, they fled into the valley through places where no wayes led, and over broken and cragged steep rocks, whereas the enemies could not possibly follow after, and so passed the other side of *Apennine*. But as many as kept still within their hold, were beset round about and overthrowne. Then were the legions led to the further side of *Apeninus*, where the enemies for a small while, defended themselves by the height of the place, but anon they yeelded. Then was their armour fought up with more care and diligence than before, and they were disarmed and stript out of all. After this, was the warre diverted and turned wholly upon the *Apuan Ligurians*, who had so over-run the territories of *Pisæ* and *Bolonia*, that they could not be manured and tilled. The Consull having subdued them also, granted peace unto the borderers: and now that he had brought the province into quietnes and rest; to the end, that his souldiours should not be idle and doe nothing, he made a causiey or street-way from *Bononia* to *Arretium*.

The other Consull *M. Æmilius*, set on fire the villages and wasted the lands of the Ligurians, as well in the champaigne fields as the valleys, when the inhabitants themselves were retired into the two mountaines *Balista* and *Suisinontium*, which they held. Afterwards, hee assailed them also who had taken the hills aforesaid; and first wearied them with light skirmishes; afterwards, he forced them to descend into the plaine, and there in a set battaile vanquished them: in which conflict he vowed a temple to *Diana*. Thus having subdued all on this side *Apennine*, hee then set upon those that dwelt beyond the mountaine; among whom were the *Frisinar Ligurians*, (so farre as to whome C. *Flaminius* went not:) all those, *Æmilius* subdued, despoiled them of their armour, and forced the multitude of them to forsake the mountaines and come downe into the plaines. After he had quieted the Ligurians, he led his armie into the country of the Gauls, and made an high way from *Placentia* to *Ariminum*, so as it met with the causiey *Flaminia*: and in the last battell wherein hee fought with banners displayed against the Ligurians, he vowed a temple to queene *Iuno*. And these were the exploits for that yeere, in *Liguria*.

M. Furius the Pretour in *Gauls*, seeking in time of peace for some pretence and colour of warre, had taken from the *Cenomans* their armour, notwithstanding they were innocent and did no harme. The *Cenomans* made complaint hereof at Rome to the Senate, and were put over to the Consull *Æmilius*, unto whome the Senat had directed a commission of oier and terminer. After great debate with the Pretor, they overthrew him in the action, and had their armour delivered unto them againe: and so the Pretour was commaunded to give over his government and depart out of the province.

After this, the Embassadors of the Latin nation, who assembled and resorted in great number out of all parts of *Latium*, had audience given them in the Senat. These complained, that a great multitude of their own naturall citizens, were removed and gon to inhabit in Rome, and there were enrolled: whereupon a commission was graunted to *Q. Terentius Culleo* the Pretour, to make search for such: and looke how many of them those Latine allies could prove to have been enrolled (either themselves or their fathers) in any citie or corporation of theirs, either at the time that C. *Claudius* and M. *Livius* were Censors, or after their Censorship, to force those to returne thither againe, where they had bene entred or matriculated. By vertue of this inquisition, to the number of twelve thousand Latines returned home againe into their owne cuntry: for now the citie of Rome was overcharged and pestered with a multitude of straungers and forreiners.

Before that the Consuls repaired to Rome, M. *Fulvius* the Proconsull returned out of *Ætolia*:

A *tolia*: who, after he had discoursed of his exploits performed in *Ætolia* and *Cephalenia*, before the Senate assembled in the temple of *Apollo*, requested of the LL. to judge it meet and requisite, and accordingly to graunt and ordeine, that praise and thanksgiving might be rendered unto the immortall gods, and himselfe allowed to triumph, for that he had so well and happily managed the affaires of the Common-weale. Then stept forth M. *Aburius* a Tribune of the Commons, and declared openly, That in case they went about to passe any decree in that behalfe, before the comming of M. *Æmilius* the Consull, he would crosse it: for that the Consull himselfe was minded to contradict that proceeding, and had given streight charge unto him, at what time as he tooke his journey to the province, that the consultation of this matter should be reserved wholly untill his returne home. And *Fulvius* (quoth he) shall loose so much time: and when the Consull himselfe is present in place to assist, then might the Senat moove what decree it pleased them. Then answered M. *Fulvius* and said: If men were ignorant either of the grudge and quarrell betwene me and M. *Æmilius*, or with what outrageous spirit and kinglike choller and indignation hee pursued the said enmitie and variance, yet it were not a terrible thing and to be endured, that the absence of the Consull should both impeach the honour due unto the immortall gods, and also hinder and stay the triumph which I have so justly deserved: that a Generall (I say) who had so worthily achieved his service, and an armie so victorious, should stay and give attendance without the citie gates, untill it pleased the Consull to returne home; who no doubt of very purpose and for the nones, upon this occasion would make slow hast and take his leisure. But now considering that the enmitie and heart-burning that the Consull beareth to me is so notorious as it is, What indifferencie and reasonable dealing may a man looke for at his hands? who taking the advantage of the time when a small number of Senators were assembled, caused an act of the Senat to passe by stealth, and entred it in the treasure house, containing thus much in effect, That *Ambracia* should not be reputed as a towne forced by assault, notwithstanding it were assailed with mantlets and platformes: where we were driven to erect new fabrickes, and plant other engines and ordinance of warre after the former were consumed with fire: where we mainteined fight about the walls, as well under the ground as above, for the space of fifteene dayes together: where, after that the souldiours had scaled and gained the walls, the conflict endured notwithstanding a long time doubtfull, from morning to night; and where were slaine above 3000 enemies. Now as touching the sacriledge committed (after the citie was forced) in spoiling the churches of the immortall gods, what a slander thinke yee, hath hee raised of me? what a matter hath he made thereof? and how hath hee enformed the Pontifices and Bishops? Vnlesse a man would say, that lawfull it was for the citie of Rome to be garnished and beautified with the ornaments of *Syracusa* and other cities woen by force; but the law of warre extended not to this onely citie of *Ambracia*? I beseech therefore the LL. of the Senat, yea and I request the Tribunes, not to suffer me to be mocked and abused by a most insolent & proud adversarie. Then on all hands they dealt with the Tribune, some intreated him, other rebuked and blamed him: but the speech of *Tib. Gracchus* (one of his colleagues) mooved him most of all others; who shewed, That it was no good precedent and example, that men should maintaine and follow their owne privat quarrels in time of magistracie and publick government; but a shamefull matter and a foule indignitie it was, and much unbeseeming the Tribunes of the Commons and their sacred lawes, that a Tribune should be a proctor to other men and prosecute their actions and enmities. Men ought (quod he) according to their own discretion and judgement, either to love or hate the persons, to like or dislike the cause; nor to depend and hang upon the countenance and becke of others, nor to be caried too and fro with the wils, pleasures, and appetites of other men. As for the Tribune of the Commons here, he accordeth and taketh part with a chollerike and testie Consull, and remembreth well what M. *Æmilius* left with him in private charge; but forgetteth altogether that the Tribuneship was committed unto him by the people of Rome: committed I say, and put into his hands for to assist privat persons, and to maintaine their liberties, and not to uphold the kinglike rule and roialtie of a Consull. Never seeth he thus much before him, that it will be written another day in the Annals and yearly Chronicles, That of two Commoner Tribunes in the same fellowship and societie, one for the love of the Common-weale renounced and gave over his owne private displeasure and enmitie to a particular person, and the other tooke charge as it were by way of Commission, to pursue the quarell of another man. The Tribune could endure no longer these rebukes and

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checks,

checks, and therewith departed out of the temple: then the Pretour *Scr. Sulpitius* propounded the bill the second time, and so a triumph was graunted to *M. Fulvius*. Who after he had rendered great thanks to the LL. of the Senate, added moreover and said, That the very day wherein he forced the citie Ambracia, he had by vow promised, to the honor of *Iupiter Opt. Max.* for to exhibit the great and solemne Romane games. And to that effect the cities of Greece had contributed toward the charges, a hundred pound weight of gold: his petition was therefore, that the Senate would ordeine that out of that masse of money which he was to cary and shew in triumph, and ment to bestow and lay up in the city Treasurie, the foresaid summe of gold might be sequestred and reserved apart for the proper use abovenamed. The Senate commaunded, that the Colledge of the Prelates and Priests in this case should be consulted with, and their advice demanded, whether they thought it necessarie that so much gold should be spent and consumed in the charges of the said Games? The Prelates made answer againe, that it was not materiall to religion and to the service of the gods, to how great a reckning soever the charges of the games should arise & amount. Whereupon the Senate permitted *Fulvius* to defray what he would himselfe, so as hee exceeded not the summe of 80000 [Asses]. Hee had purposed to triumph in the moneth of Ianuarie, but hearing that *Aemilius* the Consull (who was advertised by letters, that *Aburius* the Tribune of the Commons had renounced and let fall his opposition which hee commensed) was comming in proper person to Rome, onely for to hinder the triumph, and stayed by the way sicke; hee prevented the day, for feare hee should have had more anger and trouble in his triumph, than during his warre. So upon the 22 day of December he triumphed over the *Aetolians* and *Cephalenia*. Before his chariot there were borne a hundred crownes of gold, weighing twelve pound a peece: of silver 83000 pound weight: of gold 243 pound weight: of Attick Tetradrachmes 118000: of Philip peeces of gold coyne 12422: images of brasie 285: of marble 230. Likewise of armour, as well defensive as offensive, and other spoile of the enemies, an huge deale: besides Carapits, Balists, and other engins and peeces of batterie. Moreover there went before him 27 captaines either *Aetolians* and *Cephalenes*, or els under king *Antiochus*, leit by him in those parts. The same day before that he entered into the citie, he bestowed in the cirque *Flaminius* many militarie gifts and presents upon many colonels, captaines, horsemen and centurions, as well Romanes as allies. Generally to all the footemen he gave out of the pillage 25 Denarij apeece: twise as much to the centurions, and threefold to the horsemen.

Now approached the time of the solemne assembly for the election of Coss. and because *M. Aemilius* whose lot it was to be president thereof, could not be present at the day, *C. Flaminius* came of purpose to Rome. By whom were created Consuls *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Q. Martius Philippus*. After that were Pretours elected, to wit, *T. Manius*, *P. Cornelius Sulla*, *C. Calpurnius Piso*, *M. Licinius Lucullus*, *C. Aurelius Scarnus*, and *L. Quintius Crispinus*. In the end of the said yeere, after the Magistrates were thus created, *Cn. Manlius Volsus*, the third day before the Nones of March, triumphed over the *Gaules* who inhabit Asia. The cause why he triumphed so late, was this, for that he would avoid making his answer (according to the act of *Paiulus*) whiles *Q. Terentius Culleo* was Pretour: feare he should burne in the flame of the same sentence and judgement, whereby *L. Scipio* had bene condemned: or least the flame of another mans judgement, I meane the sentence whereby *L. Scipio* had bene condemned, would have bene too hote for him, and caught hold of him likewise: considering that the iurie and enquest were more incensed and provoked against him than *Scipio*; for that he succeeding after him, had spoiled and marred with all kind of licentious loosenes, the militarie discipline, which *Scipio* had observed most precisely and severely. Neither was he noted and touched in name for those things only which by bare heere say were reported to have bene done in the province, farre remote from the view of men, but also of those particular instances to be seene daily in the demeanour of his souldiours. For verily the forein excesse and strange superfluities tooke beginning from the Asian armie, who brought all with them into the citie. They were the first within Rome that tooke up the use of brasen tables, of rich counterpoints, carpets, cupboud-clothes, bushangings and curtens of sundry kinds of tyllaw. Likewise of one footed standing tables, bushangings, and cupbouds, which in those dayes were counted magnificent and stately moveables. Then came up the manner of having at bankets singing miniken wenches, and such as could play upon the dulcimers and other instruments of musick; with dauncers, jesters, and other pastimes and

A and delightfull pleasures and fits of mirth at the table. Then began the boud to be furnished and set out with more exquisit and deintie viands, and of greater expense. Then Cooks who in old time were reputed the most contemptible slaves as well for calling and estimation as for the use: they were put unto, came to be in great request and price: and that which before time was a mechanickall kind of manuall service, grew now to be accounted a science of deepe skill and understanding. And yet all these things that then bare so great a shew, were scarce so much as small feeds and slips, to the excessive superfluities that were to ensue.

B Well, *C. Manlius* caried in triumph two hundred crownes of masse beaten gold, weighing twelve pound a peece: of silver 220000 pound weight: of gold 2103 pound weight: of Attick Tetradrachmes 127000: of Cistophores 250000: of Philip golden peeces 16320. Also much armour there was, and spoiles of *Gaules* caried in shew upon wagons: and 52 captaines of enemies were led before his owne chariot. Amongst the souldiours hee gave a donative of two and forie denarij apeece, he doubled the same to every centurion. Also to every footman hee gave duple pay, and to every horseman triple. Many there were of all States and degrees, whom he rewarded with militarie presents for especiall service, and those followed next after his chariot. The souldiours chaunted such songs and sonnets, as a man might easily see they were composed to feed the humor of a Generall desirous of glorie, and one that made much of his souldiours especially; whereby his triumph was more honored with the affectionate favour of them, than otherwise recommended and celebrated with the heartie love of the people. Howbeit, the friends of *Manlius* served him in good steed to win the good will of them also, through whose solliciting and earnest endeavour, there passed an act of the Senate, that out of that money which had been shewed in triumph, there should be repaid unto the people that subsidie which had bene levied among them for souldiours pay, and not yet contented back againe. So the Treasurers of the citie made true and faithfull payment with all diligence of 25 asses and d. in every thousand [for the loane.]

About the same time two Colonels came out of both provinces of Spaine, with letters from *C. Catinius* and *L. Manlius* the governours there: by which letters intelligence was given, that the Celtiberians and Lusitanes were in armes, wasting & spoiling the lands of the Rom. confederates. The Senate referred the entier consultation of this matter to the new Magistrates. During the time of the Roman games that yeere which *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Aulus Posthumius Albinus* represented, a certene mast or high pole which stood not fast in the shew place called *Circus maximus*, fell downe upon the image of *Pollentia*, and overthrew it to the ground. The LL. hereupon made some scruple in conscience, and ordeined, that the solemnitie of those games should continue one day longer, and caused two images to be set up for that one, and that the new should be all gilt. Likewise the Plebeian plaies were renewed one day more, by the *Aediles C. Sempronius Blaesus*, and *M. Furius Luscus*. The yeere following averted the Consuls *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Q. Martius Philippus* from the armie, from the regard I say of warres and government of provinces abroad, to the punishment of a certene intestine conspiracie at home. The Pretours cast lots for their provinces. *T. Manius* had the iurisdiction of the citizens, and *M. Licinius Lucullus* betweene citizens and strangers. Unto *C. Aurelius Scarnus* fell the governance of Sardinia, and to *P. Cornelius Sulla* of Sicilie: *L. Quintius Crispinus* was assigned to the higher Spaine; and *P. Calpurnius Piso* to the farther. Both Consuls were enjoined to make inquisition into secret conspiracies within the citie.

There was a certene Grecian of base degree and condition, who came first into Hetruria; a man not endued with any of those attes, whereof that nation (of all others most learned) hath brought many unto us, as well for the erudition of our minds, as the trimming of our bodies: but a sacrificing priest he was, and a divining wisard withall. Neither was he one that made outward profession of teaching men, and thereby getting a living openly, and so by an overt shew of religion possessed their heads and minds with feare and horror; but the knowledge he had forsooth of certene hidden and secret sacrifices. These mysteries of his at first he taught but unto a few, howbeit afterwards they began to be communicated and divulged as well to men as women: and to this religion were added pleasures and delights of wine and good cheere, to the end that more customers might be allured and enticed for to have a liking thereof. Now when as wine had drowned and droused the understanding: when the night season, when the entermingling of men and women together one with another (and namely, they of young and

and tender yeeres, with those of elder age) had cleane put out & extinguished all respect and regard of shamefast honestie: there began first to be practised all sorts of corruption, for every one had all pleasures readie at commaundement, and his choise of those whereto by nature he was more prone and given to lust after. Neither was there wickednes committed here, of one sort, namely, the abusing of mankind & womankind one with another without distinction: but out of this shop and workhouse proceeded false witnesses, forging of scales, depositions, & testimonies; and more than so, wrong and untrue informations. From hence came the devilish craft of poisoning, & privie murders of the neereft of kindred in one house; and the same so secret, that otherwhyles the bodies would not be found for to be committed to the earth. Many sinfull parts were there played by way of fraud, guile, and cunning coufenage; but more by apert force. As for violence, it was kept close & hidden, by reason that with the hideous noises, with the sound and ringing of tymbrels, tabours and cymbals, there could no voice nor word be heard of such as cried out, when either they were forced to vilanie & abuse, or beaten and wounded to death. The infection of this catching poison out of Hetruria, spread as far as Rome, like a contagious maladie. At the first the spacious capacite of the citie, having bin used to wink & beare with such enormities, concealed all: at length revealed it was & detected to the *Cof. Posthumius*, much after this manner.

The Ezechianles directed.

P. Ebutius (whose father had served in the warres in qualitie of a gentleman of Rome with a citie horse) left an orphan, after that his guardians were likewise deceased, became ward to his mother *Duronis* and his father in law (her second husband) *T. Sempronius Rutilius*, under whom he had his bringing up. Now as his mother was wholly devoted and obsequious unto her husband, so his father in law had so handled the matter in his guardianship, that he could make no good accompt thereof, and therefore his desire was, that either the infant his ward should be made away, or else obliged and enthrall'd unto him. The only way to compasse and bring this about, was the corruption and abuse of the Bacchanales. The mother therefore upon a time called her sonne unto her, and told him, that she had made a vow for him when he was sick, that so soone as ever he should recover and be well againe, she would present him to the priests of *Bacchus* to be consecrated and professed in their mysteries: and now quoth she seeing that by the goodnes of the gods thou art amended, and I thereby obliged by the bond of that vow, I will acquit my selfe thereof, and performe it accordingly. She bare him in hand therefore, that he must for ten dayes live chaste, and not touch a woman, and at the tenth dayes end after he had taken his supper, and was well washed and purified after the manner, she would bring him into the holy place of those sacred mysteries. Now there was a famous stumper, by condition a bondwoman enfranchised, named *Hispala Fessenia*, too good ywis for that occupation which she used while she was a young wench and a bondservant: but yet still after that she was manumitted and in franke state of a freed denizen, she mainteined her selfe by the same trade and manner of living. Grown she was into familiar acquaintance with the foresaid young *Ebutius*, by reason they were neere neighbours, and dwelt not farre asunder: yet so, as she endamaged not the youth one jot either in charging his purse, or touching his credit. For she it was that first was enamored upon him, and him she wooed: and for as much as he had but short allowance every way from his mother and father in law, and by them kept hardly, he was mainteined well by the bounteous liberalitie of this loving harlot. Nay, more than that, in continuance of time she was so deeply ingaged in him, that when her owne patron was dead, and herselfe at the disposition of none, she sued unto the Tribunes and the Pretour for another tutor, because she ment to make her last will and testament, wherein she declared *Ebutius* her onely heire in remainder to all that she had. There passing thus betweene them these gages and pledges of love, and they using to empert the one unto the other the secrets of their hearts, the young youth by way of mery and pleasant talke, willed her one day not to marvell or thinke any thing in it, if for certeine nights he lay away and parted beds with her: for that upon a religious zeale and devotion that he had, he was minded to be professed and consecrated by the priests of *Bacchus*, and all to be afoiled from a vow made in regard of his health. The woman hearing him say so, and troubled in spirit, Mary god forfend, quoth she, and I would not that for all the good in the world. And better it were for me and you too to dye both at once, than so to do: and with that she threatned, she cursed and banned, wishing all mischiefe and plague to light upon them that had put such a thing into his head. The youth wondered much to heare her words, and to see her so to fare and take on beyond all reason and order, beseeching her of all

A all loves to be content, and to forbear those cursed speeches, and said withall it was his owne mother, by the consent of his father in law, that had enjoyned him so to do. And is it that father in law of yours, quoth she, (for peradventure I should not do well to blame your mother) that hasteneth you by this action of yours, to make shipwrack of your honestie and chastitie, of your credit and good name, of your hope another day, and lastly, to hazard your very life? Hereat the young man marvelled much more than before, and desired earnestly to know the depth of all this matter. Then after she had prayed all gods and goddes to pardon her, if for tender love and affection that she bare unto him, she could neither will nor chuse but reveale those secrets that in deed were to be concealed, she set tale on end and said, That she her selfe once entred into that chappell, when as she waited upon her mistresse, but since that she was made free and at her own libertie, she never set foote within the dore. And upon my knowledge (qd. she) it is the very shop and workhouse of all wickednes that can be devised. And now for certeine these two yeares last past, there is not one professed and admitted to those mysteries there, who is above 20 yeeres of age. So soone as any one is inducted and brought in thither, she or he is delivered to the priests as a very sacrifice to be killed: for they lead them to a place which resoundeth with yelling and crying, with singing of divers consorts, with jangling noyse of cymbals, with thumping and beating of tabers, to the end that the voice of any one that crieth and complaineth of force and violence done to the abuse of his or her bodie, might not be heard. Now I beseech you therefore and of all loves I pray you, that in any case by one meanes or other ye avoid this, howsoever ye do: and plunge not your selfe headlong thither, where first you shall be sure to be named. And never would she let the youth go from her, untill he had made her faithfull promise to abstaine and forbear such mysteries and ceremonies. When hee was come home, and that his mother was in hand with him, telling him what hee must do this day and that day, and so forth, she flatly denied and said plainly he would do neither the one nor the other, and at one word, professed and consecrated he would not be, whatsoever came of it. His father in law was present & at one end of this resolute speech of his. His mother straightwaies cried out and said, that he could not find in his hart to lie apart from *Hispala* one ten daies, and that he was so far bewitched and envenomed with the charmes & poisoned allurements & baits of that false serpent & perilous *Hydra*, that he had no respectie regard either of his mother, or mothers husband, nor any reverent feare of the immortal gods. The mother rated him of one side, the father bailed & coured him on another, till in the end they hunted him out of dores with 4 bondslaves besides. The yong man betooke himselfe to *Ebutia*, an aunt that he had by his fathers side, and shewed her the whole matter, why his mother had thrust him out of her house by the head and shoulders: which done, by her advise and counsell the next day he opened and declared the same in great secret, without the hearing of any earthly creature, to the Consul *Posthumius*. The Consul commanded him to repaire again unto him three dayes after, & so for that time dismissed him. Then the Consul in the meane while enquired of his wives mother *Sulpitia*, a grave and sober matron, whether she knew an old wife called *Ebutia* dwelling in the Aventine? Yes that I do qd. she, and I know her to be an honest dame, and a woman of the old world, and few her like now E adayes. I must needs speake with her (qd. he) and therefore I would have you send a messenger unto her, for to will her to come hither. *Ebutia* at the first sending came unto *Sulpitia*; and the Consul within a while sorted (as it were by chance) into their companie, and began to find some talke of her brothers sonne *Ebutius*: with that, the womans eyes stood full of water, and with teares she began to bewaile the case and mishap of the young man; who being spoiled of all his goods and patrimonie (by those who of all others should least have done it) was now at home in her house, chased and driven out of doores by his owne mother: for that the honest good youth (God blesse us all and be mercifull unto us) was unwilling to be consecrated and admitted to certaine filthie and detestable sacrifices (if all be true that is reported thereof.) The Consul had enough now, and was fully perswaded of *Ebutius* that he had told him no lie. Then hee gave *Ebutia* leave to goe her waies home, and requested his mother in law *Sulpitia* aforesaid, to send likewise for *Hispala* from thence out of the Aventine to come unto her; a woman (qd. hee) enfranchised and well enough known to all the neighbours of that street: for that I have somewhat also to say to her. *Hispala* was somewhat disquieted at this message, to think that she should be sent for to so noble and honourable a dame, and knew no cause wherefore. But after that she

law the Licitors before the entrie of the dore, the troupe and traine also belonging to the Consull, and withall, the Consull himselfe in person, shee was asstonied and (in manner) halfe dead. The Consull taking with him his wives mother, had the woman into an inward rume of the house, and said unto her, That shee need not to bee affraid, if so be she could find in her heart to tell the truth: and for assurance thereof, she should have the faithfull word and promise either of *Sulpitia* (a ladie of so good credit and reputation) or of himselfe, if need were. Only he would have her to utter and declare what was ordinarily done at the grove of Similla in the Bacchanals, where they used to sacrifice in the night season. The woman had no sooner heard that word, but she fell into such a feare, trembling and quaking all over her bodie, that for a good while she was not able to open her lips and speake a word: but after shee was come to her selfe againe out of this traunce, and by them heartened and encouraged, she said, That when she was a very young wench and a bond-maiden, shee, together with her mistresse, was there professed and consecrated: but for certaine yeeres of late, and namely since that she was enfranchised and made free, shee was not acquainted with the place, nor wist not what worke was there. I con thet thanks for this yer (quoth the Consull) that thou deniest not how thou wert there entred into that profession; but lay on and tell out the rest as truly and faithfully. Shee answered againe, That she knew no more than shee had already disclosed. The Consull replied upon her and said, That in case shee were taken in a trip, and that another came forth to her face and reprooved her, shee should neither find the same pardon nor have the like favour at his hands, as otherwise shee might if of her selfe shee confessed the thing, forasmuch as hee who had all from your owne mouth, hath already discovered the whole. The woman knew where he was then, and was persuaded verily (as it was indeed) that *Ebutius* was a blab of his tongue, and had revealed this secret: whereupon shee fell downe at the feet of *Sulpitia*; and first began in most humble manner to beseech her, that she would not suffer, that words of course passed betwene her an enfranchised woman and her paramour, should turne not onely to earnest and importance, but also to a capitoll matter, to touch her as much as her life was worth: for what I said (quoth shee) was but to fright him, and not for that I knew any such thing. *Posthumius* hereat was chafed, and fell into a fit of chol-ler: What? (quoth hee) thou thinkest belike that thou art jesting and cogging with thy lover *Ebutius*, and forgettest how thou art in the house of a right worshipfull ladie, and in communication with a Consull. But *Sulpitia* on the other side, willed her to stand up, (affrighted as she was) and withall, both exhorted her to be of good cheere, and also appeased the wrath of her sonne in law. In the end, after she had taken a better heart unto her, she greatly blamed and found fault with the disloyaltie and falshood of *Ebutius* for serving her so, and requiting her full badly again for so singular a good turne that shee had done him: and then said, That shee stood in great awe of the gods, whose secrets shee should reveale and divulge; but in greater feare of men, who no doubt for bewraying these matters, would be readie to teare her in pieces with their very hands. And therefore she besought *Sulpitia*, and entreated the Consull to take some order for her, and to send her into some place out of Italy, where she might passe the rest of her daies in safetie yet of her life. Be of good cheere woman (quoth the Consull) let me alone for that, I will provide well enough, that thou shalt live at Rome, and that without all daunger. Then declared *Hispala* the originall and first commencements of these sacrifices and solemnities. At the beginning (quod shee) it was a privileged place and consecrated for women onely, and they alone medled with those mysteries; neither was it the custome and manner, that a man should enter in among them: and three ser holidays they had in the yeere, during which time, the priests of *Bacchus* performed their ceremonies in the day time, and folke were admitted by them, to their religion and profession; and women they were all (and those matrons) who were created priests for that purpose, in their time and turne one after another. But *Paculla Minia* (a Campane woman) when she was the priest, changed all, as being advertised and admonished by the gods so to doe: for shee was the first that sacred and admitted men, to wit, her owne sonnes *Minius* and *Herennius* the Cerrinians: shee altered the solemnitie from the day to the night; and for three dayes in the whole yeere, shee ordained five in every moneth, to serve for the attendance and ministerie of M these mysteries. Since which time that these sacrifices and ceremonies were thus divulged, and men and women intermingled together, and the licentious liberty of the night time also to help all forward, there is no act so wicked, no fact so filthy, but there it is committed: and more full and unnaturall abuse there is, of mankind one with another, than there is of women. If any are

are either unwilling to suffer this foule filthinesse, or bestirre themselves more dully in the beastly action and performance of that villanie, such presently are to be killed and sacrificed as beafts. And this is supposed amongst them, the principall point and summe of their religion, To hold and beleve that nothing is unlawfull whatsoever. The men shaking & wagging their bodies too and fro after a fanaticall fashion, as if they were beftaught and out of their right wits, seeme to divine and tell things to come. The women, attired like the shee-priests of *Bacchus*, with their heads unbound and their haire hanging loose about their eares, runne downe with flaming torches to the river Tyber; where they dip their torches into the water, and take them out againe light burning still, because they are made with sulphur vife and quicke lime: and they say, that certaine men are by the gods carried away from among them, no man knoweth whither; such as they bind fast to a certaine engine or frame, and harrie them out of sight into certain hidden caves: and those be such, as either would not sweare to be of their conspiracie, or be parteners with them in all their mischievous designments, or endure against kind to be abused. The number and multitude there assembled, is exceeding great, and growne now to be another bodie of a people: and among them are some noble persons, as well men as women. But now for these two yeeres last past, ordeined it is, That none should be there professed and sacred above twentie yeeres old; for such ages they lay for, to serve their turne, as are soonest seduced and drawn to enour, or most subject to be forced to suffer abuse and villanie. When shee had thus finished her information and discovered all, shee fell downe upon her knees againe, and lay at their feet, and repeated her former supplication the second time, to wit, That he would send her away out of the country. Then the Consull intreated his mother in law to spare some void corner of her house, whereunto *Hispala* might retire her selfe, and there make her abode. So he allowed her an upper lodging in her house, and the staires that led toward the street were stopped up, and the entrance turned into the house. Then presently were all the moveable goods and household stuffe of *Fessenia* remooved, and her family sent for thither, and there entertained. Likewise *Ebutius* was commaunded to goe and lodge with a tenant or client belonging to the Consull. Thus when both the informers were forth-coming and under *Posthumius* his hand, he declared the whole matter to the Senate. And after hee had laid every thing abroad in order, namely, what was reported to him first, and what he had learned afterwards by enquire, the LL. of the Senat were surprized with exceeding great feare, as well in regard generally of the commonweale, least those conspiracies, nightly meetings and conventicles, might import some secret complot of mischief and daunger: as also for doubt in particular, that some of their owne friends or familie should bee accessarie and culpable. The Senate yet were of this mind, that the Consull was highly to be praised and thanked, for that hee had found out and brought to light such a matter as this, both with so singular care and diligence, and also without any tumult and uprore. Then they tooke order and ordained, *Imprimis*, That the Consuls should have an extraordinary commission to make search and inquisition into these Bacchanales & night-sacrifices. *Item*, That *Ebutius* and *Fessenia* the informers thereof, should not bee prejudiced thereby, nor come to harme for it, yea, and that a recompence and reward should bee propounded to others that could give light and reveale the same. *Item*, That the priests belonging to these religions, bee they men or women, should bee sought out nor onely at Rome, but in all other market townes, faires and places of frequent resort, and convented before the Consuls to be and remain at their disposition. *Item*, That proclamation be made at Rome, and edicts sent out throughout all Italie, that no person whatsoever, who had beene sacred and professed religious by the priests of *Bacchus*, resort any more into assembly or conventicle for those sacrifices, never doe ought pertaining to such divine service. And above all things, that information and presentment be made of all those that had frequented such meetings or conventicles, to commit whoredome or any such filthinesse and wickednesse. And these were the ordinances of the Senate. The Consuls then granted their warrants out to the *Aediles* Curule, to make diligent search and enquire for those priests of that religion, and upon apprehension to keep them in free ward and large prison forth-coming for to be examined: also to the *Aediles* of the Commons to looke well, that no service of the gods be celebrated in secret. Moreover, the Triumvirs capitall were streightly charged to set good watch and ward throughout the cittie, and see to meetings by night, for feare that no skare-fire caught hold of any place. To those three Commissaries or Triumvirs were five other *Quinquavirs* adjoined assistants, who every one should watch well and take keepe of all the

The Oration of
the Consul Post-
humus for the
overthrow of the
Bacchanales.

the houses of his quarter within Tyberis. Then the Consuls having set them about these their fe-
verall charges, mounted up the Rostra or place of publicke audience. And when the people were
assembled together, then the Consul after he had pronounced the solemne praier which magi-
strates are wont to use as a preamble, before they make speech unto the people, began his
Oration unto them in this wise. Never in any of your assemblies, ô Quirites, was this solemne
praier unto the gods, either so meet and convenient, or so requisite and needfull as in this, to ad-
vertise and put you in mind, that those be the true gods indeed whom your aunceltors ordained,
that you should honour, serve, worship and pray unto, and not these here who pricke & provoke
(as it were) with goads of furies, your spirits and minds transported and caried away with false and
straunge religions, to commit all wickednesse, mischeefe, and filthie lust. Certes, for mine owne
part I wot not either what I were best to conceale, or how farre forth to speake out and utter my
mind. If you know not all, I doubt I should give you occasion to bee negligent; againe, if I disco-
ver all, I feare me that I shall affright and terrifie you too much. But what and how much soever I
shall say, be yee sure it will bee farre lesse than the greatnes and enormitie of the thing requieth.
Yet endeavour will we so much to deliver, as may suffice to give you a warning and watchword to
take heed. This am I well assured of, that you understand not onely by heare say and bare report,
but also by the ringing noises and yelling cries in the night season, that the Bacchanales have
been a long time kept over all Italie, yea and in many places throughout the citie of Rome,
which resoundeth againe therewith. But what manner of thing it is, I am verily perswaded there
is not one of you that knoweth. Some beleefe that it is a certaine worship and service of the
gods; others suppose it is some foolerie and wanton pastime tolerated and winked at. But bee
what it will be, they thinke there are but a few interested and employed therein. As touching the
number and multitude of them, if I should tell you that they were many thousands, you cannot
chuse but suddainely bee afraid, unlesse I also presently shew, who they bee and of what qualitie.
Know yee therefore first and formost, that the most part of them are women (and from thence is
sprung the source of all this mischeefe.) Then are there men indeed, but such as for all the world
resemble women, so effeminate they are: such I say, as have abandoned themselves as well to bee
abused as to abuse others: fanaticall persons and bestraught of their wits by reason of excessive
watching, past sence and even astonied with bibbing of wine without measure, with howling, hol-
laing and crying all night without intermission. This conventicle of conspiratours is yet of no
great force, howbeit it gathereth much strength, in regard that they multiplie still, & their num-
ber is every day more than other. Your aunceltors in times past would in no wise admitt that yee
should assemble together at a venture and without important and just occasion, unlesse it were
either by rearing a standerd or banner upon the fortresse for to levie an armie; or to gather the
people together to give their voices in elections of magistrates; or that the Tribunes proclai-
med a generall congregation of the common people; or some of the magistrates summoned
them to an open audience for to heare an Oration: and where soever a multitude were thus met
together, there they ordained and thought meet to have a lawfull governour and overseer of
them. But what kind of night conventicles thinke ye first these might be, and namely, where men
and women are met and jumbled together pell mell one with another? In faith, if yee wilt at
what age they of the male sexe are professed and made novices, yee would not onely pitee them,
but also be ashamed and dismaied. Thinke yee my masters Quirites, that young men thus profes-
sed and having taken this oth, are meet to make souldiours of? and that yee are to put weapons
into the hands of such as are taken out of that stinking and detestable chappell? Shall these, thus
stained, polluted, and overwhelmed with filthie uncleannesse, as well of their owne kind as
others, fight for the pure chastitie, for the honestie I say of your wives and children? Lesse harme
had it beene, if they could have rested so, and become onely effeminate by their owne unchast
impuritie (for that had redounded most to their proper shame and dishonour) and not have abu-
sed their hands to practise mischeefe, and busied their braines to contrive fraud and deceit. But
never was there in Commonweale either so great and dangerous a maladie, or touching more
persons, or reaching to farther matters of greater consequence. For wot yee well this, that all the
sinfull parts committed for these late yeers, were it filthie lust, crastie coulening, or any wickednes
whatsoever, proceeded and sprung out of this one ungracious chappell and place of counterset
holinesse, and no other. Yet have they not put in practise all their mischeefes, which they have
most cursedly plotted and sworne to execute. Hetherto their impious and detestable con-

spiracie

A spiracie hath broken out, and passed no further than to particular and privat mischeefs, be-
cause they have not gathered force and strength ynough to invade and oppresse the Common-
weale. Howbeit the evill encreaseth, and the maladie spreadeth further daily, and by this time is
growne so much, as it will not containe within the private fortune and condition of particular
persons, but threateneth the very maine State of the Commonweale. And unlesse (Quirites) ye
take order to prevent it, these night-congregations may soone bee as frequent and great as this
present assembly, summoned by order of law and commaundement of the Consul, in the open
day time. Now are they (singled by themselves apart) afraid of you, when they see you thus all as-
sembled together; but so soone as you are retired either to your houses within the citie, or fannes
in the country, and by that meanes severed asunder, they will surely meet together; devise they
will and consult both to save themselves, and also to ruinate and destroy you at once. Then take
heed to your selves: then shall you (singled one from another) bee in dread and daunger of them
all in generall. It behooveth therefore every one of you to desire and wish, that all they who be-
long any way unto your charge, be wise and well given. Then, if either fleshy lust or furious rage,
have drawne and haled any one of them headlong into that gulfe and sinke of sinne, to hold such
a person to be of their crue, with whom he hath thus sworne and devoted himselfe to all sinne and
abominable wickednesse, and not reckon him of your owne retinue & traine any more. More-
over, carelesse I am not of your owne persons in this behalfe, that none of you should be seduced
and led away with error. For nothing is there in the world, that deceiveth more under faire sem-
blance, than false religion. For when the name and majestic of the gods is pretended to cover
and colour naughtinesse, suddainely there entereth into our mind a scrupulous awe, which doth
captivate and possesse our conscience, for feare least in chastising and punishing humane trespas-
ses, we violate and offend some divine right and power therewith. But of this scrupulositie dischar-
ge yee are, by an infinite number of Pontificall decrees, acts of Senate, yea, and answeres of di-
vine Sages and Soothsaiers. For how many a time and often in the daies of our fathers and grand-
fathers, hath commision beene graunted to the Magistrates, To restraine and forbid expressly
all forraine sacrifices and straunge liturges? To chase and banish all odde hedge-priests, wizards,
tellers of fortunes, and Magicians out of the common place, out of the shew place and theatre,
yea, and quite out of the citie? To search out all their bookes of Magicke and prophesies, and
to set a fire on them? Lastly, to abolish all other order and manner of sacrificing, but according
to the Cannon, forme, and order of Rome? For they judged (wise men as they were, and deeply
scene in all divine and humane lawes) nothing so forcible to ruinate and overthrow religion, as
when divine service is celebrated after some straunge and forraine fashion, and not according to
the auncient custome of the place. Thus much I thought good by way of caveat to foretell you
of, to the end, that no superstitious opinion should trouble your spirits when you shall see us to
demolish and overthrow the Bacchanales, and scatter these unlawfull assemblies. For all this will
we doe with the good leave, favour and grace of the gods. Who being highly offended to see
their divinitie and godhead thus polluted with wicked and abominable filthinesse, have disco-
vered the same, lying hidden in darkenesse, and brought it to light: neither in their wisdom and
providence, was it their will & pleasure, that such enormities thus detected, should remain unpur-
sued, but be suppressed and extinguished for ever. Now hath the Senate directed out unto mee
and my colleague, an extraordinarie commision and warrant to make due inquisition hereinto:
by vertue whereof, wee for our parts will accomplish our charge accordingly with all diligence
and expedition. As for the night-watch throughout the citie, wee have given order alreadie to
the inferiour magistrates to looke unto it. Semblably, meet and reason it is, that every one of
you according to his place and calling, quit himselfe well in whatsoever shall bee imposed and
laid upon him: and especially to endeavour and prevent, that no daunger or mutinie arise by the
maliciousnesse of those that are culpable and offenders. Then the Consuls commaunded the
acts of the Senate in this behalfe to be read openly: they propounded and promised also rewards
to all informers, that either convented and brought before them any such persons, or presented
their names, if they were absent and out of the way. And looke who soever were thus nominated
and fled upon it, they would assigne him a certaine day to make his appearance: upon which
day, if he answered not to his name when he were called, he should be condemned notwithstanding
his absence. And if any of their names were presented, who happened at the time of the
information to be without the land of Italie, he should have a longer tearme set downe, to come

in

in and make his answer. After this, they published an edict, forbidding (least any one should be G
desirous to sell or buy ought tending to flight and departure) to receive, conceale, aid or main-
teine by any meanes those that were about to flie. After the assemblie of the people diffi-
sed, great feare there was over all the citie: neither was it contained within the walls, liberties,
and territorie only of Rome, but in all parts of Italie they began to quake and tremble for feare;
and namely after that letters came from their friends and acquaintance, touching the ordinance
of the Senate, the solempne assembly of the people, and the Edict of the Consuls aforesaid. The
night next following that day (wherein this matter was thus declared openly in audience before
the people) many would gladly have started aside and bene gone, but apprehended they were
and brought back againe by the Triumvers, who had set a good watch at every gate. Many pre-
sentments were made, and certeine persons thus presented, as well men as women, killed them- H
selves. It is reported that there were found in this conspiracie of both sexes one with another
above seven thousand. The principall heads were knowne for certeine to be *M. and L. Catinius*,
Romanes both, and by calling * not so good as Senatours: *L. Opitermius* of Falernj, and *Minus*
Cerinius a Campane. These were the ringleaders of the rest, from them arose all mischief and
villanie whatsoever: these were the chiefe priests (surreverence) and the founders forsooth of this
religion. To apprehend these persons with all speed, no possible meanes were neglected. And
when they were brought before the Consuls, they confessed all, and for any let in them, they
might presently have bene condemned. But such a number there was of them who fled out of
the citie, that because the actions and goods of many men hereby were in danger to be lost and
perish, the Pretours *T. Manius* and *M. Licinius* were constrained by the Senate to give thirte I
dayes respite and delay for the pleas, untill such time as the Consuls went through with their
inquisition. By occasion of the same infrequencie (for that they whose names were presented,
neither made answer nor could be found) the Consuls were enforced to ride their circuit about
market townes and places of resort, and there to hold Assise and Sessions for to make inquisi-
tion, and judicially to proceed in sentence against the offenders. As many as they found to be
only entred, and to have taken orders, namely such as according to a certeine forme of words
endited and prompted by the priest, had made their prayers saying after him (in which was con-
tained a detestable sacrament and oth that they tooke, to commit all wicked acts and beately
filthines, and yet notwithstanding had offered and done no such act either in their owne persons
or in others, to which they were obliged by oth) those I say they left still in prison and durance. K
But such as were defiled with filthines of lust, polluted with bloudie murders, such as were attaint
and steined, with bearing false witness, with forging and foisting of wills and testaments, with
counterfeiting of seales, and other such coufening casts, those they executed with losse of life,
and the number of them that thus were put to death surmounted those other that suffred only
imprisonment. But a wonderous multitude there was of both sorts the one and the other, and
those as well women as men. As many of the women as were condemned, they committed over
to their next kinsfolke, or to those guardians under whose tuition and subjection they were, that
they might themselves privily at home punish them accordingly. But if there were none to
be found meete to do the execution, then they suffred publicly abroad in the face of the world.
After this, a commission was graunted to the Consuls, for to overthrow and pull downe first at L
Rome, and then throughout Italie, all the places of these Bacchanales, unlesse in any of them
there stood some old altar or image consecrated. And for the time to come by an act of the
Senate a prohibition went out, that there should be no Bacchanales any more either in Rome,
or in all Italie. Moreover, if any person made some conscience of this religion, and held it for a
devout, solempne and necessarie institution, and withall protested before the Pretour of the citie,
that he could not lay away the same without prick, remorse, and clogge of conscience: then
the said Pretour was to put the cause in question before the Senate, and if the Senate (assembled
in no lesse frequencie than one hundred) would allow and permit the same, then might the
partie solempnize that devotion and divine service: provided alwayes, that there were not above
five persons present thereat, to assist him, nor any common silver to be used in the ministerie, M
nor Offer-master, nor Priest. Over and besides, another act of the Senate there was joyned unto
this, and the same moved by the Consull *Q. Martius*, That as touching those persons whom the
Consull had for the enformers and revealers of this matter, the full authoritie in disposing of
them, should be wholly referred to the Senat, so soone as *Sp. Posthumius* had finished his in-
quision,

sition, and was returned to Rome. As for *Cerinius* the Campane, they ordeined that he should
be sent to Ardea, there to lye in prison, and that the magistrates of Ardea should have a charge
given them beforehand to looke to their prisoner more streightly, that neither hee brake prison
and made an escape, nor yet might have meanes and opportunitie to make himselfe away.
After a certeine time *Sp. Posthumius* came to Rome againe, and when he put to question before
the Senate, concerning the reward of *P. Ebutius*, and *Hispala Fessenia*, for that by their meanes
the Bacchanales were disclosed, there passed an act and decree, That the Treasurers of the citie
should deliver unto them out of the citie chamber 100000 asses apeece. Also that the Consuls
should deale with the Tribunes of the Commons for to preferre a bill unto the people, as soone
as possibly they might, that *P. Ebutius* for ever after might be exempt from souldierie, and have
his pensión and fee, as if he had accomplished his terme of service by law required, so as he nei-
ther were compelled to go to warfare against his will, nor the Censors should assigne unto him
a publick horse of service. Moreover, that *Fessenia Hispala* might have the libertie and power to
make a deed of gift or alienation of her goods unto whom she pleased, yea and spend the same,
and do therewith what she thought good. Item, that she might be wedded out of her owne fa-
mille into what house she would her selfe, and make choise of her tutor and patron to her owne
liking and contentment, as if her husband by his will and testament had so ordeined & set down.
Item, that she might be wedded to one of franke condition or freeborne, and that he who had
espoused and married her, should not thereby susteine discredit or receive damage. Finally, that
not only the Cos. and Pretors now in place, but also those hereafter to come, should provide and
C take order that no wrong be done to that woman, but secure her from all harme. This the Senat
judged meet and requisite to be done. All these things were likewise propounded unto the Com.
and executed according to the ordinance of the Senat. Finally, as touching both the impunitie
and also the recompense of other the enformers, it was referred to the discretion of the Consuls.
By this time *Q. Martius* also having finished the inquisition in his circuit and quarter, made
preparation to go into his province of Liguria, after he had received for to supply and make up
his legions 3000 foot, and 150 horsemen Romanes, besides 5000 footemen and 200 horse of
Latines. The same province with the like number as well of horse as foote, was decreed likewise
unto his companion in government. Those armies they tooke charge of which the former yere
D *C. Flaminius* and *M. Aemilius* the Consuls had: moreover by an act of the Senat, enjoyned they
were to enroll two new legions besides: and withall they levied of the Latine allies 20000 foot,
and 3000 horse; 3000 footmen also, and 200 horsemen Romanes. All these forces (setting aside
the legions) it was thought good to be led to furnish out the armie in Spaine. And therefore the
Consuls whiles they were themselves in person occupied about the foresaid inquisitions, gave
commission to *T. Menius* for to take the musters. And when those enquests were performed and
done as is before said, *Q. Martius* tooke his journey first of the twaine towards the Apuans in Li-
guria. But whiles in eger pursuit of them hee engaged himselfe into the secret and blind pas-
sages, wherein at all times they had their lurking retrails and places of safe receit: within those
streights and passages which the enemies had seized before, hee was environed by them in
a place of great disadvantage: where he lost foure thousand souldiours, with three ensignes of
E the second legion, and eleven banners of the Latine allies, which were all taken by the enemies.
Also, much armour and many weapons were throwne away here and there, by reason that they
were encumbered therewith as they fled through the woodie paths of the forest: neither did the
Ligurians give over their chase, before that the Romanes ended their flight. The Consull, so
soon as he was escaped out of the enemies territorie, sent his armie away into divers parts of the
peaceable countrey, to the end, that it might not be seene, how much his forces were empaired,
yet could not he for all that suppress and smoulder the bruit that was blowne abroad of his un-
fortunate journey, nor cancell the remembrance of the overthrow: for ever after, the forest out
of which the Ligurians hunted him, was called The streights of *Martius*. A little before the
F newes of the affaires in Liguria, the letters out of Spaine were read, containing sorrow mixed
with joy; to wit, That *C. Catinius* (who two yeere before went as Pretour into that province)
fought a field with the Lusitanes in the territorie of Asta; where, fixe thousand enemies fell up-
on the sword; and the rest were discomfited, put to flight, and driven out of their campe. After-
wards, hee conducted his legions to the assault of the towne Asta, which he forced and woun,
with no greater adoe than before hee gained their campe. But as he approached nere the walles
and

and tooke no good heed to himselfe, hee was wounded, and of his hurt within few dayes died. C
Vpon the reading of these letters (importing the death of the Propretour) the Senat was of ad-
vise to dispatch a messenger (to overtake the Pretor *C. Calpurnius*) as farre as the port of Luna,
and give him to understand from the Senat, that their advise was, he should make all the hast he
could in his journey, to the end, that the province might not be without a governour there to
commaund. The courier which was sent, within foure daies arrived at Luna: and but few daies
before, *Calpurnius* was departed and had put himselfe in his journey.

Moreover, *L. Manlius Acidinus* (who was gone into his province at the same time that *C. Ca-
tinus* went) strucke a battaile likewise with the Celtiberians in the hither province of Spaine. But
they departed on both sides out of the field with doubtfull victorie, save onely that the Celtibe-
rians the next night following, dislodged and removed from thence: whereby the Romans had H
libertie and time both to interre their dead, and to gather up the spoiles of their enemies. And
within few daies after, the same Celtiberians having raised a more puissant armie, of themselves
gave the Romanes battaile neere the citie Calagurris. It is not set downe in the historie, what
I should be the cause why they were the weaker, considering their number was reinforced: but soiled
they were in fight and had the overthrow. Of the enemies there died upon 12000, and not
so few as 2000 taken prisoners: and the Romanes likewise were masters of the camp. And had
not *Manlius* bene impeached and restrained in this traine of victorie (which hee hotly fol-
lowed) by the comming of *Calpurnius* his successour in government, the Celtiberians had been
utterly subdued. The new Pretours withdrew both armies to their wintering harbours.

At the same time that these newes came out of Spaine, the playes called *Taurilia* were exhib-
ited two dayes together, in the honour of the gods. And after them, *M. Fulvius* set out (with
great furniture in sumptuous manner for the space of ten daies) his plaies which hee had vowed
in the *Ætolian* war. And for to doe him honor, and grace this solemnitie, many cunning actors
and players came out of Greece. This was the first time that there was represented at Rome, the
shew of champions and wraistlers for the best game: then also was exhibited the pastime of hun-
ting and baiting Lyons and panthers: and in one word, these sports were celebrated with as great
magnificence and varietie almost as the moderne pastimes and games in these daies. After all
this, was holden a Novendiall feast; during which, there was much sacrificing, and all by occa-
sion that for three dayes it rained stones in the Picene countrey: and because it was reported,
that the lightning in divers places and in sundry sorts, had blasted and lightly singed the gar-
ments especially, of many folke. To the said feast, there was adjoynd a supplication of one day,
K ordained by a decree of the Pontifies, for that the chappell of the goddesse *Ops* (standing in the
Capitol:) was smitten with a thunderbolt. In regard of these prodigies, the Consuls procured
expiation by sacrificing greater beasts, and so they purged and hallowed the citie. At the same
time word was brought out of *Vmbria*, that there was an Hermaphrodite or Skrat found, almost
twelve yeeres old. This was held for a detestable and abominable monster; and therefore order
was given, that it should be kept out of the territorie of Rome, and killed out of hand.

The same yeere, certaine Gaules from beyond the Alpes passed into the territorie of Venice,
without forraying, spoiling, and using any manner of hostilitie; and not farre from the place
where as now *Aquileia* standeth, they seized upon a plot of ground to build a citie in. Certaine L
Romane Embassadours were sent about this matter, beyond the Alpes; where they received
this intelligence and answere from the inhabitants of the countrey, That neither those Gaules
took that voiage and expedition by authoritie and warrant from the whole nation, neither knew
they what they did in Italie.

L. Scipio likewise about the same time, set out his playes for ten daies together; for which hee
said, that he had made a vow during the time of the warre against *Antiochus*, and he defraied the
charges thereof with the mony contributed unto him by divers KK, and States for that purpose.
Valerius Antias writeth, that after he was condemned, and his goods confiscate and sold, he was
sent in embassage into Asia, for to take up certaine controversies and differences betweene the
two kings *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*; and then it was (saith he) that the said contribution was made, M
and many skilfull artificers and players gathered unto him out of all Asia; and in the end, after
this Embassage, he moved the Senate for these games, because hee had made no mention nor
words at all of them after the said warre: by occasion whereof (by *Valerius* his saying) he vowed
them.

The

A The yeere beeing now at an end, *Q. Martius* in his absence was to leave his magistracie:
and *Q. Posthumius* having sitten upon the inquisition aforesaid, and with all fidelitie and carefull
diligence that might be, brought it to an end, held the solemne assembly for election of magi-
strates: wherein were chosen Consuls, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher* and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*. And
the morrow after were elected for Pretors, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *A. Posthumius Albinus*, *C. Afranius*
Stellio, *C. Attilius Serranus*, *L. Posthumius Tempstanus*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. At the
yeeres end, upon the relation of *Sp. Posthumius* the Consull, that in his vifitation about the en-
quests aforesaid, as he rode along the sea coasts of Italie on both sides, he found certaine colo-
nies dispeopled and desolate, to wit, Sipontum upon the Adriaticke sea, and Buxentum upon
the Tufcane. *T. Manius* the citie Pretour (by vertue of an act of the Senate in that behalfe)
B created three commissaries called Triumvirs, for to enroll and plant new inhabitants there,
namely, *L. Scribonius Libo*, *M. Tuccius*, and *Cn. Babius Tamphilus*.

The warre against king *Persus* and the Macedonians, which now was a breeding, arose not
upon that cause and occasion which most men imagine, ne yet from *Persus* himselfe: for the
first ground-woke thereof was laid by *Philip*, who if hee had lived longer, would have beene
scene in open action. One thing there was above the rest which stung him, at what time as the
Romanes imposed conditions upon him after he was vanquished, to wit, That the Senat laid a
barre for to be revenged of those Macedonians who had revolted from him: which hee despair-
ed not but it had ben possible to have obtained at their hands, considering that *Quintius* in the
capitulations of peace, reserved that point entire and excepted not against it. Now afterwards,
C when *Antiochus* was defeated in the battaile of Thermopylae, and that both *Philip* and the Con-
sull entred upon severall exploits; *Acilius* went in hand to assault Heraclea, and *Philip* at the
same time the citie of Lamia. Heraclea was no sooner forced, but *Philip* had commandement
to levie his siege before Lamia, and the towne was yielded to the Romanes: and this hee tooke
to the heart. Howbeit, the Consull appeased his choller for the time, in that making hast in per-
son to Naupactum (unto which towne the *Ætolians* after their rout were retired) he suffered *Phi-
lip* to warre upon Athamania and *Aminander*; to adjoyne also and lay unto his kingdome those
cities which the *Ætolians* had taken from the Thessalians. Now had *Philip* chased *Aminander*
out of Athamania, and woon certaine cities without any great adoe. Demetrias also (a strong
citie of great importance, and very commodious for all things) together with the nation of the
D Magneres, he brought under his obedience. After this, he forced certain townes in Asia, which
were troubled with the seditious variance of their principall and great personages, by reason
that they knew not how to use their new libertie, wherewith they had not bene acquainted: hee
woon these cities (I say) by taking part with those, who in this civile dissention were the weaker,
and otherwise would have gone to the walles. By these meanes the wrath of the king against the
Romanes was well allaid for the present: nevertheless, hee ceased not all the time of peace to
bethinke how hee might gather more strength, and be able to warre againe, whensoever any
good occasion should bee presented unto him. Hee encreased therefore the revenues of the
crown, not onely by raising taxes out of all the fruits of the earth, and setting impost and cu-
stoms upon all merchandise brought into his realme by sea from forrein parts; but also revived
E the rents & issues of the old mines which had discontinued, yea & in many places ordained new.
Moreover, to replenish his countrey, which by many calamities following war, was dispeopled,
he not onely tooke order that his subjects should multiplie by forcing them to get, breed, and
bring up children, but also translated a great multitude of Thracians into Macedonie; and for a
good time wherin he was in repose and rest from the war, he bent his whole mind, and employed
all his studie how to make himselfe great, and augment the puissance of his kingdome. Then
old matters and quarrels were renewed, which might whet his stomacke, and kindle his anger
against the Romanes. For the complaints which the Thessalians and the Perrhoeians made
for that their cities were by him possessed, likewise those greivances which the embassadours of
king *Eumenes* laid abroad touching the Thracian townes, which hee seized and held by force,
F were heard by the Romanes; so as it evidently appeared, that they neglected them not. But that
which moved the Senate most, was this, That they had intelligence how hee intended to be
lord of *Ænus* and *Maronea*: as for the Thessalians, they tooke lesse regard of them. More-
over, there came the embassadours of Athamania, who complained not for the losse of some
part of their territorie, nor that hee encroched upon their frontiers, but that all Athamania
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full and whole, was reduced under the subjection and jurisdiction of the king. The banished persons also of Maronea, who had beene chased out of the citie by the kings garison (for that they stood in defence and maintenance of libertie) made relation, that not onely Maronea was in the hands of *Philip*, but the citie of *Ænus* also. Likewise there came embassadours from *Philip*, to purge him of all these matters laid to his charge, who averred, That their king and maister had done nothing but by commission and warrant from the Romane Generall. They pleaded and alledged, that the case of the Theſſalian, Perrhæbian, and Magnesian cities, yea, and the whole nation of Athamania together with *Aminander*, was all one with the Ætoliens: namely, That after *Antiochus* the king was chased and expelled, the Consull himselfe being employed and occupied in besieging the cities of Ætolia, sent *Philip* for to recover the States abovenamed, which being vanquished in warre, were now subject unto him. Hereupon the Senate, because they would not determine and set downe any thing in the absence of the king, sent three delegates or Commissioners, to decide these controversies, to wit, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, *M. Babinus Tampilus*, and *T. Sempronius*. Vpon whose arrivall, there was published a generall Diet of all those States that were at difference with the king, to bee holden at Tempè in Theſſalie: When they were all set there in counsell, the Romane legates, as umpiers and judges, the Theſſalians, Perrhæbians, and Athamanes as plaintifes and accusers, and *Philip* as defendant to heare and receive the challenges and accusations against him; the cheefe embassadours from the said cities, pleaded against *Philip*, bitterly or mildly, more or lesse, according to the severall disposition of their natures, and the proportion either of affectionate favour or malicious hatred which they bare to him. Now all the question and debate touching Philippopolis, Tricca, Phaloria, Eurymenæ, and other townes about them was this, Whether those peeces, considering the Ætoliens woon and held them by force (and wel known it was, that *Philip* had taken them from the Ætoliens) belonged in right to the Theſſalians, or appertained of old time to the Ætoliens? For *Acilius* had graunted them unto the king upon these conditions, namely, if they were any of the apperteanances of the Ætoliens, and if they combined and took part with the Ætoliens willingly of their own accord, and not by constraint & force of arms. Vpon like tearms stood the controverſie of the Perrhæbian and Magnesian townes. For the Ætoliens had brought a confusion in all their tenures, by reason that they held and possessed those citties, by taking their vantage upon divers occasions. Besides these substantiall points properly to be decided, the Theſſalians came in with their complaints also: for that those townes (in case they were out of hand delivered unto them yet) hee should render them spoiled, naked and desolate. For over and besides those who miscarried by casualtie of warre, *Philip* had carried away into Macedonie 500, even the principall floure of their youth, and abused them like slaves, in putting them to base ministeries & servile drudgeries, and looke whatsoeuer by compulsion he redelivered to the Theſſalians, he had taken order afore that they should be good for nothing. As for example (say they) Thebes in Phthia, the onely maritime citie for much trafficke and merchandise, was in times past gainefull and commodious to the Theſſalians, and brought them great revenues and profits. But *Philip* had turned the staple and all the trade and negotiation by sea from thence to Demetrias, and having gotten hulkes and hoyes, caused them to baulke and passe by Thebes, and direct their course for Demetrias. Nay he could not so much as hold his hands from evil entreating their embassadours, who by law of nations are inviolable. For hee forlaied them in ambush, as they were in their journey to *T. Quintus*. By which meanes the Theſſalians all in generall were so over-awed by him, and put in such feares, that there is not a man amongst them dare open his mouth, either in their owne citties, or in any of the Diets and Councils of the whole nation. For why? their patronnes of whome they hold their libertie are farre off, but an impetuous lord they have that lieth ever on their skirts, and pricketh them continually in the sides; and will not suffer them to use and enjoy the benefices graunted them by the people of Rome. For take away from them the libertie of speech once, what freedom have they left? And even at this present, for all the assurance and confidence they have in the privilege of embassadours, they rather sigh and grone out their words, than speake frankly, and parley with libertie. And unless the Romanes provide better in some good sort, that both the Greekes remaining in Macedonie, may bee void of fear, and *Philip* also curb'd and kept short for being so bold, it will be to no purpose at all, that either he was vanquished, or they enfranchised. He is therefore to be held in with a rougher and harder bit in his mouth, like an headstrong and frampold horse, that will not be ruled with a gentle

de snaffe. In this sharpe and eager manner dealt the last, whereas the former had used faire language to appeale and mollifie his anger, beseeching his grace to pardon them in case they spake their minds for their libertie, to lay downe the rigour of a lord and maister, to beare himselfe like a kind allic and loving friend, and to take example of the Romanes, and them to imitate, who chose rather to gaine associates by love, than constraine them by feare. After audience given to the Theſſalians, the Perrhæbians came in place, and alledged, that Gonnocondylus (a citie which *Philip* named Olympias) belonged in right to Perrhæbia: and earnestly they were, that it might be restored unto them. They demanded also to have Malleæ and Ericinium again. Then the Athamanes put in, and spake for their libertie, and to have the forts of Athenæum and Poeræneum rendered unto them. *Philip* because hee would seeme more like a plaintife than a defendant, & to accuse rather than to be accused, began himselfe also with complaints. He found himselfe grieved, that the Theſſalians had woon by force of armes the citie Menelais in Dolopia, & part of the apperteanances belonging to his kingdom. Item, That the same Theſſalians and the Perrhæbians together had forced Petra in Pieria. As for Xyniæ (an Ætolian towne without all question) they had indeed laid it unto his seignorie, but Parachelois, which should bee under Athamania, by no right in the world was annexed to the Theſſalians, and comprised within their charter. For as touching the matters (quoth he) charged upon me so odiously, namely of laying awaite for the embassadours, of frequenting these port-townes or abandoning those: the one is a meer mockerie & ridiculous thing: namely for me to give account what havens, merchants, and mariners saile unto or arrive at; the other is clean adverse & contrarie to my nature, & that which I never could abide to practise. For this many yeeres (quoth hee) embassadours have never ceased and given over, to informe greivous matters against me to the Romane Generals, and to the Senate at Rome; and which of them ever to this day hath had so much as a foule word given againe unto him from me? Supposed and objected it is, that once they were forlaied by the way as they were going to *Quintus*, but it is not said withall what happened unto them. This manner of dealing and accusation favoureth of quarrellers that saine would have somewhat to say, bee it never so false, when they can find no matter of truth to charge a man withall. These Theſſalians beyond all meane and measure abuse the kindnesse and indulgence of the people of Rome, and saring as men who had endured a long drought and thirst, they drinke over-greedily, pouring in their libertie, and nothing els to it, and know not when to make an end, and to breake their draught: Like, for all the world to bondslaves sodainly set at freedome beyond their hope and expectation, whose manner is to breake out into broad tearmes and licentious language, and can not containe but revile and raile at their very maisters. And at last, in a furious fit of choler he burst forth into these words, That the sun was not set and gone to bed for ever, but would one day rise again. This minatorie speech of his not only the Theſſalians took to themselves, but the Romanes also construed as a glaunce at them. Vpon these words arose some bruit and murmuring in the assemblie, but being in the end appeased and stilled, hee answered the agents for the Perrhæbians and Athamanes in this wise, That the case and condition of those cities for which they stood, was one & the same, namely, that the Consull *Acilius* and the Romans passed them unto him by a deed of gift, as having aforetime belonged to their enemies. Now if they who have given, will also take away the same, then (qd. he) I must needs quit my hold, and leese them: but in so doing, they shall to gratifie their fickle, inconstant, & vaine allies, men of no regard, and good for nothing, do meer and manifest wrong to a far better and more faithfull friend. For nothing is there in the world more thanklesse and lesse while accepted than libertie, especially with them who know not how to use it, and by abuse thereof will soone spill the grace of such a benefite. Then the Romane Delegates, having heard the reasons and allegations of both parties the pronounced sentence, That the Macedonian garisons should quit the cities abovesaid, and the realme of Macedonie be confined within the auncient bounds and limits. As touching the injuries which they complained to have bene reciprocally offered from one to another, there was a forme and course of law to be set downe, which should containe a proceſſe and manner, how the matters betweene the Macedonians and the other nations might be reformed and composed. Hereat the king was highly offended and displeased, but the Delegates went their wayes toward Theſſalonica, to visit likewise the cities of Thrace, and to heare their causes; where the embassadours of king *Eumenes* made a speech to this effect.

If the pleasure of the Romanes be, that the two cities *Ænus* and Maronea shall be free, it is not

not for us in modestie to say any more, but advertise and admonish them to leave the same in Greece which I held in possession aforetime; I refused all, and disdained his alliance, yea, and I professed openly, even before that *M. Acilius* came over with his armie into Greece, that I was his enemy, and together with that Consull, was employed in what part soever of the warre, which hee charged and laid upon mee. Also when *L. Scipio* the Consull his successor, determined to lead his armie by land to Hellespont, I not only gave him leave to passe peaceably through my realme, but also caused the high waies to bee paved and gravelled, bridges to bee made against his comming, yea, and furnished him with provision of victuals. And this did I, not in Macedonie alone, but also throughout all Thrace, where among other matters, this was not of least importance and consequence, to restraine those barbarous nations there, from running upon them, and to keepe them in peace and quietnesse. In consideration now of this kind affection of mine (if I may not call it a good desert) unto you, whether ought yee Romanes in reason to give mee somewhat to that I have, to augment and encrease my dominion by your largesse and munificence, or, to take from mee (as you doe) that which I have either in mine owne right, or by gift from you? The Macedonian cities, which you confesse to have been parcels of my kingdome, are not restored unto mee. *Eumenes* on the other side, he comes to make spoile of me, as if I were *Antiochus* (marke I pray you the devise of it) he pretendeth a decree of the ten delegates to colour his most shamelesse, impudent, and cautelous falsehood; even that by which himselfe may bee most refused and convicted. For in very expresse and plaine termes it is thus written, That Cherfonnesus and Lysimachia are given to *Eumenes*. Where I pray you, and in what corner of the instrument and patent stand Aenus, Maronea, and the cities of Thrace? Shall hee obtaine that at your hands, and by your means, as given and graunted from those ten Delegates, which hee never durst so much as once demand and require of them? Tell mee (if the thing bee worth so much) in what place yee would raunge and reckon me? If your purpose bee to persecute mee as an enemy and mortal foe, spare not, but goe on still as yee have begun: but if you respect mee as a king, as your allye and friend, I beseech you, repute me not worthe of so notorious and manifest a wrong. This Oration of the king in some measure mooved the Commissioners, and therefore by framing a meane and indifferent answer, they held the matter still in suspence undecided. If (say they) the cities in question were given to *Eumenes*, by vertue of a decree set downe by the tenne Delegates, wee will not chaunge nor alter anything therein. But in case *Philip* acquired them by conquest and force of armes, hee should have held them as the guerdon of his victorie. If neither, wee are of opinion, That the hearing and decision of this difference shall bee referred over to the Senate: and to the end, that all may remaine entire, the garrisons in those cities shall bee withdrawne and depart. These, I say, were the causes that principally estranged the affection of *Philip* from the Romanes, and wrought discontentment in his heart; insomuch, as evident it is; that the warre was not enterprised by his sonne *Perseus* upon any new quarrels and fresh occasion, but upon these motives left unto him by his father to be pursued.

No suspition was there at Rome of a Macedonian warre. *L. Manlius* the Pro-consull was returned out of Spaine: and when he demanded a triumph of the Senate, assembled in the temple of *Bellona*, the same in regard of his noble and worthie exploits might have been obtained, but for example sake it was not graunted. For an order it was in Rome, by ancient custome of their forefathers, that no man might triumph, who brought not his armie backe with him, unlesse hee left unto his successor the province fully subdued and settled in peace. Howbeit, *Manlius* was allowed an indifferent honour, namely, to enter into the citie by way of Ovation. In which solemnitie he had borne before him in a pompeous pageant two & fiftie coronets of gold. Moreover in gold a hundred thirtie two pound weight, and in silver sixe thousand three hundred. Also he pronounced aloud in the Senate, that *Q. Fabius* the Questour was comming, and brought with him ten thousand pound weight more of silver, and eightie of gold, which he meant likewise to bring into the chamber of the citie.

That yee a great commotion and insurrection there was of bondslaves in Apulia. *L. Posthumus* the Pretour had the government of Tarentum, and he sat in inquisition upon a damned crew of certaine herdmen and grassiers, who had conspired together, and used to rob by the

jeopardie; that when *Antiochus* of his owne meere motion offered to buy my societie with three thousand talents, and fittie covered shippes of warre, together with all those cities in Greece which I held in possession aforetime; I refused all, and disdained his alliance, yea, and I professed openly, even before that *M. Acilius* came over with his armie into Greece, that I was his enemy, and together with that Consull, was employed in what part soever of the warre, which hee charged and laid upon mee. Also when *L. Scipio* the Consull his successor, determined to lead his armie by land to Hellespont, I not only gave him leave to passe peaceably through my realme, but also caused the high waies to bee paved and gravelled, bridges to bee made against his comming, yea, and furnished him with provision of victuals. And this did I, not in Macedonie alone, but also throughout all Thrace, where among other matters, this was not of least importance and consequence, to restraine those barbarous nations there, from running upon them, and to keepe them in peace and quietnesse. In consideration now of this kind affection of mine (if I may not call it a good desert) unto you, whether ought yee Romanes in reason to give mee somewhat to that I have, to augment and encrease my dominion by your largesse and munificence, or, to take from mee (as you doe) that which I have either in mine owne right, or by gift from you? The Macedonian cities, which you confesse to have been parcels of my kingdome, are not restored unto mee. *Eumenes* on the other side, he comes to make spoile of me, as if I were *Antiochus* (marke I pray you the devise of it) he pretendeth a decree of the ten delegates to colour his most shamelesse, impudent, and cautelous falsehood; even that by which himselfe may bee most refused and convicted. For in very expresse and plaine termes it is thus written, That Cherfonnesus and Lysimachia are given to *Eumenes*. Where I pray you, and in what corner of the instrument and patent stand Aenus, Maronea, and the cities of Thrace? Shall hee obtaine that at your hands, and by your means, as given and graunted from those ten Delegates, which hee never durst so much as once demand and require of them? Tell mee (if the thing bee worth so much) in what place yee would raunge and reckon me? If your purpose bee to persecute mee as an enemy and mortal foe, spare not, but goe on still as yee have begun: but if you respect mee as a king, as your allye and friend, I beseech you, repute me not worthe of so notorious and manifest a wrong. This Oration of the king in some measure mooved the Commissioners, and therefore by framing a meane and indifferent answer, they held the matter still in suspence undecided. If (say they) the cities in question were given to *Eumenes*, by vertue of a decree set downe by the tenne Delegates, wee will not chaunge nor alter anything therein. But in case *Philip* acquired them by conquest and force of armes, hee should have held them as the guerdon of his victorie. If neither, wee are of opinion, That the hearing and decision of this difference shall bee referred over to the Senate: and to the end, that all may remaine entire, the garrisons in those cities shall bee withdrawne and depart. These, I say, were the causes that principally estranged the affection of *Philip* from the Romanes, and wrought discontentment in his heart; insomuch, as evident it is; that the warre was not enterprised by his sonne *Perseus* upon any new quarrels and fresh occasion, but upon these motives left unto him by his father to be pursued.

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high way side, and in the common pastures belonging to the citie; which commission he followed with such severitie and rigor, that he condemned seven thousand of them. Many escaped and fled, but many were executed and suffered death. As for the Consuls, long were they kept in the citie of Rome, about the levie of souldiers, but at length they went into their provinces.

The same yeere, *C. Calpurnius* and *L. Quintius* the Pretours in Spaine, having in the beginning of the Spring led forth their armies out of their wintering holds, and joynted their forces together in Beturia, advanced forward into Carpetaine, (where the enemies were encamped) with a resolution to manage and conduct the warre with one joynt mind and common counsell together. Not farre from the cities Hippon and Toletum, there began a skirmish betwene the foragers of both parts, that were gone forth to make provision: seconded they were from the one campe and the other, by meanes whereof, the whole armies of both sides by litle and litle, came forth into the field to strike a full battell. In this tumultuarie medley, the enemies had the vantage, as well of the ground wherein they were embattailed, as of the manner of fight and service. By reason whereof, both the Roman armies were discomfited and driven back into their campe; but the enemies pressed not upon them, notwithstanding they were put in great fright and much disordered. The Romane Pretors doubting least their campe the morrow after should be assailed, dislodged in the night betwene, in great secret & silence, without any sound of trumpet, and departed. In the morning by breake of day, the Spaniards in ordinance of battaille approached the trench and rampier: and being entred within the campe (which they found void and empty beyond their hope and expectation) they rifled and ransacked all that the Romanes left behind them, whiles they made halt away in the night season: from whence the enemies returned to their owne campe, and there for certaine dayes abode in standing leaguer and stirred not. In that battell and in the chase together, there were slaine of Romans and allies 5000: and with the spoiles of their bodies, the enemies armed themselves: from thence they marched to the river Tagus. The Romane Pretours in the meane season employed all that time to levie and assemble new forces out of the confederate cities of Spaine, and in comforting and encouraging the hearts of their own souldiers after their fright, upon this adverse conflict and unluckie loyle. Now when they had gathered (as they thought) a sufficient power, and tookethemselves strong enough, and that the souldiers also desired to be doing with the enemy, for to rase out and cancel the former ignomie and disgrace, they encamped twelve miles from the river Tagus aforesaid: and about the third watch of the night advanced their standards, and marching in a foure square battell, by day-light they were come to the banke of the river (now were the enemies lodged upon a litle mount beyond the water:) and incontinently in two places (where the river shewed a fowrd) they waded through with their armes, *Calpurnius* on the right hand and *Quintius* on the left. All this while the enemies continued quiet and mooved not: but in the meane time, while as they wondred at their sodaine comming, and devised how to trouble and disorder the souldiers as they should make hast to passe the river, the Romans had transported over themselves, and their bagge and baggage also; yea and brought all together into one place. And because they perceived by this time the enemy to stirre and remooove, and had no time to fortifie their campe, they put themselves in battell array. In the mids, stood the fifth legion of *Calpurnius*, and the eighth of *Quintius*, which was the very flower and strength of the whole armie. Now they had a faire open plain all the way betwene them and the enemies camp, so as there was no cause to feare any ambush. The Spaniards so soon as they espyed two armies of their enemies upon that side of the banke which was next to them, all at once issued out of their campe, and ran to battell to the end, that they might surpris and empeach them, before they could joyne and raunge themselves together. The fight was sharpe and hore in the beginning: for the Spaniards of the one side were puffed up with the conceit and pride of their late victorie: and the Romanes of the other, were galled and incensed for anger of a dishonour received, which they were not used unto. The battaille in the mids (consisting of two most valiant and hardie legions) fought right courageously: which the enemies, seeing that they could not otherwise force to recule and give ground, began to charge upon them with a battailon in coin-fashon close together; and still they pressed hard upon them in the mids more & more in number, and ever thicker raunged. *Calpurnius* the Pretour seeing this battell distressed and in danger, sent with all speed *L. Quintilius Varus* and *L. Iuventius Tula*, two lieutenants, to either of the legions severally, to encourage and exhort them to stick to it like men, and to make remon-

strance

A strange & relation, That in them alone consisted all the hope of conquering & keeping Spaine: if they never so little yeelded backe and lost their ground, there was not one of the whole armie that should ever see Italie againe, nor nor so much as the farther banke of Tagus. As for himselfe, he rooke with him the Cavallerie of two legions, and when he had wheeled a litle about and set a compasse with them, he charged hotly upon the flanke of the foresaid strong battailon of the enemies, which assailed and urged still the maine battaille. *Quintius* also with his Cavallerie flanked the enemies on the other side: but the horsemen of *Calpurnius* fought more fiercely by ods than the other, & the Pretor himselfe in person was foremost of them all; for he was the first that drew bloud of an enemy, & so far engaged himselfe within them, that hardly a man could know of which side he fought: by his singular valiance, the horsemen were mightily animated: and by the valour of the Cavallerie on horsebacke, the Infanterie also were enkindled to fight on foot. The principall Centurions were abashed and ashamed to see the Pretour in person among the pikes and swords of his enemies: and therefore every man for his part did his best, put forward the port-ensigns, willing them to advance their banners, to the end, that the soldiours might follow hard after. Then began they on all hands to set up a fresh and lustie shout; they tooke their biere and charged upon them as from the vantage of an higher ground: by reason whereof, they disarrayed them first, and like a forcible streame they bare them downe before them, so as they could not stand upon their feet and susteine this violence of theirs, but fell one upon another. As many as fled toward the campe, the horsemen pursued, and so entmingled themselves among the rout of the enemies, that they entred pell-mell with them into their hold; where, they that were left for the guard thereof, renewed the fight, so that the Roman horsemen were forced to light from their horses: and whiles they maintained the medley, the fit legion came to second them, and consequently more and more succours as they possibly could, ran to them: downe went the Spaniards, and were massacred in all parts of the campe; and not above 4000 of them all, fled away and saved themselves: of which number, about three thousand (who still kept their armour) seized upon a hill neere adjoyning: the other thousand, being for the most part armed by the halves, were scattered all over the fields. The enemies were at first above five and thirtie thousand, but after this battaille see how few of them were left: and from them were woon 133 ensignes. Of Romanes and allies, there died few above sixe hundred, of auxiliarie souldiers from out of the province, about 150. Five martiall Tribunes were lost, and certaine Romane gentlemen, whose death especially, made it seeme a bloudie victory. After which, the armie abode within the enemies campe, for that themselves had no time to fortifie their owne. The next morrow *C. Calpurnius* in an open audience, highly praised the horsemen, and rewarded them with rich harnish and trappings, declaring aloud, That by meanes of their good service principally, the enemies were discomfited and their campe forced. As for *Quintius* the other Pretour, he bestowed upon his men of armes, small chaines and buttons of gold. The Centurions likewise of both armies received gifts at their hands, and namely those who fought in the maine battaille.

The Consuls having finished the levie of souldiers, and accomplished all things requisite to be done in Rome, led the armie into their province of Liguria. *Sempronius* departed from Pisa, and made a journey against the Apuan Ligurians; where, by wasting their territories and burning their townes and fortresses, he made way into the Forrest and opened the passages as far as to the river Macra and the port of Luna. The enemies tooke a certaine mount (an ancient hold) where their ancestors sometimes had seated themselves: but from thence they were by force disceized, by reason that the Romanes overcame the difficulties of the avenues thereto. *Ap. Claudius* likewise for his part, was equall in valiance and good fortune to his colleague, as having fought certaine prosperous battailles with the Ligurian Inguames. He forced besides six townes of theirs, and tooke many thousands of prisoners within them. Of the chiefe authors of that rebellion, he caused three and fortie to loose their heads.

Now approached the time of the solempne assembly for election of Magistrates at Rome: and albeit *Sempronius* his lot it was to hold the said assembly, yet *Claudius* returned first to Rome, because *P. Claudius* his brother made suite to be Consull. He had for his competitor, *L. Aemylius*, *Q. Fabius Labeo*, and *Servius Sulpitius Galba*, all foure of the nobilitie. Old suiters they were all, and because they had suffered the repulse aforesaid, they renewed the suite for this dignitie, as being so much the rather due, because it had beene once denied them. And this was the cause that

that these foure followed and pressed the harder for to obtaine the same, because it was not lawfull for any more than one of the *Patritij* at once to bee created Consull. There were also of Commoners certain persons well beloved and of good reputation that stood in election for the place, to wit, *L. Porcius*, *Q. Terentius Culleo*, and *Cn. Babius Tamphilus*: they also had taken repulse before time, and were put off still in hope one day yet to obtaine that honourable dignitie. *Claudius* of them all was onely the new Competitor. Now men thought verily without any doubt and question, yea, and destined in their conceits *Q. Fabius Labeo*, and *L. Porcius Licinius* to be Consuls. But *Claudius* the Consull together with his brother bestirred himselfe, and without his hui-fthers attending upon him, travelled and laboured hard in all parts of the common place: notwithstanding the adversaries, yea & the most of the Senators cried out upon him and said, That he ought to consider and remember rather that he was the Consull of the people of Rome, than brother to *P. Claudius*; why then sat he not still in the Tribunall either as president and judge of the court assembled, or els as a beholder and spectatour only, without saying any word himselfe? Howbeit, he could not possibly bee reclaimed from this disordinate affection of his which hee shewed in labouring for his brother. This election was divers times also troubled with the great debates and contentions caused by the Tribunes of the Commons: whiles some of them spake against the Consull; others againe maintained his suite, and tooke part with him. But in the end, *Fabius* tooke the foile, and *Appius* went away with the game, for his brother. So *P. Claudius Pulcher* was created Consull beyond his owne hope, and more than others looked for. *L. Porcius Licinius* held his owne, and obtained the second place in his course; for that the Commoners went moderately to worke, and shewed not so much affection and forcible meanes as *Claudius* did. After this, was holden the election of Pretours. And chosen there were, *C. Decimius Flavius*, *P. Sempronius Longus*, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *Q. Nevius Matho*, *C. Sempronius Blaesus*, and *A. Terentius Varro*. Thus much concerning the acts atcheevd both at home in the citie, and abroad in the warre, that yeere wherein *App. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* were Consuls.

In the beginning of the next yeere, in which *P. Claudius* and *L. Porcius* bare the Consulship, when as *Q. Caelius*, *M. Babius* and *T. Sempronius* (who had ben sent to heare and decide the controversies betweene the two kings, *Philip* and *Eumenes*, and the States of Thessalie) had made report of their embassages; they permitted likewise the embassadours of the said princes and cities, to enter into the Senate. Who related the selfesame things againe, which had bene alleadged before in the presence of the foresaid Legates in Greece. After this, the LL. of the Senat addreised another new embassage into Macedonie and Greece, whereof *App. Claudius* was the cheefe, for to visite and see, whether the cities adjudged and assigned to the Rhodians, Thessalians, and Perrethians were delivered unto them accordingly. They also had in charge to cause the garrisons to quit *Aenus* and *Maronea*, and to looke that all the sea coast of Thracia, were freed from the subjection of *Philip* and the Macedonians. They were enjoined moreover to goe into Peloponnesus, from whence the former embassie was departed in more doubtful reumes than if they had never gone thither. For over and besides other things they were sent away without any answer for their dispatch: and albeit they requested the Achæans for to assemble their generall Diet, they mought not obtaine it. For which, when as *Q. Caelius* found himselfe discontented and greivously complained, & the Lacedæmonians withall made piteous mone, that the walls of their citie were demolished and rased, their common people lead away in captivitie into Achæa, and there sold, and the lawes of *Lycorgus* taken from them, under which their citie and Commonweale untill that day had been maintained and governed: the Achæans excused themselves most of all for the imputation of refusing to hold a Councell; and to that purpose they rehearsed a law and ordinance, whereby they were forbidden expressly to call and publish a Diet unlesse it were in the case of levying warre and contracting of peace, upon occasion that any embassadours came directly unto them from the Senate of Rome with letters, or commission in writing. But for that this manner of excuse should not serve their turne againe afterwards, the Senate gave them plainly to understand, that they ought to take care and order that the Roman embassadours might at all times have meanes of free access to their Councels, like as they also reciprocally should have a Senate held for their sakes, as often as they would themselves.

After these embassages were departed, *Philip* was advertised by his embassadours, that there was no remedie but he must abandon those cities, and withdraw his garrisons: and herewith being

ing mightily offended and angered against all, yet he discharged his choler onely upon the Maronites. Unto *Onomastus*, warden of the ports and sea-coasts, hee gave commaundement to kill the cheefe of the adverse part. And he by the meanes of *Cassander*, one of the kings supports and favorites, who a long time had dwelt in Maronea, procured certaine Thracians to bee let into the towne by night, and there he committed murder and massacre, as if it had bene a citie woen by force of armes. And when the Romane embassadours made complaint to him, namely, of such outrages committed so cruelly against the guiltlesse Maronites, and so proudly and insolently against the people of Rome; in that they should bee killed and cut in peeces as enemies, unto whom the Senate had ordained restitution of their freedome, hee made answer and said, that neither himselfe, nor any of those who belonged unto him, could doe withall: but it was long of themselves and their variance one with another; whiles some of the citizens drew to him, and others enclined to king *Eumenes*. Which ye may (qd. he) soone know to be a truth, if ye will but aske the Maronites themselves: for this account he made, that whiles they were all terrified with so late and fresh a massacre, there durst not one of them open his mouth against him. *Appius* replied againe and said, That they were not to make an enquire in this so evident and notorious a fact, as if it were in any respect doubtful: but if hee would discharge and cleare himselfe as innocent of the action, hee should send to Rome *Onomastus* and *Cassander*, who were named to have committed the outrage, that the Senate might examine them upon interrogatories. This word at the first so troubled and dashed the king, that his colour went & came in his face, & he knew not how to keep his countenance. But after he was come again to himselfe, he made answer, That (if they needs would) he cared not much to send *Cassander*, for that he had dwelt and continued in Maronea; but as for *Onomastus*, who neither was at Maronea, nor so much as in any quarter neer unto it, how possibly could he be charged or touched with the matter? Now as he spared *Onomastus* the rather of the twaine, and was loth to have him come in question, as being his more deere and honourable friend: so hee feared him much more than the other, least hee should bewray and disclose the thing; for that himselfe had conferred with him thereabout; and besides, he had served his turne divers times as a minister to execute, and been privie unto him as a complice to plot such like designements. *Cassander* also, as it is verily thought, was poisoned and made away, by certaine that were sent of purpose to accompanie him through Epirus to the sea side; and all because the villanie should not bee detected and come to light. Thus the Legates departed from the parley and conference with *Philip*, as shewing in their countenance, that they were nothing well pleased: and *Philip* on the other side went his wayes as resolute to levie warre againe: but forasmuch as his forces as yet were not sufficient to doe any exploit, and because he would delay the time betweene, he determined to send his younger sonne *Demeirius* to Rome, both to purge his father of those matters wherewith wee was charged, and also by humble request to appease the anger of the Senate; supposing, that this young gentleman, who had bene left as an hostage at Rome, and there had shewed a good testimonie of a princely nature and royall disposition, might much avale in the cause. In the meane while himselfe under colour of aiding the Bizantines, but in very truth to strike some terrour into the princes of Thrace, made an expedition against them: and when he had in one battaile discomfired them, and taken prisoner their cheefe captaine *Amadorus*, hee returned into Macedonie, having sent certaine messengers to sollicite the barbarous nations, inhabiting neere the river Ister, for to enter and invade Italie. In Peloponnesus also the comming of the Romane Legates was expected, who by this commission were enjoined to passe out of Macedonie into Achæa: against whom because the Achæans would not be to seeke what to say, *Lycortas* their Pretour summoned a publicke counsell aforehand. In which there was parley as touching the Lacedæmonians, namely, how that of enemies they were become enformers and accusers, and daunger it was, least when they were vanquished they would be more to be feared, than at the time that they waged war. For during the warres, the Achæans found the Romans to be their good associates, but now the same Romans are more friendly to the Lacedæmonians, than to the Achæans, seeing that *Areus* & *Alcibiades* (banished persons both out of Lacedæmon, and by the meanes of the Achæans restored againe to their place) had undertaken to goe in embassage to Rome, against the Achæan nation, which had so well deserved at their hands; and there gave so hard language against them, as if they had been chased and driven out of their countrey, and not restored thereunto by them. Hereupon arose a great outcrie from all parts of the assembly, for to put

to question, what should bee determined expressly of them by name; and in this fit, where all went by choler, and nothing by counsell, condemned they were to die. Some few daies after came the Romane embassadours, for whose sake a Counsell was holden at Clitorea, a citie in Arcadia. But before any matter was treated on, the Achæans were surpris'd with exceeding feare, considering and thinking how this deciding of matters was not like to be managed and carried with any indifferencie for their behoofe; for as much as they saw *Arcus* and *Alcibiades* (condemned by them in the last counsell) to bee in the companie of the said embassadours, and no man durst open his lips and speake a word. *Appius* declared, That the Senate was much displeased at those matters whereof the Lacedæmonians had made complaint, namely, That first in a tumultuarie fray and conflict, they were murdered who had been called forth by *Philopamen*, and came to plead and speake in their owne cause: Then, after they had exercised their crueltie thus against their persons, to the end, that in no part their inhumanitie should be wanting, they had rased the walls of a right noble and famous cittie, abolished their most auncient lawes, and put downe the discipline & government of *Lycurgus*, so renowned throughout all nations. When *Appius* had made an end of his speech, then *Lycortas*, both in regard that hee was Pretour, and also because hee tooke part with the faction of *Philopamen* (who was the motive and author of all that had been done at Lacedæmon) made answer in this wise. More hard it is for us now *Appius* to speak before you, than of late it was in the presence of the Senate. For then we were to answer the Lacedæmonians, who accused us: but at this present we have you to be our accusers, before whom, as competent judges wee should plead in our owne defence. Howbeit wee have submitted our selves, and undergone this unequall and hard condition, presuming upon this hope, that you will lay aside that accusatorie heat which not long since you used, and put upon you the person of a judge to heare with indifferencie and equitie. For mine owne part, considering that you ere-while have but related those matters which the Lacedæmonians both here in place before *Quintilius* of late, and also at Rome afterwards complained of, I would thinke that I am to answer therefore not unto you, but unto them in your hearing. You charge us with the murdering of them, who being called out by the Pretor *Philopamen* to plead their cause, were killed. This crime I hold that it ought not to be objected against us by you Romanes, no nor so much by any other in your audience. And why so? because it was expressly specified in your own treatie and accord of covenants, that the Lacedæmonians should have nothing to doe with the maritime cities. At what time as the Lacedæmonians took arms, & seased by force in the night of those cities, which they were precisely forbidden to meddle withall; if *Quintius*, if the Romane armie had been in *Peloponnesus*, as aforetime, no doubt we must needs thinke, that being thus surpris'd and evill entreated, they would have had recourse thither for succour. But since ye were so farre off, whether els should they flie and retire themselves, but to us your allies? whom they had seene before to helpe and succour Gyttheum, whom upon the like cause they knew to have assailed Lacedæmon together with you? It was in your quarrell therefore that wee enterprised a just and lawfull warre. Which being an act of ours, by others commended, and which ought not by the very Lacedæmonians to be condemned, and considering that even the gods themselves have approved thereof, in that they gave us victorie, how commeth it then to passe, that you bring those matters into question which are by right of law warranted? And yet a great part thereof in no respect toucheth and concerneth you. That wee caused them to come forth to answer their cause, who had raised a commotion of the multitude, who had forced the maritime cities, who had ransacked them, who also had massacred the principall citizens, we are to answer therefore, and to us that properly appertaineth. But that they were murdered in the way as they came into our campe, was nothing to us, but your deed *Arcus* and *Alcibiades*, who now (forsooth) are become our accusers. The banished Lacedæmonians (of which number those two also are, & who at that time were with us, for that they chose the coast townes to retire into for their habitations) supposing that their owne death was sought, and that there would have beene outrage committed upon them, they ran upon those, by whose means they were driven out of their countrey; even upon an indignation, that they might not so much as passe their old age in banishment with safetie. They were the Lacedæmonians then, and not the Achæans that slew the Lacedæmonians: whether justly or unjustly, that is not the question, neither skilleth it. But what say ye to this, *Achæans*, how can ye denie but that ye are culpable, in that ye have abolished the lawes and the most auncient discipline of *Lycurgus*? and withall rased the walls of Lacedæmon?

And

And how is it possible that both these points should be objected unto us by the same men? considering that those walls were never built by *Lycurgus*, but contrariwise (and not many yeeres past) for to overthrow and annull the discipline instituted by *Lycurgus*? For the tyrants of late daies built them to serve as a fortresse and bulwarke for themselves, and not for a defence unto the citie. And if *Lycurgus* at this day should rise againe from death to life, hee would take joy in their ruines, and say that hee acknowledged now his owne native countrey and auncient Sparta indeed. You Lacedæmonians should not have expected *Philopamen* nor the Achæans, but your selves ought with your owne hands to have pulled downe and destroyed, all the tokens and memorials of tyrannie. Those walls were the very markes, and as a man would say, the unseemly and deformed skarres of your thraldome and servitude. And you who without walls for the space almost of eight hundred yeeres had lived in freedome, yea, and for a certaine time also had ben maisters of Greece, became slaves during a hundred yeeres, enclosed and restrained within walls as if yee had beene fettered by the feet. Now as touching the lawes, which yee pretend to have been taken away by us, I suppose verily that the tyrants they were, who deprived the Lacedæmonians of their auncient lawes: and that we have not taken from them theirs (for none they had of their own) but rather have given them ours: neither have we done otherwise than well by them, but regarded much the good of their citie and Commonwealth, in that we have united them in our solemne court of parliament, and incorporated them unto us; to the end, that in all Peloponnesus, there should be but one bodie, one State, and one Counsell. Then (I wote well) they might have justly complained to have beene wronged, then they might have greeved and said they had not been well used, in case we our selves had lived under one kind of lawes, and put them to be ruled by others. I know full well, *Appius*, that all my speech hitherto is neither becoming alies to use unto their allies, nor decent and meet for a nation that is free, but rather (to speake more truly) fit for slaves debating before their maisters. For if that sound of the trumpet, if that voice of the publicke crier were not in vaine, whereby ye ordained and declared, That we Achæans before all others should be free; if the confederation stand firme and stable; if our alliance and amitie bee entertained and observed equally and indifferently; why demaund not I of you Romans what you did after the winning of Capua? Seeing you will have us Achæans, to make account unto you, what we did to the Lacedæmonians whom we conquered by warre? Set case that we caused some of them to be killed. What of that? Commaunded not you (I pray) that the Senatours of Capua should leese their heads? Wee have demolished the walls indeed, but yee have not only ruined their walls, but wholly turned them out of citie and territorie. But (you will say) the confederation in behalfe of the Achæans is equall and indifferent in outward apparence, and in truth and effect their libertie dependeth upon the good will and pleasure of the Romans, who indeed have the preeminence of the seignorie and dominion besides. I know it *Appius*, as well as ye can tell me, yea, & (although it behoveth me not so to be) I am not overmuch offended and discontented therewith. But this I beseech you, let there be as great ods and difference as ye will betweene us Achæans and you Romanes: provide this only, that your enemies and ours be not with you in as good regard & account, nay that they be not in a better degree & condition, than we your allies and associats. For, that they should be equall to us, we have been the cause; in that we granted them our own laws, in that we admitted them to be incorporat in the generall Diet of the Achæan State and communitie. But will yee have the truth? the conquered have not sufficient to content and satisfie the conquerours: enemies demaund more, than allies have and enjoy; and those things which are confirmed by oath, ratified and consecrated by monuments and instruments of writings, cut and engraven in stone, for a perpetual memorie to all posteritie, they would force and wrest from us even with our perjurie. True it is, *O Romanes*, we honour and reverence you; yea, and if you will needs have it so, wee dread and feare you also: but yet so, as we both honour and also feare the immortal gods more than you. Audience hee, had with the accord and consents of the greater part: and all men judged, that hee had spoken like a magistrate indeed, and for the dignitie and majestic of his place: in such sort, as it was easily seene, that they were never able to hold their dignitie and mainteine their authoritie with the Romanes, in case they went coldly to worke and proceeded in mild tearmes with them. Then *Appius* answered and said, That he would gladly advise and persuade them, all that he possibly could, to be reconciled unto the Lacedæmonians, whiles they might doe it with full contentment; for fear least soone after they should be constrained and forced to seek unto them against their

their wills and maugre their hearts. At this word they all sighed and groned againe; but afraid G they were and durst not refuse to doe that which they were commaunded. This petition onely they made unto the Romanes, that as touching the Lacedæmonians they would change and alter what they thought good; and not force the Achæans to sinne against their conscience, in disanulling those things which they had established and ratified with a solemne oth. So the sentence of condemnation onely (lately passed against *Arcus* and *Alciades*) was reversed.

In the beginning of this yeere (when at Rome they had sitten in consultation about the provinces of Consuls and Pretours) Liguria was assigned unto the Consuls for their charge and government, because there was no warre in any other place. Then the Pretours cast lots for theirs, To *C. Decimius Flavius* fell the jurisdiction of the citie: and to *P. Cornelius Cethegus* that other betwene citizens and forreiners: *C. Sempronius* had the government of Sicilie, and *Q. Nevius* H *Mattho* of Sardinia; with commission also to sit upon the inquisition in case of poysoning. *A. Terentius Varro* was deputed L. governor of high Spain, and *P. Sempronius Longus* of the low. Out of those 2 provinces it fell out so, that there came much about the same time two lieutenants, *L. Iuventius Talsa* and *T. Quintilius Varus*; who having related before the Senat how great a war was now dispatched and finished in Spaine, required withall, that there should be rendered praise and thanks to the immortall gods for the happie successe in the wars, & likewise that the Pretors might be permitted to bring away their armies. So there was a solemne procession ordained to be holden two dayes: but as touching the reducing of the armies, they gave order to refer it wholly to be debated, at what time as there should be question about the armies of Consuls and Pretours together. Some few dayes after, it was ordained, that the Consuls should have with them into Liguria, two legions apeece, which *Ap. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* had the conduct of. As touching the Spanish forces, great contention there was betwene the new Pretours and the friends of *Calpurnius* and *Quintius* in their absence. Both sides had Tribunes and both had Consuls to take part with them. The Tribunes threatned to crosse the act of the Senat, if they ordained that the armies should be brought home. The Consuls againe protested, that if the Tribunes thus opposed their negative, they would not suffer any other decree and ordinance to passe. In conclusion, the respect of those that were absent, was of lesse importance: and an act of the Senate was entered, That the Pretours should enroll 4000 footmen of Romanes, and foure hundred horsemen: likewise five thousand foot and as many horse of Latine allies, to conduct K with them into Spaine. And when they had thus enrolled these foure full legions, lookewhat surplusage there remained over and above five thousand foot and three hundred horse in a legion, they should give them their congie and dismisse them of souldierie; first as many as had served out their full time, and then those who had borne themselves most valiantly in the warre under *Calpurnius* and *Quintius*.

After this debate and variance was appeased, there arose another in the necke of it, occasioned by the death of *P. Decimius* the Pretour. *Cn. Licinius* and *L. Puppius* (who had been *Ædiles* the last yeere before) likewise *C. Valerius* the Flamine of *Jupiter*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, laboured to be in his roume late deceased. As for the last of these rehearsed (because hee was *Ædile Curule*) he shewed not himselfe in his white robe; but he made more meanes and laboured above all the rest, having to his adversarie and concurrent the Flamine above said. At the first he seemed equall only unto him in the suite, but afterwards when he began to have the better of him, certaine Tribunes of the Commons stood upon this point, and alledged, That his name was not to be accepted as eligible; for that one and the selfesame person might neither take nor exercise at one time, the function of two magistracies; and namely, both *Curule* or of State. Others againe said, that it was meet and reason that hee were dispensed with and exempt from the lawes in that behalfe, to the end, that the people might be at libertie to elect whome they would for Pretour. *L. Porcius* the Consull was first of this resolution, not to admit his name: and afterwards, because he would seeme to do by warrant and authoritie of the Senat, he assembled the LL. together, and said, that he propounded and put to question before them, That for as much as an *Ædile* elect, sued to be Pretour without all right, or any precedent tollerable in a free state; for his owne part he was minded (unless they were of a contrarie opinion) to hold the generall assembly for the election, according to law. Then the LL. gave their advise, that *L. Porcius* the Consull, should commune and treat with *Q. Fulvius*, that hee would be no hindrance, but that the assembly for the substitution of a Pretour in the roume of *C. Decimius* departed,

A red, might be holden by order of law. As the Consull was thus in hand with him according to the act of the Senat, *Flaccus* made answer, That he would do nothing unfitting his own person. By this doubtfull and indifferent answer of his, he put those in good hope (who expounded and construed as they would have it) that he would accommodate and apply himselfe to the authoritie of the LL. of the Senat: but at the time of the election he sued more earnestly than before; complaining of the Consull and Senat, That they wrung and wrested out of his hands the benefit of the people of Rome intended unto him; and to bring him into ill will and obloquie of the people, they made much ado about two offices & a double dignitie: as if all the world saw not, that after he were declared & pronounced Pretour, he would incontinently resigne up the *Ædileship*. The Consull perceiving both him fully resolute and set upon a pitch in the suite, & also the favor & affection of the people inclined more and more toward him, brake up the assembly aforesaid, and called a Senat: where, in a frequent session of Senators it was ordained, That for as much as *Flaccus* was little or nothing mooved with the authoritie of the LL. of that honourable court, he was to be dealt withall in a generall assembly before the bodie of the people. When the people were met together at the summons of the Consull, hee proposed the matter unto him before them. *Flaccus* relented never a jote, but persisted still in his opinion, and gave the people of Rome thanks for their favour, in that they shewed themselves willing to elect him Pretour, so often as they had time and place wherein they might testifie and declare their love to him: which affectionate kindnesse of his fellow citizens, he never meant to reject and abandon. This constant and resolute speech of his, kindled and enflamed so great love and affection C in them toward him, that past all peradventure he had been chosen Pretour out of hand, in case the Consull would have received his name. Much strife and debate there was amongst the Tribunes, one against another; yea and between them and the Consull, untill at length the Consull held a Senat, and there a decree passed in this wise, That forasmuch as the wilfull stubbornnesse of *Q. Flaccus* of one side, and the inordinate affection of men on another side, was such, as the solemne assembly for subelecting of a Pretour in the place of the deceased, could not be holden according to the lawes, the Senat agreed and resolved, that there were already Pretours enough, and that *P. Cornelius* should administer and execute both jurisdictions in the citie, and exhibite the playes and games in the honour of *Apollo*.

After this troublesome debate about the election, was by the sage wisdom and valorous D courage of the Senat suppressed, there arose another far greater, by how much the thing was of weightier importance, and the persons agents therein more in number, and for qualitie and place mightier. There stood in election to be Censors (and that with earnest endeavour and exceeding heat of contention) *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *P.* and *L.* both *Scipions*; *Cn. Manlius Velsio*, and *L. Furius Purpureo*, all *Patritij*. And of commoners, *M. Porcius Cato*, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *T.* and *Marcus* both *Sempronij*, the one surnamed *Longus*, the other *Tuditans*. But *M. Porcius* overwent them all by many degrees, as well those of the Patricians as also of the commons, notwithstanding they were come of most noble families. This man caried with him so vigorous a spirit and pregnant wit, that howsoever he were borne and descended, it seemed he was able to make way of himselfe to advancement and honour. He wanted no Art and skill meet and requisite for the managing either of private busines of his owne, or publicke affaires of state: cunning E he was in country husbandrie, as well as in civill policie. Some are advanced to the highest dignities and most honourable places, by their deepe knowledge in the law: others attaine to promotion by eloquence: and there be againe, who have risen and become great through martiall prowesse and feats of armes. But this man was by nature so trainable and pliant to all alike, that whatsoever he added and gave himselfe unto, a man would have said, he had bene borne and framed even from his mothers wombe to it and to nothing else. In war, a most hardie and valiant souldiour: and in many foughten fields highly renowned. Being mounted once to high places of honorable calling, a right excellent commander he proved, & Generall of an armie. In peace again, for sound counsell in the civill law, passing well learned: for pleading at the bar and making orations, most eloquent. Neither carried he himselfe so, that his tongue flourished only F whiles hee lived, as leaving no monument behind him of his singular eloquence; but it liveth, nay it flourisheth still, immortalized as it were & recommended to posteritie in all kind of writing. Orations of his there be extant many, which he penned & pronounced as well in his own cause as for the defence of his friends, yea & invectives also against others: for able he was to put down and

and wearie his adversaries, not onely by declaiming and accusing them, but also by pleading G his own cause. Faction quarels and enmities there were exceeding many, that tormented him; and he plagued others with as many: and hard it is to say or set downe, whether hee were urged and pressed upon by the nobilitie, or himselfe coursed and baited them more. Doublelesse, by nature he was austere and rigorous, his speech was sharpe, biting, and beyond measure plaine and free: but he carried a mind with him that stouped to no desires and luits whatsoever: his life so severe and precise, as it was untouched and without all spot of blame: despising all fawning favours, and contemning earthly riches. In thrift and frugalitie, in sobrietie, in patience, in suffrance of travaile and daunger, his bodie was steele to the verie backe. And as for his mind and courage, it was such, as verie age and time (which abateth and consumeth all things els) was not able to breake and daunt: when hee was fourescore yeeres old and sixe, hee pleaded at the barre H for others: he made orations for his owne defence, and wrote bookes: and in the nintieth yeere of his age, he converted *Sergius Galba* before the people, to receive his judgement by them. As all his life time before, the nobilitie was set against him, so when hee stood now to be Censor, they pressed hard upon him: insomuch as all his competitor (excepting *L. Flaccus*, who had been his colleague in the Consulship) conspired together, how they might give him the repulse and put him besides the quishion: not only for that their owne teeth watered, and they were desirous themselves rather of that honour; nor because they repined to see a new risen gentleman, & one of the first head to be a Censor: but also because they looked for no other but that his Censorship would be rigorous and prejudiciall to the name and reputation of divers I men; considering how he had been crossed and hurt by very many, and was desirous himselfe to wait them a shreud turne, and be meet with them againe. For even then, whiles he laboured and sued for the place, hee used minatorie speeches, and gave out, that they onely were opposed against him, who feared they should have a Censorship sharpe exercised without partiality and respect of persons. And herewith hee maintained and upheld the suite of *L. Valerius* with him, saying, that if hee had but him of all others to be his colleague, hee should be able to repress the wicked enormities newly come up and rise in the citie, and to bring in request againe the ancient manners and fashions of the old world. Men were much mooved in these respects and considerations; and so maugre the heads of the nobilitie, they not onely created him Censor, but also adjoynd unto him *L. Valerius* for his companion in that government.

After the election of Censors was ended, the Consuls and Pretours tooke their journeyes into K their severall provinces, all save *Q. Nevius*; who before that hee could goe into Sardinia, was staied behind no lesse than foure moneths, about certain inquisitions of paysoning: whereof, hee fate upon many without the citie of Rome, in corporate burroughes, market townes and places of great resort, for that he thought that manner of proceeding more convenient. And if wee list to beleeve *Val. Antias*, hee condemned two thousand persons.

Semblably, *L. Posthumus* the Pretour, (unto whome the government of Tarentum by lot sell) did good justice upon great conspiracies made by certain grasiers; and with great care and diligence followed the enquest of the Bacchanals, and dispatched the reliques thereof quite and cleane. Many of them who were adjourned and made not appearance, but gave the slip and left in the lurch their sureties bound bodie and goods for them, and lurked in that quarter of Italy; hee either judged and condemned as guiltie and convicted, or caused them to be apprehended and sent to Rome unto the Senate; who were all cast in prison by *P. Cornelius*.

In the farther part of Spaine all was quiet, by reason that the Lusitanes were in the last warre subdued: but in the higher part, *A. Terentius* forced Corbio a towne of the Suefferanes, which he assaulted with mantlets and other fabricks of warre, and sold all the prisoners: which done, hee passed the winter peaceably in that higher part of Spaine also.

The old Pretours, *C. Calpurnius Piso* and *L. Quintius* returned to Rome; and both of them were with great accord and consent of the LL. of the Senat allowed to triumph. And first *C. Calpurnius* triumphed over the Portugals and Celtiberians. In which triumph, hee carried in shew 83 coronets of gold, and 12000 pound of silver. Within few dayes after, *L. Quintius* triumphed M over the same Portugals and Celtiberians. In which solemnitie, there was represented in shew, as much gold and silver as in the former.

The Censors, *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius*, whiles men hung in suspence betweene feare and hope what they would doe, held a review and a new choise of the Senate. Seven Senatours they displaced

A displaced and deposed from that dignitie: amongst whome, there was one of marke, for his nobilitie of birth and honorable offices which he had borne, namely *L. Quintius Flavianus* who had been Consull. An auncient order (they say) it was in time of our forefathers, That when the Censors had put any out of the Senate, they should note them directly for those faults which they had committed: and at this day, extant there be divers sharpe orations of *Cato*, against them whome either hee casted and displaced out of Senate, or from whome hee tooke away horses of service: but of all others, the fourest and bitterest is that of his, against this *L. Quintius*; which if he had pronounced as an accuser before he had noted him with that disgrace, and not as Censor after the said note, his very owne brother *T. Quintius* (if he had been then Censor) could not possibly have kept *L. Quintius* in the state of a Senator. Among other grievous matters, hee articulated against him, That hee had trained with him from Rome into his province of B Fraunce (in hope of many great rewards) one ** Philip Pænus*, a notorious and costly Ganymede. This boy, as he was fooling & playing the wanton with the said *Quintius* then Consul, used to upbraid him with this, That he was had away from Rome, against the very time that the shew of sword-players at utterance was to bee exhibited: and this hee said, to shew how readie hee was to satisfie the pleasure of him his lover. Now it chaunced as they were making good cheere together, and having taken their wine liberally were well heat therewith, newes came and reported it was in the banquet time, That a certain noble man of the Boians was arrived, with his children, as a renegade from the adverse part; and was desirous to speake with the Consull, for to have assurance from his mouth of safe-conduct: who being brought into the pavilion, began to par- C lie with the Consull by a truchman or interpreter. And in the mids of his speech; How saist thou (quoth *Quintius* to that wanton deintie, his Caramite) because thou hast missed & lost the sight of those sword-players at Rome, wilt thou see presently here this Frenchman die in the place before thee? He made not any great semblance unto him in good earnest of his desire that way: but the Consull at the first beck of that beastly filth & baggage, caught the naked sword which hung over his head, and first gave the poore Gaule a wound in his sconce as he was speaking unto him, & afterwards as he made shift to flie from him and called upon the protection of the people of Rome and the assistance of those that were present, *Quintius* ran him quite through the sides, *Valerius Antias*, who never had read the oration of *Cato*, but gave credit to a flying fable only, without any head or author, telleth the tale with some other circumstance, howbeit much like D in substance of matter, as touching his lecherous lust & bloudie crueltie. He writeth, that *Quintius* whiles he abode at Plaisance, sent for a famous courtisan (upon whom he was enamored) to a banquet; and as he courted and made love to this strumpet, vaunting himselfe unto her, among other discourses he recounted with what rigor hee had followed certain inquisitions; what a number of prisoners hee had in yrons condemned to death; and how many of their heads hee minded to chop off. Then this harlotry sitting next beneath him, said, That shee had never in al her life seen any man to cut ones head off; & it was a sight that of al other she would fainest see. Whereupon, this kind amorous knight, to gratifie the quean, caused one of those poor soules condemned to die, to be fet out of prison into the banketting rounge, and presently to be beheaded before her face. A cruell fact it was and inhumane, whether it were committed as *Cato* hath objected in his E Oration, or as *Valerius* hath written in his storie, that any human creature should be thus massacred like a sacrifice, and the table besprent with his bloud, amid the cups standing full of wine and the dishes furnished with viands, where and when the manner and custome was to tast and take the first sey in the honour of the gods, and that devoutly with grace and good praier; and also content and feed the eie of a wanton and shamelesse callot, lying in the bolome of the Consull. In the end of *Cato* his Oration, this condition was offered unto *Quintius*, That if hee would plead unguiltie, and denie this fact and others which he charged him with, then hee should put in a reall caution, and stand to his defence and triall: but if he confessed himselfe guiltie, then hee would him to consider whether he thought any man would greeve and be forrie at the ignominie which he was to receive, who being transported & caried beside his understanding with wine and F women, made but a sport & pastime to shew mens bloud at a very banquet. In taking a review of the Cavallerie or gentlemen of Rome, *Scipio Asiaticus* had his great horse of service taken from him. This Censureship was likewise executed with severitie and rigor to all sorts and degrees, and namely in the prising and valuation of their goods. For *Cato* commanded the sergeants to take a note of all the ornaments, jewels, & apparrell of women, also of their chariots and coaches

* This Philip I take to be no Corinthian. The name soundeth not like others of that nation: but both *Antias* and *Valerius* are Roman proper names.

if they amounted to the sum of 15000 asses, & to enroll the same in the Censors booke. *Item*, all G bondslaves under twentie years of age, sold after the last tax or assessment for ten thousand asses or upward, that they should bee valued at an higher price by ten fold than they were esteemed worth: and that for all these things they should pay and contribute to the citie chamber after three in the thousand. These Censors cut off all water either running out of any common stream into a priuat house, or derived into particular fields and grounds. And all howes either built by privat persons upon common ground, or any waies encroching and leaning to publike places they caused to be demolished and pulled downe within thirtie dayes. After this they set out diuers peeces of worke to be wrought at a price, of that money which was ordeyned to that purpose, namely to pave certaine pooles with stone, to skoure and clesse the draughts and sinks where need was: and in the mount Aventine and other parts where none were alreedy to make new. And particularly of themselves *Flaccus* caused the causey or wharfe to bee made against the waters called *Neptunia*, that the people might passe too and fro that way: and also a street way through Formianum. And *Cato* for his part built two galleries, *Moenium* & *Titium*, in the Mineries; and bought foure shops for the citie: he built there also the stately hall or pallace called *Porcia*. As for the citie revenues, they did set and let them forth to farmers, at an exceeding racked rent: but al the city works they put out to undertakers by the great, at as low a reckoning as they could. These leases and bargains afore said being once cancelled by order from the Senate, and new made at the importunat suit and that with outcries and teares of the Publicanes, as well farmers as vndertakers: then the Censors by proclamation commaunded those to avoid farre from the subhastation, who had disanulled the former leases and bargains, and with some little abatement and easing of the former rents, they demised the same profits and revenues again to others. This was a censure ship of great note, full of repine, ill will, and heartburning, which troubled and molested *M. Porcius* as long as he had a day to live, for that he was reputed and held to bee the author of that severitie and rigor exercised therein.

The same yeare two Colonies were erected and inhabitants sent from Rome, to wit *Pollentia* into the Picene territorie, and *Pisaurum* into the Gauls countrie. Six acres of land were assigned to every one of the coloners. And the same Triumvirs, namely *Q. Fabius Labio*, *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Q. Fulvius Nobilior*, were they that both parted the sayd lands, and also had the leading and planting of the foresaid Colonies.

The Consuls that yeare atchieved no memorable exploit at all, neither at home in citie nor abroad in warre. Against the yeare following they created Consuls *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *Q. Fabius*, who upon the fifteenth of March, on which day they entred into their government, put to question as concerning the provinces, as well their own as the Pretours. For there had ben chosen Pretours *C. Valerius* the Flamin of *Jupiter* (who also the yeare before was in election for the place) *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *P. Cornelius Sisenna*, also *L. Puppilus*, *L. Julius*, and *Cn. Sicinius*. Vnto the Consuls was assigned the province Liguria, together with the charge of the same armies which *P. Claudius* and *M. Porcius* had conducted. As for both the provinces in Spaine as well beyond as on this side Iberus, they were reserved with their ordinarie forces, for the Pretours of the former yeare by speciall commission without casting any lots at all therefore. The new Pretours were enjoyned for to dispose and part their governments, that *C. Valerius* the Flamin of *Jupiter* might exercise one of the jurisdictions of Rome. So he was *L. chief justice* for the forreiners, and *Sisenna Cornelius* over the citizens. Vnto *Sp. Posthumius* fell Sicilie, to *L. Puppilus* Apulia, to *L. Julius* Gallia, and to *Cn. Sicinius* Sardinia. As for *L. Julius* hee was enjoined to make halt and set forward on his journey: for the Transalpine Gauls (beyond the mountains) had passed over by the streights of the forrests and waies unknowne beforetime, into Italie, as hath bene before said, and were building them a towne in that territorie, which at this day is called *Aquilensis*. This Pretour had in charge to impeach them in that enterpryse, so far forth as hee might possibly without warre and force of arms: and if there were no other remedie but that they must of necessitie use violence, then to certifie the Consuls thereof: for agreed it was that one of them should lead the Legions against the Gauls. In the end of the former yeare there was a generall M assemble holden for the chusing of an Augur: wherein *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* was created in the troume of *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* late deceased. But in the beginning of this present yeare *P. Licinius Crassus* the arch-Pontifice departed out of this world, in whose place *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* was invested for the bishop. But *C. Sernilius Geminus* was created the archpriest afore-

A afore said. In the honor of *P. Licinius* at his funerals, there was given a dole of ffeith; and a shew exhibited of 120 sword-fencers fighting at sharp: likewise there were represented funerall plaies and games, which continued three dayes: and after that solemnitie, a least was holden; during which, when the tables were set and spread accordingly all over the grand-place of the citie, so dainly there arose a tempest with great stormes, which forced most men to erect tents & boothis there: but after a while when the weather was faire againe, they were taken down and had away: and men commonly gave out and said, That whereas the prophets and wisards had foretold among other their fatall prefiges, that they should be forced to quarter and pitch tents in the market place of Rome; now that prophetic was fulfilled, and they were freed and excused from farther danger. And no sooner were they eased and delivered of that scruple, but they were troubled with another; for that it had rained blood two daies in the court-yard of *Vulcanus*: and the Decemvirs published a solemne supplication for the expiation of that prodigious signe.

Before that the Consuls departed into their provinces, they brought into the Senate for to have audience, the embassages come from beyond sea. And never before that day were so many men of those forreign parts scene at Rome. For from the time that the bruit was blown abroad amongst the nations bordering upon Macedonie, that the Romanes gave no deafe care to the complaints and accusations commended against *Philip*, and that many had sped well by complaining; every citie and State in their owne behalfe, yea and many privat persons in particular (for an ill neighbour he was to them all) repaired to Rome, in hope either to be righted and eased of their wrongs, or to discharge their itomacks and be moned and comforted for their miseries. Likewise from king *Eumenes* there arrived an embassage accompanied with his owne brother *Athenus* to make complaint, as finding themselves grieved that the garrisons were not withdrawn out of Thracia: as also to enforce that *Philip* had sent certain aids into Bithynia to *Prusias* who made war upon *Eumenes*. Now *Demetrius* (*Philip* his sonne) at that time a very yong gentleman, was to answer to all these challenges: and an easie peece of worke it was not, either to beare in mind all the matters objected, or to thinke upon the points of every answer accordingly. For over and besides, that the articles were many in number, most of them were of very small consequence and importance; namely, strife about limits and land-marks, about carying away men and ravishing women; of driving of cattell, of ministring justice partially & with affection, or els of none ministred at all: of sentences given & judgements passed in causes either by force D or for favour. The Senat perceiving that neither *Demetrius* could speak to these points and give them good evidence, nor themselves be wel informed and cleerly instructed by him; being moved also and grieved to see the youth so raw a scholler in these affairs, & therewith much troubled in spirit, gave order to enquire and demand of him, Whether he had received any notes in writing from his father, as touching the premisses? And when hee answered and said, Yea, they thought the first and principall thing for them to do was, to see and heare what were the answers of the king to every specialie and particular. And therupon they presently called for that booke of his fathers, and then permitted him to read the contents thereof. Now therein were set downe certain brieve abstracts of pleas and defenses, to ech severall point; shewing, *Imprimis*, that some things he had done according to the decrees and awards of the Roman Delegates and commiss- E sioners. *Item*, Whereas hee had left somewhat undone, the default was not in him, but in the very parties that accused him. Hee had interlaced between, certeine grievances and complaints, as touching the iniquitie and hard penning of those decrees; and how matters were not scanned and debated before *Caelius* with that iudifferencie and equitie as was meet and requisite; and namely, that without desert of his part, all men were set against him & insulted over him. The Senat collected hereby good arguments, how the hart of *Philip* was wounded & galled against the Romans. But when the yong prince excused some of these matters, & for the rest promised and undertooke, that all should be done to the uttermost as it pleased the Senat to order & set down; then it was thought good to deliver this answer unto him, That his father had in nothing done better, nor more to the contentment of the Senat, than that he seemed willing (howsoever mat- F ters were passed already) to make satisfaction to the Romans by the means of his son *Demetrius*. As for the Senate, they could dissimule, forget, put up, and endure many things, done and past; yea and were perswaded verily in their hearts, that they might beleve and trust *Demetrius*; as knowing assuredly, that although they sent his body again to his father *Philip*, yet they had his heart and affection with them still, as a sure pledge and hostage: and that hee was a friend
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to the people of Rome, so farre forth as his reverent dutie to his father would permit and give him leave: letting him withall to understand, that for to doe him honour, they would send embassadours into Macedonie; to the end, that if ought had not bene so fully effectuall as it should have bene, it might be done yet in good time, without imputation of fault and blame, or poenall satisfaction to be made for any thing hitherto omitted: yea and desirous they were, that *Philip* should understand, that by the mediation of *Demetrius* and for his sake, he stood yet in good tearmes of peace and friendship with the people of Rome. These things intended and done for the increase of credit and reputation, presently turned to the displeasure of the young gentleman, and in the end to his utter ruine and overthrow.

Then were the Lacedæmonians admitted to audience in the Senate. They mooved many pettie matters and trifling controversies; but those that principally touched the mainepoint were these; to wit, Whether they should be restored againe whome the Achæans had condemned, or no? *Item*, Whether they were justly or unjustly killed, whome they murdered? Moreover, they put to question, Whether the Lacedæmonians were to be comprised within the generall assembly and counsell of Achæa; or, that this State (as before-time) should have their rights and franchises apart by themselves from all others in Peloponnesus? The Senate ordained and awarded; *Imprimis*, That they should be restored. *Item*, That the sentences pronounced against them, should be reversed. *Item*, That Lacedæmon should doe service to that high court and publicke Diet of Achæa: and finally, that this accord and award should be engrosed, subscribed, and signed as well by the Lacedæmonians as Achæans.

Q. Martius was sent embassadour into Macedonie: who also had direction and order given him by the same commission, to visite the state of the allies in Peloponnesus: for there also remained some troubles after the old quarrels and variance; yea and the Messenians refused to appeare at the generall councill of Achæa. Now if I would set in hand to record the causes and circumstances of that warre, I should forget my purpose in the beginning of my worke, wherein I resolved not to touch at all any discourse of forein histories, no farther than they wer linked to the Romane affaires. Howbeit one memorable occurrence there hapned, which I cannot passe by, namely, that albeit the Achæans had the better hand in warre, yet it chaunced that *Philopamen* their Pretour was taken prisoner by the Messenians, as he made an expedition to seize upon Corone by prevention, which the enemies were desirous to be masters of. Surprised hee was in a valley of great disadvantage, and some few horsmen with him. It is reported, that by the help of the Thracians and Candiots, he might have fled and escaped: but for very shame to abandon those men of armes, which were the noblest gentlemen of that nation, and whome hee lately had made choise of, he had not the power to doe otherwise, but stay to see the last. For whiles he came himselfe behind in the rereward, because he was desirous to make meanes for their evasion through the streights of that passe, and to that purpose valiantly received the charge of the enemies, his horse fell and cast him at once; so as with his owne fall and his horse lying upon him, he had like to have gone away in a swoone: a man now threescore yeeres old and ten; and withall, newly crept abroad and recovered of a long and lingering disease, which had mightily wasted and consumed the strength of his bodie. Well, thus lay he along, and the enemies ran over him; and so soone as they knew who he was, they reared him upon his feet from under his horse, no lesse respective than if he had been their owne Generall, in regard of a reverence they bare unto the man, and in remembrance of his noble exploits: they brought him again to himselfe, and forth of that by-valley standing out of the passe, they carried him into the high way: and were so farre possessed and overcome with joy so unexpected, that they could not well beleieve their owne eyes that they had gotten him. Some dispatched vauntcourriers to Messene with the newes hereof; namely, that the warre was brought to an end; considering that *Philopamen* was taken & a comming as prisoner. At first the tidings seemed so incredible, that the foremost messenger was held not only for a vaine liar, but also for one not well in his wits: but after that there came one after another, and all with one voice verified and affirmed the same, at length it was beleived. And then, see what they did! before they knew for certaine that he approached neere unto the citie, they all ran forth of the gates by heaps to see the man: all (I say) bond as well as free, women and children one with another. In so much, as the gates were choked up with the thrust and throng of the preafe: for no man could beleieve assuredly it was true, the thing was so straunge, unless he might see him with his owne eyes. They that had the charge of bringing him,

A him, found much adoe to put by the multitude whome they encountered, and to enter in at the gate: and so thicke they stood in the preafe, that they tooke up all the wayes besides, so as hee could not be brought forth to be seene. Now because the most part of the people might not possibly have a sight of him, they gat up all at once into the Theatre, which stood neere unto the way, and pestered it full; and with one voice they cryed aloud, That he might be brought thither and presented unto the view of the whole people. The magistrates and principall citizens, fearing least the compassion that mought arise in mens hearts upon the beholding of so worthy a personage, would raise some trouble and commotion; whiles some comparing the reverence of his former authoritie and majestie, with this present condition and calamitie: & others calling to remembrance his manifold deserts and passing good turnes, mought haply be touched with pitié; set him a far off in the open sight of them all, and then at once tooke him hastily out of their view: for their Pretor *Dinocrates* gave out openly and said, That the magistrates were to enquire and demanda certaine points of him as touching the maine summe of the totall warre. Then hee was brought into their councill-chamber, where their Senate assembled and began to consult about him. It was now well toward evening; and so far off they were from resolving in other matters, that they could not bethinke themselves and agree, in what place they might keepe him that one night in safeguard. Astonied they were and amased, to consider and thinke upon the greatnes of his estate past, and of his noble vertue and valour: and no man durst receive the charge and custodie of him in his owne house, nor trust any one besides with his keeping. At length some there were, that put them in mind of the publicke treasure of the Citie, vaulted under the ground like a dungeon, and walled al about with strong square stone. Into it was he let down bound as he was, and a mightie huge stone (being the cover of the vault) was by an engin laid over, to enclose him sure. Thus reposing more trust for his safe custodie in that place than in any perion, they waited and attended the next morning. When morrow day was come, the whole entier multitude in generall, recommending the benefits and good turnes done of old by him to their citie, were of mind to pardon and spare him, and by his meanes and mediation, to seeke for remedies and redresse of their present distresses and calamities. But those persons by whose motive and enducement the Messenians had revolted (and such were they as ruled all the common-weale) consulted apart in secret, and concluded with one consent to put him to death: only the doubt and question was, whether they should do the thing with speed, or by delay. But those prevailed in the end, who were more greedie of present revenge, & so they sent one unto him with a draught of poison. When he had taken the cup in his hand (by report) he gave not a word, but only asked, whether *Lycortas* (the other Generall of the Achæans) were escaped alive, and the foresaid horsmen safe? When answer was made, that they were in safetie; That is happie, (quoth he) and therewith drunke off every drop in the cup right heartily, and a while after yielded up his vitall breath. But long joyed they not of his death who were the bloudie authors of this crueltie: for the citie of Messene being conquered by force of arms, among other capitulations, delivered these malefactors into the hands of the Achæans, who demanded presently to have them. The bones and reliques of *Philopamen* were likewise rendred unto them, and interred he was by the generall councill of all Achæa, in such a solemn wise, that in heaping upon him all honours that could be devised for an earthly man, they forbore not also to adore him as a god immortall. The Historiographers, as well Greeke as Latine, attribute so much unto this man, that some of them have recommended to posteritie (as a memorable thing of all others that happened this yeere:) to wit, that in this one yeere there dyed three renowned captaines, *Philopamen*, *Anniball*, and *P. Scipio*. See how they have matched him in equalitie with the greatest Warriours and noblest Generals of the two most puissant nations in the whole world!

Then came *T. Quintius Flaminius* in embassage to king *Prusias*, whom the Romanes had in suspicion and jealousie, both for that he had received *Anniball* after the flight of *Antiochus*, and also because hee made warre upon *Eumenes*. Now, were it that among other matters *Flaminius* charged *Prusias*, that hee entertained in his court the most spightfull enemy of all men living, unto the people of Rome; who first solicited his own native countrey to take armes against the Romanes, and after the force and power thereof was abated and defeited, perswaded king *Antiochus* to doe the like: or rather that *Prusias* of his owne accord to gratifie *Flaminius* there present, and to doe the Romanes a pleasure, had a meaning and intent either to kill *Anniball*, or

to deliver him alive into their hands. I wot not how it came about, but upon the first communication and conference between them, there were souldiours sent incontinently to beset and guard his house. *Anniball* evermore forecast in mind some such issue and end of his life, seeing the deadly and inexpressible hatred that the Romanes bare unto him; reposing besides no confidence at all in the fidelitie of these kings, and having withall some experience already of the inconstancie and levitie of king *Prusias*. Moreover, hee had in horreur this comming of *Flamininus*, as fatall unto him, and a meane to worke his finall destruction. To the end therefore hee might bee ever provided aforehand against those inconveniences and daungers, wherewith on all sides hee was encombered, and have a ready way of evasion to save himselfe, he had devised and caused to be made seven doores for egress out of his house, whereof some were very privie and secret vaults, because they should not bee environned with guards. But kings commaundments are of that force, that whatsoever they would have to bee searched out and discovered, cannot lie long hidden. For the guards so compassed & enclosed the whole circuit of the house, that it was impossible for any to get forth and make an escape. *Anniball* being advertised that the kings souldiours were at the gate, assailed to steale away at a postern, which stood forthest out of the way, and whereof the conveyance was most secret, but perceiving that the souldiours had beset it too, and lay for to encounter and receive him that way, and that every place was invested with a set guard, he called for the poison which he had of long time before readie prepared for all such occurrent occasions, and uttered these words withall, Let us ride these Romanes of this their continuall feare and paine wherein they have been all this while, since that they thinke it so long to stay for the death of one old man. *Flamininus* shall obtain no great nor memorable victorie of me, disarmed thus as I am, and betraied into his hands. But this very day shall prove and testifie, how farre the people of Rome are degenerate and chaunged from their ancient manners. Their forefathers (quod he) advertised king *Pyrrhus* their enemy armed in field, & lying with an host of men against them in Italie, they gave him warning I say to take heed of poison: but these living at this day, have sent their embassadour, even one that hath borne the dignitie of a Consull, to advise and counsell *Prusias* wickedly to take the life away of his owne guest. Then after he had cursed the person of *Prusias* and his whole realme, and called upon the gods, protectors of the law of hospitalitie, to beare witness how hee had violated his faith and broken promise with him, he set the cup of poyson to his mouth, and dranke it of. This was the end of *Anniball*. *Polybius* and *Rutlius* write, that *Scipio* also died this yeere. But I accord neither with them nor with *Valerius*. From them I square, because I find, that when *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius* were Censours, the same *L. Valerius* being Censor, was elected President of the Senat, whereas *Africanus* had been President for ten yeeres space together, during the time of two reviews by Censours next before. And so long as the said *Africanus* lived, there would have beene no other chosen President in his rourne, unlesse himselfe were to have beene cased and deprived of the Senatours dignitie, of which disgrace and note of infamie, there is not one that maketh any mention. And as for *Valerius Antias* hee is sufficiently refuted by *M. Nevius* a Tribune of the Commons, against whom there is an Oration extant, and the same penned by *P. Africanus*, and bearing his name. This *Nevius* is recorded in the rolls and registers of magistrates, by the title of Tribune of the Commons, in that yeere when *P. Clodius* and *L. Porcius* were Consuls, but hee entred into his office during the Consulship of *App. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius*, the tenth of December. From which time to the fifteenth of March are three months, upon which day *Pub. Clodius* and *L. Porcius* began their Consulship. So, it seemeth that he was living during the Tribunehip of *Nevius*, and that he might well commence an action against him, and call him to his answer, but he departed this life before that *L. Cato* and *M. Porcius* were Censours. But in my conceit the death of these three (the most renowned personages each one of their owne nation) are not to be compared one with the other, in this regard, that they happened all just at one time, more than for this, that none of them all had an end correspondent and answerable to the portly state and glorious lustre of his life. For first and foremost in this they all jumped together, that they neither died nor were entered in their native countrey. Againe *Anniball* and *Philopamen* were both poisoned. *Anniball* was banished and betraied by his owne friend and host, *Philopamen* was taken prisoner, and left his life in prison and yrons. As for *Scipio*, although hee was neither exiled nor condemned, yet making default of apparance at the day assigned unto him, and being cited to his answer in his absence, willingly banished not himselfe onely for his life time, but his

corps

A corps and funerals also after his death.

Whiles those affaires passed in Peloponnesus (from whence our pen hath a little digressed and digressed) the returne of *Demetrius* and the embassadours into Macedonie, diversly wrought in mens minds, & amused them some in one thing, & some in another. The common people of Macedonie, who were mightily afraid that the Romanes would make warre upon them, highly affected *Demetrius*, and cast a favourable aspect upon him as the authour of peace, and withall they destined him without all doubt to the kingdome, after the decease of his father. For albeit he were younger than his brother *Perseus*, yet men thought and spake, that hee was begotten in matrimony by *Philip* of his lawfull wife, whereas hee had *Perseus* by a concubine, who carried no token and marke of a certaine father, as having to his mother a woman that was nought of her bodie and common. Whereas *Demetrius* resembled his father *Philip*, and was as like him as might be. Moreover, men said, That the Romanes would place and establish *Demetrius* in the roiall throne of his father, but *Perseus* was in no credit and reputation among them. Thus folke stucke not to give out abroad in their common talke. Whereupon not onely *Perseus* was in care and doubt, that the preeminence of age onely would little boot and advantage him, considering in all respects els hee was inferiour to his brother, but *Philip* also himselfe, supposing verily that it would hardly lie in his power to leave the inheritance of the crowne to whom he pleased, thought that his younger sonne was a mote in his eye, and troubled him more than was for his ease. Offended otherwhiles he was, that the Macedonians resorted unto him so much as they did, and highly displeased that there should be any more roiall courts than one in his realme, during his life. And to speake a truth, the young prince himselfe returned from Rome more puffed up, no doubt, with pride, than was becomming, as who presumed and grounded much upon the opinion that the Senate had of him, perceiving that they had granted those things to him which had been denied unto his father before: but looke how much favor and honour (in respect of the Romanes) hee won among the rest of the Macedonians, so much envie and ill will hee procured himselfe thereby not onely with his brother, but with his father also: and especially after that other Romane embassadours were arrived, and that *Philip* was forced to part with Thracia and withdraw his garrisons, and to doe other things either by vertue of the old award of the first commissioners, or by a new ordinance of the Senate. Well, he performed all, but with an heave heart and many a deepe sigh and grone, and so much the rather, because hee observed and saw how his sonne *Demetrius* conversed more with the embassadours, and frequented their company oftener than his. Howbeit hee obeyed, and did whatsoever was enjoined him by the Romans, because he would minister unto them no occasion of levying war against him out of hand. And supposing it was good policie to avert their minds from all suspicion that hee minded any such designs tending that way, hee led his armie into the middest of Thracia against the *Odrysiens*, *Danthelets*, and *Bessians*. Hee won the citie *Philippopolis*, abandoned by the inhabitants who were fled, and had retired themselves with their whole families to the high mountaines next adjoining: and after hee had wasted the lands and territories of the Barbarians that inhabited the champaine countrey, hee received them under his subjection by composition. Afterwards, having left a garrison at *Philippopolis*, which soone after was chased and expelled by the *Odrysiens*, he determined to build a towne in *Deuriopus*, a region of *Pæonia* neere the river *Erigonus*, which issueth out of *Illyricum*, and keeping his course through *Pæonia*, discharged it selfe, and fallett into the river *Axius*. Not farre from *Strobæ* the old citie, hee built a new, and caused it to be called *Perseis*, thereby to doe honour to his eldest sonne *Perseus*.

During the traine of these affaires in Macedonie, the Consuls tooke their journey into their severall provinces. *Marcellus* sent a messenger before him to *L. Porcius* the Proconsull, to give him to understand that he should present his legions before the new towne of the *Gauls*. But at the first approach of the Consull, the Frenchmen yielded the place. Twelve thousand they were that bare armes, and most of them had by force gotten their armour out of their countrey villages, which was taken from them maugre their hearts, with all things else, that either they had gotten out of the countrey by pilling and robbing, or brought with them of their owne. Whereupon they addressed their Embassadours to Rome, for to make complaint of these abuses and wrongs: who having audience given in the Senat by *C. Valerius* the Pretour, declared, how by occasion that *Gauls* was furcharged with a multitude of people, they were constrained as well for want of ground and possessions, as also for need and povertie, to passe over the *Alpes* and seeke them-

themselves some place of habitation. And where they saw any quarters for let, desert, and unpeopled, there they had planted themselves, without offering injurie to any person: where also they had begun to build a towne, which might be a good prooffe and argument, that they came not to doe violence upon any citie or countrie village. And now of late *M. Claudius* had sent unto them a message, that unless they submitted and yielded, he would warre upon them: whereupon they preferring certaine peace (although it were lesse honorable) before the doubtfull hazards and adventures of warre, surrendered, rather to be in the protection and safeguard, than under the subjection of the people of Rome. But a few daies after, they were commaunded to quit both citie and countrie. And thereupon resolved in their mind to depart in silence and saying neuer a word, into what place soever they could, there to seeke their fortune: but then they were disarmed, yea and spoiled and stript of all that ever they had, and nothing left, that either they drave before them, or carried about them. In regard whereof, they were humble suppliants to the Senate and people of Rome, that they would not proceed in more rigour and crueltie against them, harmlesse persons as they were, and submitting themselves unto them, than against professed enemies. To this Oration of complaint the Senate caused this answer to be returned: That neither they had done well in coming into Italie, and presuming to build them a citie upon other mens territories, without permission of the soveraigne Romane magistrate, who had the government of those parts: nor yet the Senate was well pleased, that they should be thus despoiled, considering they had yielded. And therefore minded they were to send with them their Embassadors to the Consuls, to commaund them in their name, to see that all their owne goods should be restored againe unto them, so that they made returne thither from whence they came: who also should go forward immediatly over the Alpes, to give the States of France warning to keepe in their people with them, & hold them in their native countrie: for as much as the Alpes were the frontier limits standing in the mids to confine between them, & therefore those mountains neither ought nor might be passed of one side or the other: & to make account of this, that they should speed no better now in transgressing their bounds, than at what time as they first made a way and passage over them into Italie. The Embassadors employed about this businesse, were *L. Furius Purpurio*, *Q. Minutius*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*. Thus the French, after restitution made unto them of all that was their owne by good right, and without wrong of others, departed out of Italie. Now when these Romane Legates were come, they had good words and courteous answers from the Transalpine nations. And those amongst them that were more auncient than the rest, blamed the people of Rome for their overmuch lenitie, in that they let those persons goe, who without warrant from the whole State, durst bee so bold as to take a voyage to settle upon any landes belonging to the Signorie of Rome, and were so hardly as thereon to builde a towne. For surely they deserved not lesse than to abide greivous smart for their rash demeanure. Moreover and besides, whereas the Romans have given them their owne goods againe, they feared much that so great indulgencie of theirs, would enduce and encourage others to enterprise the like. So they friendly entertained and as kindly accompanied the embassadors, yea and liberally presented them with rewards.

M. Claudius the Consull having thus expelled the Gaules out of his province, began to lay the ground of the Istrieke warre, and for this purpose wrote his letters unto the Senate, for a warrant and commission to passe with his legions into Istria. The Senat was therewith contented. But whereas they were in question and consultation about conducting a Colonie to inhabit Aquileia, they could not agree whom to send, whether Latines or Romane citizens. But in conclusion the LL. thought it better to plant there a Colonie of Latines. The Triumvirs for to effect this, were created *P. Scipio Nasica*, *C. Flaminius*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*.

The same yeere were two Colonies of Romane citizens erected at Mutina and Parma: and two thousand persons were to either place translated out of the territorie which lately was occupied by the Boians, and before time had bene in the tenour of the Tuscans. They of Parma were ended with eight acres of land, and those of Mutina with five a peece. The Triumvir Commissioner who had the disposing and manning of this businesse, were *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, *T. Ebutius Carus*, and *L. Quintius Crispinus*. Likewise the colonie Saturnia consisting of Romane cittizens, was brought into the territorie of Caletia, by the conduct of *Q. Fabius Labeo*, *C. Afranius Stellio*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, deputed Triumvirs therefore: who set out for every

every man ten acres of ground.

The same yeere *A. Terentius* the Pro-pretour, not farre from the river Iberus in the Aufetanes countrie, fought fortunatly against the Celtiberians, and forced certaine townes which they had fortified. Basse Spaine beyond Iberus was quiet this yeere, because both *P. Sempronius* the Pro-pretour lay sicke of a long disease, and also the Lusitanians (as good hap was) rested still & quiet, as being by no man provoked to stirre. Neither was there any memorable exploit atchieved in Liguria by *Q. Fabius* the Consull. *M. Marcellus* was called home out of Istria: and after he had discharged his armie, returned to Rome for to hold the election of the magistrates. For Consuls he created *Cn. Babius Tamphilus* and *L. Aemilius Paulus*. This man had bene *Edile Curule* together with *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, who was Consull five yeeres before; and yet the same *Lepidus* suffered the repulse twice ere he was created Consull. Then were Pretours chosen, to wit, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, *M. Valerius Levinus*, *L. Manlius* the second time, *M. Ogulnius Gallus*, *L. Caelius Denter*, & *C. Terentius Isfra*. In the very end of the yeere there was a solemne supplication holden by occasion of certain prodigies: for men beleevved verily that in the court-yard of the goddesse *Concordia* it rained blood for the space of two daies: & reported it was not far from Sicilie, that a new Iland was discovered out of the sea, where never any was before scene. *Valerius Antias* writeth, that *Annibal* died this yeere: and that to compasse and worke his death, there were sent in embassage to *Prusias*, *L. Scipio Asiaticus*, & *P. Scipio Nasica*, besides *T. Quintius Flamininus*, who in that action is named most.

THE XL. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of *L. Florus* upon the fortieth Booke.



When Philip had given commandment to make streight search for the children of those whom he kept in prison (and personages they were of most noble birth) for to put them to death: Theoxena fearing the king his malicious intent and wicked lust, in the chaste as well of her owne children, as of her sisters, little ones (God wot) and very young infants, brought forth and offered unto the said children naked keene swords, and a cup of deadly poison, perswading with them to avoid the imminent shaine & dishonour by present death: which after shee had obtained and scene effected, she likewise pleased her owne part, and slew her owne selfe. Moreover, in this booke are related the debate and variance betwene *Perseus* and *Demetrius*, the two sonnes of Philip king of Macedonia: and how *Demetrius* came to his death by poison, through the mischievous practise of his brother *Perseus*: who devised false crimes and raised slanders against him: and principally among the rest, charged him that he intended to kill his owne father, and meant to usurpe the kingdome, and last of all, because he was a friend to the people of Rome: by which means after the death of Philip, *Perseus* obtained the crowne. Also it containeth the happie exploits atchieved by many and divers commanders in Liguria, and in Spaine against the Celtiberians. The bookes of *Numa Pompilius* were by certaine highbanden as they laboured in the ground of *L. Petilius* a Notarie, under the Ianiculum found enclosed within a coffer of stone, and written both in Latine and Greeke. And when the Pretour of the citie, to whom the bookes were brought, had perused them and found therein many points tending to overthrow religion and the divine service of the gods, he swore before the Senate, that it was dangerous for the State and common-wealth, that they should be read and preserved: in such sort, that by an Act of the State they were burned within the Comitium or Hall of publick assemblies. The Colonie Aquileia was now erected. *Philip* exceedingly displeased with himselfe, & pricked with remorse of conscience, for that he had caused his sonne *Demetrius* to be poisoned, upon the false suggestions and accusations of his other sonne framed against him, devised to punish *Perseus*, and rather to conserve the kingdome upon *Antigonus* his friend, than that his sonne should succeed him: but in this disingement and purpose of his he suddainly died: and so *Perseus* tooke the crowne and kingdome upon him.

In

IN the beginning of the yeere next ensuing, the Consuls and Pretours cast lots for their severall governments. As for the Consuls, there was no other province to employ them in, but Liguria. The civile jurisdiction among citizens fell to *M. Ogulnius Gallus*; and the forreign over strangers to *M. Valerius*. High Spaine was assigned unto *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*; and the nether-land thereof to *P. Manlius*. *L. Cecilius Dentor* had the governance of Sicilie, and *C. Terentius Istra* of Sardinia. The Consuls were enjoined to take musters: for *Q. Fabius* had written out of Liguria, that the Appuans inclined to rebellion, and greatly to be feared it was, that they would breake out and make rodes into the territorie of Pisa. And well they knew alreadie, that of the two provinces of Spain, the higher parts were in armes, and the war with the Celtiberians was still in traine: and as for the lower, the militarie discipline there, was cleane corrupt and gone, by reason of riotous pleasures and idleness, whereunto the souldiours were wholly given, by occasion that the Pretour lay so long sicke. For these causes thought good it was, that new armies should be levied and enrolled; to wit, four legions for Liguria, and every one of them to containe 5200 foote and 300 horse: unto which, there was an addition of fiftene thousand footmen and nine hundred men of armes from out of the Latine allies. And these two armies were to serve the Consuls. But over and besides, they were commaunded to enroll seven thousand foot and sixe hundred horsemen of Latine allies, and them to send into Fraunce to *M. Marcellus*, who was to continue still in place of command, after the tearme of his Consulship expired. Likewise they had in charge to levie of Romane citizens 4000 footmen and 200 horse, and of allies 7000 of the one, and 300 of the other to be conducted into both provinces of Spain. And *Q. Fabius Labeo* had his commission of government renewed for one yeere longer, with the charge of that armie which he had in Liguria.

The spring season that yeere was very stormie and tempestuous. On the*even of the feast Palilia about noontide, sodainly there arose a mightie blustering wind, which overthrew many edifices as well sacred as profane. It cast downe the brasen statues and images in the Capitoll: it caught up the wicket of the dore belonging to the temple of the* Moone, (which is in the Aventine) carried it away and set it fast to the backe wall of the temple of *Ceres*. It overturned and laid along other statues in the great cirque or show-place called *Circus maximus*, together with the pillars upon which they stood. The lanternes and pinnacles it rent and tare after a strange sort, from the rouse and top of certain churches, and carried them cleane away. And therefore this tempest was held for a prodigious token, and the *Aruspices* gave order for the expiation and satisfaction thereof. Likewise the same provision was made in regard of a report from Reate, that a mule was soled with three feet: and from Formia, that the chappell of *Apollo* (and namely at Cajeta) was stricken with lightning. For these prodigies, there were twentie greater beasts killed for sacrifice; and a supplication holden one whole day. And about the same time, intelligence was given by letters from *A. Tarentius* the Pretour, that *P. Sempronius* having* continued above a yeere sicke, was departed this life, in the farther province of Spaine; which was the cause that the Pretours were willed to make more hast, and so much the sooner to passe into Spaine.

After this, the embassages from beyond the sea had audience given them in the Senat. The first was that, of the two *KK. Eumenes* and *Pharnaces*, and also of the Rhodians, who complained for the great losse and overthrow by the Sinopians received. And about the same instant arrived also embassadors from *Philip*, from the Achæans and Lacedæmonians, who had their answer and dispatch, after a speech made by *Martius*, who had been sent to visite the estate and affaires of Greece and Macedonia. But as touching the foresaid kings of Asia, and the Rhodians, this stood for their answer; namely, That the Senat would send their embassadors and commissioners to take knowledge and see to all things there in place. But as concerning *Philip*, *Martius* had so told his tale, that he put the LL. of the Senat in more feare and perplexitie: for in his declaration he confessed, that *Philip* indeed had accomplished the will and pleasure of the Senat, but in such sort, as it was evident to be seene, that he would doe so. no longer than hee were held thereto and compelled of necessitie; for apparant it was, that he minded to make war againe, considering that whatsoever he either did or said, tended to no other end. For first and formost hee caused all the multitude to be remooved and translated (with their whole families) out of the cities by the sea-coast, into that quarter which now is called * Emathia, and in times

* 19 of April:
for the feast unto
the goddess Pal-
lia. See Plin. lib.
2. cap. 11. ca-
lend. Mart.
which was, Na-
tal. dies urbis
Romæ; the
birth day (as it
were) of Rome.
* Luna.

* Emathia.

A times past was named *Pæonia*; and gave those cities aforesaid to the Thracians & other barbarous nations to inhabit, supposing that this kind of people would be more fast and faithfull unto him in his wars against the Rom. And verily this deed of his bred a great discontentment & murmuring throughout all Macedonia: inso much, as few there were of them, who thus left their native habitations together with their wives and children, that could bite in & containe their secret griefe and heart-burning, and say nothing: but being pricked and nettled more to anger than curbed and bridled with feare, they brake out, and were heard to curse and cry out upon the king, as they went along the way in troupes and companies. Hereupon his fell stomacke by nature was so galled, that he had all men in jealousy, and no time nor place there was, but hee suspected. In the end, he began to give it out openly, that he could not make account to be in safetie and securitie, unlesse he apprehended and kept in prison the children of those persons whom he had beforetime killed, for to dispatch and make away them also (in time) one after another. This crueltie in it selfe hainous enough and enormous, the calamitie and wofull miserie of one house made more odious and detestable. Murdered hee had many yeeres before *Herodius*, a noble man and a prince of the Thessalians: and some time after, he slew also his sonnes in law, who had married his daughters. These gentlewomen being left widowes, had each of them by their husbands a little sonne: and the names of these women were *Theoxena* and *Archo*. As for *Theoxena* she would in no wise marrie againe, albeit shee had many suiters that wooed her: but *Archo* was wedded to one *Poris*, the verie principall & noblest personage of the Enean nation: and when he had borne him many children, she dyed, and left them all very young. Then afterwards *Theoxena* likewise was married to the foresaid *Poris*, to the end, that she might have the bringing up of those her sisters children with her owne hands: and in truth shee was not more kind to her owne prettie sonne than to those her sisters children; but so tenderly regarded them all alike, as if shee had borne them of her owne bodie. Now when shee heard once of the kings edict and proclamation which was gone forth, for the apprehension of all those infants whose fathers before had ben put to death; supposing that these children should be exposed not only to the abuse and scornfull mockerie of the king, but also to the lust and villanie of his guard, she conceived in her mind an horrible designment: yea and she stuck not to say, That with her owne hand shee would rid them of their lives, rather than they should come within the clutches of *Philip*. But *Poris* her husband (who abhorred the very naming of so abominable a fact) said, D that he would convey them out of the way as farre as Athens, to certain trustie friends of his there, and would himselfe in proper person accompanie them all the way thither, and take part with them of that exile and banishment. So they put themselves in their journey all together [he and his wife and children] from Thessalonica toward Enea, unto a solemne sacrifice and feast which yearly they use to celebrate with much ceremonious pompe, in the honor of *Eneas* their first founder. Now when they had spent that day in feasting full solemnly, about the third watch of the night (when all others were found asleepe) they were embarked in a ship prepared beforehand by *Poris*; making semblance, as if they would returne to the Thessalonica; but indeed purposing to cut over to Eubœa. But when they had labored and wrought to no purpose upon the wind, which was full against them, they were overtaken and prevented by the day-light before they were farre from the land, and past sight. And beeing discovered by the kings officers who had the charge and keeping of the haven, there was a pinnace or soist (well appointed with armed men) set out to fetch in that vessel, with expresse commaundement (as they would answer to the contrarie at their utter perill) not to come againe without it. Now as they approached neerer, *Poris* verily for his part was verie earnest with the rowers, mariners, and sailers, to plie their businesse and make way from them; otherwhiles stretching out his hands up to heaven, calling and praying unto the gods to helpe them in this their hard distresse. But the courageous ladie his wife, all the while (turning againe to execute that designment of hers long before purposed) tempered and mixed a potion of poison, and brought forth certain swords withall. Now when she had set the poisoned cup before the children in their very eye, and drawn the swords naked: Death (q d. she) is the only means we have to save our libertie; lo here the waies that lead to death: now as every ones heart standeth to this or that, take thereto, and avoid the crueltie and pride of the king. Come on lads and jolly striplings, lead you the way first that are the bigger and elder; take sword in hand, fall thereupon and worke the feat at once: or if yee list rather to be long a dying, drinke here of this cup. What should they doe? the enemies were fast upon them

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them readie to bourd their vessell, their mother on the other side, encouraging them instantly to take their death. In such wise, that to conclude, some dying the one way and some the other, were all cast headlong over shipboard, when they were but halfe dead. Then shee for her part embracing her husband about the middle (because she would die with him for company) threw her selfe and him both together into the sea. Thus the kings men seized upon the ship, when the matters thereof were gone.

The horrible example of this fact kindled more coales, and set the malice and hatred kindled against the king as it were on a light and flaming fire anew, insomuch as now commonly in all places they fell to open cursing of him and his children. Which maledictions & execrations, it was not long but all the gods listened and gave eare unto, and caused that he likewise exercised cruelty even upon his owne flesh and bloud. For *Perseus* seeing his brother *Demetrius* to arise every day more than other in favour, greatnesse, and reputation with the whole Macedonian people, and to grow also in credite and grace among the Romanes, supposing with himselfe how hee had no other hope left him of attaining to the crowne, but by the meanes of some wicked practise, bent all his thoughts and studies that way, and aimed onely at that marke. But beleiving verily that he was not strong enough & sufficient alone, to execute & bring forth so much only, as within that unmanly & womanish mind of his he had devised & conceived, he practised with his fathers friends, and estoones founded their hearts one by one apart, casting out ambiguous and doubtfull speeches. And at the first verily some of them shewed countenance, as if they could not abide to heare of any such thing, because they reposed more hope in *Demetrius*. But afterwards, as the hatred of *Philip* grew daily greater against the Romanes, which *Perseus* still fostered and maintained, whereas *Demetrius* with all his might laboured against it; they foreseeing in their mind the unhappie end of *Demetrius*, who lay too open and was not heedfull ynough to guard himselfe against the fraudulent and mischeevous plots of his brother, sided with *Perseus*; making this account in policie, to set that agoing and helpe it forward, which in the end would take effect, & namely to entertain and advance the hope of the mightier. For the execution of the rest they reserved every thing to a meet & convenient time therefore. As for the present, the best course they thought upon was this, to incense the king all that ever possibly they could against the Romanes, to induce and put him forward still to thinke of nothing but warre, where-to of his owne accord his mind stood well ynough and was enclined. And withall (to the end that *Demetrius* might be from day to day more and more suspected) they entred of purpose (as before they were agreed) into speech, as touching the hope and great port of the Romanes: where at when some of them would seeme againe in scornfull wise to elevate and debase their manners and fashions, others to deprave their deeds and acts, some scoffing in generall at the very forme and making of their citie, how it was not yet embellished and beautified either with stately edifices in publicke places, or with faire houses of private men; others mocking and having in derision the principall and cheefe personages of the citie in particular; the inconsiderat yong gentleman, carried away as well with an affectionate love to the Romanes, as with a desire to crosse his brother, would answer to all those points in the defence and maintenance of the Romanes: by which meanes hee brought himselfe both into more jealousy with his father, and also to be subject and exposed to slanderous imputations. Whereupon his father acquainted him no more with any counsell as touching the Roman affairs, but wholly relied upon *Perseus*, and with him conferred therabout, imparting unto him both day & night all his projects & designs whatsoever. By this time were they returned, whom he chaunced to send to the Basternes for tolevie succours and aid-souldiours, and brought they had with them from thence certaine noble yong gentlemen, and some among of roiall bloud. One of them promised to give his sister in marriage to one of *Philip*s sonnes, insomuch as the affociation by way of affinity with that nation, set the kings heart also aloft. But *Perseus* brake out into these words: What serves all this for (qud he) since we have not so much help and safetie by aids from abroad, as harme and daunger by a mischeefe and maladie at home. We keep here & foster in our bolome, I dare not say a traitor, but I assure you a very dangerous spie & no better; whose bodie verily the Romans have sent us again, but his heart & soule they are possessed of, ever since he was an hostage at Rome. All the Macedonians in a manner have their eies upon him set, him they court, & give out in plain terms, that they will no other king than whom the Romans shall set up. Old *Philip* was of himselfe badly ynough affected in his mind, but upon these suggestions buzzed into his head, hee was the worse, & more disquieted

A disquieted and set out of frame: hee entertained these surmises, and set them neerer to his heart than hee made faire in outward shew and countenance. Now it fortuned that the time was come of the ordinarie review of his armie, the solemnitie whereof was usually performed in this manner. They cut a dog overthwart the middest in two halves, the head and foreparts together with the entrals were set on the right hand of the high way; the hindparts on the left. Betwene this sacrifice thus divided, the companies in their armour passed in a shew. Before the front of the vauntguard were carried the coats of armes and roiall ensignes of all the Macedonian kings that ever had been from the beginning. Then followed the king himselfe in person with his children. Next marched the kings guard and cohort, with the squires of his bodie. And last of all, in the rereguard behind came the rest of the multitude and commons of the Macedonians. Of either side of the king went his sons, two lustie gentlemen. *Perseus* was about thirtie yeeres old, and *Demetrius* five yeeres yonger; the one in the mids and best of his age and strength, and the other in the very prime & flour thereof. An happie father had he ben for so fair issue, seeing this prooffe, this maturitie and perfection of theirs, if the grace of God had gone withal, & that they had ben well disposed and affected in mind. The maner & custome of this review & solemn sight was (after the sacrifice duly accomplished) for the whole armie to joust and tourney in this wise, that being divided into two battailons, they should one charge the other, & represent the shew of a very conflict and set field. And who should be the cheefe leaders and captaines in this brave pastime, but the kings two sonnes? But beleieve me they jested never a whit, nor made a vaine shew for disport, but went to it roundly in good earnest, as if they would determine now who should bee king another day. Foule worke they made with their wodden wasters and headlesse pikes; many were wounded, and nothing wanted there but sharpe yron, of a very bloudie battell indeed. That regiment which *Demetrius* commaunded, had the upper hand by ods. *Perseus* shewed himselfe highly displeased and angrie thereat; but contrariwise his friends and favourites of the wiser sort, rejoiced at it, and made remonstrance, That this was the onely thing to minister just occasion unto him for to challenge and accuse his yonger brother. Now the same day, the one as well as the other feasted their companions, who had thus performed the jousts and tournaments of either side with them. *Perseus* was invited by his brother to supper, but he refused and denied to come. Howbeit such was the good fellowship amongst them, and so merrie were the yong gallants and lustie Cavaliers, that they passed the feastivall day in all joy and mirth, either part with their captaine, and plied the wine full liberally. Then in their cups they fell to discoursing freely of their running and pastime, and began to cast out merrie conceits and broad jests at their adversaries of the contrarie side, insomuch as they forbore not to glaunce at the very cheefestaynes themselves. Now had *Perseus* sent a privie spie, one of his guests, to listen what good talke there was at his brothers board, but he demeaning himselfe & walking not so circumspectly as he should, was encountered by certaine youths, that chaunced to come forth of the hall or parlor where they sate at supper, and was evil entreated and well beaten for his labour. *Demetrius* nothing ware thereof, among other table talke, Why goe we not (quoth he) and banquet with my brother? and if there remaine any anger & displeasure behind after our jousting in jest, appease and mitigate the same in simplicitie of hart and mirth making? Mary, no better, cried they all againe with one voice, save onely those that feared to be met withall presently, and served alike for misusing and knocking the foresaid spie. *Demetrius* would needs draw even them also with him; whereupon they carried weapons hidden under their apparell, for feare of the worst, that they might defend themselves, if any violence were offered. But what can be caried so secret, but out it wil, where ther is intestine discord in one familie? All was full of spies & false knaves, as well in the one house as the other. For there ran a pickthanke and tale carrier before unto *Perseus*, and declared unto him that there were comming with *Demetrius* foure yong men with privie skeines by their sides. And albeit hee wist well ynough what was the cause thereof (for hee had heard that one of his guests was by them beaten) yet to aggravate the matter and make it more odious, he commaunded the dore to be fast locked, and from the upper roomes and lofts of the house and out of the windows to the street side, he kept off and repelled those (that came to banquet and bee merrie with him) from approaching the dore, as if their comming were for no other purpose but to murder him. *Demetrius* after hee had for a time cried out in the street and taken on for this disgrace and indignitie, saying it was long of the wine and nothing els that hee was thus excluded, returned againe to his own house to make an end of the banquet there: and all this while knew nothing

thing what the matter was. The morrow after, *Perseus*, so soone as ever he thought hee might have access to the speech of his father, came to the court; & in the sight of the king, stood afar off with a troubled countenance and heave cheere, and not a word with him. How now (quoth his father) what is amisse with you? is not all well? Ah, my good lord and father (quoth hee) I would you knew, that it is the faire gift & grace of God that I am a livelingsman at this houre. That brother of mine, goeth not about us any more by way of secret practises & hidden ambushes: for the night that was, he came with armed men to set upon me in mine owne house, & to take away my life. I was driven (father) to shut the doores against him, and to save my selfe from his furious rage, within the defence of the wals thereof. When hee had thus possessed his father with feare and astonishment together; Nay (quoth he) I will prove all plainly before your face, that you shall know it is a trueth that I say, if your grace can be content to give mee audience. Audience? (quoth he) yes marie will I, and that with patience: and immediatly he commanded *Demetrius* to be called before him. And withall, he sent for two of his old friends to assist him, and to take their advise, to wit, *Lyfsmachus* and *Oromastus*, who wist nothing of the quarrell and variance betweene the two brethren, for that they had bene strangers a long time at the court. In the meane while, he walked up and downe alone, attending their coming, courting and discoursing many matters in his head, and his son *Perseus* stood still aloofe. After word was brought that the parties were come, he retired aside with those two friends, and as many of his guard, into an inner rounge, and permitted his sonnes to bring with them into the place, three friends a peece unarmed. And when he was set, thus began he to speake.

Here sit I a most wretched father, to be a judge betweene my two sonnes, the one plaintife, the other defendant in the case of parricide; and to find among those of mine owne house and bloud, the foule staine of that felonious crime, either falsely forged, or in deed committed. Certes, long ago I feared such a storme & tempest toward, & I saw it rising afar off, when I perceived your unbrotherly looks one toward another, when I over-heard some unhappie words to passe betweene you. Yet other whiles I was in good hope, that the heat of your anger might evaporate and flake, and the suspicions and jealousies be cleared and passe away: considering that even professed & mortall enemies, have laid downe armes, concluded peace, and become friends at last: yea and great quarrels and enimities betweene private persons have had their end. I hoped that one time or other, ye would remember how ye were naturall brethren, that ye would call to mind, how ye were little children together, and had conversed with all simplicitie and singleness of heart familiarlie in your infancie: and finally, that ye would thinke upon my good lessons and precepts unto you, which now I feare me much, that I have founded to your deafe eares in vaine. How often haue I blamed and detested in your presence and hearing, the examples of brethren at discord & variance, recounting unto you the stories of the fearfull sequel & horrible issue thereof: namely, how they have thereby undone themselves and their race, overthrowne their owne houses, yea and utterly subverted whole kingdomes? On the other side, I laid before you better patternes and precedents to follow, and namely of the concord, agreement, and unitie betweene the Lacedæmonian KK. that reigned two by two together, to their owne good and the publicke weale of their countrie for many hundred yeceres: but the same citie fell soone to decay and ruine, when the fashion once was taken up, to usurpe the tyrannie and soveraigne rule every man for himselfe alone. Moreover, I set before you these two brethren hereby, *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, who at the first began with so little, that they were in manner abashed and ashamed to take upon them the title and style of kings: and at this day are equall in graundeur of dominion to my selfe, to *Antiochus*, and to any kings of this age living: and that by no other means in the world, more than by brotherly love & mutual concord. Nay, I itaid not so, but discoursed unto you & recited sundrie examples of certain Romans, which either I had learned by heare-say, or observed by mine own eie-sight and experience: and namely, the two *Quintus*, *T.* and *L.* who warred both against me. The *Scipios* likewise, *P.* and *L.* who vanquished and subdued *Antiochus*: their fathers also and uncles, who were brethren, and whose concord and unitie all their life long was such, as it was not disjoyned in their verie death. But neither the wickednesse of those first recited, and a fembable end correspondent to their ungracious life, was able to skare you from outrageous discord; nor yet the good hart & meaning of the later sort, together with their happie fortune, draw & induce you to be wise. During my natural life, whiles my breath is within my bodie, both twaine of you, seduced

by sfolish hope and disordinate desire, are readie to take possession of my kingdome over my head. And so long onely would yee have mee to live, untill that I surviving the one of you, might presently by my death put all out of question, and make the other (as I sole heire apparent) undoubted king. Sicke yee are I see well of father and brother, yee can abide neither the one nor the other. Ther is no goodnes in you at all: nothing is there that ye hold deere, nothing that you count holy and inviolable: but in lieth and steed of all, there is crept and entred into you an unsatiable desire to raigne, and that hath wholly possessed your hearts. Come on therefore now, greeve and wound your fathers eares with your ungracious tales and wicked words: debate and dispute the matter with reciprocally accusations, you that shortly will decide and determine it by dent of sword: say on & spare not; speake out all, that either you can allege truly, or list to devise and invent falsly. Mine eares are now wide open, but shall hereafter for ever be close shut, against all secret slanders that ye shal whisper & report one against the other. When he had breathed out these words with great indignation, the assistants there, began al to weepe a good and shed teares, and for a good time there was sad cheere and not a word untill at length *Perseus* began and said: I should belike have opened the dore in the night that I should, and received into my house armed guests to banquet with me, yea and held out my throat unto them for to be cut: since that nothing is beleaved, unlesse the deed had bene done and dispatched: since that the same is said unto me (who have bene forlaid, and whose life hath bene sought) which were more becoming to speake unto a wood-kerne and robber by the high-way side: It is not for nought I see well, that these heere, give out abroad and say, That you have no more sonnes but *Demetrius*, and call me a bastard, & a supposed sonne of yours, as begotten of a concubine. For if you held & avowed me legitimate, if you vouchsafed me the place, the degree and love of a sonne, you would never fare and storme against me so as you doe, for discovering the ambush set for me, and complaining thereof; but against him rather that laid in wait to surpris me: neither would you set so light and make so small account of my life, as to be mooved neither for the danger past wherein I was, nor at the perill to come, if such wait-laiers may escape unpunished. Now, if there be no remedie, but that we must die & say nothing, let us hold our tongue and be mute: let us onely pray to the gods before, that this intended mischief begun in me, may also take an end in me alone, and that you be not he, who is to be wounded and pierced through my bodie. But in case (like as by the verie instinct and suggestion of nature, they that are assailed and set upon in a desert wilderness, be taught to implore & call for mens helpe and succour, although they neither saw nor knew of any before) in case (I say) it be lawfull for me likewise to open my mouth and speake, when I see the naked sword drawne upon me: then I beseech you for your owne loue, even for the love of your good selfe, and the name of a father (which whether of us twain have more esteemed & regarded, you have full well known long agoe) to give me audience, & to hear me, as if you had bene awakened at my crie & pittifull lamentation in the last nights riot, & came in the way where I was forced to call, Help, Help: and as if you had taken *Demetrius* in the manner, within my gate, in the verie entrie of my dore, accompanied with armed men, at an undecent and undue houre of this night past. Those plaints and mones which then I would have uttered by way of disordered and confused cries, in that suddaine affright of mine upon the deed dooing; the same I now make the morrow after. Ah brother, wee have lived now a good while, not (ywis) as brethren that should banquet and make merry one with another. It is the crowne that you looke after, that is certain & past peradventure: but your hope to attain unto it, is crossed divers waies. My birthright & mine eldestship is a blocke in your way, between you & it; the law of nations is against it; the ancient custome of the Macedonians checketh it; and finally, the will, pleasure, and judgement of our father is opposite unto it. Mount you cannot possibly so high, but by the effusion of my heart bloud. You goe to worke, you assay all meanes, you leave no stone unrolled, and nothing unattempted to effect that: but to this day, either mine own warie diligence or happy fortune hath guarded me, and withstood your wicked parricide. Even yesterday, during the time of the solemne revieue and purging of the army, during the time of running at tilt & jousting, in time of the shew & pastime resembling a skirmish, you missed very little of making a bloudie battaile of it and a deadly conflict indeed; and nothing else saved me from death, but this, that I suffered my selfe and my men to goe by the worse and be overcome. From this martiall combat, as if it had been no more but a game and sport among brethren, you would needs have trained and drawn me to a supper.

Why? thinke you father, that I should have supped among those guests unarmed, who came in armes to banquet with me? Doe you beleve, that I should have beene in no daunger of their naked swords of Steele at night; who in the day time and within your sight, laid on such lode with wooden swords and bastons, that they had like to have killed me? To what end else came you, brother, at that time of the night? why came you as an enemy, considering I was in choller and my blood was up? or, wherefore came you accompanied with tall fellows, privily armed and with short swords under their garments? I durst not venture to sit at supper with you: should I have received you then, comming as you did with armed men to banquet with me? Father, if the dore had been opened; whereas you heare me now to make my complaints, you should have ben by this time busied about my winding-sheet, herse, & funerals. I lay not forth & urge matters in (understand) manner, after the fashion of these accusers at the barre; neither collect I bare conjecturall presumptions to enforce and conclude any doubtful points: for what need I so to do? Denyeth he that he approached my dore with a troupe of men? or that he had in his traine a compaignie, such as ware weapons covertly under their apparell? Do but send for them whom I shall name. But in faith, what will not they dare to doe, that can doe this? and yet I trow, they will never be so hardie and shamelesse as to denie it. If I had taken them in the manner with their weapons about them within mine entrie, and so brought them before you, then you would say, it were a plaine case and out of all doubt. If then, they confesse as much with their mouth, hold them as culpable as if they had been surprisid in the act doing. Now curse (& spare not) the greedy appetite and thirst after a kingdome; now fall to raise and call up the furies out of hell to set brethren together by the eares: but, good father, let not your curies and execrations thus sic at blind random: make some distinction yet and difference, between him that lyeth in wait, and the partie who is forelaid. Let him be holden guiltie that sought to kill his brother, let him feele withall the gods of his father to be his enemies and angrie against him. But as for him who was in daunger to loose his life through his brothers mischievous practise, let him have his refuge and recourse to the mercie and justice of his father. For alas, whether els should I flie for succour? seeing that neither the solemne revieu and purging of your armie, nor the running and jousting of the men at armes, neither mine owne house nor my table, ne yet the very night season (which nature hath given to mankind for covert and repose) affoordeth me safetie and securitie? If I goe to my brother (being bidden to supper) die I shall: if I receive my brother within my dores (comming to banquet) die I must. So that whether I go or stay, all is one; I cannot avoid but fall into traines and ambushes, laid for to take away my life. To what place shall I retire and betake my selfe? None have I regarded, nothing have I relied upon, but the gods and your good selfe, father. As for the Romans, I stand in no such tearms with them of grace and favour, as to trust upon their succour: nay they all wish me hanged, because I take the wrongs done unto you by them, to the heart; because I shew my selfe discontented and touched with the indignitie, that so many cities, so many nations are plucked from you; and namely, that of late they have despoiled and bereaved you of all the maritime parts and sea coasts of Thrace: and so long as either you or I live, they never looke to enjoy Macedonie. But if by the mischievous practise of my brother, I might once be rid out of the way; and withall, if old age had made an end of you, yea and peradventure before that day came, (which they would never stay so long for) then they know well and make full account, that both the king and kingdome of Macedonie, will be theirs sure enough. Indeed if the Romans had spared any piece at all without Macedonie, I should have thought and made reckoning, that it had been a place of retreat and refuge left for me. But what need that, so long as I have strength enough among the very Macedonians. You saw your selfe yesterday how violently the souldiours charged upon me: what wanted they but the sharpe sword and edged weapons? well, that which they failed and missed of in the day time, my brothers banquetters met with in the night. For what should I speake of the greater part of the nobilitie? they have grounded and built all their hopes of dignitie, promotion, and advancement, in the Romans, and namely in him who now can doe all in all with them, and is of greatest reputation. And certes, to speake a truth, him they preferre not onely before me his elder brother, but also they go within a very little to set him before your selfe, his liege king and naturall father. For this is he, for whose love and in favour of whome, the Senate hath remitted and pardoned you that penaltie which you had incurred. This is hee, who now protecteth you from the force of Romane armies: who deemeth it meet and reason that your old age should be

A obliged and beholden to his youth. For him stand all the Romanes: with him take part all those cities which are delivered and free from your subjection: of him hold the Macedonians that with peace with the Romans, and take contentment therein. Now for me, father, what hope or helpe can I have elsewhere, but in you alone? Where to thinke you tend those letters of *Quintius* sent lately unto you; wherein hee writeth, That you did passing well for your owne estate, in sending *Demetrius* to Rome: and exhorteth you withall, to send him againe the second time, accompanied with more embassadours, and those the very principall and best of all the Macedonians? This *T. Quintius* (if you will needs know the reason) is the man, who leadeth, induceth, and directeth him at this present, in all things: he is his counsellour and schoole-master. And *Demetrius* hath rejected and cast you off his owne father, and hath put him in your stead. There it is, where all these privie plots have heretofore been first contrived and set a hatching: and at this present in willing you to send more in embassage, and those the chiefe personages of the Macedonians with him, he seeketh nought els but helpers & assistants to put those designs in execution. As many as go from hence to Rome, be they never so sound & uncorrupt at their setting out, be they loiall subjects and acknowledging no other but *Philipp* for their king, returne from thence tainted and infected with the alluring enticements of the Romanes. *Demetrius* alone is altogether in their bookes. They are all for him, and passe for none els. Him they call their king, during the life of his owne father. Now, if I seeme to be touched, offended, and grieved hereby, by and by I am sure to have it charged reprochfully on both sides of mine eares, not onely from others, but also from your mouth father, that I aspire and seeke to be king. For mine own part, I would both they and you knew, that if the diademe and crowne were here let betwene us both, I would none of it. For who is he, that I should need to undermine and supplant, for to step into his place and succeed? None there is at all but my father before me, and long may he so be. I pray God, and I wish to survive him no otherwife, but if I be worthe and deserve that he should likewise desire the same. If my father will make me his heire and inheritour of the kingdome, I will accept thereof. Hee indeed coveteth to be a king, yea, and ungraciously coveteth it, who hasteneth to make pace forward, and to step before the course of nature, the order of age, the custome of the Macedonians, and the law of nations. But what imagineth *Demetrius*, suppose yet? Mine elder brother (thinketh he) stands in my way between me and home; to him appertaineth the kingdome by right and by my fathers will: Let us rid him out of the world. What? I am not the first that sought to be a king by murder of a brother. As for my father, he is aged, he is desolate, and bereaved of a sonne; hee will have more care to looke to his owne person, than mind to revenge the death of his sonne. The Romanes, they will rejoyce, they will approve and mainteine my fact. These be nice points, and these be ticklish and doubtfull hopes, but beleve me father, they are not altogether vaine and frivolous. For thus stands the case, and this is the sum of all: Well may you preserve me out of danger, now whiles I am alive, by inflicting punishment upon those who take weapon in hand to kill me; but let their enterprise speed once, and take effect, you shall never be able to pursue them to the purpose and revenge my death.

When *Persus* had made an end of his speech, they that were present in place cast their eyes wistly upon *Demetrius*, as if he would have made answer immediately, and so were all silent a long time, and said not a word; for they perceived evidently that hee could not for weeping open his mouth: but in the end hee was urged by them to speake, and then after that necessity had summounded his griefe, thus hee began, My father, all those meanes of helpe which were ever wont to serve the defendant in good speed, I am prevented and disappointed of, by the plaintive my accuser. By those false and fained teares of his, wrung out and shed to worke the ruine and undoing of another, he hath made my true tears suspected, which gushing out of mine eyes, proceed from a melting and wounded heart within. And whereas himselfe hath not ceased, (ever since that I returned from Rome) to practise secretly with his consorts and complices both night and day to lay wait for my life, now he begins first with me, and will needs put upon me the visor, and have the world beleve that I play the part not onely of a secret and cunning wait-laiier, but of an open theefe and a notorious murderer and cut-throate. Hee seemeth to fright you with his owne daunger, that he might make even you the very meanes and instrument to hasten forward the death of his innocent brother. He saith that he hath no place of refuge in the whole world: to the end that I might have no part at all of hope left, so much as in you. Thus circumvented as I am, left alone, forlorn, destitute and void of all succour, he chargeth me with

The creation of
Demetrius in his
owne defense, be-
fore his father.

with being in favour and grace with forraigne strangers; a thing ywis, that doth mee more harme G
 than good. Moreover, see how he proceedeth like a practised and cunning barrister, in that hee
 inserteth and minglith the last nights worke together with the blame of my former life; to the
 end that he might make more suspicious by the course of mine other yeeres passed, this criminous
 matter also (the simple truth whereof you shall know anon) and withall confirme and mainteine
 this vain surmise and slander, of my hopes, my will, & intended designs, by this subtle invention
 of his, by the fained & forged fable I say of that which was pretended the night that was. He hath
 not failed moreover to make you beleieve that this accusation of his was not premeditate and
 studied upon beforehand, but framed *ex tempore*, and occasioned only upon the suddaine fright
 and trouble overnight. But in good faith, *Perseus*, if I had been a traitour to the king my father and
 the realme, if I had complotted with the Romanes and other of my fathers enemies, me thinks H
 you should not have waited for this nights devised fable, but you ought to have accused me
 before this time, of treason. And if that imputation were vaine and frivolous without this surmise,
 and served to discover & bewray your envie & spight which you bear against me, more than it de-
 tecteth any crime which is in me; yet you should have let me alone & forborne this day, or put it
 off untill another time; that it might have beene cleerely seene whether of us twaine laid wait for
 the other, you or I, upon a strange and extraordinarie manner of hatred. As for me (so far forth
 as I possible can, in this suddaine trouble of my spirits) I will endeavour to speake severally of each
 point, which you have heaped up together so disorderly, and reveale I will the ambushes & trains
 of this night, yours or mine, fall out as it shall. He would have it thought that I practised to kill
 him, for this intent forsooth, that when mine elder brother were once made away, unto whom I
 the inheritance of the crowne appertained by the law of nations, by the custome of the Mace-
 donians, and also, as he saith, by your judgement, I the younger might step into his place, and
 succeed him whom I had killed. What meaneth then, and wherto serveth that other part of his
 Oration, wherein he saith, that I have been so respective to the Romanes, and that upon the affi-
 ance that I have in them, I hoped to be king? For if I were perswaded thus of the Romanes, that
 they could set up whom they pleased to be king of Macedonie, and if withall I presumed so much
 of their good grace and favor to me ward, what need had I then to commit a parricide? Was it
 because I had a mind to weare a diademe embrued with my brothers blood by mee murder-
 ed? and was I desirous to make my selfe odious and execrable among them, with whom either
 for mine honestie indeed, or at leastwaies for a counterfeit shew thereof, I have woon some cre-
 dit, such as it is, if haply it be anie at all? Vnlesse perhaps, you thinke that T. *Quintius* (by whose
 vertue and counsell, you reproch mee that I am ruled) advised mee to kill my brother, *Quintius*, I
 say, who is so kind unto his owne brother, and liveth with him so lovingly. This plaintife and
 accuser of mine, hath collected not onely the affection of the Romans which they beare un-
 to mee, but also the opinion which the Macedonians have of mee, yea, and in manner the
 consent of all gods and men in my behalfe; in which regards all, hee tooke himselfe not able
 to match mee in this quarrell and difference about the kingdome: and yet see, how the same
 man laith to my charge, that as if I were in all other respects inferiour unto him, I was faine
 to have recourse to this last shift of practising mischeefe and wickednesse. Will you have this
 to be the case? Will you bee content to joine issue in this point? That whether of us twaine L
 feared the other to bee reputed worthier of the kingdome, hee should be judged and conden-
 ned to have sought and contrived the death of his brother? But let us discusse and examine
 in some sort or other, the order and manner of this pretended and devised crime. Hee hath
 burdened me, that I have laid for him many and sundrie waies; yet hath hee knit up all these
 meanes and couched them together in one daies worke. I purposed to kill him (saith hee) in
 the open day-light, after the solempne review and affoiling of the armie, even when wee jousted
 together, and seemed to charge one another in battell-wise: yea upon the very day (God hee
 knoweth) of the said solempnie. I intended ywis (beleieve him if you will) when I invited him to
 supper, to make him away with a cup of poison. I would have stabbed him (what els?) or run him
 through with my sword, when I came to banquet with him, & was accompanied with some of my
 train armed and having weapons about them. You see, father, what proper and choise opportu-
 nities I had picked out to commit this pretended murder; namely, the very day of disports, the
 time of supper, of banquet and collation. As for the day, let us examine it and the maner there-
 of: was it any other than that, wherein the armie was surveied and solempnely purged? when
 betweene

A betweene a sacrifice cut in twaine, the royall coats of all the armes of Macedonian kings that
 ever had beene, were carried aloft in a stately shew; and wee alone your two sonnes (father) G
 marched on either side of you before the rest, and the whole Macedonian armie followed af-
 ter. When I was thus cleansed and purified by this expiatorie sacrifice (if haply I had com-
 mitted any sinne before that deserved expiation) and especially at the very same instant
 when I beheld before mine eyes (on either side of the way) the parcels of the beast sacrifici-
 ced: entertained I then in my thoughts the practise of poison, and the handling of swords pre-
 pared aforehand against the banquet, to performe a parricide: that afterwards I might with some
 other sacrifices expiat and cleanse my conscience thus stained and defiled with all kind of wic-
 kednesse? A like matter surely. But a spirit corrupt and blinded with the humour of slaunders
 B another, upon a desire to gather matter and make all suspicious, careth not to huddle one thing
 upon another confusedly. For if I meant to have poisoned you at supper, what was there more
 unfit to set forward that designement, than to provoke you to anger, by running so eagerly upon
 you and fighting with you so toughlie, that thereby you might take good and just occasion (as
 you did) to refuse being requested, for to come to supper? And when in your choller you had
 once denied to suppe with me, was it not the next way for me then, to endeavour how to appease
 you, and seeke some other opportunitie and occasion, since I had prepared the poison for that
 present only? But I must leape straightwaies from that designment to another, even to the kil-
 ling of you by the sword, & that upon the very same day, under a pretence of banquetting with
 you? If I thought that for feare of death you forbore my table at supper time, how comes it that
 C I imagined not seembly, that for the said feare you would avoid my companie at banquet after
 supper? There is no cause why I should be ashamed and blush, Father; if upon such a fest:vall day
 as it was I dranke wine liberally, and tooke perhaps a cup too much among my companions.
 Nay I would it might please your majestie to enquire with what mirth, pastime, and merriment I
 feasted yesterday at home in my house, and this joy (undecent happily you will say and unseeme-
 ly) let us the farther out, because in that skirmish and warlike pastime of lustie youths, our side
 went not by the worse. But this miserie & unhappie fear upon that our niirth and jollitie, hath well
 delaied and cooled the wine; spent it hath the strength thereof suming up into our heads: which
 if it had not come betweene, we as great laiers await as we were, had to this houre lien fast and
 found asleep in our beds. Well, if I had minded to assaile and force your house, and that done, to
 D murder you the master thereof, would I not think you, have for born for my part one day to bib &
 quaffe wine so freely? and likewise kept my soldiours from drinking drunke? But because I should
 not alone plead my simplicitie and make my excuse thereby, this my good brother also, who
 God wot is none of these naughtie and suspicious creatures, comes in with his vie and faith, I
 know nothing, I charge no bodie, neither wot I what to say els, but that they came armed to
 banquet with me. If I might be so bold as to aske how you came to that knowledge, you cannot
 chuse but confesse that either my house was full of your spies, or those armed men of my traine
 tooke their weapons so openly, that everie one saw them. And because hee would have you be-
 lieve of father, that neither himselfe made any enquire before, nor at this time pursueth the mat-
 ter with any accusatorie spirit, he willed you to demand of them whom he named, whether they
 E had not their swords about them? to the end that after you had sought into it as a matter
 doubtfull, and found them to confesse it, they might thereby be held convicted. But why rather
 will you not, that examination should bee taken in this manner; whether they tooke their
 swords with them to kill you or no? And whether they did so by my warrant, direction, and pri-
 vity? For this is it that you (brother) would make the world believe, this is it which you would have
 to appeare, and not that which my men confesse. But the case is plain and evident, yea, and they
 will bee knowne no other, than that they were armed in their owne defence. Whether it were
 well or ill done, they are of age to make account and render a reason of their doings. Doe not
 you mingle my cause with that action of theirs, which interesteth it nothing at all. But rather
 declare and make it plaine, whether we meant to assaile you openly or secretly? If openly, why
 F were we not all armed? why was there none of us besides those persons that did beat your spie?
 If secretly, what was the train and order of the execution of that designe? After the banquet en-
 ded, & I the setter of the banquet retired from thence, should those four have staid behind to salu-
 on you when you were asleep? How could they have caried it so close as not to be spied (strangers
 as they were & my men besides, & above all other most suspected) for that a litle before, they had
 been

been seen in a brant? And say, they had killed you by what means could they escape & save themselves? Was it possible that your house should be forced & kept with four swords? Fie, fie *Perseus*, speak no more for shame of this night, but come again to that rather which galleth you at the heart, which kindleth your envie, and setteth you on fire. How cometh it to passe, *O Demetrius*, that men speake abroad that you shall be king? why should you be deemed of some more worthy than my selfe, to succeed the roiall estate of my father? How is it that I am in doubt and feare of my hope, which, but for you, were sure and certaine? These are the secret thoughts of *Perseus*, although he saith nothing: these make him of a brother to become an enemy: these cause him to be mine accuser: these conceits they be that fill your pallace, your court, and your realme, with surmises, slanders, and suspicions. But for mine owne part, father, like as I ought neither to hope for your roiall crowne, nor at any time peradventure, to make words and dispute about it; because I am the younger, and because it is your will and pleasure, that I should give place unto mine elder brother: so, it became me not heretofore, neither doth it become me yet, to demeane and carrie my selfe so in any action, that I should seeme unworthie to have you for my father, but to bee capable of all dignities whatsoever. The one point I should attain unto by indirect courses and wicked vices, in not yeelding unto him, as right and reason would: but the other, by my good carriage and sober behaviour. You reproach me with the Romans, brother; & those things which in right ought to turne to my praise & glorie, you blame & reprove me for. It was no seeking of mine, that I was delivered to the Romans as an hostage, or sent to Rome as embassadour: but when I was appointed by you, father, I refused not to goe. At both times, such was my dealing & demeanour, that I had an eye still and good regard, not to discredit either your highnesse, or your kingdom, or the Macedonian nation. And therefore you were the cause, father, of that amitie and friendship which I have with the Romans. As long as you and they are at peace, I shall be well affected to them: begin warre once; I that was an hostage and embassadour among them, and (though I say it) not unprofitable for you my father, even I, will become a most spitefull and mortall enemy unto them. Neither doe I at this day require, that the favour I have among the Romans might steepe mee any way; onely I beseech you, that it may not prejudice and harme me. It began not by occasion of warre, neither is it reserved for the time of warre. For assurance of peace, I was a pledge and hostage: for maintenance of peace, I was employed in embassage. Content will I be, by the one and the other, in case I neither purchase fame nor incur blame. If I have committed any impiecie against you, father, if I have done or designed any wicked part against my brother, I refuse no punishment, I crave no pardon or favor. If I be innocent, I desire only and humbly beseech your grace, that I be not overweighed with the heave load of envie and ill will, since I can be overthrowne by no crime justly objected unto me. This is not the first day, that my brother hath accused me: but this is the first day, that he is seene to be my accuser: and full little have I deserved it at his hands. If my father had bene displeased and angry with me, I would have thought that you of all others, being the elder brother, should have bene a mediatour and intercessor for mee (the younger) to my father, and a meanes to purchase a pardon for my follie & the error of tender youth: but see! where my succour and refuge should have bene, there contrariwise is my ruine & overthrow. From my feasting and banquetting, from my mirth and good cheere, by his means have I bene haled hither not halfe waked, but with mine eyes full of sleepe, to answer in the case of particide: & forced I am to plead mine own cause without my counsell, without my proctor or advocate. If I had bene to speak in the defence of another, I would have taken time to studie, premeditate & frame an oration. And yet, what was I to hazard there, but the reputation of wit and learning. Instead thereof I, not knowing for what cause I was sent for, heard your majesty first (with wrath and angry as you were) to command us to plead our causes: & then my brother, who hath stood up to accuse me. As for him, he hath pronounced an Oration studied for, & devised long before hand: but I was allowed no longer time (than whiles I heard my selfe accused) to bethinke mee what to plead, or to examine & take knowledge of the matter that he hath laid forth against me. In that present moment of time, could I, thinke you (so suddenly taken as I was) either give eare to my accuser, or consider & thinke duly of mine own plea? stoned so I was, with that sodain trouble & unexpected occurrent, that much ado I had, to understand what I was charged with: so far was I from devising what to speake in mine own defence, What hope should I have now? and in what case were I, if I had not my father for my judge? at whose hands (albeit I am not so well

beloved

beloved as mine elder brother is, yet since I am the partie defendant, I ought at leastwise to find as much pittie and compassion. For I beseech you (O father) to save mee, in regard of my selfe and you: but he requireth you to take away my life, onely for his own assurance and better securitie. And what will hee do against me thinke you, after you have made over the crowne & scepter into his hands; who now already thinketh it meet and reason, to dispose of my blood at his good pleasure? In uttering of these words, the teares gushed forth so abundantly, that they stopped his mouth so, as uneth hee could either speake or draw his breath. Then *Philip* after hee had commaunded them to go apart, and communed a while with his friends, spake & said, That he wold not decide their cause upon these words of theirs, nor upon one hours debating, but by enquire into both their lives, and observing their behaviour in deed and word, as well in great matters as in small. Hereby they all saw well enough, that the accusation of the precedent nights act, was sufficiently refuted and evicted, and the only thing in *Demetrius* to be suspected, was the over-great favour that the Romans bare toward him. This was the verie seed of the Macedonian warre, sowed as one would say, during the life of *Philip*, but the warre was after to be waged most of all against *Perseus*.

The two Consuls tooke their jurnie into Liguria, the sole consular province of them both; and because they had atchieved their exploits fortunately there, ordained there was a solemne procession for one day. It fortuned that there came two thousand Ligurians or thereabout, to the utmost frontier of the province of Gaule, where *Marcellus* lay in league, requesting to bee received under his protection. *Marcellus* after hee had commaunded the said Ligurians to give attendance upon him in the same place, required by his letters the advise of the Senat. The Senate gave order to *M. Ogulnius* the lord chiefe justice of the citie, to write backe againe unto *Marcellus* to this effect; That it was more meete that the Consuls, unto whom that government appertained, should give order and determine (as touching the Ligurians who yeelded and submitted) what was expedient for the common weale in that behalfe, than the Senate. As for them; if they were to give their opinion, they thought it not good to accept of the Ligurians surrender: and being once received, then to be disarmed: but they were of this mind and advise, that it was requisite they should be sent and referred over to the Consuls.

The Pretours at the same time arrived in their provinces, to wit *P. Manlius* in base Spaine, where he had bene governour before during his former Pretourship; and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* in the higher: where he received the armie of *Terentius*, for that other side of Spaine beyond Iberus, had bene left without a lord Deputie, by occasion of the death of *P. Sempronius* the Pretour. While *Fulvius Flaccus* assaulted a towne in Spaine named *Vrbicula*, the Celtiberians made head and came upon him; where many and sundrie hore skirmishes passed, and wherein many Romane souldiours were both hurt and slaine: Howbeit *Fulvius* held still his resolution, and by no forcible meanes whatsoever, could be brought to levie the siege. The Celtiberians toiled out of heart with divers combats, retired and departed. The citie then seeing their succours dislodged and gone, within few daies was forced and ransacked; and the Pretour gave the pillage thereof to his souldiours. Thus *Fulvius* after hee had gained this towne, and *P. Manlius*, when hee had retired and rallied his forces into one place, which had benee dispersed; without any other memorable act performed, brought their armies within the wintering harbours. And these were the exploits in Spaine, during that summer season. *Terentius* who was departed out of that province before, entred the citie of Rome in a pettie triumph, by way of ovation. He carried before him in shew, eight thousand three hundred & twentie pound weight of silver, and fourescore of gold: besides two golden coronets weighing 67. pound.

The same yeare the Romans were chosen Arbitratours betwene the people of Carthage and king *Masaniissa*, as touching their territories: & came personally to see the place in controversy. And thus stood the case: *Gala* the father of this *Masaniissa*, had woon the ground in question from the Carthaginians. *Syphax* afterward disseized *Gala* thereof: and consequently to gratifie *Asdruball*, his wives father, freely gave the same to the Carthaginians, and set them in possession again. Now last of al, even this very yeare, *Masaniissa* had dispossessed the Carthaginians of the same. This matter was debated by the parties of both sides in the presence of the Romans, with no lesse courage and fervencie of spirit, than at other times when they tried the issue by dint of sword in open field. The Carthaginians laid claime and put in their plea, For that first it appertained to their ancestors in right of inheritance, & afterwards was conveyed to them by the free

free gift and donation of *Syphax*. *Masanissa* counterpleaded againe and alledged, that hee had both recovered the said territorie, as parcell of his fathers realme, and also held it by the law of nations: and that the case was cleere on his side, in regard as well of the just title as also of the present possession wherein he was; saying, that in this cause he doubted nothing else but that the modestie of the Romans should prejudice him, for feare least they might be thought to be partiall in the cause and respect to him, a king their allie and good friend, and in favour of him to give up their award against the common enemies both to him and them. The commissioners and arbitrators would not infringe and alienate the right of possession, but left all as they found it, and referred the entire decision of the matter to the Senat of Rome.

Nothing was there done after this, in Liguria: for first, the enemies were retired for safetie into their wilds and Forrests out of the way; and afterwards they cased their armie, and slept away everie man to their owne villages and castles. The Consuls likewise were willing to break up and dismisse their forces; and thereupon sent to the LL. of the Senat to know their pleasure in that point: who advised the one of them to discharge his owne regiments, and to retire to Rome for the election of magistrates the next yeere: and the other, with his legions to winter at Pisa. A tumult there ran, that the Transalpine French put their youth and serviceable men in armes: but it was not known what quarter of Italie this multitude thus leaved, would invade. But the Consuls thus agreed together, that *Cn. Babius* should be present at the generall assembly at Rome, for the election aforesaid, because *M. Babius* his brother sued to be Consull. Then was the assembly holden for the creation of Consuls, and elected there were, *P. Cornelius Lentulus*; and *M. Babius Tamphilus*. This done, the Pretours also were chosen, namely the two *Quintij Fabij*, the one *Maximus*, and the other *Buteo*; *T. Claudius Nero*, *Q. Petilius Spurinus*, *M. Pinarius Posa*, and *L. Duronius*. When these were entered into their magistracie, the provinces were by lot after this manner disposed. The Ligurians fell to the Consuls: as for the Pretours, *Q. Petilius* was lord chiefe Iustice for the citizens pleas, and *Q. Fabius Maximus* for the strangers: *Q. Fabius Buteo* had the government of Gaule, *T. Claudius Nero* of Sicilia, *M. Pinarius* of Sardinia, *L. Duronius* of Apulia together with the Istrians; for that the Tarentines and Brundusines had given intelligence, that the sea-coasts were much troubled and annoied by the robberies of pirats and men of war from beyond-sea: and the like complaints were made by the Massilians, of the Ligurian navie. For these causes order was given, and warrants went out for to levie armies: that the Consuls should have four legions betweene them, conteining in every one 5200 Romane footmen and 300 horse: also to enroll 15000 footmen and eight hundred horsemen of Latine allies. In the provinces of Spaine (both the one and the other) the old Pretours continued still in their government, with the charge of those armies which they had already: and for a supplement to reinforce and make up their broken companies, there were appointed three thousand foot and two hundred horse of Romane citizens, together with sixe thousand of the one and three hundred of the other, from out of the Latine nation. All this while they forgot not their navie at sea. And the Consuls had in charge to chuse for that purpose, two wardens called Duumvirs, who after they had out of the Arsenall shov into the sea twentie ships, and set them afloat, should furnish them with mariners, and those Romane citizens, such as had been slaves and were enfranchised: and that naturall Romanes free-borne, should onely be captaines and have the conduct of the said vessels. These two Duumvirs so parted and ordered betwixt them the defense of the maritime coasts, with ten ships apiece; that the cape of *Minerva* should be as it were the middle point and marke between them: so as the one should guard that part on the right hand as far as to Massilia; and the other the left side, even to Barium.

This yeere were seene at Rome and reported from forrein parts many uncouth and strange prodigies. In the church-yards belonging to *Vulcan* and *Concordia*, it rained sheere blood: and the bishops made relation, that the speares [of *Mars*] shooke and mooved of their owne accord. Also at Lanuvium the image of *Iuno Sospita* shed tears. Moreover, the plague reigned so hote in the countrey villages, market townes, marts and places of frequent resort, yea and within the city of Rome, that they were not able to furnish the funerals accordingly & enterre the dead. The LL. of the Senat, being in great anguish and trouble, in regard of those fearefull tokens and the losse of their people, ordained, That as well the Consull should kill greater beasts for sacrifice unto what gods they thought good, as also the Decemvirs should visit and peruse the propheticall bookes of Sibylla. And by vertue of their decree, there was a publick supplication proclaimed

A proclaimed at Rome for one whole day, at all the altars and shrines of the gods and goddesses. By their counsell also and direction, both the Senate advised and the Consuls also published throughout all Italie for three daies space, solemne litanies and devout holydaies. The rage of this pestilence was so great, that whereas there passed an act by the Senate to enroll 8000 footmen and three hundred horse from out of the Latines (in regard that the Ilanders of Corsica were revolted and the Iolians up in arms within Sardinia) with which power *M. Pinarius* the Pretour was to saile over into Sardinia: the Consuls made report againe unto them, that such numbers of people were dead already, and so many lay sicke, that it was not possible to levie that proportion of fighting men. So the Pretour had commission to furnish out that defect of soldiers, with a supply which he was to receive of *Cn. Babius* the Proconsull, who then wintered at Pisa; and from thence directly to take the seas and passe over into Sardinia.

B *L. Duronius* the Pretour (unto whome the province of Apulia was allotted) had a commission besides to make inquisition for the Bacchanals; for there remained yet some seedes of the former enormities, which began already the former yeere to sprout and bud forth. But *L. Pappus* the Pretour last yeere, had entred into the enquire and search of the matter, rather than effected ought and brought it to a final end: and therefore the LL. gave order to this new Pretour to cut off this mischief in the spring and breeding thereof, before it gat more head a second time, and upon growth spread farther. Moreover, the Consuls by the advice and authoritie of the Senat, preferred certaine lawes unto the people, as touching the inordinate suite and ambitious seeking after offices of government. After all this, they brought into the Senat the forcine embassages; and gave audience first to them that came from the KK. to wit, *Eumenes*, *Antiochus* the Cappadocian, and *Pharnaces* of Pontus. But no other dispatch and answer they had than this, That they would send certaine Delegates and commissioners, to heare, decide, and determine their controversies. After them, the Embassadors of the Lacedæmonian exiles, and of the Achæans, were admitted into the Senat house. The banished persons aforesaid were put in some good hope, that the Senat would write their letters to the Achæans, for their restitution. The Achæans declared as touching the recoverie of Messene and the pacification of all troubles there, with the great contentment of the LL. of the Senat. There arrived moreover two Embassadors from *Philip* king of the Macedonians, namely *Philacles* and *Apelles*, about no suit that they had to the Senat, but sent rather as spies to under-prie and to learne somewhat as touching those points that *Perseus* had charged *Demetrius* with, and namely, of certaine speeches that he should have with the Romanes, and especially with *T. Quintius*, against his brother about succession in the kingdome. These twaine were chosen by the king as indifferent persons, and nothing affectionate either to the one brother or the other: howbeit they were the ministers, consorts, and complices of *Perseus*, in his intended mischievous plot against his brother. *Demetrius* (as one ignorant of all designments against him, but onely of the late wicked pranke of *Perseus* which last brake out) at the first, was neither in great hope, nor yet in utter despaire, to be reconciled unto his father. But afterwards, he had lesse confidence every day than other in the good affection of his father toward him, seeing his brother continually to buzz into his eares many matters, and possesse his head with tales against him. And therefore hee looked circumspectly about him that he trode not awrie, and namely, that hee let no words fall, or did anything that might be offensive and breed more jealousy; and above all, hee wholly forbore conference and commerce with the Romanes; in such sort, that he would not have them so much as to write any letters unto him: knowing full well, that his fathers heart would be exasperated against him, by such imputations and informations especially.

Philip, because he would provide that his soldiors & men of action should not pair & wax worfe through idleness & disuse of arms, & that under one he might avert from himself al suspicion that he intended any war against the Romanes, appointed the cittie Stobi for the Rendezvous of his armie, & marched into the quarters of Mædica. A great desire he had, to mount up the crest and top of the hill *Æmus*, because there was an opinion commonly received, & which he had given credit unto, that from thence a man might discover within one prospect, the *Porrick* & *Adriatick* seas, the river *Arno* also and the Alpes: for thus he thought, that the view of these places would stand him in no small stead in projecting and plotting the war against the Romanes. When after diligent inquirie of them that knew those quarters well, as touching the ascent of that mountaine, he had learned and found it cleere and certaine, that there was no way at all for to conduct

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* *Catena mundi*,
or, *Monte argen-*
tatio.
* *Mar. maiore*.
* *Dambrini*, *Do-*
naw.

an armie thither, and that a few men, and those deliver & lightly appointed, should find ynough G
to doe and exceeding much difficultie to passe, he taketh his younger sonne apart, whom hee
was resolved not to have with him in that expedition; and because he would seeme to dulce and
mollifie his discontented mind with some familiar and private speech, first hee demaunded of
him, considering so great difficulties of the journey presented unto them, whether hee were
better to hold on the way still and follow his designe, or give over? But if I should goe forward
(qd. he) I cannot forget that which befell to *Antigonus* in the like case, who beinge upon a time
much tossed at sea in a boisterous tempest, and having with him in the same ship all those that
were of his bloud, is reported to have given this good advertisement and lesson to his children,
that they should alwaies remember, & also give their posteritie warning, never to venture al their
goods in one bottome, nor to engage themselves together with their whole race & off-spring in
any perill and danger. Remembring therfore (qd. he) this good precept & counsell of his, I will
not hazard both my sons at once in this present jeoparddie which I see before mine eyes: but for
as much as I propole to take mine elder son with me, I will send my yonger backe into Macedo-
nie, for to uphold & maintain the hope of my posterity, & for the defence of my kingdome in the
mean while. *Demetrius* found him streight, & wist wel ynough that he was sent away for no other
intent but that he should not be present in counsel, when upon the view of those places above said,
he was to devise & consult in what coast lay the neereft and shortest way to the Adriatick sea and
to Italie, and what course they should plot for the management of the warre. But there was no
remedie; he must not onely then obey his father, but also sooth him up and seeme to approve
and like well of that which hee said, for feare least it might bee thought, that it went against
his stomacke to yeeld obedience unto him, and so bee held in more jelousie and suspition than be-
fore. Howbeit, to the end that he might passe into Macedonie with safety, *Didas* one of the kings
Deputies and L. governor under him of Pæonia, was commanded to accompanie and conduct
him with a meane guard and convoy. Now was this *Didas* one of those conspiratours that had
sworne the death of *Demetrius*; whom *Persius* had made sure to his part, like as he had many other
of his fathers friends, ever since that men began to make no doubt, unto whom *Philip* in affection
was enclined, and whom he meant to make the heire apparent of the crowne. And at this verie
instant *Persius* had charged him and given him instructions, by all obsequious services to inflame
and wind him selfe into most familiar talke, and to come so neere within him, that he might
draw from him all his secrets, and discover the very inward and hidden thoughts of his heart. K
Thus departed *Demetrius* attended with a traine about him more dangerous to his person,
than if he had travelled alone without any companie. *Philip* first passed through Mædica, and
then forward over the deserts lying betwene Mædica and Æmus, and at the seventh daies gisse
was come as farre as to the foot of the mountaine. Where after hee had rested and staid one
day, to make choise of those whom he minded to take up with him; the morrow after he set forth
and put him selfe in his way. At the first, the labour was not great, nor the paines much to over-
come the nethermost hills; but the farther they went and the higher that they advanced, the more
wild and woodie still they found everie place; yea, and they met with many that had no passage
at all. At length they were mounted to a passe or way so shadowed and darke, that for the trees
standing so thicke together, and their boughes plaited and interlaced one within another, un-
neth or hardly could a man see the skie through them. But when they approached once the pitch
and crest of the mountaine, behold (a thing not lightly seene in other parts) they light upon so
grosse and thicke a mist, which overspread and covered all, that they had as much ado to march
forward, as if they had travelled in the darke and mirke night. At last by the third daies end, they
gained the verie top of the mountaine. Now when they were come downe from thence againe,
they made no lesse report thereof than the common opinion was that went of it; which I be-
leeve verily they did of purpose, because they would not bee mocked and scorned for this their
foolish and vaine voiage, rather than for that they could indeed within the same prospect and
from one place, view seas, mountaines, and rivers, situate and distant so farre asunder. Much moi-
led they were all, and sore toiled in this untoward way; but the king above the rest, by reason that
he was farr step in age, and unwelddie of bodie. Vvell, after hee had done sacrifice there upon
two altars consecrated to *Iupiter* and the Sunne, he descended in two daies, whereas he had made
three of it in ascending; and that which hee feared most, was the cold nights, which there in the
beginning of the dog-daies were like to those of midwinter in other places. Many difficulties he
wrestled

A wrestled and strove withall during those daies, & being returned into his camp, he found no bet-
ter. Nothing was there but extreame want and penurie, as being pitched in a place compassed
about on everie side with deserts and wildernesse. And therefore when hee had staid there but
one only day to rest & repose his men, whom he had taken with him in that journey, he hastened
away, and in a running march, as if hee had fled in rout, entered the countrey of the Dentheletes.
These Dentheletes were his owne confederat allies, but the Macedonians (such was their need &
necessitie) pilld and spoiled their confines, no lesse than if they had ben professed enemies. For
first they wasted and destroyed their holts, graunges, and farme houses, afterwards certaine wicks
and villages also, robbing and rifling as they went, to the great dishonour of the king; who could
not chuse but heare the pittieous complaints and mones of his associates, crying to the gods, pa-
trones of alliances, and calling upon his name for helpe, but could have no meed and remedie.
B When he was purveyed of corne from thence, and returned into the countrey Mædica, he began
to assaile a citie which they call Petra. Him selfe in person lay encamped in the avenue and readie
way upon the plaines, but hee sent his sonne *Persius* with a small companie to fetch a compasse
and give the assault from the higher places that commaunded the towne. The townemen thus
hard bested with terror on every side, for the present yeelded upon composition, and gave hosta-
ges; but after the armie was retired, they forgetting their pledges, abandoned the citie, and fled
for refuge into certaine forts, fenced places, & high mountains. *Philip* having wearied his soldi-
ours with all manner of travell to no effect, and withall entertained more jelousie and suspition of
his sonne *Demetrius*, by the leaud practise and false suggestions of *Didas* (the governour of Pæ-
onia) returned into Macedonie. This *Didas* (as hath been said before) sent to conduct *Demetrius*
home, abused the simplicitie of the young gentleman, who was nothing circumspect and warie,
but seemed discontented and complained to him (as good cause hee had) of those that were nee-
rest in nature and bloud unto him; he, I say, by flattering, by soothing him up, and seeming withal
to bee offended and grieved for his part at such hard usage, laid snares and grinnings, & set traps for
him; and in conclusion, by his double diligence, and offering his voluntarie service to doe him
pleasure, protesting also to be true and fast unto him, yea, and to keepe his counsell, fetched out
of him the very secrets of his heart. Now had *Demetrius* a purpose with him selfe to flie to Rome,
and to effectuate this designement of his, hee was persuaded, that of a speciall grace and favour
the gods had sent and offered unto him this *Didas* the Pretour of Pæonia to be his helper and as-
sistant; for through his province he conceived some hope to passe and escape with securitie. This
intent and plot of his was both immediately disclosed to his brother *Persius*, and also by him de-
clared to his father. And first were letters hereof brought unto him, whiles he lay at the siege of
Petra. Afterwards *Herodorus* (the principal friend that *Demetrius* had) was committed to ward, and
withall, order was taken to watch and observe *Demetrius* that he started not aside; but all under-
hand and close, without semblance of any such matter. These occurrences above all others, cau-
sed the king to have a dolorous and heavie returne into Macedonie. These new accusations
thus presented, troubled him much: howbeit hee thought good to expect the returne of those
whom he had sent to Rome as spies to heare all and find out the truth. In the anguish and agonie
of these cares and perplexities, when the king had continued certaine months, in the end those
embassadours came home; who at first ere they set foot out of Macedonie, had devised and fram-
ed before hand what reports they would make from Rome. These messengers, to make up the
full measure of all their wicked and divellish practises, delivered also into the kings hand a false
and forged letter, sealed with a counterfeit signet of *T. Quintius*. The said letter was endited to
this tenour and effect, That *Quintius* should seeme for his owne excuse to say, that albeit young
Demetrius, caried away with an inordinat desire to be king, had slipped a little, & treated with him
about some such matter, yet would he doe nothing to prejudice any one about K. *Philip*, neither
would he be thought or found a man, to give any ungodly and ungracious counsel. These letters
struck it dead sure, and made the king beleeve, that all the former imputations fastened upon *De-
metrius* were true & past al peradventure. Whereupon *Herodorus* presently was put to the rack and
examined, but after he had endured intollerable paines a long time, & confessed nothing, he di-
ed in the end under the tormentors hand. *Persius* accused *Demetrius* againe before his father, for
that he entended and provided to take his flight through Pæonia. And there came forth certain
to testifie against him, saying, that hee had corrupted, inveigled, and enduced them to accom-
panie him in that journey. But that which made most of all against him, was that same devised
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letter of *T. Quintius*. Howbeit there was no greivous sentence pronounced openly against him, G to the end, that rather by some covert and cautelous practise, hee might come to his death: and this, not for any feare that hee had of him, but doubting least some ouvert punishment executed upon him, might reveale and discover his secret designment, of making war upon the Romanes.

*Demetrius
murdered.*

Philip himselfe taking his journie from Theffalonica to come to *Demetrius*, sent *Demetrius* his sonne to *Æstreum*, a citie in Pæonia, and the same *Didas* still to accompanie him: but *Perseus* he addressed to Amphipolis, for to receive the hostages of the Thracians. Now it is reported, that when *Didas* tooke his leave of him and departed, the king gave him in charge to kill his sonne *Demetrius*. *Didas* then, either purposing indeed or making semblance to sacrifice, invited *Demetrius* to the celebration and feast thereof, whereupon he came from *Æstreum* to Heraclea. And (as men say) at this supper he met with a cup of poyson. He had no sooner drunke it, but immediately hee felt that hee was sped; for within a while it began to worke extremely, and for very dolour and paine, he was forced to rise from the table and retire into his bed-chamber: where hee pitiously complained of the hard heart and cruelty of his father, of the murderous mind of the parricide his brother, and of the trecherous vilanie of *Didas*: and all this while endured deadly wrings and torments in his bellie. But afterwards there were sent into the chamber, one *Thyrhis* a Stuberæan, & *Alexander* of Berthæa, who enwrapped his head and throat with the bed-cloathes, carpets and counterpoints of tapistrie, and held them so hard, that they throttled & smothered him, and in the end stopped his breath that he died. Thus was this poore innocent young man piteously made away; whose enemies one single kind of death could not content and satisfie, but needs they must kill and murder him twife.

Whiles these things hapned in Macedonie, *L. Æmylius Paulus*, who continued still in government after his Consulship expired, marched with his armie against the Ligurians Ingaunes in the beginning of the spring. So soone as he was entred into the confines of his enemies cuntry, and there encamped, there came Embassadours unto him under colour of seeking peace, but in deed onely to eskout and spie. *Paulus* made them aunswere, That hee could contract no accord with them, unlesse they yeilded first: which they seemed not so much to refuse, but said, That they needed some time to persuaide their nation unto it, being a rude and uncivil kind of people. And when they had ten daies truce allowed to effect this, they requested moreover, that the Romane souldiours might not passe over the next hills adjoyning, either for K. Jewell or forage, for as much as those lands were the onely tilled and well manured grounds of their appertinances and territorie. When they had obtained so much, they assembled all their forces on that side of the hills, from whence they had averted the enemies, and suddainly with a mightie multitude charged upon the Romane campe, and assailed all the avenues and gates thereof at once. With all forcible meanes they continued the assault in such sort, as the Romans had not so much as either time enough to set forth and display their ensignes, or roume sufficient to put their armie in order of battaile: but were compelled to defend their campe more by standing thick thronged together against the enemies in the very gates, than otherwise by hardie fighting. But about the going downe of the sunne, when the enemies were retired, *Paulus* dispatched two light horsemen with letters to *M. Babius* the Consul, as farre as *Pisæ*, that hee should come away with all speed to succour him, being in time of truce besieged. But *Babius* had delivered up his armie before to *M. Pinarius* the Pretour, as hee went into Sardinia. Howbeit he both certified the Senat by his letters, that *L. Æmylius* was invetted by the Ligurians, and he wrote also to *M. Cl. Marcellus*, whose province was next adjoyning, to bring over his forces (if he thought so good) out of Gaule into Liguria, and deliver *L. Æmylius* from siege. But alas, these succours should have come all too late: for the Ligurians the very next day returned and advanced against the campe. *Æmylius* albeit he not onely knew that they would come, but also might have brought his power forth into the field and ranged them in array, yet he kept himselfe so close within the strength of his rampiar, minding to hold off and not to fight, untill *Babius* might with his armie come from *Pisæ*. Now the letters of *Babius* caused great fear at Rome: M. and so much the more, for that *Marcellus* being returned to the citie, some few daies after he had made over his armie unto *Fabius*, put them out of all hope, that the armie which was in France, could not possibly passe into Liguria, by reason of the war with the Istrians, who impeached the planting of the colonie at Aquileia; against whom *Fabius* was gone, & might not possibly retire

A tire from thence, now that the warre was once begun. The onely hope they had therefore of aiding *Æmylius* was this, (and yet the same seemed to bee with the latest, considering the urgent necessitie of the time) in case the Consuls made hast to goe into their provinces: which to doe, all the LL. of the Senat called aloud and earnestly unto them. But the Consuls denied flatly to sturre one foot, before the levie of souldiours was fully finished; alleging that it was not their slacknesse, but the violence of the plague, which caused it to bee so late ere it were performed. Yet for all this, such was the general accord and consent of the Senat, that they could neither will nor chuse but go forth of the citie in their rich coates of armes, and by proclamation to assigne a certaine day, upon which all the souldiours whom they had enrolled should shew at *Pisæ*: and B commission they had to take up subitarie souldiers, all the cuntry over as they went, to prest them forth presently and have them away. Moreover the Pretours, *Q. Petilius* and *Q. Fabius* were both of them commaunded, the one, namely *Petilius*, to enrol in hast two tumultuarie legions of Romane citizens, and tender the militarie oth to all that were not above fiftie yeeres old: and *Fabius*, to levie of the Latine allies, fiftene thousand foot, & eight hundred horsemen. The two Duumvirs or Wardens for the navie and the ports were created, namely *C. Matienus* and *C. Lucretius*: who were soone provided of ships readie rigged, trimmed and furnished to their hands. And *Matienus*, who had the charge of the coasts upon the gulfes of Gaule, was commaunded to bring his fleet with all speed possible along, to the tract of the Ligurians, if happily he might any way steed *L. Æmylius* and his armie. *Æmylius* after he perceived that no aid appeared from any place, supposing verily that the two horsemen above-said, were intercepted and staid by the way, thought good to put off no longer, but alone with his owne forces to C trie the fortune of a fight. And thereupon before the enemies came (who now already began more coldly and heavily to assaile them than before) hee put his men in battaile array at the foure gates of the campe, to the end that upon the signall given, they should at once from all parts fallie forth. To the foure extraordinarie cohorts, hee adjoynd two other, under the conduct of *M. Valerius* a Lieutenant, & commaunded them to breake forth at the false porterne gate called *Extraordinaria*: within the gate *Principalis* on the right hand, he embattailed the Hastari or Javeliniers of the first legion, & the Principes of the same legion in the arriere guard to second them, commaunded both by *M. Servilius* & *L. Sulpitius*, Kn. marshals, or Tribunes militarie. The third legion hee marshalled full against the other gate *Principalis* on the leit hand. This D change onely was here, for that the Principes were set in the front, and the Hastati behind in the taile of them. Sex, *Julius Cesar* and *L. Aurelius Cotta*, two militarie Tribunes had the leading of this legion. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* a Lieutenant having the conduct of the right wing, was placed at the gate *Quæstoris*. Two cohorts and the Triarij of two legions had commaundement to stay behind for the defence of the campe. The Generall himselfe in person rode all about from gate to gate, exhorting and encouraging his men: using all the forcible meanes hee possibly could devise, to provoke and whet the stomackes of his souldiours, and to give a pointant edge to their courage and choler: one while reproching his enemies for their fallhood and treacherie, who having craved peace and obtained truce; during the time of the said truce, against all law of nations were come to assaile the campe: another while shewing and declaring unto them what E shame & indignitie it was for the Roman armie to be besieged by the Ligurians, who more truly may be accounted thieves and robbers, than go for warlike enemies. If (quoth he) you should escape from hence, not by your owne vertue and valour, but through the helpe and succour of others, with what face shall any of you be able to meet, I say, not those souldiours who have vanquished *Anniball*, defeated *Philip*, and subdued *Antiochus*, the mightiest kings and greatest commaunders of our age: but even them who many a time have hunted & chased the very same Ligurians like brute beasts, over the wilds and Forrests as they fled, and hewed them a peeces in the end? That which the Spaniards, that which the Gaules, that which the Macedonians & Carthaginians dare not enterprise, namely to approach and enter upon the rampier of the Roman campe: shall a Ligurian enemy adventure to do? shall he of his owne accord presume to besiege F and assail our camp, whom heretofore when we beat all the blind bushes, by woods, & thickets, to start him out, we had much ado to find, he lay so close and lurked so covertly? At these words the souldiers set up a consonant cry in token of applause, & answered him with a general shout, saying: There was no fault on their part, seeing that no man had given them the signall to yssue forth and make a fallie. For let him once say the word to sound the trumpet, hee

Yyy iij

should

should see and find, that both Romanes and Ligurians were the same still, as before-time. G
Now the Ligurians kept two campe on the neere side of the mountaines affront the Romane
leaguer; from whence (for the first daies so soone as the sun was up) they used to advance their
ensignes and march forward, well armed and raunged in battell array: but then, they put no ar-
mours upon their backs, nor tooke weapon in hand, before they had filled their bellies well with
meat and their nollies with wine: they came forth (I say) dispeared and out of order; as who ho-
ped and trusted assuredly, that the enemies would not march under their ensignes without their
rampier. Against them (comming thus in disarray) the Romanes issued forth at once, out of all
the gates in one instant with a mightie shout, which not onely they who were within the campe
set up, but also the lackies, scullions, launders, and other drudges that follow the campe redou-
bled. This was such an unlooked for occurrent to the Ligurians, that they were set in as great an
affright therewith, as if they had been surprised and beset all about with sodaine ambushments. H
For a small while there was some shew of a conflict, such as it was; but anon they tooke their
heelles and fled for life; but as they fled, they left their lives behind them in every place. Then
the men of armes had the signall given to mount on horsebacke, to pursue them and not suffer
one to escape alive: and so in this fearefull rout they were driven to take their campe for safetie:
but in the end were diseized and turned out of it also. That day were slaine of the Ligurians
not so few as fifteen thousand, and 2500 taken prisoners. Within three daies after, the whole na-
tion of the Ligurian Ingauces, yielded absolutely, and put in their hostages. A search was made
for all the pilots and mariners, who had exercised pyracie on the sea, and they were all laid up
fast in prison. Semblably C. Matienus one of the Duumvirs or wardens of the navie, met with two
and thirtie ships of that sort, belonging to men of warre upon the coast of Liguria, and boun-
ded them. To carie these newes to Rome, and letters to the Senate, L. Aurelius Cotta, and C. Sul-
picius Cotta were sent to Rome: who also were to require that L. Aemilius (when his time was
expired) might depart out of his province, and bring his souldiours from thence with him, and so
discharge them of service. Both these demaunds were graunted by the Senate, and a solemne
procession besides was ordeined in all churches and chappels, and at every shrine and altar for
three daies space. The Pretors also were commaunded, Petilius, to casse and dismisse the legions
of the citie; and Fabius, to remit the Latine allies the levying and mustering of their souldiours.
Also there was order given to the Pretor of the citie, for to write unto the Consuls and give them
to understand, that the Senat thought it meet and reason, that the subitarie souldiours (who were
enrolled in hast for the sodaine tumult and alarme) should with all speed be licensed to depart. K

The same yeere the colonie of *Gravisca* was planted in the territorie of Tuscanie, which in
times past had been conquered from the Tarquinians; and five acres of land was set out to eve-
rie man. The Triumvirs who had the charge thereof to distribute these lands, were C. Calpurnius
Piso, P. Claudius Pulcher, and C. Terentius Lysia. A yeere it was of note, in regard of the drought
that happened, and the dearth of corn and all other fruits of the earth. For recorded it is, that
in six moneths space it never rained one drop.

The same yeere it fortun'd, that as certaine plow-men and labourers plowed and digged
somewhat deepe within the ground, in the lands of L. Petilius a secretarie, (which lands lay un-
der the hill Ianiculum) there were found two coffers of stone, each of them about eight foot
long and foure foot broad, the lids and covers wherof were bound and foudered with lead. Both
these chests had a superscription upon them in Greeke and Latine letters to this effect, That in
the one of them lay buried Numa Pompilius the sonne of Pompo, sometime king of Rome: and
in the other, were bestowed the bookes of the said Numa. The owner of this ground opened
these coffers by the advice and counsell of his friends: and that which carried the title and in-
scription of the kings sepulture, was found empty, without any shew or token of the reliques of
a mans body or any thing els, by reason the bones and all were rotten and consumed, in conti-
nuance of time after so many yeers past. In the other were found two fardels, wrapped within
waxe candles (or ceare-clothes) containing either of them seven bookes; which were not only
whole and sound, but also seemed very fresh and new. One seven of them were written in Latin,
as touching the Pontificall law: the other seven in Greeke, entituled, *The discipline or doctrine*
of Philosophie, such as those daies might affoord. Valerius Antias saith moreover, That they
were the bookes of *Pythagoras*; according to the common received opinion of Numa, that he
was the disciple of *Pythagoras*; herein giving credit to a probable lie, resembling a truth. L
bookes

A books were first read by those friends of his who were present at the place where the chests were
opened; but afterwards as they came into more mens hands to be read, it chanced that Q.
Petilius the lord cheefe justice of the citie, desirous to peruse those bookes, borrowed them of
L. Petilius, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, by reason that the abovenamed *Quintus*
Petilius had chosen the foresaid *Lucius* into the decurie of the Scribes and Secretaries. Who
after he had read the titles with the summaries and contents of every chapter, and finding the
most part thereof, tending directly to abolish the state of religion then established, said unto
L. Petilius, that he purposed to fling those bookes into the fire; but before hee did so, hee would
permit him to use what meanes hee thought by order of law or otherwise would serve his turne
to recover the said bookes out of his hands, and good leave hee should have to take that course
without his displeasure, or any breach of friendship betwene them. The Scribe or notarie afore-
said goeth to the Tribunes for their assistance, the Tribunes put the matter over to the Senat, be-
fore whom the Pretour said plainly, That he was readie to take his corporall oth, if he were put
to it, that those bookes ought neither to be read nor kept. Whereupon the Senate judged, that
for such a matter the offer onely of the Pretors oth was sufficient, and that the bookes should be
burned with all speed possible in the open place of assemblies called Comitium: but they awar-
ded withall, that there should bee paid unto Q. Petilius the right owner as much money for the
bookes, as the Pretour and the more part of the Tribunes of the Commons esteemed them
worth. The Scribe would touch none of the money: but his bookes were burnt in the foresaid
place before all the people in a light fire, made by the ordinarie servitours attending upon the
C sacrificers.

The same summer there arose suddainly a great warre in higher Spaine. The Celtiberians
had gathered a power of five and thirtie thousand men, a number more than lightly at any time
before they had levied. Now was Q. Fulvius Flaccus lord Deputie of that province. Hee for his
part, because he was advertised that the Celtiberians put their youth in armes, had raised and as-
sembled as great aids of the confederates, as he could, but nothing came hee neere to the ene-
mie in numbers of souldiours. In the beginning of the Spring hee led his armie into Carpe-
tania, and encamped before the towne Eburac, after hee had planted a meane garrison with-
in it. A few daies after the Celtiberians pitched their tents within two miles from thence, un-
der a little hill. When the Romane Pretour perceived they were come, he sent his brother
D Marcus Fulvius with two companies of the horsemen of allies in espiall, to view the enemies
campe, willing him to approach as neere to the trench and rampier as hee could, and to see
what compasse the campe tooke, but to forbear skirmish, and in any hand to retire, in case he
perceived the Cavallerie of the enemies made out against him. According to this direction,
hee did in every respect. And so for certaine daies together, there was nothing done, but
onely these two companies of horsemen shewing first, and afterwards retiring backe, so soone as
the Cavallerie of the enemies issued out of their campe. At length the Celtiberians also came
forth and advanced forward with all their power, as well horse as foot, and having set them in
ordnance of battell, staid as it were in the middes betwene. The whole ground was a smooth
and even plaine, fit to joyne a battaile in. There stood the Spaniards (I say) expecting their ene-
mies: but the Romane Pretour kept his men within the rampier foure dayes together; and they
likewise of the other side held the same place still in battaile array. The Romanes all that while
stirred not a foot. The Celtiberians then, seeing the enemies refused fight, held themselves quiet
also within their camp: onely the horsemen rid forth, and they kept a *corps de guard*, to be in rea-
dines if peradventure the enemies should be busie & come abroad. Both of the one side and the
other, they went out at the back-side of their camp to purvey forage & fewel, and impeached not
one another. The Roman Pretor, supposing now, that after so many daies rest, the enemies were
borne in hand and hoped fully, that hee would never begin first, commanded L. Atilius to take
with him the left wing of the cavallerie, & six thousand of the provincially auxiliaries, and to fetch
a compasse about the hill which stood behind the enemies; and from thence, so soone as they
heard a crie, to run downe amaine and charge upon their campe. And because they might not
be discovered, in the night time they departed. Flaccus the next morning by peepe of day, sent
out C. Scribonius (a colonell of the allies) against the enemies campe, with the extraordinarie
horsemen of the left wing: whom when the Celtiberians beheld both approaching neere toward
them, and also more in number than usually they had bene, they put forth all their Cavallerie at
once

once out of the gates: & withall, gave the signal to the Infanterie also to come abroad. *Scritonius*, G according to the direction given him, so soon as ever he heard the first noise & shour of the horsemen, turned the head of his horse, and retired back full upon the campe: therewith the enemies followed more freely: first the horsemen, and within a while the footmen also, making full account to be masters of the Roman leaguer that day, & verily now were they not past halfe a mile. When *Flaccus* supposed that they were trained farre enough from their owne camp, for succouring it, he issued forth at once in three places, with his armie arraigned before in order of battell withinforth, and caused them to set up a mightie crie, not onely to animate the souldiours to the combate, but also that their fellows behind the hill might heare it. Who made no stay, but presently ran downe and set upon the enemies camp as they had in charge, where there were left in guard not above five hundred armed men. By reason therefore, that they within were so few, the enemies without so many, and the enterprise so suddaine and unlooked for, they were mightily terrified, and so in manner without any skirmish and resistance at all, their hold was forced and woon. *Acilius* set on fire that part also, which might easiest becene of them that were fighting in the plaine. Now the Celtiberians which stood behind in the rereguard, were the first that discovered the flame, but afterwards it was noised and went currant through the maine battell, that their campe was lost and all on a light fire. The enemies hereby were greatly amated, but the Romaps much more animated. For now they might heare the shour of their fellows, having the upper hand; now might they see the tents of their enemies burning with bright flames. The Celtiberians for a while stood in suspence, doubtfull what to doe; but afterwards, perceiving they had no place of safe retreat, if upon their discomfiture they should fall to running away, they saw no other hope but in fighting it out, and so they began to renew the medley afresh, with more resolution than before. Fiercely they were encountered and charged in the midst of their battell by the fifth legion: but against the left flanke and wing, where they saw the souldiours of their owne nation raunged (who came to aid the Romanes) they made head, and advanced their ensignes with more boldnesse and confidence. And verily that left wing of the Romanes was at the point to have reculed, but that the seventh legion seconded and succoured them: & withall, they that were left within Ebura in garison, came from the town in the very middelt and host of the conflict; and *Acilius* from another part plaied on their backs. Down went the Celtiberians along time, and were cut in peeces betwene. As many as remained, made shift to flie and escape on all hands into every quarter. The Cavallerie was sent out after them two waies in severall bands; who also committed a great carnage and execution. That day were slaine of the enemies about 23000, 4800 taken prisoners, with 500 horse and above; besides fourescore and eight militarie ensignes gotten from them and caried away. A great victorie this was, but not without bloudshed of the Romanes part: for of two legions there dyed somewhat more than two hundred, but of Latine allies 830; of torrein aids, much about 2400 lost their lives in the field. The Pretour then retired with his victorious armie into his owne campe. *Acilius* was commaunded to abide still in that of the enemies, which he had forced and woon. The next morrow they fell to gather up the spoiles of their enemies: and those who had borne themselves valiantly in that service above the rest, were rewarded with gifts in a full and frequent assembly of the whole armie. Alter this, when the hurt and maimed were brought backe into the towne Ebura, the legions were led through the cuntry Carpetania, towards Contrebia. This citie when it was once besieged, sent to the Celtiberians for succour; but they came not in timent for any slacknesse of their part, but because after they were departed from home, and had entred on their journey, the foule wayes hindered and staid them, which they were not able to passe for the continuall raine that fell: over and besides, the waters were out and the rivers swelled so high, that possibly they could not come forward: whereupon the besieged inhabitants being in despaire of help, from their friends, rendered the towne. *Flaccus* likewise was forced by the storme and tempestuous weather to put his armie within the same citie. Now the Celtiberians, who were on foot in their journey, and not ware that their friends had surrendered, at length having passed over the rivers (when the raine gave over and the weather tooke up) came to Contrebia; but seeing no campe without the walls, and supposing that either it was removed to the other side, or the enemies dislodged and gone, they approached the towne, and marched lightly and retchlessly forward in disarray. The Romanes sallied out upon them at two gates, fell upon them (disbanded as they were) and put them to the rout. But see what happened! that thing which hindered them that

A that they could not make head, resist, and settle themselves to begin fight (namely, because they came not together in one entire band, nor yet by great companies about their colours) the same stood them in good steed to save many of their lives that fled. For they ran so scattering, and were so spread all over the plaines, that in no place could the enemy meet with them in any number thicke together, to compasse them about on every side. Howbeit twelve thousand of them were killed, & above five thousand taken prisoners, besides four hundred horse, and threescore and two ensignes of warre woon from them. Those who after their straggling flight retired homeward, met with another troupe of Celtiberians coming forward, unto whom they recounted the yeelding up of Contrebia and their owne misfortune: by which meanes they caused them to turne and goe backe againe, who immediately slipped away into their villages and forts.

B Then *Flaccus* departed from Contrebia, and conducted his legions through Celtiberia, wasting and spoiling as he went: where he forced many castles, untill the greater part of that cuntry was reduced under his obedience. These affaires passed in high Spaine that yeare. As for the lower province, *Manlius* the Pretour fought fortunately in certaine battels against the Portugales.

The same yeare a Colonie of Latines was planted in Aquileia, within the territorie of the Gauls, and thither were conducted three thousand footmen, and every one of them were endowed with fiftie acres of land. The Centurions besides had a hundred, and the horsemen a hundred and fortie acres apeece given unto them. And the Commissioners for this conduct and distribution were *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, *C. Flaminius* and *L. Manlius Acidinus*. In which yeare also two temples were dedicated, the one to *Venus Erycina* neere the gate Collina (which *L. Porcius Licinius* the sonne of *Lucius* dedicated, being a Duumvir deputed for that purpose, and had been vowed before by *L. Porcius* the Consull in the Ligurian warre) the other to the goddess *Pietie*, in the hearbe marker: and of this chappell *M. Acilius Glabrio* the other Duumvir, had the dedication; where, hee erected and set up in the honour of his father *Glabrio*, a gilt statue, which was the first gilden image that ever was made in Italie. This *Glabrio* the father was hee, who had vowed to edifie the said temple that very day on which hee fought the battell against *K. Antiochus*, at Thermopylae, and by warrant from the Senate, had bargained for the building thereof at a price. In those daies wherein these holie houses were consecrated, *L. Acilius Paulus* the Proconsull, triumphed over the Ligurian Ingaunes. He had borne before him in shew five and twentie golden Coronets, & besides them there was no gold or silver els caried in that triumph.

D But many principall Ligurians, men of marke, whom hee tooke captive, were led before his chare. He dealt among his souldiours, three hundred Asses apeece. The same of this triumph of his, was much more renowned by this occasion, that the Ligurian embassadours craved to have a perpetuall peace with the Romanes; saying, That their whole nation were resolved, never to take armes againe, but by commandement and licence of the people of Rome. *Q. Fabius* the Pretour, returned this answer unto them by the advise of the Senate, That it was no newes to heare this language from the Ligurians; but it stood them upon and was becomming rather, to carrie a new mind, and the same agreeable to their speech: and therefore they should go to the Consuls, and doe that which by them they were enjoyned; forasmuch as the Senate would beleeve none but the word onely of the Consuls in the behalfe of the Ligurians, as touching their true and sincere meaning to observe peace. Thus was peace concluded with the Ligurians: but there was a battell fought in Corsica with the Islanders there; in which *M. Pinarus* the Pretour slew 2000 of them in the field: which disfigurement compelled them to give hostages, and besides, 100000 pound weight of waxe. From thence the armie was conducted into Sardinia, where passed some fortunate battailes against the Ilians, a nation at this day not fully quieted and appeased. In this very yeere also were the hundred hostages rendred backe againe to the Carthaginians; with whom the people of Rome made and maintained peace, as well for their owne part as in the behalfe of *K. Masinissa*, who at that time with an armed garison, held the possession of that territorie which had been in question. The Consuls in their province sat still and had nothing to doe. *M. Bibius* was sent for to Rome, against the generall assembly for the election of magistrates: who created Consuls, *A. Posthumius Albinus Lusius*, and *C. Calpurnius Piso*. After this were elected Pretors *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, *A. Posthumius Albinus*, *P. Corn. Mamerus*, *T. Minutius Mollicubus*, *A. Hostilius Mancinus*, and *C. Manius*; and they all entred into their magistracie upon the 15 day of March.

In the beginning of that yeere wherein *A. Posthumus Albinus*, and *C. Calpurnius Piso* were Consuls: *A. Posthumus* the Consull brought into the Senat those persons who were come from *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* out of the hither province of Spaine; to wit, *L. Minutius* his Lieutenant generall, and the two Colonels, *T. Manius* and *L. Messalio*. These men after they had made report of two fields fortunately fought against the Celtiberians, of their countie yielded & brought under subjection, and that the tearme of government in that province was expired, & no more left to be done there; so as there was no need either of the ordinarie money which was wont to be sent for souldiours pay, or of come to bee carried unto the armie for that yeere: requested of the Senate first in regard of their happie successe, to yeeld honour and praise to the immortall gods: and then, that *Q. Fulvius* might depart and come his waies out of the province, & bring with him that armie of his from thence, whose valiant service, both himselfe and also many Pretors before him had used: which (say they) was not only meet and convenient, but also requisite and needfull in a maner to be done: for as much as the souldiours were so stiffnecked & obstinate, that it seemed impossible to hold them any longer in that province, but that they would be gone and depart without licence, if they were not dismissed: or else breake out into some dangerous fire of a mutinie, if a man should goe about to keepe and hold them backe by strong hand. The Senate gave order that Liguria should bee the province for both Consuls: which done, the Pretours also cast lots for theirs. To *A. Hostilius* fell the civill jurisdiction over the citizens: and to *Minutius* over the forrainers. *P. Cornelius* had the government of Sicilie: *C. Manius* of Sardinia. Vnto *L. Posthumus* was allotted the farther part of Spaine, and to *Tib. Sempronius* the hither. This *Sempronius* (because hee was to succed *Q. Fulvius*) fearing that his province should be left naked and disurnished of the old souldiours, I demaund (qd. he) of you, *O L. Minutius*, since you bring word, that there is no more trouble behind in that province, whether you thinke that the Celtiberians will continue fast in their alleagance for ever, so as, that province may be protected and held in obedience without any armie at all? And if you cannot undertake to assure us of the faith and loyaltie of these Barbarians, and doe advise us in any hand to maintaine an armie in those parts, whether you will give counsell to the Senate, for to send a supply into Spaine, that they onely should be cased and discharged, who have served out their full yeeres required by law, and so that new and raw souldiours bee mingled with the rest of the old: or that the old legions should full and whole be removed out of the province, and new levied, enrolled, and sent thither in their steed? considering that the small account that usually is made of such fresh and untrained souldiers, were enough to induce and moove even the more quiet and peaceable sort of Barbarians to rebell and make warre againe: Soone said it is, but not so easilie done, to have made an end of all troubles in such a province, especially where the people are naturally inclined to warre, and prone ever and anon to make insurrections. Some few cities, as far as I can heare, and namely those which being neere unto the souldiours lying in winter garison, were by them held in awe and kept down, have yielded and are become subject: but they that are farther off, be in armes still and have weapon in hand. Which being so, I tell you (my L.L.) even now beforehand, that I will performe my service to the Commonweale, with the help of that armie which is there already at this present: but in case *Flaccus* bring away those legions with him: I will chuse those quarters which are in peace, to winter in, and not hazard my yong and new souldiours among them, to be presented to the devotion & mercie of most fierce and warlike enemies. The Lieutenant answered to these demaunds in this manner, That neither himselfe nor any man else was able for his life, to divine and foresee what was in the heart of the Celtiberians now, and what they would mind and intend to do hereafter: & there fore he could not denie, but the better policie it was to send an armie among these Barbarians (peaceable though they seemed to be at this present) because as yet they are not inured to government, & cannot well skill of being subjects. But whither it be more expedient to employ new forces, or the old, it is for him to speake and set downe, who upon his knowledge can say, how loyally the Celtiberians will carrie themselves in time of peace; and is withall assured, that the souldiours will hold them content and keepe quiet, if they bee detained any longer in the province. But if a man may conjecture and give a guesse what they thinke in their heart, either by their grumbling words secretly one to another; or their speeches uttered in the presence & hearing of their Generall, when hee maketh orations to them in publike audience: I tell you truly, they have cried out with open mouth, that either they will keep their Generall with them in the province,

A province, or home they will with him into Italie. This debate betwene the Pretour & the Lieutenant, was interrupted and broken off, by a new matter propounded before the Senate by the Consuls, who thought it meet and reasonable, that order should be taken for their owne furniture and setting forth with men, money, and munition to their provinces, before any thing were spoken or treated of as touching the Pretor his armie. So, ordained it was, that the Consull should have their entire armie of new souldiours, to wit, each of them two legions of Romane citizens with their cavallerie, together with the usuall and accustomed number at all other times of Latine allies, namely 15000 foot and 800 horse. And with this power they had in charge to make warre against the Ligurian Apuans. As for *P. Cornelius* and *M. Babius*, they continued still in place of command: and were willed to hold their provinces, untill the Consuls were thither come. Then they were commaunded to discharge the armie which they had, and so to returne to Rome. After this, speech there was concerning the armie of *Tib. Sempronius*; and the Consuls had warrant to enroll one new legion, consisting of five thousand and two hundred foote, and foure hundred horse: over and besides, one thousand footmen, and fiftie horsemen of Romane citizens. Likewise the Latine nation was charged with a levie of seven thousand foot, and three hundred horse. With which armie it was thought good, that *Tib. Sempronius* should go into the higher province of Spaine. As for *Q. Fulvius*, he was permitted to bring back with him (if he thought well thereof) all those souldiours, as well Romanes as allies, which had bene transported over into Spaine before the Consulship of *Sp. Posthumus* and *Q. Martius*: & more than that (after a new supply was come) the surplusage in two legions above ten thousand and foure hundred foot, and sixe hundred horse; and the over-deale of twelve thousand footmen of Latines, and sixe hundred horsemen; and namely those whose valorous service *C. Furcius* had tried and found in two batailles against the Celtiberians. Moreover, solemne processions and thanksgivings were by authoritie ordained, for his happie managing of the affaires of the common weale; and then the rest of the Pretours were sent into their provinces. *Q. Fabius Buto* had his commission renewed to governe Gallia still. Thus it was agreed in the Senate-house, that there should be eight legions maintained and kept in pay that yeere, over and above the old armie in Liguria, which was in good hope shortly to bee dismissed. Howbeit even these forces (being no greater than they were) hardly could be made full & compleat, by reason of the pestilence which now three yeeres had raigned, & dispeopled the citie of Rome & all Italie. During which plague the Pretour *I. Minutius*, and not long after him, the Consull *C. Calpurnius* died: with many other brave and famous persons of each degree and qualitie. So as, at length these men began to hold this depopulation & calamitie for a prodigious token & straunge wonder. Whereupon *C. S. virilis* the Arch-bishop was charged, to search out means for to appeale the wrath & anger of the gods; & the Decemvirs likewise to peruse the bookes of *Sibylla*: the Consull also to vow certaine presents and oblations, to *Dan Apollo*, *Aesculapius* and *Ladie Salus*, and to set up their images garnished with gold: which he vowed and erected accordingly. The Decemvirs proclaimed supplications and praiers two daies together for the health of the people, throughout the citie, and in all market townes and places of frequent resort and assembly. All above twelve yeeres of age, ware chaplets and garlands of floures upon their heads, and bare braunches of lawrell in their hands, whiles they were at their praiers and devotions. Moreover, there was crept into mens heads a suspition that some devilish and wicked hand might bee the cause of all this. Whereupon by an Act of the Senate, a commission was granted out unto *C. Claudius* the Pretour (who was substituted and chosen in the roume of *T. Minutius*) to make search and diligent inquisition after all confections of poison, and the praefisers thereof, within the citie, and for the compasse of ten miles about it every way: In like manner, to *C. Manius*, for to sit in the enquire thereof (before he crossed over-sea into his province Sardinia) in all the mart-townes and places of assembly which were more than ten miles off, from Rome. Of all others, the Consull his death was most suspected. For given out it was, that *Quarta Hostilia* his wife, had murdered him: but when it was seene once that her owne sonne *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, was declared Consull in place of his father in law and mothers husband, the death of *Piso* the Consull began to bee more infamous and suspicious a great deale than before. And witnesses came forth readie to depose, that after *Albinus* and *Piso* were pronounced Consuls (in which election the said *Flaccus* was rejected and suffered a repulse) his mother reproched him therewith, and laid it in his dish, that this was the third time that he had sued for the Consulship & gone without:

out: adding moreover, and willing him to be readie to stand for it againe, for that hee would worke and bring it about, that within two moneths he should be Confull. Among other testimonies and depofitions making for the caufe and tending to the fame, that fpeech of hers alfo, taking effect too truly and fo juft within the time, was thought fufficient to condemn *Hofthia*.

In the beginning of this fpring, whiles the levie of foldiours ftayed the new Confuls at Rome, whiles the death of the one and the choofing of the other into his place, caufed all things there to goe more slowly forward; in the mean time *P. Cornelius* and *M. Babius* who had done nothing worthy of remembrance during their Confulship, led their armies againft the Ligurian Apuans. Thefe Ligurians, who before the coming of the Confuls into the province looked for no warre, were furprized at unawares, and to the number of 12000 of them yeelded: whome *Cornelius* and *Babius* refolved (upon advife had firft with the Senat by letters) to tranfplant from the mountains, into the plains and champion country from their owne home; to the end they should have no more hope to returne, for otherwife they fupposed the Ligurian war would never have an end. Now there was in the Samnites countrey a certaine territorie belonging in common to the people of Rome, which sometime had been in the tenure and poffeffion of the Taurafines. In which place they being defirous to plant the Ligurian Apuans, published an edict, That they should defend downe the mountaines Anidos, together with their wives and children, and bring away with them all that ever they had. But the Ligurians fent their embaffadors oftentimes to intreat, that they might not be forced to abandon their domefticall gods, the place of their natiuite, and the fepulchres of their auncestors: and therewith promifed to deliver up their armor, and to put in hoftages. Howbeit, feeing they could not prevaile, and having not ftrength and power enough to wage warre againe, they obeyed the edict and proclamation. So there were tranfated from thence at the publicke charges of the citie, to the number of four thousand perfons free-borne, together with their women and children: and unto them was allowance made of 150000 Sesterces, toward the building of new houfes. And for to diftribute and deuide land among them, the fame men (to wit, *Cornelius* and *Babius*) had commiffion; who alfo removed them into thofe parts. Howbeit at the request of thefe twaine, there were Quinquervirs or five commiffioners graunted unto them by the Senate, by whole advife they might manage all. Thefe affairs being finifhed, after they had brought with them to Rome their old armie, they obtained of the Senat a graunt to triumph. And thefe were the firft that ever triumphed and made no warre before. Only the enemies were led in fhew before their chariot; for nothing had they gained and woon for to be caried or led in pompe; neither was there ought to be feene in their triumphs, which might be dealt and given among the fouldiours.

The fame yeere *Fulvius Flaccus* the Pretor in Spaine, by occafion that his fuccelfour ftayed long ere hee came into the province, brought forth his armie into the field out of his wintering campe, and began to walt and fpoile the farther parts and territories of Celtiberia; from whence the inhabitants came not in to fubmit and doe their homage and fealtie. By which deed of his, he rather provoked and angered the barbarous people, than terrified them: for when they had fecretly gathered together certaine forces and companies, they befet and barred the paffage Manlium, by which they were affured that the Roman armie would paffe. As *L. Posthumus Albinus* was upon his journey into the nether province of Spaine, *Gracchus* his colleague charged him, to advertife *Quintus Fabius* for to bring his armie to Tarracon, for that he purposed there to difcharge his old foldiours, to diftribute the fupply which he brought, and to raunge in order all his armie by companies. Notice alfo was given to *Flaccus* of the very day (which was neere at hand) upon which his fuccelfour would come. This new occurrent caufed *Flaccus* to lay afide thofe enterprifes which he intended, and in all haft to withdraw his forces out of Celtiberia. The barbarous people knowing not the caufe hereof, but fupposing that hee had fome inkling of their revolt & how they had in fecret taken arms, and that therupon he was fore afraid, guarded and ftopped the paffage fo much more ftreightly. Now fo foone as the Romane armie was entred into the paffe, one morning betimes at the break of day, the enemies arofe fuddenly at once out of two parts, and charged the Romans: which when *Flaccus* perceived, he gave commandement by the minifterie of the Centurians, that every man should keepe his place and ftand his ground, and to have his arms and weapons in readineffe; by which means he appeased the firft tumult and affright in his hoaft. Then after he had brought all his labouring beafts with the baggage, unto one place, he embattailed and put in array all his bands and companies, partly

A by himfelfe in perfon, and partly by his lieutenants and colonels, according as the ground and the time required, fhewing no figne at all of feare, but putting his men in mind of the enemies, in thefe tearmes: Yee have (quoth hee) to doe with thofe that twice already have yeelded unto us, who are inured and praftised ftill in wickedneffe and perjurie; not bettered in vertue and courage: thofe (I fay) who are like to make our return home honorable and glorious, which otherwife would have been obfcure and nothing memorable: fo as we fhall carrie to Rome for a triumph, our fwords all bloudie and newly bathed in the greene wounds and freth maffacre of our enemies; and beare away the fpoiles of their bodie, all embred and ftill dropping with their bloud. Time would not permit him to fay any more, for now the enemies advanced forward, and the charge was already given in the utmoft skirts of the armie, and anon the main battailes encountered and joyned conflict. The fight was hote & cruell alike in all parts, but the fortune divers: for the Roman legions in the main battell fought right valiantly; & the two wings of either hand did their devoir as bravely. The auxiliarie ftraungers had to deale with enemies armed in deed at all points like to themfelves, but better fouldiours by ods than they were; in fuch fort, as they were over-charged by them, and could not make good their ground. The Celtiberians perceiving they were not able to match the legions in raunged battaile and close hand-fight, caft their companies into a pointed and coin-formed battaillon, for to pierce perforce and enter upon their enemies: in which maner of fight they are fo ftrong, that it is not poffible to withftand them, wherefoever they give their violent charge. And then the legions alfo were put in difarray, and the whole maine battaile after a fort, was difbanded and broken. Which diforder and fearefull trouble when *Flaccus* perceived, he rode a gallop to the legionarie men of arms: What? (quoth he unto them) Is there no helpe at all in you? and fhall this armie here be thus ditted utterly and come to nought? Whereat they cryed on all hands to him, to give direction & fpeake only the word what he would have done, and he should fee how they would beftirre themfelves in the execution of his commaund. Mary (quoth hee) double your troups, you that are the horfemen of two legions, and run your horfes with full carriere againft that wedge-formed battaillon of the enemies, wherewith they preffe upon our men; and this fhall you performe with the more violence of your horfes, if you difbridle them and let them have full head, and fo fet furs and ruffin among them: which we have read in ftoories, that the Romans many a time have praftised to their great praife and honour. No fooner faid, but done it was; pluckt were the bridles over their horfe heads; twife they ran through the mids of them too and fro from one fide to another, brake all their launces upon the enemies, overthrew them, and made foule worke and carnage among them. When this pointed battaillon of the Celtiberians was once broken, (even the whole and onely hope they had;) then they began to feare and tremble, then were they at the point to quit the fight, and to looke about them which way to take their flight. The extraordinarie Cavallerie in the out wings (feeing fo brave a fervice performed by the Romane horfemen) were enkindled and incensed by their valorous example, and of their own accord alfo without attendance of any mans commaundement, charged upon their enemies, thus difordered and in difarray already. Then the Celtiberians ran away and fled on all hands. The Romane Generall feeing them once turne backe and fhew their hin-parts, vowed to build a chappell to *Fortuna equeftris*, and to exhibit games in the honor of *Imp. Opt. Max.* The Celtiberians, thus difbanded and fattered in the rout all over the length of the ftreight paffage, were killed and cut in pieces. It is recorded, that there died that day feventeen thousand enemies, and were taken prifoners alive more than three thousand, together with 277 field enignes, and well-neere eleven hundred horfes. For that day, the victorious armie lodged within no camp at all: yet was not this victorie fo cleere, but it coft them the losse of fome foldiours: for of Romans were flaine, four hundred feventie and two, of allies (and namely of Latins) 1019; & together with them, aid-fouldiours three thousand. Thus the armie having by this good hand recovered their auncient honour and glorie, was conducted to Tarracon. *Tib. Sempronius* the Pretor, (who was arrived two dayes before) went out to meet *Fulvius* in the way as he came, and fhewed how he joyced on his behalfe, for this good managing and happie achieving the affaires of the common-weale: which done, they agreed together with great accord as touching the fouldiours, namely, whome to caffe and fend away, and whome to reteine ftill in fervice. Then *Fulvius* having fhipped the fouldiours that were difcharged, tooke his journey to Rome: and *Sempronius* conducted the legions into Celtiberia.

Both the Consuls led their forces into Liguria, and entered the country in two divers quarters. *Posthumus* with the first legion and the third, beset and invested the two mountaines, *Baliffa* and *Suiffmontium*, and so straightly hee kept the narrow passes of those parts with his garrisons, that he cut them off from all victuals, and tamed them with extreme scarcitie and want of all things. *Fulvius* with the second legion and the fourth, after hee had assailed the Apuan Ligurians from the coast of *Pisæ*, received submission and homage of as many of them as inhabited about the river *Macra*; and when he had embarked upon seven thousand of them, hee sent them over to Naples, coasting along the Tuscan sea. From whence they were brought into the Samnites country, and a certaine territorie assigned them to inhabit among the rest of their countrey-men. As for *A. Posthumus*, he cut downe the vineyards, and burnt the corne of the Ligurian mountainers, so long untill they were driven by all manner of calamities following war, to come in and submit, yea, and to deliver up their armour and weapons. From thence *Posthumus* departed and tooke the sea, because he would visite the coasts of the Ligurian Ingaunes and Intemelians. Now, before that these Consuls came to the armie which was appointed to meet at *Pisæ*, it chaunced that *A. Posthumus* and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, the brother of *Q. Fulvius*, were the commanders, and had the conduct thereof. This *Fulvius* was a Colonell of the second legion, who during the time of those moneths, wherein by tyme he had the command and charge thereof, dismissed that legion, having bound the Centurions by an oth, that they should make payment backe of their wage money well and truly to the Questors in the chamber and treasure of Rome. Notice hereof being given to *A. Posthumus* at *Placentia*, (for thither it happened that hee was gone) hee rode after those called souldiours, and pursued them with a companie of light horsemen. As many of them as hee could overtake, after he had checked and rebuked them for their fault, he brought to *Pisæ*; of the rest he gave information to the Consull. Who put the matter to question, and after it had beene debated in counsell, an act of the Senate passed against the said *M. Fulvius*, that he should be confined and sent into Spaine beyond new Carthage. And letters he had given him to carie from the Consull to *P. Manlius* into the farther province of Spaine. As for the souldiours, they were commaunded to returne againe to their colours, and for an ignominious disgrace of that legion, ordained it was, that for a full yeares pay they should be content and take up with fixe moneths wages. And looke what souldiour repaired not to the armie accordingly, the Consull had warrant and commission to make sale of him and all that hee had.

The same yeare *L. Dronius*, who was returned with ten ships to Brundisium from out of Illyricum (where hee sat as Pretor the former yeare) leaving his ships there in the rode, came to Rome: where, in discoursing of the acts by him done, hee laid the whole fault of all the rovenie and piracie at sea upon *Gentius* the king of the Illyrians, saying, that all the ships which had lien upon the coast of the Adriaticke sea, came out of his realme. For which he had sent embassadours to complaine, but they could never find meanes to speake with the king about it. Now there were embassadours arrived at Rome from *Gentius*, who avouched, that when the Romanes came for to parle with the king, he happened to be sicke in the most remote parts of his kingdom: & therefore *Gentius* their king and maister requested the Senate, not to give credite to those false accusations and forged slaunders which his enemies had raised and enformed against him. But *Dronius* alleadged moreover, that divers and sundrie persons, as well citizens of Rome as Latine allies within his dominion, had received many wrongs: yea, and by report certaine Roman citizens were staied and detained at *Corcyra*. Whereupon it was in counsell thought good that they should all be brought to Rome, and that *C. Claudius* the Pretour should have the hearing of the matter, before which time no answer would be given unto king *Gentius* or his embassadours.

Among many others that the plague this yeare consumed, certaine priests and prelates also died, and namely, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, a bishop, in whose rounne was chosen *Q. Fabius Labeo*. Also *P. Manlius* one of the three Triumvirs for the celebration of the holy feasts. In whose steed *Q. Fulvius* the sonne of *Marcus* was elected Triumvir. He was at that time very young, and not out of his embroidered *Prætexta*. But as touching the king of sacrificers, who was to be chosen in place of *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, there was debate between *C. Servilius* the Archbishop, and *Cornelius Dolabella* one of the Duumvirs for the navie. For when the bishop would have had him to resigne that office, that he might consecrate and inaugurate him the king sacrificer, he refused to doe. For which cause the bishop set a round fine on the Duumvir his head. Then *Dolabella* appealed

* *Prætextatus*, is a garment that hee wears under 17 years of age, and is Livie which they wear in the end of the 22. book: for *Prætextatus* was Publius habitus. Tacitus 2. 56. and upon this is shewd, *Prætextatus* en-joyed *Lex Julia* annalis, *Prætextatus* for the sake of that age order.

Appealed to the people; and before them it was to be tried, Whether the said fine should be taken off or paid? Now when most of the tribes called into the railes for to give their voices, advised the Duumvir to obey the bishop, and awarded the fine for to be pardoned and remitted, in case hee would give over that office which hee had, behold it lightened at the very instant from heaven, which is the onely ominous signe that interrupteth and breaketh the assemblies of the people. Whereupon the Colledge of the bishops made scruple of conscience to inaugurate *Dolabella*, but they consecrated *P. Clælius Sæculus*, who had beene sacred in the second place. In the end of the yeare *C. Servilius Geminus* likewise the Archbishop himselfe departed this world, who also was one of the ten Duumvirs deputed for the holy ceremonies. And *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, was by the colledge of the bishops, elected bishop in his rounne. But *M. Aemilius Lepidus* was created the soveraigne pontife, notwithstanding many noble persons made suite therefore. Likewise *Q. Martius Philp*, a Decemvir for the holy mysteries, was chosen in his place. Moreover, there deceased *Sp. Posthumus Albinus* an Augur, in whose steed *P. Scipio* the sonne of *Africanus* was elected by the Augurs. The same yeare graunted it was to the inhabitants of *Cumes*, at their owne request and petition, that they might commonly speake Latine: as also to the publicke criers, to make portale of goods in the Latine tongue. The Senate gave thanks to the *Pisanes* for the offer they made of lands, wherein to plant a Colonie of Latines. And three Triumvirs or Commissioners for that businesse were created, namely, *Q. Fabius Buteo*, *Marcus* and *Publius*, both named *Pepilius*, and both surnamed *Lenas*. Letters were brought from *M. Marcius* the Pretor (who having the government allotted unto him of Sardinia, had commission also to enquire after the practise of poysoning in all places, not within ten miles of the citie of Rome) importing thus much, that he had condemned already three thousand persons, and that the informations and presentments multiplied daily, by reason of new matters discovered still; and therefore either he was to give over that inquisition, or to resigne up his province Sardinia.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus returned out of Spaine to Rome with great honour and renowne for his acts there achieved. Who remaining yet without the citie because of his triumph, was created Consull with *L. Atanlius Acidinus*, and within few daies after, rode triumphant into Rome, accompanied with his souldiours, whome hee had brought home with him. Hee carried in triumph a hundred and twentie golden coroners. Moreover in gold one and thirtie pound weight, besides 173200 peeces of coine in Ofane silver. He dealt to his souldiours fiftie Denarii apiece out of the boorie and pillage which hee had gotten. To every Centurion hee gave it double, and to the gentlemen of Rome that served on horsebacke, triple. The like hee did in proportion by the Latine allies, and to all in generall hee paid double wages. This year was the law first proposed by *L. Iulius* a Trib. of the Commons, as touching the yeer of the age requisite and meet for to sue for any publicke office, or to exercise the same. And hereupon it came, that the whole race of that familie was surnamed *Annales*. Many yeares after there were created foure Pretors according to the law *Bebia*, which provided that there should be each other yeare foure chosen. And these were they who were first elected, namely, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, *L. Valerius Lævinus*, *Q. Mucius Sævola*, and *M. both named Atij*, and both surnamed *Sævola*.

Unto the Consuls *Q. Fulvius* and *L. Manlius* the government of the same provinces was ordained, which to those of the former yeare, with like numbers of horse and foot, as well citizens as allies. In both provinces of Spaine, *Tib. Sempronius* and *L. Posthumus* continued still to have the command and conduct of the same armies which they had. And for to furnish them out, the Consuls were enjoined to enroll three thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen of Romanes, likewise five thousand foot of Latine allies and foure hundred horse. *P. Mucius Sævola* by lot had the civile jurisdiction within the citie of Rome, and commission to enquire into the devillish cast of poysoning both within the citie, and without for the compasse of ten miles. *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* was lord cheefe justice in forraine pleas and causes, *Q. Mucius Sævola* was lord deputie in Sicilie, & *C. Valerius* in Sardinia. *Q. Fulvius* the Consull, before that he went in hand with any affaires of State, said he would both discharge himselfe and also the citie of the dutie to Godward, in performing the vowes which hee had made. Hee declared, that on that very day wherein he fought his last battell with the Celtiberians, hee had made a vow to exhibite games to the honour of that most mightie and gracious God *Iupiter*, and likewise to build a temple to *Fortuna equestris*: and how thereto the Spaniards had contributed certaine sums of mony. So a decreee passed, that those plaies should be set forth: and two Duumvirs chosen, to give

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order

* Which were first made to him from princes and then to his own citizens. These were called Coronæ triumphales, and hee carried with him the gold Coronarium. The law is still called *Annales* or *Annalis*.

order and bargain for the edification of the same temple. Likewise there was set downe a certaine stint of money to be disbursed for the defraying of the charges: to wit, not exceeding that summe in the solemnitie of the plaies, which was allowed unto *Fulvius Nobilior*, when hee exhibited the like sports after the end of the *Ætolian warre*. Item, that for these games he should not seeke or send for, gather and raise, receive or do any thing, contrarie to the Act of the Senate, which in the time of *L. Æmilius* and *Cn. Babius* C. off. was made as touching such pastimes. This decree the Senate ordained, by occasion of the superfluous and excessive expences employed about the plaies of *T. Sempronius* the *Ædile*; which were very chargeable not only to Italie and the Latine allies, but also to forraine provinces. The winter this yere was very sharp, by reason of snow, and all manner of tempestuous weather. The trees that were tender and subject to frost and cold, were all blasted and killed: besides the winter season continued much longer than ordinarie in other yeeres. And thereupon the festivall solemnitie of the Latine holidais were so troubled and disordered by a suddaine and insupportable storme and tempest upon the hill [Alba] that by an ordinance of the Bishops, it was celebrated againe the second time. The same tempest cast downe certaine images in the Capitol, and dishgured very many places with thunderbolts and flashes of lightning. It overthrew the temple of *Jupiter* in Tarracina, the white temple at Capua: Item, the gate there called *Romana*, & the battlements of the wals in divers places. Among these wondrous prodigies it was reported also from Reate, that a mule was foaled with three feet. For this cause the Decemvirs were commanded to go to the bookes of Sibylla: and out of that learning, they shewed to what gods sacrifice should be made, and what number of beasts was to be killed. And because many places were with lightning defaced, they ordained that a solemn supplication should be holden one whole day in the temple of *Jupiter*. This done, the foresaid games & plaies which *Q. Fulvius* the Consul had vowed, were with great magnificence exhibited for ten daies together. After this followed the election of the Censors, wherein *M. Æmilius Lepidus* the Arch-bishop, and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who had triumphed over the *Ætolians*, were created. Now betwene these two men, there had bene notorious enmitie, oftentimes testified & shewed in many sharpe & bitter debates, both in the Senate, & also before the people. When this election was ended, the two Censors according to the auncient use and custome, sat upon their yvorie chaires of estate in *Mars* field, neere the altar of *Mars*. To whom ther soon repaired thither, the principal Senators, accompanied with a troupe besides of citizens: and among the rest, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* made a speech to this effect. My masters, you that are Censors, we have not forgotten that you ere-while were chosen by the universal body of the people of Rome, to be superintendents & wardens over us for our manners & behavior: and that it becommeth us to be taught, admonished, and directed by you, and not you by us. Howbeit we ought to tell and declare, what there is in you, that either is offensive to all good men, or at lestwise which they with were amended. When we behold & consider you severally apart, either you, o *M. Æmilius*, or you *M. Fulvius*, wee have not this day in the citie of Rome any men, whom if we were called to a new scrutinie for to passe our voices againe, we would prefer before you to this office and place of dignitie. But when we see you both together, we cannot chuse but much doubt and feare that ye are very badly matched and coupled as companions in government: and that the common weale shall not receive so much good by this, That yee please and like us all so well, as sustaine harme in this, that you displease and dislike one another. These many yeeres together, there hath bene great hate burning and much malice betwene you, and the same must needs be grievous & hurtful unto yourselves: but now it is to be feared, that from this day forward, that rankor will be more prejudiciall to us and the common weale, than unto you. Vpon what motives and causes wee are thus fearefull, much wee could say, but that peradventure your irreconcilable anger is such, as hath snared and possessed wholly your spirits and minds already. These quarrels, jarres, and grudges of yours, we all in generall would request you heartily to end this day, & in this very temple wherein we are assembled: & since the people of Rome by their voices have conjoynd you in one office, suffer your selves by us to bee linked and reconciled in perfect attonement. With one mind and accord, with one heart and counsel, chuse the Senate; review the Chevalrie and knighthood of Rome; number the citizens; asseesse their goods; purge & cense the citie; & finally consummate the solemnitie of the Cense with a sacrifice. And whereas in all your prayers well neere, yee shall use this ordinarie forme of words, That this thing, or that, may fall out in the end well and happilie, to my selfe and to my colleague,

See

A See that you with the same truly, sincerely & from the very hart, that whatsoever ye shall pray vnto the gods for, wee men may beleve and all the world see, that you desire the same to bee effected in deed. *T. Titus* and *Romulus* in this very citie reigned together with great untie and concord: in the midst whereof even in the very market-place, they had encountered and joyntly battailed together as mortal enemies with their cruell armies. What! not enmities onely have an end, but warres also. And many a time most venomous and spitefull foes become faithful allies, yea, & other whiles nere neighbors & fellow citizens. The *Albanes* after the subversion & utter ruine of their citie, were brought over to inhabite Rome. The *Latines* & *Sabines* both, were endeizend Romans. *Airold* said saw it is, & not so old as true, & for the truth become a common proverb, That enmities ought to be transitorie & soone die, whereas friendship should continue & last for ever. At these words, there arose a confused bruit among them these assembled, in token of their consent & approbation: & anon were heard the distinct voices of them all in generall, craving & requesting of the Censors the same, which making one entire sound, brak off the speech of *Metellus*. Then *Æmilius* among other matters complained, that *M. Fulvius* had twice put him besides the Consulship, which otherwise he was sure of. And *Fulvius* on the other side found himselfe grieved, that he evermore by *Æmilius* had bene provoked, & that he had waged law by stipulation against him to his dishonor and disgrace. Yet both of them made saire and shewed, that if the one were as willing as the other, they would relent and be over-ruled by so many honourable personages of the citie. So, at the instant request of all them that were present, they shooke hands and thereby assured one another to forgive and forget all matters past, and truly to make an end of malice, and bee perfect friends againe: wheretupon they were much commended by the whole assembly, and conducted by them into the Capitol. Where the Senate approved and highly praised, as well the carefull industrie of the principall citizens, in effecting this so weighue a matter, as also the good nature and debonairie of the two Censors. Who afterwards when they required to have a certaine summe of monie assigned unto them for to employ in the publick edifices and other workes of the citie, were allowed by their decree, the full rent and revenues of one whole yeere.

The same yeere *L. Posthumus* and *Tib. Sempronius* the Pro-pretours in Spaine, agreed so together, that *Albinus* should make an expedition against the *Vasces* through Lusitania, and so returne from thence into Celtiberia. But *Gracchus* went as farre as the utmost quarter of Celtiberia, for that in those parts there was the greater war. And first he forced the citie Munda, which he surprisid sodainly in the night at unawares. Then, after he had received hostages, & put a garrison there, he went forward assailing forts and burning the villages, untill he came to another citie of exceeding strength, which the Celtiberians call *Certima*: where, as he was about to approach the wals with his engines of batterie, there came unto him orators out of the citie, who like good plaine men of the old world, made a speech unto him, nothing dissimuling but that they would warre and be revenged, if their strength and forces were sufficient. For they requested leave to passe to the Celtiberian campe, there to receive aid and succour: but if they could not speed, then they would consult apart by themselves what to doe. Good leave they had of *Gracchus*; and some few daies after, they brought with them, tenne Oratours more. About noone-tide it was of the day, and the first thing that they craved at the Pretour his hand was this, That he would make them to drinke before they parted. When they had once quaffed and caroused round, they called againe for more: wherat, all that were present and stood about them, laughed heartily, to see them so rude and uncivile, and altogether without good manners. But afterwards, the eldest man of the companie began in this wise: Wee are sent (quoth he) unto you from our nation, to know what assured means hath induced you to levie warre against us? To this demand *Gracchus* answered, That he came with the confidence that he had in a brave and valiant armie; which (if they were so desirous) he would doe them the favour to see, that they might be able to make more certaine report to their countrey men upon their owne knowledge. And with that, he commanded the colonels and knight marshals, to put in armes and embattle all the bands and companies, as well foot as horse; and then armed as they were to charge one upon another in manner of a battaile. These embassadours, after they had once seen this sight, were sent away: who went directly to the Celtiberians their neighbours, and frighted them from sending any succour to the citie besieged. The townesmen within having in vaine set fire lights in the night time aloft upon their turrets (which was the signall agreed upon betwene them) and seeing themselves

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themselves destitute of the onely hope they had of aid, yielded by composition. So they were enjoyned to make payment of four and twentie hundred thousand Sesterces; and to deliver fortie of their noblest gentlemen and best men of armes; nor by way of hostages (for commaunded they were to serve in the warres;) and yet in truth, they stood for a pawn of assurance for their fealtie. From thence anon he marched to the citie Alce, where the Celtiberians lay encamped, and from whome of late the embassadours afore said came: whome, for certaine daies he provoked to fight, making small skirmishes, by sending out against their *corps de guard* his light-armed vaunt-courriers, to the end, that skuffling together every day more than other, hee might traine them all forth of their camp at length. And when he perceived once that his designe had taken effect, he commanded the captains of the auxiliarie soldiors, that after some short skirmish, they should make semblaunt as if they were overcharged with numbers, and so at once turne their backs, and flie as fast as they could to their owne campe: himselfe in the meane while put his men in battaile array within the rampier at every gate. Long it was not, but he might see his owne bands and companies retiring backe for the nones and running away, and after them the barbarous enemies following as hard as they could in chase. Now had he his armie embattailed for the purpose, and readie to receive them: and therefore he made no longer stay than onely, to suffer his friends and allies to enter at libertie into the campe, but hee set up a loud crie, and at one instant issued forth at all the gates. The enemies were not able to endure this unexpected violent charge; and so they that were come to assaile the campe of others, could not so much as defend their owne: for presently they were discomfited and put to flight; and within a while driven for verie feare into their hold, and in the end turned out of it also. That day nine thousand of the enemies left their carkases in the field, three hundred and twentie were taken prisoners, together with 112 horse, and 73 field ensignes. Of the Romane armie, there died not above an hundred and nine. Presently after this battaile, *Gracchus* marched with his legions, to wast and spoile the cuntry of Celtiberia: and as he made havock in all places as he went, with driving booties, with harrying and carrying all that ever he could come by; the cities and States of the cuntry, some submitted willingly of their owne accord; others for constraint and feare received the yoke of subjection; so as in few daies space he became master of an hundred and three townes that yielded unto him. A mightie rich pillage he gat in this expedition. After this, hee marched backe againe toward the citie Alce from whence hee came, and began to besiege and assaile the towne. The inhabitants endured the first assault of the enemies, but afterwards seeing their towne not only assailed by force of arms, but also shaken with engins and instruments of battery, distrustful the strength of the city, they retired all within their fortress: from whence also in the end, (having sent their Oratours before-hand) they and all that ever they had, were at the devotion of the Romanes. A great boorie there was gotten, and many noble gentlemen taken prisoners: amongst whome were two sonnes and one daughter of *Turrus*. This *Turrus* was a prince and great lord of those parts, and simply the mightiest potentate of all the Spaniards by many degrees: who beeing advertised of the hard hap and calamitie fallen upon his children, sent unto *Gracchus* into the campe for a safe-conduct, and thither hee came himselfe in person. And first hee demaunded, Whether hee would graunt unto him and his, their lives? The Pretour answered, That they should live. Then hee demaunded againe, If hee might beare armes and serve under the Romanes? and when *Gracchus* permitted that also; Then will I follow you (quoth he) against mine old friends and allies, since they disdain to respect and regard me. From this time forward he tooke part with the Romanes; and in many journeyes he bare himselfe loially and valiantly in their warres, and much advanced the Romane State. After this, *Ergavica* (a noble, rich, and mightie citie) affrighted at the calamities of other neighbour townes and States about them, set the gates open for to receive the Romanes. Some Authors have written, that these townes and cities yielded not *bona fide* and in sinceritie of heart: but that so soone as he had withdrawn the legions out of any quarter, sodainly from that part they revolted: also, that afterwards, hee fought a cruell battaile neere the mountaine *Camus* with the Celtiberians, from the breake of day untill noone: in which conflict there were many slaine both of the one side and the other: neither did the Romanes any other great deed (as they suppose) at *Ergavica* that day to testifie their victorie, but kept the field, and challenged them out of their campe to fight. Moreover, that the next morrow all the day long, they gathered up the spoiles of the dead: and on the third day strooke a second battaile, which was greater

A ter than the other: and then at length, the Celtiberians without all doubt lost the field cleere; inso much as their campe was forced and rancked. Furthermore, that there died of the enemies that day two and twentie thousand, and not so few as three hundred taken prisoners, and well-neere as many horse, besides the winning of threescore and twelve militarie ensignes: and so the warre came to a small end, the Celtiberians made peace indeed, continued fast and firme therein with all loyaltie, and were not so fickle and unconstant as before. They write moreover, that the same summer *L. Posthumus* smit a brave and fortunate battaile with the *Vaccei* in the farther province of Spaine, where hee put to the sword 35000 enemies, and forced their campe. But it foundeth more like a truth, that hee came not timely enough into that province, for to performe any such exploits during that summer season.

B The Censors made a revieu and new choise of Senators in good concord and faithfull unitie: for the president of the Senat was chosen, *M. Aemilius Lepidus* the Censor himselfe, who also was the high priest or Arch-bishop. Three Senators were casted and deprived of their places: but *Lepidus* held some in, whom his colleague over-passed and left out. Of that portion of mony, which out of the main allowance was divided between them, they caused these works following to be made. *Lepidus* for his part raised the great causey or wharfe at *Tarracina*, which was a peece of worke nothing acceptable to the people, for that he had himselfe lands and possessions there of his owne, and seemed to ease his private expenses, under colour of doing a publike work with the cities money. He built a Theatre, a fore-stage, or a vant-scaffold neere the temple of *Apollo*. He bargained with the Publicans or Vndertakers for the polishing, blanching & whiting C of the temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitoll, and likewise of the pillars about it. From these pillars he removed the Images and Statues, which seemed to have beene unhand somely set one against another, and out of all order. Likewise he tooke from thence, the targuets and field-ensignes of all sorts, that were there set up and fastened. But *M. Fulvius* put forth to making more workes in number, and those of better and greater use. To wit, a peece, and certaine maine piles within the river *Tyberis*; upon which piles, certaine yeares after *P. Scipio Africanus* and *L. Mummius* being Censors, tooke order for arches to be founded and erected. Item, A stately hall or palace behind the new shops of the banquers. Item, A fish market, with other shops round about it, which hee sold to particular persons. Item, A market place, and a porch or gallerie without the gate *Termina*, and another behind the arsenal, & neere the temple of *Hercules*. Item, neere the *Tyber*, and D behind the church of the goddesse *Hope*, he caused to be built the chappel of *Apollo* the Physician. Now they had besides another stocke of money in common, which they employed in taking order for water to be conveyed into the citie, & certaine vaults to be made. But this worke was empeached by *M. Licinius Crassus*, who would not suffer the water to passe through his ground. Over and besides, these same Censors, instituted certaine rents for portage, and pondage, and diverse other imposts. Many chappels also, and publicke places in the tenure and occupation of privat persons, they tooke order to be reduced to the use of the people in common, and to be set open for all commers. They chaunged the order of giving voices, and caused to enroll the tribes according to sundrie quarters and divisions, having regard withall of the degrees of men, of their trades, misteries and occupations. Also the one of the Censors *M. Aemilius* sued E unto the Senate, that allowance should be made unto him of money for the games and plaies at the dedication of the temples of queen *Iuno* and *Diana*, which in the *Ligurian* war he had vowed eight yeeres before, and assigned there was unto him twentie thousand *Asses*. So hee dedicated both those temples within the cirque or shew-place of *Flaminius*. Also he exhibited stage plaies three daies together after the dedication of the temple of *Iuno*, and two daies after the other of *Diana*: and every of those daies within the cirque *Flaminius*. The same Censor dedicated in *Mars* field a chappel to the sea-gods, vowed by *L. Aemilius Regillus*, eleven yeares before, in a navall battell at sea, against the captains of king *Antiochus*. Over the gates of which chappel there was fixed a table with this title. FOR THE APPEASING AND COMPOSING OF A GREAT VVAR BETWEENE TWO KINGS, * THE HEAD, * TO SUBDUE * FOR TO MAKE PRAISE * F THIS CONFLICT, * WHEN *L. AEMILIUS REGILLUS* THE PRETOUR, THE SON OF *M. * VNDER THE CHARGE, COMMAUND, AND GOVERNMENT, HAPPIE FORTUNE AND CONDUCT OF HIM BETWEENE EPHEBUS, SAMOS, AND CHIOS, THE FLEET OF KING ANTIOCHUS THE ELEVENTH DAIES BEFORE THE KALENDS OF FEBRUARIE WAS VANQUISHED, DISCOMFITED, SHAKEN, BATTERED, AND PUT TO FLIGHT, AND THERE*

Antiochus and Eumenes. This place is descriptive in the Latine.

THERE UPON THE SAME DAY TWO AND FORTIE GALLIES WERE TAKEN, WITHAL
THE MARRINERS AND SERVITOURS WITHIN THEM. AFTER WHICH FIGHT K. AN-
TIOCHUS AND HIS REALME * * * * IN CONSIDERATION HEREOF VOWED A TEM-
PLE TO THE SEA GODS, ASSISTANTS UNTO HIM IN ATCHEEVING THE NAVAL VI-
CTORIE. Another table likewise, with the very same inscription, was set up and fastened over
the gates of the temple of *Iupiter* in the Capitoll. Within two daies after that the Censours had
chosen a new Senate, *Q. Fulvius* the Confull made an expedition against the Ligurians; and af-
ter he had passed with his armie over wilds and mountaines, where no tracks led them; through
streights and passes of forrests, he fought a pight battell with the enemies; and not onely won
the field, but also in one and the selfsame day forced their campe. Whereupon three thousand
and two hundred of the enemies, & all that quarter of Liguria yielded unto him. Then the Con-
full placed these that had surrendered, in the plaines and champaine countrey, and planted garri-
sons upon the mountaines. Letters hereof with great speed came to Rome: whereupon there were
ordained processions for three daies. During which time of processions, the Pretours celebrated
sacrifices, and killed fortie greater beasts. But the other Confull *A. Manlius* did no exploit
worth remembrance in Liguria. Three thousand Transalpine Frenchmen passed over the Alpes
into Italie, in peaceable manner marching without any hostilitie or harme doing, and requested
of the Confull and the Senate a territorie to inhabite, where they might remaine quietly under
the siegnorie of the Romanes. But the Senate commaunded them to avoid out of Italie; and
gave the Confull *Q. Fulvius* in charge to make search and enquire into this matter, yea, and to
proceed against them who had been the cheefetaines and counsellors to perswade them to passe
over the Alpes.

This very yeer died *Philip* king of the Macedonians, worn away to nothing partly for age, and
partly with griefe of hart after the death of his son *Demetrius*. It fortuned that he kept his winter
in *Demetrias*, tormented with anguish of mind for the losse and misse of his sonne, disquieted
with remorse and repentance for his crueltie against him, which stung and pricked his guiltie
conscience. Besides, he saw his other sonne (who now was the undoubted heire apparant of the
croune, as well in his owne opinion as in the conceit of others) how all men turned their eyes
and courted to him. He considered withall, how his old age was despised and forlorne; whiles
some expected his death, others did not so much as looke for it; which was the greatest griefe
and trouble of all other. And together with him, there was *Antigonus* the son of *Echeatus*, bea-
ring the name of his unckle *Antigonus* by the fathers side, who had been guardian to *Philip*. This
Antigonus the elder had been a man of princely port & regall majestie; renowned also for a brave
conflict and noble battaile against *Celomenes* the Lacedaemonian. And him the Greeks for distin-
ction sake from other KK. of that name, surnamed *Tutor*. His nephew or brothers sonne (I say)
Antigonus, of all the honourable friends that *Philip* had, was the onely man that continued fast
and firme unto him without all corruption. But this his loyall fidelitie and truth caused *Perseus*
to be no friend of his, but rather the most mortall enemy that he had in the world. This said *An-
tigonus* foreseeing in his spirit, in what daungerous tearmes he should stand, when the inheri-
tance of the kingdome were devolved upon *Perseus*, waiting his first time and opportunities; when
he perceived that the kings mind was troubled, & that now and then he fetched deepe sighes for
sorrow that his sonne was dead; one while would give eare onely to the kings words, otherwhiles
also would find some talk & minister occasion to speak of the act so rashly & unadvisedly commit-
ted. Oftentimes he followed & seconded him in his mones & complaints, and would be thought
to lament with him for company. And (as *Truth* useth alwaies to give many signs & tokens of her
selfe comming to light) he would enforce and helpe forward every small thing what he could, to
the end that all might the sooner be discovered and breake forth. The chiefe ministers and in-
struments of this vilanous fact, were *Apelles* and *Philocles*, who were the embassadours sent to
Rome, and had brought those pernicious letters, under the name of *Flamininus*, which wrought
the death of *Demetrius*. For commonly it was given out through all the kings court, that those
were falsified letters, forged by his Secretarie, and sealed with a counterfeit signet. But the thing
being rather deeply suspected, than apparently detected, it chanced that *Antigonus* upon a
time met with *Xyechus*, and laying hold upon him, arrested his bodie, and brought him into the
kings house; and when he had left him in the safe custodie of certaine persons, hee went himselfe
directly to *Philip*. It should seeme to mee, and if it please your grace. (quoth hee) by many words
which

*Guardian or
protector.

*The French so
be the first estate.

A which I have observed, that you would spend a great deale to know the whole truth as touching
your two sonnes, and bee resolved whether of them twaine it was that laid wait to take away the
life of the other. Now the onely man of all other that can undoe the knot and clear this doubt,
is in your hands forth comming, and that is *Xyechus*. Herewith hee advised the king to call before
him the said partie, since that (as it fel out) he was already brought into the court. Sent for he was
and presented before the king; & being asked the question, he denied every thing at the first; but
with such inconstancie, as it appeared evidently, that upon some little fear of torture offered unto
him, he would be readie to bewray all: for at the very sight of the tormentour and the scourges,
he relented. Then he disclosed & shewed in order the whole proceeding & maner of this wicked
practise and villanie, how it was wrought as well by the embassadours, as also by his own selfe their
minister. Immediately there were some of purpose sent to apprehend the said embassadours. And
B *Philocles* who was present in the way, they surprised and took of a suddain: as for *Apelles* (who had
ben sent to pursue one *Chereas*) being advertised how that *Xyechus* had bewraied & told all, sailed
over into Italie. As concerning *Philocles*, there is no certaintie knowne. Some report, that at the
beginning hee denied the matter stoutly: but after that *Xyechus* was brought to his face and con-
fronted him, he stood no longer in it. Others say againe, that being put to torture, he endured the
paines, and continued still in the deniall. *Philips* sorrow and griefe was by this meanes renewed
and redoubled, reputing himselfe more unhappie in his sons, and his miserie the greater, in that
one of them was now dead and gone. *Perseus* being certified that all was discovered, tooke him-
selfe for a greater and mightier person, than to feare and thinke it needfull for him to flie up-
on it. And therefore hee sought onely to keepe farre ynough out of the way, purposing to
stand upon his guard all the while that his father lived, and avoid the flaming fire (as it were)
of his burning choler. *Philip* seeing that hee could not possibly come by his person for to
execute justice, thought upon that which onely remained to bee done, and studied how *Per-
seus* besides impunitie, should not bee recompensed and rewarded also for that his wicked-
nesse. Hee called therefore *Antigonus* before him, unto whom hee was bounden and beholden
already, for bringing to light the unnaturall murder committed upon *Demetrius* his sonne;
and of whom he conceived this opinion, in regard of the fresh and late glorie of his unckle *An-
tigonus*, that the Macedonians should have no cause to be ashamed or repent, if they had him for
to bee their king. And in this wise hee brake with him: Since my unhappie fortune is such (quoth
D he) *Antigonus*, that I ought (contrarie to all other fathers) to wish my selfe childlesse, I have a
mind and purpose to make over unto you that kingdome, which I received at the hands of your
uncle, which hee preserved and kept, yea, and augmented for my behoofe during the time of
my nonage, and wherein (whiles I was under his guardianship) he bare himselfe not onely valiant,
but also true and faithfull unto me. No man I have but you, whom I can esteeme worthie to wear
the croune; and if I knew of none at all, yet had I rather that both it and the realme perished
and were extinct for ever, than *Perseus* should enjoy it as the guerdon of his ungracious and divel-
lish fact. I shall imagine yet that *Demetrius* is risen from death to life, I shall thinke that I have
the fruition of him againe, if I may leave you in his place, you I say, the onely man of all others
that wept for the death of the poore innocent young man, and lamented for my unhappy er-
E ror and unfortunat trespass. After this speech with *Antigonus*, he never ceased to entertaine and
grace him in the face of the world with all kind of honour that hee could devise. For seeing
that *Perseus* was in Thrace, *Philip* went in progresse to every citie of Macedonie, and recom-
mended *Antigonus* to all the princes and States thereof. And without all doubt, if God had
given him longer life but a little, hee would have enstalled him in full possession of the king-
dome. Well, to returne againe unto *Demetrias*, where hee wintered (as before is said) hee de-
parted from thence, and sojourned a long time in Thessalonica. From thence after hee was
come to Amphipolis, he was surprised with a grievous maladie. Howbeit certain it was and very
apparant, that he was more sicke in mind than bodie; and that ever and anon the remembrance
and object, the apparition and ghost of his sonne, whome he caused (innocent as he was) to be
F done to death, followed and haunted him so continually with care and griefe, that hee was out
of all sleep and could not lay his eyes together: yea it drove him into raving, cursing, and execra-
tion of *Perseus* his other son; and so he ended his daies. But although *Philip* died somewhat with
the soonest for *Antigonus*, yet he would have gone very neer to have stept into his throne, if either
the kings death had immediatly beene divulged abroad, or that *Antigonus* had then been about
the

the court that he might have had intelligence thereof. For *Calligenes* the kings Phisician, who had the cure of him, staied not until the breath was fully out of the kings bodie; but so soon as he perceived that his state was desperat, upon the first deadly signes that he observed, sent messengers post to *Perseus*, who were set of purpose in places convenient, according as it was complotted between them twain: but he concealed the kings death from all them that were not of the house, until he was come. By which means *Perseus* surprised them all before they looked for him, or knew abroad that the king was departed, and thus he took the crowne upon him by policie, which he had purchased with mischiefe.

The death of *Philip* fell out very wel to give some delay and respite, and to gather more forces for the waging of war: for the nation of the *Bastarnæ* having ben a long time solicited thereto, departed out of their owne countrie, and with a great power as well of foot as horse, came on this side the river **Ister*. Now there were arrived before to advertise the king hereof, *Antigonus* and *Cotto*. This *Cotto* was a noble man among the *Bastarnians*. And *Antigonus* was full against his will joined in embassage & sent with *Cotto* to raise the *Bastarnians*. Howbeit not far from *Amphipolis* they met with news (but very uncertain) of the kings death: which occurrence troubled the whole court of their designs. For thus it was complotted, that *Philip* should give the *Bastarnæ* safe passage through *Thrace* and find them victuals: to the effecting and performance wherof, he had entertained the peeres and principall States of those quarters with presents, and assured them upon his fidelitie, that the *Bastarnians* should passe through their countrie peaceably without any harme doing. Now his intent and full purpose was, to extinguish utterly the nation of the *Dardaniens*, and to plant the *Bastarnians* in their countrie. Hereby he aimed at a twofold commoditie: the one was this; that the *Dardaniens* (a people most malicious ever to the *Macedonians*, and who alwaies in time of the troubles & adversities of the kings, took their vantage to annoy them) might bee rooted out: the other, that the said *Bastarnæ* leaving their wives and children in *Dardania*, might be sent to wast and spoile *Italie*. Now were they to passe to the *Adriaticke* sea & so to *Italie*, by the way of the *Scordiscians* (for other way there was none to lead an armie) and soon would they, thought he, grant passage unto the *Bastarnians*: for they differed not at all, either in language, or manners & fashions: & more than that, they were like enough to joyne with them in the expedition, seeing they went to the conquest & pillage of a most rich and wealthy nation. These designements were accommodated & fitted to what events soever should happen. For in case the *Bastarnians* should happen to be defeated by the *Romanes* and put all to the sword; yet this would bee a comfort againe; that the *Dardaniens* were consumed from the face of the earth, that he should meet with a boorie of that which the *Bastarnians* left behind them; and finally, have the possession free and entire to himselfe of all *Dardania*. But in case their fortune were to have the upper hand, then whiles the *Romans* were averted from him, & amused upon the war with the *Bastarnians*, he should be able to recover whatsoever he had lost in *Greece*. These had ben the designs projected by *K. Philip*. So they entred peaceably, & marched without hostilitie, under the word and promise of *Cotto* and *Antigonus*. But shortly after that newes came of the death of *Philip*; neither were the *Thracians* so tractable and easie to be dealt withall in commerce and traffike: for the *Bastarnians* could be content with that which they bought with their money, or be kept in order as they marched, but that they would break their ranks and turne out of the direct way. Hereupon they began to do wrong & injurie on both sides one unto another: which increasing daily more & more to outrages, kindled the fire of an open war. In the end, the *Thracians* not able to endure the violence and multitudes of these enemies, leaving their villages in the plaines beneath, retired to an exceeding high mountaine called *Donuca*. To which place, when the *Bastarnians* would have gone: behold notwithstanding they approached to the tops and ridge of the hills, they were surprised with a storme and tempest, much like to that wherewith the *Gauls* (as it is reported) perished at what time as they were a spoiling and pilling the temple at *Delphi*. For they were not onely drenched first with shoures of raine pouring upon them, pelted afterwards with thicke stormes of hailestones, stricken with great cracks of thunder, and blasted with leames of lightning that dazzeled their eyesight: but also the lightning flashed so upon them on every side, that it seemed they were charged and shot directly against their bodies: so as not onely the common souldiers, but also the principall leaders and chieftaines themselves were smitten downe therewith and overthrowne. VVherupon when they were scattered and would have fled down the hill, from the exceeding steep rocks they tumbled downe

* *Dardaniens*.

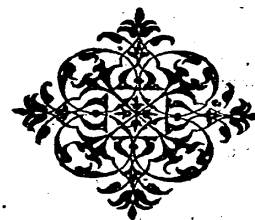
A downe they knew not how with their heads forward. And albeit the *Thracians* pursued them thus skared and affrighted, yet they had nothing in their mouth, but That the gods forced them to run away, and that the skie fell upon them. Being thus disparted with this tempestuous storme, and returned as it were out of a shipwracke into the campe from whence they set forth, and most of them but halfe armed, they began to debate in counsell what to doe. Heereupon arose some dissension among them: whiles part were of opinion to returne backe into their own countrie; and part advised to follow the way still and pearce forward into *Dardania*. About thirtie thousand persons went through under the conduct of *Claudius*: the rest of the multitude returned the same way they came into the parts beyond **Danubius*. *Perseus* being possessed of the kingdome, commanded *Antigonus* to be put to death: and whiles hee was setting the states in order, & establishing himself in his own seat, he sent embassadours to *Rome*, as well to renew the amitie that his father had with the *Romanes*, as also to request that he might be styled with the name of king by the Senate of *Rome*. And these were the affaires in *Macedonie* that yeere.

* *Danubius*.

Q. Fulvius the other Consull triumphed over the *Ligurians*: and known it was for certaine, that this triumph was graunted unto him more for favour, than for any great exploit of his that might deserve such honour. He carried in shew a mightie deale of the enemies armor: but little or no money at all. Howbeit he dealt among his souldiours thirtie Asses a peece: to everie Centurion he gave twice as much; and to each gentleman serving on horseback, the same threefold. There was nothing in this triumph more memorable and worthie the noting, than this, that as it fell out, hee triumphed now the very same day that he had the yeere before upon his Pretourship. After his triumph, he published the generall assembly for the election of Magistrates: wherein where created Consuls, *M. Junius Brutus*, and *A. Manlius Volso*. This done, when there had bene three of the Pretours elected, a suddaine tempest brake up and dissolved the assembly. The morrow after, which was *fourte daies full before the Ides of March, the other three were chosen, namely *Marcus Titinius Curius*, *Titus Claudius Nero*, and *T. Fonteius Capito*. The *Roman* games were exhibited again the second time, by the two *Ædiles* of the Chaire, *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, and *Ap. Claudius Cento*, by occasion of certaine prodigies that hapned: for there was an earth-quake; and in the publike pavilions and tabernacles, where the sacred beds of the gods were solemnly spread, the heads of the gods which were laid in those beds, turned away of their owne accord, and the wooll together with the other coverlets which were

* Ante quartum Idus Martii, the 12 of March.

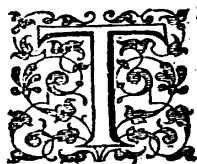
D laid before *Jupiter* fell downe. It was taken also for a prodigious wonder, that the mice and rats had gnawne and tasted before of the olives upon the table [of *Jupiter*]: for the satisfaction & expiation of which prodigies, nothing else was done, but the solemnizing of those games and plaies againe, as is aforesaid.



THE

THE XLI. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the one and fortith Booke.



THe fire in the temple of Vesta went out. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus the Proconsull, vanquished the Celtiberians, and received their submission, and for a memoriall of the worthe deeds by him achieved, he built a towne in Spaine called Gracchinis. Postumius Albinus the Proconsull, subdued the Yaccans and Lusitanes: and both of them triumphed. Antiochus, the sonne of king Antiochus, whome his father had given in hostage to the Romans, after the death of his brother Seleucus, who succeeded his father late deceased, was sent from Rome into the realme of Syria. The Censors held a review and numbering of the citizens, and solemnly purged the citie. There were enrolled in their booke, of Roman citizens 273244. Q. Voconius Saxa, a Tribune of the Commons, published a law, That no man should make a woman to be his full brei. M. Cato was the man that persuaded and spoke for this law, and his Oratium is extant. Moreover this booke containeth the waives and exploits of many capitaines against the Ligurians, Istrians, Sardinians, and Celtiberians: also the occasions and causes of the Macedonian warre, which Perseus the sonne of Philip began: for he had sent an embassage to the Carthaginians, which they gave audience unto in the night season. Other states also and cities of Greece he solicited. This Perseus setting religion aside (for many stately and magnificent temples he built in divers places, and namely at Athens, to Iupiter Olympius: and at Antiochia, to Iup. Capitolinus) was otherwise a king of most base demeanour and carriage.

THe beginning of this booke, and the greater part thereof immediatly ensuing, is lost. Imprimis, As touching the disposition of the provinces by lot, as well of Consuls as Pretors; and namely, how the government of Gaule fell to A. Manlius, and of Liguria to M. Junius: and how of the Pretours, M. Titinius was assigned to the hither province of Spaine, and T. Fonteius to the farther; Nero to Etruria, T. Ebutius to Sardinia. Item, as concerning the fire of Vesta, the exploits of Tib. Gracchus and L. Albinus in * Biskai and * Portugall: the survey and taxing of the cittie of Rome holden by the Censors; the law Voconia, as touching the inheritance of women, mentioned in Cicero, in S. Angustine de civitate Dei, and others: finally, of the acts achieved by M. Junius about Genoway. And thus it sheweth a praeupt and broken front as yefsee.

To have armed the same, which in peace he had received of his father: and for that cause it is said, That hee was passing well beloved of the youth and lustie gallants, who desired nothing more than to spoile and raise booties.

Now when the Consull was in deliberation with his counsell, as touching warre in Istria, some were of opinion, to proceed thereunto incontinently, before that the enemies could assemble their forces; others advised, to consult first with the Senate: but their counsell imported, who were for speedie expedition. So the Consull dislodged from Aquileia, and encamped near the lake Timavus, which lyeth hard by the sea. Thither came Caius Furius (one of the navall Duumvirs) with ten ships: for two such Duumvirs or wardens had been chosen, to make head against the Illyrian fleet: who with twentie ships in all, keeping the upper sea, were to guard the sea-coasts

A sea-coasts so, as they had Ancona (as it were) the middle centre betwene: for L. Cornelius tooke the charge of all that lay on the right hand thereof, as farre as to Tarentum; and C. Furius of the left, unto Aquileia. These ten vessels (I say) were sent to the next port, against the marches of Istria, with other ships of burden fraughted with store of victuals and provision. The Consull followed after with his legions, and pitched his campe five miles from the sea. And within a short time, there was a good and frequent market kept in the port, from whence there was conveyed all manner of provision into the campe. And to the end that this might hold in more securitie, good guards were set about the camp on every side. Toward Istria there was one standing frontier garrison, consisting of a cohort of Placentines, levied on a sodaine, opposed and lodged betwene the sea and the campe. And to the end the same might serve for a guard to defend them that watered at the river, M. Ebutius (a colonell of the two legions) was commaunded to adjoyne two squadrons of souldiours out of the second legion. T. and C. both Aelij, (colonels likewise) had led the third legion, by the way that goeth to Aquileia, which should guard the foragers and fewellers. From which quarter about a mile distant was the camp of the French. And a certaine pettie king there was among them, one Carmelus, having the conduct of three thousand armed souldiours, or somewhat more. So soone as the Romans were approached, the lake Timavus from their campe, the Istrians set them downe secretly in a close place behind a little hill; and from thence followed the Roman armie as it marched, by crosse and crooked waies, espying and lying for all advantages that might be presented: for intelligence they had of all that was done either at sea or by land. And when they perceived upon a time the corps de guard before the campe feeble and weake, and that there was a great number of unarmed merchants betwene the campe and the sea, without any defense at all either from land or water, they ran at once upon the two foresaid guards, to wit, the Placentine cohort, and also the squadrons of the second legion. Now their enterprise at the beginning was covered and hidden by occasion of a morning mist, which at the first warmth of the sunne brake and scattered away, and then began somewhat to appeare through it: but the light was not yet cleere and come to the full; by reason whereof every thing (as commonly in such a case) shewed farre bigger than it was. And this at that time mightily deceived the Romans, causing the armie of the enemies to seeme the greater by many degrees. At which sight, the souldiours of the one guard as well as the other being affrighted, fled into the campe with a great tumult and alarme, and there caused far more feare than they brought with them: for neither were they able to tell why they fled thus as they did, nor give a readie answer to those that asked them the question. Over & besides, a great noise they heard from the campe gates, as where there was no sufficient guard to sustaine the first assault. Besides, their running thus huddle together in the darke, while one tumbled upon another, made such a confusion, that they knew not whither the enemy was within the rampier or no. No other crye was heard but this; To sea, To sea. For by occasion that one souldiour at adventure began to set up that note, all the campe presently rung againe therewith, from one end to the other. Whereupon at first, (as if they had beene commaunded so to doe) to the sea they ran, some few armed, but the most part without any armour or weapons: afterwards more, and consequently at last in manner all; yea and the Consull himselfe, seeing that he laboured in vaine to reclaim them, backe he fled, and could prevaile neither by command nor authority, ne yet with praiers in the end; onely M. Licinius Strabo (a Tribune or Colonell of the third legion, abandoned of his owne legion) remained behind with three ensignes and no more. The Istrians finding him alone, (for no man else was seene in armes to make resistance) entred joyntly into the campe, ran upon him (and as he was embattailing his souldiours and encouraging them in the quarter about the Pretour his lodging) surpris'd, and with numbers over-charged him. The skirmish and fight was more cruell, than for proportion of so few defendants; and not ended, before that the Tribune himselfe and those about him, were slaine every man. The Generall his pavilion and all about it, was overthrowne: which when the enemy had ransacked and rifled of all that was there, they went as farre as the treasurers lodging, the market place, and to the gate Quintana: where they found abundance of all things set out readie for their hands, and within the treasurers pavilion the tables spread and covered with good carres & meat upon them. Then their chiefe lord and leader (the pettie king aforesaid) made no more adoe but fate him downe, fell to his victuals and made good cheere; and anon all the rest following his example, did the semblable, and never once thought of armes or of enemies; and like to those who

Aaaaa

were

* By that gate
was the market
served, and it led
directly to it.

were not wont to fare so well and feed liberally, they greedily overcharged their bellies with wine and viands: but the Romanes all the while stood in farre other tearmes. They trembled, they went hastily to their businesse both on land and sea. Downe went the shipmen and sailors with their tilts and boothies; and looke what provision of victuals or other things were set forth to sale upon the strand and shore, they harried and hurried a shipbord: the souldiours all affrighted ran amaine to the sea side, for to be embarked. The mariners fearing least their vessels should bee overcharged, some put backe the prease and withstood them for committing in, others shove off from the wharfe, and launched into the deep. Hereupon began a braule and broile, and from that they fell together by the eares, souldiours and mariners, one with another: some went away with knockes and wounds, and others left their lives behind them; untill at length, by the Confull his commaundement, the fleet was retired farre from the land. Which done, hee began to fort the armed and unarmed apart. And hardly were there (of so great a multitude) twelve hundred found with armour about them, and very few horsemen that had brought their horses with them. All the rest were a confused and disordered companie, resembling the rascall sort of camp-followers, as victuallers, launders, skillions and lackies: who had beene a readie bootie to have followed upon, in case the enemies could have thought upon any feats of armes. Then at last came a messenger to recall the third legion, and to surprize the guard of the Gaules; and with that, from all parts they began to returne againe toward their owne campe, for to recover it, and wipe away and fardoe the shamefull blot and dishonour which they had received. The Colonels of the third legion commaunded the souldiours to throw down upon the ground their forrage and sewell, they charged the Centurions to set the elder and unweldie souldiours two and two upon the horses and labouring beasts which they had discharged of their load; & willed the horsemen to take up behind them every one a young lustie footman; shewing what an honor it would be to the third legion, for to regaine by their valor the camp, which had been lost by the cowardise and fear of thole in the second: and easily (say they) may it be won againe, if the Barbarians, whiles they are encombred with the pillage, might bee surprized at unware, and bectaken themselves, like as they overtooke others before. This exhortation was received with great alacritie and contentment of the souldiours. Aloft were the ensignes born and advanced apace, neither staid the port-ensignes one whit for the souldiours. Howbeit the Confull and those companies which were brought from the sea, came first to the rampier. *L. Atilius* a principall Centurion of the second legion, not onely encouraged the souldiours, but made remonstrance unto them, That if the Iltians these victors, had ever meant to guard and keepe the campe with the same force of armes by which they had won it, they would at the first have pursued the enemies to the sea, so soone as they had turned them out of their tents; and afterwards have set a good *corps de guard*, at leastwise before the rampier and the avenues therof: but like ynough it is (saith hee) that with guzzelling wine they were dead asleepe like beasts. And herewith he commaunded *A. Baculenius* his owne ensign-bearer, a man of approved valor and singular prowes, to advance his banner forward. Marry, that I shall (quoth he) full soone, if you will follow me alone that the thing may bee done more quickly. With that he forced his whole strength, and having flung the ensigne over the trench into the campe, hee was the first himselfe that entered at the campe gate. On another part likewise *T. & C. both Aelii*, and colonels of the third legion, were come with their Cavallerie: then presently followed those also whom they had horsed two by two upon the labouring jades and garrons for cariage, and after them the Confull with his whole armie. But of the Iltians some few there were (such as were not stark drunk) whose wits and memorie served them to run away; the rest were dead asleepe indeed, and never awoke again. So the Romanes recovered all their goods, save only the wine and victuals which was devoured and consumed. The Romanes souldiours who were crasie and sicke, and had beene left in the campe, after they perceived their owne fellows within the rampier, found their hands againe, caught up weapons, and made a great carnage and execution. But above all others *C. Popilius*, surnamed *Sabellus*, a gentleman and cavallier of Rome, bare himselfe most bravely that day, who being left in the campe (because hee was hurt and maimed in one of his feet) slew the greatest number of the enemies, by farre. Eight thousand Iltians fell upon the edge of the sword, and not one taken prisoner alive: for the choler and despiteous indignation of the souldiours was such, as they had no mind at all of prizes and booties. Howbeit, the king of the Iltians, drunke as hee was, had so good fortune as to bee taken from the very bound where hee sat, and hastily mounted on horse

backe by his men, and so fled away and escaped. Of the winners there perished in all two hundred thirtie seven souldiours: and of them, more died in their morning flight than in the recovery of their campe. Now it chanced so, that *Cn.* and *L.* both named *Gravili*, new coloners and inhabitants of *Aquileia*, as they came with victuals, had like to have stumbled ignorantly upon the campe, when it was taken and possessed by the Iltians. They being retired backe in great hast to *Aquileia*, leaving their cariage behind them, set all on a fright and uprore, not onely at *Aquileia* but also at Rome within few daies after: for thither was the rumour run, That not onely the campe was forced by the enemies, and (which was true indeed) the Romans put to flight, but that all was lost, and the armie utterly defeated. Whereupon, as the manner was in all suddaine tumults and alarmes, writs went forth for musters and levies of souldiours extraordinarily, not in the cittie onely, but also throughout all Italic. Two legions of Roman citizens were enrolled, and the Latine allies were commaunded to set out ten thousand foot with three hundred horse. *M. Iunius* the Confull had commaundement to passe over into Gallia, and to levie of the citties & States of that province, as many as they were able to make and furnish. It was ordained withall, that *T. Clandius* the Pretour should make proclamation, that the souldiours of the fourth legion, and of the Latine allies five thousand foot and two hundred and fiftie horse, should meet together at *Pisæ*; and that in the absence of the Confull he should defend that province: also that *M. Titinius* the Pretour should appoint the *Rendez-vous* at *Ariminum*; that the first legion, and the like number of allies, as well foot as horse, should there assemble. Then *Nero* tooke his journey, clad in his rich coat of arms, toward *Pisæ* his province. And *Titinius* having to *Ariminum* *Caius C. Caisius* a Colonell, to take the conduct of the legion there, tooke musters at Rome. *M. Iunius* the Confull passed out of *Liguria* into *Gaule*, and arrived at *Aquileia*, having levied aid-soldiours as he went, of all the cities of *Gaul* & the Colonies, to be in readinesse out of hand. There he was certified that the armie was safe and found: whereupon hee dispatched his letters to Rome to advertise them that they should not trouble themselves any more with this false alarme, and himselfe after he had discharged the Gaules of those aids which hee had imposed upon them, went to his companion in government. Great was the joy at Rome, comming thus as it did unlooked for. The musters were laid aside, the souldiours discharged who were enrolled and had taken their militarie oath, and the armie visited with the plague at *Ariminum* was dismissed and sent home. The Iltians albeit they were encamped with a great strength of armed men, not farre from the Confull his campe, after they heard once that the Confull was come with a new armie, disbanded and slipt every man away on all sides to their severall cities, and the Consuls retired with their legions to *Aquileia*, there to winter.

When these troubles of Iltia were thus at length appeased, there went forth an act of the Senat, That the Consuls should agree betwene themselves, whether of them twaine was to return to Rome for to hold the assembly for election of magistrates. At what time as *A. Licinius Nerva*, and *C. Papirius Turdus*, two Tribunes of the Commons, in all their Orations to the people, inveighed bitterly against *Manlius* in his absence, and promulged a law to this effect, That after the Ides of March (for the Consuls had their governments already prorogued for one whole yeare) he should continue no longer in place, to the end, that so soone as he was out of his office, he might presently be called to his answer judicially. *Quintus Aelius*, one of their Colleagues, withstood this bill by them proposed, and after much debate and contention prevailed so much, that it passed not.

About the same time *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *L. Posthumus Albinus*, being returned out of *Spain* to Rome, had audience given them by the Pretour *M. Titinius* in the temple of *Bellona*, there to discourse of the acts by them achieved, to demand their deserved honours, to the end that praise and thanksgiving also should be rendered to the immortall gods. Moreover, at the very same time intelligence was given by letters from *T. Ebutius* the Pretor, which his son brought and shewed to the Senat, of great troubles in *Sardinia*: Namely, that the Iltians, joining unto them the strength of the *Balari*, had invaded the province standing in peaceable tearmes: neither was hee able to make head against them with so feeble an armie as hee had, and the same wasted and consumed much with the pestilence. The same newes related the embassadours likewise of the *Sardinians*, making humble suite to the Senat, to releve and succour their citties at leastwise, for that their villages & countrey townes were already past helpe. This embassage, with all other matters concerning *Sardinia*, put over to the new magistrates; as pittifull an embaf-

fige also was presented unto them from the Lycians, who complained greivously of the Rhodians, unto whom they had bene annexed and made subjects by *L. Cornelius Scipio*: Indeed (say they) we lived sometime under the signorie of *K. Antiochus*, but that servitude of ours under the king, compared to this present state and condition wherein wee now are, seemeth unto us an excellent libertie: for not onely are we now yoked and kept under publicke authoritie in general, by taxes, levies, and impositions, but every one in particular endureth meere bondage and slavery. Our selves are abused, yea and our wives and children suffer villanies before our eyes: upon our bodies, our backs and sides they worke upon and discharge their humour of crueltie: in our good name (an indignitie unsupportable) we are defamed, depraved, and defamed: yea openly in the face of the world, they cease not to commit outrages against us, even to usurpe & extend their authoritie over us, and to trie maisteries upon us with extremities: to the end that we Lycians might bee put out of all doubt, that there is no difference betwene us and slaves bought and sold for silver in ower market. The Senate mooved with their remonstrances by the Lycians, addrested their letters to the Rhodians to this effect, that it was no part of their meaning and intent, that the Lycians should be slaves to the Rhodians: or that any other borne free, should be enthralled by any person. But their will was, that the Lycians should in such realmes live under the government and protection of the Rhodians, that both itaies, the one as well as the other, might range and frame themselves like good associates under the dominion and empire of Rome.

After this followed two triumphs over Spaine, one immediatly upon another: first, *Sempronius Gracchus* over the Celtiberians: & the morrow after, *L. Posthumus Albinus* over the Lusitanians and other Spaniards of those parts. *Tib. Gracchus* carried in shew 40000 pound weight of silver: and *Albinus* twentie thousand. Both of them divided among their souldiers twentie five Denarij a peece, to each Centurie the same duple, and triple to every horseman. Thus did they also by allies as well as by Romanes.

It fortuned about that time, that *M. Iunius* the Consul, came out of Istria to Rome, by occasion of the election which was to be holden: and when the two Tribunes of the commons, *Pa. ppius* and *Licinius*, had in the presence of the Senate baited and wearied him with interrogatories, as touching the affaires passed in Istria, they brought him forth also before the bodie of the people. To which questions, after that the Consull had answered, how hee had not bene above 11 daies in the Province: & as for the things that hapned in his absence, he knew no otherwise than they did, only by the common bruit & report: then, they went on urging him still, asking how it came to passe, that *A. Manlius* rather came not to Rome, to give account unto the State, why he passed out of Gaule (which was his allotted province) into Istria: & to shew, when it was that either the Senat decreed, or the people of Rome granted by their voices to enterprise that war? But haply it may be said (qud. he) that albeit the war was undertaken onely upon his own head alone: yet no doubt, executed it was right worthily with policie and valour. Nay ywis, but farre contrariwise: & hard it is to say, whether it were begun more lewdly, than managed incon siderately. Two entier *corps de guards* were on a sodaine at unawares surprisid by the Istrians: the Romane camp was forced and taken, with all the strength of horse and foot that was therein: the rest scattered without armes, and the Consull himselfe was the formost man that ran away to the sea side unto the ships: and surely hee should render an account of all these matters, when he is a private person againe, since that he would not do it being Consull. This storme past, the generall assembly for the magistrates election was holden: wherein were created Consuls, *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. The next day following were the Pretors chosen: to wit, *P. Aelius Tubero* the second time, *C. Quintius Flaminius*, *C. Numisius*, *C. Mummius*, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Valerius Levinus*. The civile jurisdiction of the cittie fell to *Tubero*, the forreine to *Quintius*. The government of Sicilie was allotted to *Numisius*: of Sardinia to *Mummius*. Howbeit this province by reason of the great warre therein became the charge of a Consull. And by lot it fell to *Gracchus*: but Istria to *Claudius* his colleague. Gaule was divided into two provinces; wherof *Scipio* by lot obtained one, and *Levinus* the other.

Vpon the Ides of March, on which day *Sempronius* and *Claudius* entred their Consulship, mooved it was onely in the Senate, as touching Sardinia and Istria, and the enemies to both those provinces, who there had levied warre. But the morrow after, the embassadours of the Sardinians being referred over to the new magistrates, & *L. Minutius Thermus* who had bene

Lieute.

A lieutenant to the Consull *Manlius* in Istria, entred into the Senat-houfe. By them the Senate was informed how daungerous the warres were in those provinces. Mooved likewise were the Senatours by the embassies of the Latine allies, who in the end were admitted into the Senate, after they had importuned the Censors and Consuls of the former yeere: the summe of their complaints was this, That their owne cittizens being once enrolled at Rome, were most of them departed and remooved thither to dwell: which if it might be suffred, within few re views and lessings it would come to passe, that their citties should be dispeopled and desolat, their villages and fields desart and wast, and able to set out no souldiours for the warres. Sem blably the Samnites and Pelignians complained, that foure thousand households were gone from them, and retired to *Fregellæ*; and yet neither the one nation or the other, were set at a lesse proportion of souldiours in all their levies. Two cauteious meanes and devises there were brought up, whereby men chaunged thus their cities at pleasure. The law graunted this indul gence to the allies of the Latine nation, as many as left yssue of their rase behind them in their house, That they should be reputed cittizens of Rome. By abusing this law, some did injurie to their allies, other wronged the people of Rome: for, both they that were to leave such yssue at home, gave their children as it were in villenage to some Romane citizen or other whom they liked, with condition to manumise and make them free, that they might be tribes or enfran chised cittizens. And they also who wanted yssue to leave behind them, were held as citizens of Rome. But in proceffe of time without any of these colorable pretenes of right, without regard of law and respect of yssue, they crept in and had the benefit of the Burgeoisie and freedome of Rome, by their transmigration thither to inhabite, by enrolment in the reviews. To meet with these practises, the embassadours craved a remedie for the time to come: as also that they would peremptorily commaund all their allies to repaire againe to their own citties: with an expresse inhibition, that no man should receive any other to be his vassalle and villaine, and so to alienate him, with intention by that meanes to chaunge the cittie wherein he lived: and that who soever became cittizens of Rome after that maner, should not be counted for a citizen. These petitions were graunted by the Senate. Then were decrees passed for those provinces of Istria and Sardinia which were in armes, to wit, for the enrolling of two legions into Sardinia, having either of them five thousand and two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, besides twelve thousand footmen, and 600 horsemen of the Latine allies; and ten quinquiremes or galea- D ces, with five banks of oares, in case the Generall would warpe them out of the arcanall. The like number as well of the Infanterie as Cavallerie, was assigned for Istria. The Consuls also were enjoyned to send to *M. Titinius* in Spaine, one legion with 300 horse, besides 5000 footmen of allies, and 250 horsemen.

Before that the Coss cast lots for their provinces, certaine prodigies were reported. Name ly, that in the territorie of Crustumium, there fell from heaven a stone into the lake of *Mars*: That in the territorie of Rome, there was an infant born like a very stumpe, without head, feet, or hands: and a snake or serpent scene four footed. That in the market-place of Capua, many houses were smitten with thunderbolts and lightning. Also at *Putcoli* two ships were set on fire by lightning, and burnt. Whiles these prodigious wonders were by others related, there was E scene a wolfe also in the day time at Rome, which having entred at the gate *Collina*, after much coursing and hunting, with much adoe and noise of them that followed the chase, escaped away from them all, and passed through the *Esquiline* gate. In regard of these strange tokens, the Consuls killed greater beasts for sacrifice: and for one whole day, a solemne supplication and praiers were made at all the shrines and altars of the gods. These sacrifices done and past, accordingly as it appertained, the Consuls cast lots for their provinces: and to *Claudius* be fell Istria, to *Sempronius* Sardinia.

After this, *C. Claudius* published a law by vertue of an ordinance of the Senate, in favour of allies, and proclaimed, That those allies, & namely of the Latine nation, who either themselves or their ancestors, had ben enrolled among the Latine allies, during the Censorship of *Marcus F. Claudius*, and *Titus Quintius*, or any time afterwards, should make returne every man into his owne cittie, before the first day of November next ensuing. And *Lucius Mummius* the Pretour had in commiission to enquire and search for those that returned not accordingly. To this law and edict above said of the Consull, an Act also of the Senate was adjoy ned, That the Dictatour, Consull, Interregent, Censor, and lord cheefe justice in the com-

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mon pleas for the time being, should endeavour and take order, that whosoever were manumifed and made free, should take an oth, That he who manumifed or enfranchifed him, did it not with any intent, for to exchange the citie wherein he was : and looke who would not thus sweare, him they thought not worthe to be manumifed. But his charge and iurisdiction was afterwards committed to *C. Claudius* the Confull.

Whiles these affaires passed at Rome, *M. Junius* and *A. Manlius*, who had been Consuls the yeere before, having wintered in Aquileia, in the beginning of the Spring entered with an armie into the frontiers of Istria. Where, as they made waite and spoile farre and neere as they went, the Istrians entered into a commotion and tooke armes, rather upon greefe of heart and indignation to see their goods thus pilled and ransacked, than for any assured hope they had of their sufficiency to make head against two armies. Having therefore raised a concourse of their able youth from all their cities and States, they assembled in hast a suddaine and tumultuarie armie, which at the first gave battell, and fought more in heat of courage, than with persistence of resolution. In conflict there were slaine of them to the number of foure thousand; the rest abandoned all warre, and fled here and there into their cities. From thence they sent embassadors first into the Roman campe to crave peace, and then the hostages which were demanded. After intelligence given at Rome of these newes by the letters of the Proconsuls, *C. Claudius* the Confull fearing least this occurrence might put him by the government of his province and the conduct of the armie, without solemne praiers and vowes made, without his Lictors clad in their coats of armes, departed sodainly in great hast (all of the head) by night toward his province, and made no man privie thereto, but onely his colleague. His voyage thither was not so rash and inconsiderate, but his carriage there, was more foolish and undiscreeit: for beeing thither come, he assembled a generall audience; where, after hee had very unseasonably reproached *Manlius* for his running away out of the campe, (to the great discontentment of the soldiours, who were the first that fled;) and with opprobrious tearmes shaken up *M. Junius* also for taking part in this dishonour with his companion: in the end hee commaunded them both to avoid out of the province. Whereupon the soldiours made answer againe, and said, That they would then obey the Consuls commaundement, when (according to the aunient custome of their fore-fathers) he had made his solemne vowes within the Capitoll; and then taken his leave and departed out of the citie, accompanied with his Huishers in their rich cotes of armes, warlike. Hereat he was so farre enraged with anger, that he called upon the treasurers deputie belonging to *Manlius*, for chaines and gyves, and menaced to send *Junius* and *Manlius* both bound to Rome. But the deputie likewise made as little reckoning of the Consuls commaundement: and the more animated hee was to disobey the Confull, by reason that he was backed by the whole hoast round about him; who as they supported the cause of their captaines and leaders, so they hated the Confull at the heart. In conclusion, the Confull beeing loden and wearied with the contumelious and railing behaviour of every one in particular, and with the frumps and taunts of the multitude in generall (for they stuck not over and besides to mocke him and make a laughing stocke of him) he went his waies againe to Aquileia, in the same ship wherein he came. From thence he wrote unto his colleague by an edict, to charge those new soldiours who were enrolled for Istria, to meet at Aquileia: to the end, that no business should keepe him at Rome, but that with all speed he might depart from the citie in his coat of armes, and after he had conceived and pronounced his vowes accordingly. His companion in office was well content, and did all these things requisite full willingly: and a short day was assigned for the assembling of the soldiours at the *Rendezvous* above-named. But *Claudius* was at Rome well-neere as soone as his letters; where, at his first comming, he made an oration in the publicke audience of the people, as touching the demeanor of *Manlius* and *Junius*; and having staied no longer than three daies at Rome, he set out with his Lictors formally in their cote-armour, when he had made his vowes solemnly in the Capitoll, and so departed into his province again with as much celeritie and hast (if not more) as he came from thence.

Some few daies before, *Junius* and *Manlius* began to assault by all forcible means the town *Nesatium*, into which the principall persons of the Istrians, and *Depulo* their king, were retired. *Claudius*, with his two new legions, presented himselfe before the towne; and after hee had discharged the old armies and their commanders, laid siege unto it, and intended to force it with maneriles and engins of batterie. The course also of the river which ran along besideth the walles,

A and not onely empeached the assailants but yeilded water unto the besieged, hee diverted into another new channell, and bestowed many daies worke thereabout. This mightily affrighted the barbarous people, to see how they were cut off from water. Howbeit, they never thought of peace for all this, but fell in hand to kill their wives and children; and when they had so done (because they would present to the view of their enemies, so horrible a fact and fearefull spectacle) they massacred them upon the walles openly in their sight, and then threw them headlong downe. Whiles the sillie women and poore infants (amid their piteous and lamentable cries) were thus cruelly murdered, the Romans souldiours mounted over their walles and entered into the citie. Their king when he once perceived (by the fearefull outcries of those who fled) that the towne was lost; for feare he should be taken alive, stabbed himselfe with his dagger to the heart. All the rest were either taken prisoners or killed. After this, two other townes, Mutila and Faveria, were woen by assault and rased. The pillage was greater than a man would have looked for in so poor a nation: which was bestowed every whit upon the soldiours. Five thousand sixe hundred and two and thirtie persons were sold out-right in port-sale under the guirland. The chieftains of this war were first scourged with rods, and then beheaded. Thus Istria, by the ruine of three townes and the death of their king, was appeased: and all the cities and states therof from every quarter, came in with their hostages, made submission, and did fealtie and homage to the Romanes.

The Istrians war was no sooner ended, but the Ligurians began to complor for to take armes and enter into rebellion. *T. Claudius* the Proconsull (who the former yeere had been Pretor) was governour and commaunder at that time of Pisa, with a garrison of one legion. The Senat being advertised thereof by his letters, thought good to send the very same letters to *C. Claudius* (for the other Confull was alreadye passed over into Sardinia;) and withall, a decree was graunted out to this effect, That considering he had performed his commission in Istria, so as there remained no more for him to do there, he should (if he thought so good) transport his armie into Liguria. Moreover, upon the Confull his letters, wherein he wrote what exploits hee had achieved in Istria, there was ordained a solemne proceffion for two daies together. Semblably, the other Confull *Tib. Sempronius*, managed his affaires as happily in Sardinia: he entered with an armie into the countrey of the Sardinian Ilans. Great aids were come from the Balarans to relieve and succour those Ilans: with both these nations hee fought a battaile in pitched field. The enemies were discomfited and put to flight, turned out of their campe, and twelve thousand armed men slaine. The morrow after, the Confull commaunded all their armour and weapons to be gathered together and laid on an heape; and this he burned as a sacrifice to the honour of *Vulcan*. Which done, he retired with his victorious armie into the associate cities, there to passe the winter.

C. Claudius likewise, upon receipt of the letters of *T. Claudius*, and the commission directed from the Senate, marched with his legions out of Istria into Liguria: where, the enemies were come downe into the plaines, and lay encamped neere the river Scultenna. In which place there was a battaile fought: fifteene thousand of them were put to the sword, and not so few as seven hundred taken prisoners, either in the conflict or within the campe; for that also was forced & woen: besides, one and fiftie ensignes they lost. The Ligurians, as many as escaped the execution, fled on all sides to the mountains for refuge; and notwithstanding that the Confull spoiled and wasted their champain country, there was not one man made shew of arms. Thus *Claudius* having in one yeere vanquished and subdued two nations, and in one Consulship (a rare felicitie in any other man) reduced other two provinces into quietnesse and peace, returned to Rome.

Certaine prodigious and monstrous sights were that yeere reported, to wit, in the territorie of Crustumium, a certeine foule called Sangualis, with her bill pierced into a sacred stone. In Campanie a boeuf spake: at Syracusa a bull that strated out of the fields from the heard, leapt the braken cower there in the city & did his kind. In the territory of Crustumium, there was a supplication & proceffion holden one day long in the very place of the foresaid prodigious sign. In Campanie, the boeuf or cow aforesaid, was put out to be kept & fed at the charges of the citie. Last of all, the prodigie of Syracusa was expiat by a purgatory sacrifice, by direction from the soothsaiers to what gods, supplications and sacrifice should be made. That yeere died *M. Claudius Marcellus* the bishop, who had been Confull and Censor. In his stead *M. Marcellus* his sonne was consecrated bishop. Likewise in the same yeere, there was a colonie of two thousand citizens of Rome, planted at Luca. The Triumvirs or the commissioners who had the conduct and placing of them,

them, were *P. Aelius*, *L. Egilius*, and *Cn. Sicinius*: one and fiftie acres of land and an halfe was set out for them apeece to occupie, out of the territorie late conquered from the Ligurians, and which had been sometime the possession of the Tuscans, before it was holden by the Ligurians.

Then came the Consull *C. Claudius* to the citie of Rome, where after he had discoursed before the Senate, as touching the prosperous execution of his affaires, as well in Istria as Liguria, and thereupon demanded a triumph, hee soone obtained that honour; and during his magistracie triumphed at once over those two nations. In which solemnitie of his triumph, hee carried in shew 307000 Deniers, and *85702 Victoriates. He gave to every common [Romane] souldiour fifteen Denarij apeece, a double proportion to the centurions, & thrice as much to every horseman. But upon the allies he bestowed lesse by the one moiety than to naturall citizens: and therefore as they followed his chariot, they were silent & said never a word: a man that had seene them would have said they were malecontent.

*Victoriatius, the same that Quinarius, is the Denarius. It had the image of Victorius stamped upon it.

During the time of this triumph, the Ligurians perceiving that not only the Consull his armie was brought home to Rome, but the legion also at Pisæ discharged by *T. Claudius*: thinking now all feare past and overblowne, secretly levied a power; and having passed over the crosse frontiers, by traversing the wayes through the mountaines, descended into the downes, and wasted the domaines of Modenna, and by sodaine assault surpris'd the verie colonie. The newes hereof was no sooner arrived at Rome, but the Senate commaunded *C. Claudius* the Consull to hold the high court for the solemn election, with all convenient speed: that so soon as new annual magistrats were created, hee might returne into his province, and perforce recover this colonie out of their hands. So according to the advise and ordinance of the Senate the said assembly was holden: wherein were elected Consuls *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus*, and *Q. Petilius Spathinus*. Then were the Pretors afterwards chosen, to wit, *M. Popilius Lenas*, *P. Licinius Crassus*, *M. Cornelius Scipio*, *L. Papyrius Mafso*, *M. Alburius*, and *L. Aquilius Gallus*. The Consull *C. Claudius* had his patent sealed againe for one yeere longer, to continue in command of the armie, and government of the province Gallia. And for feare least the Istrians likewise should follow the example of the Ligurians, he had commission to send those allies of the Latine nation, whom he had brought out of his province for to solemnise his triumph.

Vpon that very day, on which the Consuls, *Cneus Cornelius* and *Quintus Petilius* entered their magistracie, and sacrificed each of them an ox as the manner was, in the honor of *Jupiter*: In that beast which *Q. Petilius* caused to be slaine, the liver was found head-lesse. When hee had reported this accident unto the Senat, he was enjoined to sacrifice another boeuf, for to appease the wrath of the gods. Moved then it was in the Senate house as concerning the provinces, and a decree passed, that both Consuls should bee sent to Pisæ, and against the Ligurians: but order was given, that whether of them had the charge of Pisæ allotted unto him, he should (when the time came) repaire to Rome against the election of yeerely magistrats. Moreover, there was another braunch of this decree, that either of them should enroll two new legions, and three hundred horsemen, and levie of the Latine allies ten thousand foot apeece, and sixe hundred horse. And *T. Claudius* continued still in full command, untill such time as the Consull was arrived in his province. Whiles these matters were thus debated and passed in the Counsel house, *Cn. Cornelius* was called forth by a bailife or huiſher. And within a while after hee was gone out of the temple, he returned thither againe with an heave and dismaied countenance, and declared unto the LL. of the Senate, that the liver of that ox which he also had killed for sacrifice, a beast of sixe yeeres old and well liking, was consumed and come to nothing; and when he hardly beleived the minister attending upon the sacrifice, who told him hereof, that himselfe caused the water to be poured forth of the pot wherein the tripes and inwards were sodden, where he saw the rest of the tripes and entrals full and whole, but all the liver wasted away, after a wonderfull and miraculous manner, not to be spoken. The LL. were much terrified and amazed at this prodigious object: and the more perplexed were they, for that the other Consull likewise related unto them, how in regard that in his sacrifice the liver wanted an head, hee had killed three oxen more, one after another, and yet could not procure the favour and grace of the gods. Hereupon the Senate commaunded him still to sacrifice these greater beasts, untill such time as he had his desire and the gods were pleased againe. Now it is said, that all the other gods were well ynnough contented, and their ire mitigated and appeased, onely the goddesse **Salus*, *Petilius* could not be reconciled

*Health.

A reconciled unto, for all that ever he might doe. Then the Consuls and Pretours committed the disposition of their provinces to the arbitrement of the lots. Pisæ fell to *Cornelius*; and Liguria to *Petilius*. As for the Pretours, *L. Papyrius Mafso* was lord cheefe justice by lot appointed, within the citie of all citizens pleas, and *M. Alburius* had the jurisdiction over strangers: *M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis* had the charge to govern the lower Spain, & *L. Aquilius Gallus*, Sicilie. The two Pretors behind, requested earnestly that they might not be sent into their provinces, & namely *M. Popilius* into Sardinia: alledging, that *Gracchus* was able to quiet that Island; and the rather, for that *T. Ebutius* the Pretour was by the Senate adjoined to him for assistance: neither was it good to interrupt courses begun, the continuitie whereof is the most effectuall meanes to exploit any great important affaires. For what with delivering up of the sword by the old *L. Deputatus*, and receiving it by the new successeur (whome it were more meet first to bee trained up in knowledge of the State, than to bee put to the managing of State-matters) oftentimes the good opportunities of atcheiving brave enterprises passe by and are lost. This excuse of *Popilius* was held for good, & so approved. Then comes *P. Licinius Crassus*, and he for his part made allegations why he might not go into his province: namely, by occasion of the solemn sacrifice, that he was to give his attendance upon. Now the higher part of Spaine was allotted unto him. But commaunded was hee either to goe into his province, or els to take oth in a frequent and full assembly of the people, that the solemn sacrifice (as he pretended) was the thing that hindered him, and nothing els. This order being set downe and thus passed in the belialte of *P. Licinius*; then steps me up *M. Cornelius*, and required them to take an oth of him likewise, that hee might not goe into the nether province of Spaine. So both these Pretours were sworne according to one and the same forme of oth. Whereupon *M. Titinius* and *T. Fonteus* were commaunded to remaine in qualitie and place of Proconsuls within Spain, and retaine still the same authoritie and power of command: and order was graunted, that for to supplie their forces, there should bee sent unto them three thousand citizens of Rome with two hundred horse, and also five thousand Latine allies, and three hundred horsemen.

The solemnitie of the Latine holydaies began the *third day before the Nones of May: wherein, because at the sacrificing of one beast the magistrate of Lanuvium in his praier left out these words [*Populi Romani Quiritium*] and praied not for the good estate of the people of Rome, and the Quirites, it bred a scruple. The matter was mooved in the Senate, and the Senate referred it D over to the Colledge of the bishops and prelates of the church. And they pronounced this award, That forasmuch as those Latine feasts were not solemnized as they ought, they should begin againe anew: and that the citizens of Lanuvium, by whose default they were thus to be renewed, should bee at the charges of all the beasts for sacrifice. Moreover, to breed more fearefull scrupulositie in mens minds, it fortuned that *Cneus Cornelius* the Consull as hee returned from that solemnitie out of the Albane mountaine, fell downe in a fit of Apoplexie: which turned into an *Hemiplegia* or dead palsey all the one side of his bodie, and so hee was conveyed to the bath and hore waters at Cumes: where, by occasion that his disease grew upon him still, hee departed this life: from whence hee was brought to Rome, and there carried forth in all magnificence of funerall obsequies, and right honourably enterred. Hee had E bene Bishop also as well as Consull, *Q. Petilius* the other Consull, being commaunded to hold an assembly for the surrogation of a colleague unto him, (so soone as possibly hee might bee warranted by the auspices and approbation of the sacred birds) and withall, to proclaim and publish the Latine feasts and holydaies aforesaid; summoned the election against the *third day before the Nones of *Sextilis*: and the Latine solemnitie, the third day likewise before the *Ides of the same month.

*Fifth of May.

*3 of August.

*11 of August.

Whiles mens minds were much possessed already with religion and set upon their devotions, word was brought moreover of certaine fearefull prodigies: to wit, that at Tusculum there was scene a burning flame in the skie: that at Gabes, the temple of *Apollo*, and many private mens houses: likewise at Graviscæ the towne wall and one of the gates were smitten with thunderbolts. For the procuracion whereof, the LL. of the Senate ordained that the Bishops should give order according to their discretion.

Whiles the Consuls were thus staied, first both, by their owne scrupulous holinesse; then one of them by the death of the other; & afterwards by occasion of the new election & the renewing of the Latine festivall solemnitie: *C. Claudius* in the meane time approached with his armie

armie to Modenna, which the Ligurians the yeere before had woon. Hee had not continued the siege full three daies, but he forced the colonie: and having thus recovered it from the enemies, he rettored it againe to the former inhabitants. Eight thousand Ligurians died therewithin the wals upon the sword: and immediately he dispatched his letters to Rome, wherein hee not only declared the simple newes, but glorified himselfe and made his boast, That through his fortune and fortune, both the Romans had not an enimie that durst thew his head on this side the Alpes; and that he had conquered so much land as might serve for to be divided by the poll, among many thousands. *Tib. Sempronius* likewise at the same time, fought many fortunate battailes in Sardinia, and utterly tamed and subdued the Ilanders: fiftene thousand enemies he there slew: all the States of that nation which had revolted, were reduced to obedience under the people of Rome: the old tributaries had an imposition and exaction laid upon them of a duple tribute, which they surely paid: the rest were put to a contribution of corne. After hee had let the province in quietnesse, and received out of the whole Iland two hundred and thirtie hostages, hee sent certain lieutenants as messengers to make report at Rome of all his proceedings: who also in his behalfe should make suite unto the Senat, That in regard of the happie successe in those exploits, under the charge, conduct and fortune of *Tib. Sempronius*, first, due honour praise and thanksgiving might be rendered to the immortal gods; and then, that himselfe might be allowed at his departure out of the province, to bring away his armie with him. The Senate gave audience to the messengers abovesaid within the temple of *Apollo*: and upon their relation ordained a general procession for two daies: commaunding the Coss. to sacrifice 40 head of greater beasts: & withal, enjoined *Tib. Sempronius* the pro-Consull to continue that yeere with his armie in that province. Then the election which had bin published against the * third day before the Nones of *Sextilis* for the substitution of one of the Coss. was the same day accomplished. And *Q. Petilius* the Cof. created for his colleague, *M. Valerius* *Levinus*, for to enter immediately into his magistracie. This *Levinus* had bin a long time desirous to be employed in some province or other: and fity it fell out for his longing desire, that letters came, importing how the Ligurians rebelled and were gone out againe in armes. So after hee once heard the contents of these letters, he made no longer stay, but upon the very * Nones of *Sextilis* all goodly to besene in his warriors coat of armes, he commaunded the third legion (by occasion of this alarme) to go into France, to *C. Claudius* the Pro-consull: also the Duumvirs or two wardens for the ports and navie, to goe to sea, and with a fleet to make saile for Pise, and from thence to coast about all Liguria, and thus by hovering upon the seas, to terrifie the enemies that way also. *Q. Petilius* likewise the Cof. had appointed a day for his armie to meet in the same place. Moreover *C. Claudius* the Pro-consull, advertised of the Ligurians revolt, over and besides those forces which he had about him at Parma, levied in hast a strength of more souldiours; and so with his compleat armie approached the borders of the Ligurians. The enemies upon the arrivall of *C. Claudius*, by whose conduct they well remembred how late they had bene discomfited and put to flight neere the river *Scultenna*, minding to seeke for defence rather by the strength of advantageous places than force of armes, against that power of his which to their cost they had before tried, seized the two hills, * *Letus* and *Balista*, about which they raised a mure also for their better safetie. But such as lagged behind and quit the champaine plaines and lower grounds with the latest, were surprised and cut thort, to the number of fiftene hundred. The rest kept within the mountaines: who albeit they were in feare and danger of their owne parts, yet forgot not their inbred crueltie; but ran upon the booties and prizes which they had taken at Modenna, their poore prisoners whom they held captive, they pitiously mangled and killed most villanously: as for the beasts in the temples every where, they rather hacked hewed and cut in peeces butcherlike, than sacrificed in decent seemely and religious manner. Thus being satisfied with the blood and massacre of living creatures, they tooke all their breathlesse things they had, and reared and stucke them upon the wals; and namely, implements of all sorts, made rather for use and necessitie than ornament and shew. *Q. Petilius* the Consull, for feare least the warre would be ended in his absence, dispatched his letters to *M. Claudius*, to hast away with his armie to him into France, for he would attend his comming upon the plaines called *Macri*. Upon the receipt of which letters, *Claudius* dislodged out of Liguria, & delivered unto the Consull his armie at the said plaines called *Macri*. Fewe daies after came *Caius Valerius* the other Consull thither also. There they divided their forces, and before they departed one from the other, they both together made a survey

* The third of August.

* 5. of August.

The third of August.

A survey & review of their severall armies. This done, they cast lots into what quarters they should either of them goe, for that they held it not good policie to charge the enemy both of them jointly in one part. Now certaine it is, that *Valerius* received his lot according to the auspices, in that hee was within the precinct of the temple or prospect by the Augur assigned. But *Petilius* that hee was within the precinct of the temple or prospect by the Augur assigned. But *Petilius* that hee made default (as the Augurs pronounced afterwards) and namely the error was herein, because he being himselfe without the compasse aforesaid, had put the lot into the casket, which was carried afterwards within the circuite of the said temple. This done, they went into divers quarters: *Petilius* encamped affront that banke & rising of the hill between *Balista* & *Letus*, which by a continuall ridge uniteth and joyneth the one mountaine to the other. There, as he was exhorting his souldiours in open audience, he let fall (by report) an ominous word, presaging his owne death, never thinking of the ambiguitie & duple construction thereof; saying that he would that very day * *capere Letum*. In two severall places at once he began to mount up the hills. That regiment wherein he was himselfe, avanced forward courageously: but the other was repulsed and beaten backe by the enemies: whereupon the Consull todo full gallop to helpe that side which went downe: and in very truth reclaime his men hee did from running away; but whiles without good regard of his own person he kept before the ensignes in the forefront, he chanced to be shot through with a dart, and so fell downe dead in the place. The enemies were not ware of the Generals death: but some few of his owne men who saw him fall, made hast (as knowing well that in it consisted now the main victorie) to cover his bodie. So the rest of the multitude, as well cavallerie as infanterie, captaines as they were, disseazed the enemies and were maisters of the mountaines. Of Ligurians there were slaine 3000: of the Romane armie not above two and fiftie. Now besides this evident yssue and event which fell out upon so heave and deadly a presage by the * oise aforesaid, the pulletier also was heard to say, that all was not well in the auspices of the birds; neither was the Consull himselfe ignorant thereof.

Capere Letum, thus written with a critical signification, To game the hill *Letus*: but with the title, (which he care cannot distinguish) importeth, To take his death. *Valerius Maximus* reporting the same story, calls this Ome of his (which I commonly interpret *Offe*) *fortuitum* *vox* *casus*: then againe casteth forth a word at a venture, and speakes more truly than he is aware. For want of a proper term to expresse the Latine word, I have translated it into English, and have ben put to their *Offe*, and helpe themselves with *Presage*. Which in mine opinion is not [Once] all translators have done, French, Italian, and English, have ben put to their *Offe*, and helpe themselves with *Presage*. Which in mine opinion is not appropriate to the thing, but common: as comprising other tokens of birds, whether they be auguria or auspices of beasts inwardly, of lightning and the rest: rather implying *augurium*, i. the fore-deeming by those signes, yea, and extending to the fore-giving of the mind. Whereas that other word *Offe* is very significant, and in analogie equivalent to *Omen*. I marvel much therefore, why it is thought either strange and new (seeing it is English, used so commonly in times past, and at this day current in the North-parts, where the people happily are more observant of such presages) rather than many other words, brought into our language, and ranged with the English: why it should be condemned as abstruse and not pleasing to the ear, more than in Greek, which commonly betokeneth (a voice) and more properly in Plato (as Budaeus hath well observed) is taken for *Omen* like as *consona* for omens: and *augurium* (i. *divinare*) is *Euthymus* noeth upon *Horatius*, *lib. 2. l. 2.* From whence, we seech not that *Offe*, and *Offing* both, are derived: The word *Offe* being not lastly borne, but descended from the mother of all learning, the Greeke tongue, and enfranchised in this Iland time out of mind (howsoever it hath ben confined into the North) would not bee exiled chane, but rather reduced and received for a free denizen, equal postliminio.

C. Valerius having heard

and deepe divines, those also that were profoundly scene in the common law, gave it forth, That seeing the two ordinarie Consuls (*Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus*, and *Q. Petilius Spurius*) of that yeere, were both dead, the one by sicknes, the other by the sword, it was not lawfull for the other Consull (*C. Valerius Levinus*) subroged in the place of the deceased, to hold the assembly general for the election of new Magistrates.]

conducted. On this side the Apennine were the *Garules*, *Lapirines*, and *Hercatians*: beyond the Apennine were the *Briniates*. Against them that had pilld and ransacked *Pise* and *Luna*, *Q. Mutius* made war within the compasse of the river *Audena*: & when hee had brought them in subjection, he tooke from them their armes. For which exploits atcheevd in France and Liguria, under the conduct and happie fortune of the two Consuls, the Senate ordained that there should be publick procession for three daies, and commaunded to sacrifice fortie greater beasts. And thus verily the tumultuous warres of the French and the Ligurians, which arose in the beginning of the yeere, were in short time and without any great maiestie dashed and appeased.

But now in lieu thereof, great care was taken for the Macedonian warre, by occasion that *Perseus* sowed the seeds of debate and quarrell betwene the *Dardanians* & the *Bastarnians*. Besides the Roman enbassadors who were sent into Macedonia, to see in what tearms things there stood, were now returned to Rome, and had brought word, That in Dardania they were up in armes. With them there came also from *King Perseus* certaine Oratours to make excuse in his behalfe, and to cleere him in the action, namely, that the *Bastarnians* neither were by him sent for, nor entered into any execution by his motive. The Senate would neither acquit the king as unguiltie,

[The great clerkes thus with in these markes:] the Latine copies have not, but as partly supplied out of *Petilius* in his 17. l. 16.

unguiltie, nor yet directly accuse him as culpable in that point. Onely they required, that hee should bee advertised and admonished, to bee very well adviced and carefull to keepe that league and accord inviolable, which he would seeme to entertaine with the Romanes.

The Dardanians seeing that the Bastarnæ were so farre off from departing out of their countrey (as they well hoped they would) that they endammaged and endangered them still everie day more than other, as bearing themselves bold upon the succors of the Thracians neer neighbours, and the Scordisci; thought it their best course in pollicie, to adventure upon some hardie enterprife, although it were rash and inconsiderate: whereupon they assembled all in arms, and from every quarter of their countrey shewed and advanced before the next towne, to the campe of the Bastarnians. Winter time it was, a season of the yeere which they made choise of, that the Thracians and the Scordisci might be retired home into their owne countries: which when they were advertised of, and that there remained none but the Bastarnæ alone, they divided their forces in two parts: with the one, to march directly forward and openly to make head against them affront; with the other, to fetch a compass through by-waies and blind Forrests, and so to charge upon their backs. But before they could wheele about the enemies campe, the battaile was begun: wherein the Dardanians had the overthrow, and were driven to put themselves within their citie, which was almost twelve miles distant from the campe of the Bastarnæ. The conquerors followed the traine of victorie, and incontinently invested the towne, making full account, that the next day either the enemies would yeeld, or else they should be able to win the place by fine force. In the meane time, the other regiment above said of the Dardanians, which cast about, knowing nothing at all of their fellowes disfigure, began to assaile the campe of the Bastarnians, left without a sufficient guard for defence.

As the manner of kings was, he sate in a stately throne of Ivorie, to heare pleas and decide controversies of the smallest and most trifling matters. So transported was he and caried away with an humor of levitie and spirit of inconstancie, so distracted and wandering in all the course of his life, that he was never settled and well contented in any condition or state whatsoever: in such sort, as neither he knew his owne selfe, nor any man else wist well what to make of him. He would not seeme to speake unto his friends, and hardly was seene to laugh familiarly among those of his neere acquaintance. Hee made a foole of himselfe, and mocked others likewise; such was his unordinate and irregular munificence. To men of honour standing highly upon their worth and reputation, his manner was to bestow childish trifles, as sugar-plums to eat or to play with: all, toys and gewgaws instead of great and pretious presents: others againe that looked for nothing, those he enriched. And therefore some deemed, that he knew not what hee did: others gave it out, that hee did all in plaine mockage: and there were againe that let not to say, how he was out of his right wits, and cleane besides himselfe. Yet in two things, which were both great and laudable, hee carried with him a princely and royall mind indeed; to wit, in adorning cities with stately gifts, and honouring the gods with divine worship. He promised the Megapolitans in Arcadia, to raise a wall about their citie; and in truth the better part of the money to defray the charges thereof, hee sent unto them. He went in hand to build a magnificent Theatre of marble at Tegæa: at Cizicum, he gave freely to the Prytaneum (a faire hall by it selfe in the heart of the citie, where, at the common charges, certaine had their diet of free-cost) by way of honorable reward, a cupbord of golden plate sufficient for the furniture and service of one table. As for the Rhodians, I cannot say, what one speciall gift singular above the rest, hee bestowed upon them; so liberally minded was hee to them-ward, and his hand ever open to give them of all sorts whatsoever they needed or required. Now, his magnificence in honouring the gods, what it was (if there were nothing else) the temple of *Iupiter Olympius* begun by him in Athens (so answerable every way to the majesty of that great god, that the like to it is not to be found again in the whole world) may testifie sufficiently. Moreover, hee beautified Delos with goodly sea-ensigns, and with a great number of statues and images. Likewise he promised to edifie at Antiochia, a stately temple in the honour of *Iupiter Capitolinus*; not onely arched above-head with a golden embowed rouse, but seled all over the wall sides with plates of gold: besides many other things in divers places, which by reason that hee reigned but a very short time, hee could not finish and performe. In magnificence also of playes, publicke shewes, and pageants of every sort, hee over-went all the kings his progenitors before him, as well in regard of Grecian actors and gamesters, whereof hee had many about him, as of the rest who were acquainted with the fa-

shions of his owne countrey. He represented the fight of sword-players at the sharpe with untruncated swords, after the custome of the Romanes; with greater terror and feare at first, than pleasure and delight of men, who were not used to behold such fights: but afterwards by often exhibiting the same, in such manner, as sometime they drew blood one of another, yea and otherwhiles gave not over so, but fought to the utterance, even to death, hee made it a familiar exercise and a pleasant spectacle to the eye; and thereby set an edge upon the courage of many yong gallants, and emboldened them to embrace chivalrie and follow feats of armes. So as in procelle of time, hee that was wont at the beginning to send as farre as Rome for these fencers, and to hire them for great wages and reward, now with his owne

L. Cornelius Scipio (had the jurisdiction) over forreiners. To *M. Atilius* the Pretour, the government of Sardinia by lot was fallen, but he was enjoyned to passe over into Corsica with the new legion which the Consuls had enrolled, consisting of five thousand foot and three hundred horse. And during the time that he should be employed there in the warres, *Cornelius* had commission to continue in his charge and place of commaund, within Sardinia. Unto *Cn. Servilius Capio* for low Spaine, and *P. Furius Philus* for the higher, were assigned three thousand Romane footmen and an hundred and fiftie horse; but of Latine allies, five thousand of the one and three hundred of the other. As for *L. Claudius* he was appointed to Sicilie without any supply at all. Moreover, the Consuls had commaundement to enroll two legions besides, with the full number as well of foot as horse, and to charge the [Latine] allies, with the setting out and maintenance of a thousand footmen and six hundred horse. This levie and taking of musters, the Consuls went through with, in more difficultie, by reason of a great mortallitie, which beginning the

yeere before with a morrefn of kine and oxen, turned this yeere into pestilent epidemiall diseases of men. Looke who fell sicke once, lightly they died before the seventh day: and those that overlived and escaped that crisis, lay long sicke by it, and commonly of the quartane ague. The most that went of this maladie were slaves, whose breathlesse carcases lay ordinarily along everie street unburied: and more than that, men were not able to enterre so much as the dead bodies of free persons, they died so thicke; in such sort, as they putrified and rotted above ground: for neither hungrie dog nor greedie gripe, would once touch them. And for certaine it was knowne and noted, that neither all that yeere nor in the former, during the mortallitie of man and beast, there was not a vultur or grype any where to bee seene. Divers prelates and priests of

D State dropt away of this plague, and namely, *Cn. Servilius Capio* a bishop, the father of the Pretour: *Tib. Sempronius Longus* the sonne of *Titus*, one of the Decemvirs for sacred rites and divine service: *P. Aelius Petus* the Augur: *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, *C. Atellus Aemylus* the chiefe superintendent of all the parish-priests, and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* a bishop. These were substituted bishops in place of the dead, to wit, *C. Sulpitius Galba* in stead of *Tuditanus*. For Augures were subordained, *T. Veturius Crassus Sempronianus* in the roume of *Gracchus*; *Q. Aelius Petus* for *P. Aelius*. Decemvirs over holy rites was elected, *Carus Sempronius Longus*; and *C. Scribonius*, surnamed *Curio*, supplied the want of the grand superintendent aforesaid. Still continued the pestilence; whereupon the Senate ordeined, That the Decemvirs should have recourse to the bookes of *Sibylla*: by whose order and direction, publicke supplications held for one day long: and after a devout manner, the people conceived and made a solemne vow in the

E common-place, according to that forme of words which *Q. Martius Philippus* endited & promised unto them, to this effect: That if this maladie and pestilent disease, were remooved out of the territorie of Rome, they would for two daies space solemnize a feast, goe in procession and poure out their prayers with all devotion. In the Vejentian countrey a man child was borne with two heads; and another at Sinuessæ but with one hand. At Oximum a maid child came into the world with teeth in the head: and over the temple of *Saturne* (standing in the market place of Rome) there was seene in the skie a bow full bent all the day long, if the aire were cleere and the weather faire: and at one time there shone out three funnes. Also in one night, there evidently appeared many flaming lights and fire-drakes shooting along in the aire. The men of Lanuvium and Cære affirmed plainly, That within their towne they saw a serpent with a creft and mane, yea and the same marked all over with yellow spots like gold: and it was held for certain, that in the territorie of *Capua* an oxe spake.

Now were the embassadours returned out of Affricke by the *Nones of Iune, those I meane, *7 of Iune. who went to Carthage, after they had been with king *Masaniſſa*, and spoken with him. But bet-

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ter

There was much
of the manner of
the king's life,
and how hee
was used to
behave himselfe
in the court.

* *Lilium non
sufficitur.*

ter and more certaine intelligence they had by this king, than from the Carthaginians themselves, as touching the affaires that had passed in Carthage. Howbeit, thus much they reported upon their assured knowledge, that embassadours came from king *Perseus*, and had audience in the Senate secretly by night within the temple of *Æsculapius*. Also both the king affirmed flatly, and the Carthaginians themselves but faintly denied, that embassadours likewise had been sent from Carthage into Macedonie. Whereupon the Senate was of advice and resolved to dispatch their embassadours also into Macedonie. And these three were sent, to wit, *C. Lalius*, *M. Papius Maffala*, and *Sext. Digittus*.

During this time, *Perseus*, by occasion that certaine Dolopians obeyed him not, and of some matters in controversie and difference referred the audience and decision to the Romanes, and refused the arbitrement of the king, led forth an armie against them, and reduced the whole nation under his obedience and jurisdiction. From thence hee passed over the Oetæan mountaines, and upon certaine religions motions arising in his mind, he went up to Delphos, for to visite the Oracle. Being thus on a suddaine scene in the very heart and midst of Greece, he strucke a terror not onely into the cities next adjoining, but also the bruite of this tumultuous alarme was blowne as farre as to king *Eumenes*. After hee had staid at Delphi not above three daies, hee returned into his owne realme, by the way of Phthiotis, Achaia and Theffalie, without any damage done or wrong offered to the territories through which he passed. Neither thought hee it sufficient thus onely to win the love and favour of those cities and states through which he was to journey, but hee addressed either embassadours or wrote his letters, praying them to beare no longer in mind the enmities which had bene betweene them and his father, for as much as they were not so bitter and deadly but they might well ynough, yea, and ought to end and die with him: as for himselfe, he saw no let or hinderance in the world to empeach them for entertaining a faithfull amitie with him. But above all others hee sought meanes to be reconciled to the Achæans, and to reenter into grace and favour with them. This nation alone of all Greece, together with the citie of Athens, were growne into those rearmes of despight and malice against the Macedonians, that they debarred them from once setting foot within their confines. And hereupon it came, that when certaine slaves fled out of Achæa, they retired into Macedonie for refuge, and there remained: and because the Achæans had forbidden the Macedonians to come within their liberties, they durst not likewise for their parts enter into the marches & frontiers of his kingdom to recover their bondmen. Which when *Perseus* perceived, he caused al those fugitive slaves to be apprehended, and he dispatched his letters unto the Achæans, wherein he wrote That he would right courteously send backe their slaves home againe, although they were runne away from them unto him; advertising and advising them to beware and looke well unto it, that there were no more any such escapes and runnings away of their bond-servants hereafter. When these letters were read by *Xenarchus* their Pretour, who sought to currey some favour and to wind himselfe into grace with the king, most of them that were present judged the letters to have been written right graciously and with great government and moderation, but principally those persons, who beyond their hope were to recover and receive their slaves whom they had lost. But *Callistrates* one of them who were fully persuaded, that the safetie of their whole estate depended upon the loiall observance and inviolable maintenance of the accord contracted with the Romanes, spake thus or to this effect following, It may seeme to some here (quoth he) my maisters of Achæa, that wee are in question at this present of a small matter and of meane importance: but I for my part am of opinion, that we are not now in hand to treat, but have already debated, and after a sort concluded, one of the greatestt affaires and of most consequence that wee know. For we who have interdicted the KK. of Macedonie and the Macedonians to come within our borders, and have decreed that this edict may stand firme and irrevocable, and that for this intent especially, Because wee would admit neither embassadours nor messengers from the KK. for feare lest by entercourse of them, the hearts of some among us might bee solicited and tempted to noveltie and alteration: wee now are content to heare the king, although absent in person, preaching in some sort to us, yea, and more than that (God send us good lucke) approve and applaude his Oration. And whereas the very wild beasts refuse (for the most part) the meat which is laid for a bait to deceive and hurt them, yea, and have the wit to shun and avoid the same; wee, blind beetles that we are, suffer our selves to bee caught and fed with the vaine appearance and colourable shew of a lide kindnesse, and for hope to recover some poore slaves (a mar-

The Oration of
Callistrates the
Achæan.

ter of small worth and reckoning) suffer our owne freedome to be undermined, and in daunger of subversion. For who seeth not, that the ouerture is made, and the way laid open for entrance into confederacie with the king, onely to violate and breake our association with the Romanes, wherein standeth all our weale and welfare? Vnlesse some man peradventure will make a question, whether the Romanes must levie warre against *Perseus*? and doubt thereof now after *Philip* is dead, which in his life time was expected, and by his death onely interrupted? Two sonnes, ye know full well, king *Philip* had, *Demetrius* and *Perseus*. For noblenesse of parentage by the mothers side, for vertue, for wit, for the love and affection of the Macedonians, *Demetrius* farre surpassed his brother. But for that the father intended ever and meant, that whether of his two sonnes hated the Romanes, he should have the crowne after him for recompence, he caused *Demetrius* to bee murdered; for no other crime in the world that could be laid to his charge, save onely that he was entered into amitie with the Romanes: but *Perseus* he made the king, whom he knew that the people of Rome judged more worthie to suffer punishment than to inherit a kingdom. And this *Perseus*, what other thing hath hee done els after his fathers decease, but made preparation for warre? First and formost he procured the Bastarnians, to the terror of all the world, for to invade *Dardania*: who if they had ferted there, Greece should have had more troublesome neighbors of them than Asia hath of the Galatians. And albeit hee was disappointed of this hope, yet hee gave not over to desigine and plot for warre; nay, if we will speake a truth, he hath already begun the war. Dolopia he hath subdued by force of armes, and could not abide to heare that the determination of certaine provinces which were debatable & litigious, should be referred to the award of the people of Rome. From thence having passed over the mountaine Oeta, that all upon a suddaine he might shew himselfe in the very centre of Greece, hee ascended up to Delphi. And to what end, thinke ye, hath he taken this diswonted voiage and unaccustomed expedition? After this he made his progresse all over Theffalie: And what if he annoied and hurt none of them, whom he hated in his heart? I feare me so much the more this manner of dealing, and that it is a bait to catch them withall. Then, forsooth, he sendeth his letters unto us, with a goodly shew of a bon-present, and willet us to thinke eftsoones how to prevent from henceforth, that we never had need againe of the like bountie of his. What is that, but to annull and repeale that edict of ours, wherein the Macedonians are debarred from setting foot within *Peloponnesus*? and to bring about, that we may have againe the kings embassadours to come unto us, that we may entertaine mutuall hospitalitie betweene their princes and ours? and anon after, (see the Macedonian armies, yea, and the king also in person to crosse from Delphi (for a small arme of the sea lieth betweene) streight over into *Peloponnesus*: and finally, that we band and combine with the Macedonians, when they shall take armes against the Romanes? As for mee, this is mine advice, to make no new ordinance, but to let all alone in their entier, as they now stand, untill such time as wee are come to some certaine tearmes, Whether we have cause to be afraid, or feare onely our owne shaddowes? If the league shall continue firme and sure betweene the Romanes and the Macedonians, then may we have entercourse of friendship, of commerce and traffick with them. But for this present to thinke and consider hereof, in my simple judgment, is a nice and ticklish point, and besides, out of season, untimely, and somewhat with the soonest. When hee had thus said, *Arco* brother to *Xenarchus* the Pretour discoursed in this manner following. *Callistrates* (quoth he) hath caused both me and all of us besides, who are of contrarie opinion to him, for to find the more difficultie in speaking our minds to the cause in question. For whiles in maintenance of the association which we have with the Romanes, he saith that it is disturbed and troubled, (albeit there bee no man about either to disturbe or trouble it) he hath wrought cunningly and contrived, that whosoever seemeth to gainsay him, may be thought to oppole & set himselfe against the Romanes. In the first place, as if he had ben a man, not conversing here among us, but one come from the Senat of Rome, or some inward secretarie & of the privie counsell to the KK. he knoweth forsooth, and uttereth all that in great secrecie hath bene done. Nay, hee foretelleth like a wife man, what would have ensued, in case *Philip* had lived longer: & namely how it came about, that *Perseus* thus inherited the crowne: what the Macedonian designs are: and what the Romanes intend to doe. But we, who know neither for what cause, nor in what manner *Demetrius* came by his death, ne yet what *Philip* meant to have done if hee had lived still, must accommodate and frame our counsell to those occurrents which have openly passed in the view of the world. Wee take knowledge, that *Perseus* after hee was invested in his throne and crowned

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king,

The Oration of
Arco.

king, repaired to the Romane embassadours; and we know likewise that hee was intituled by the people of Rome with the style of (King *Perseus*.) We heare besides, that Romane embassadours came to the king, and were by him well received and graciously entertained. If I have any judgement these bee all signes of peace and not of warre, neither can the Romanes take offence, if as wee followed them when they bare armes, so we follow them now likewise, as the authours of peace. And verily I see no reason why we alone of all other Greekes, should make so mortall and inextinguishable warre against the realme of Macedonie. What is it because we are so neere unto the Macedonians, and by that vicinitie exposed to all dangers from thence? or that wee are the weakest of all the rest, and like to the Dolopians, whom *Perseus* of late hath subdued? Nay ywis, it is farre otherwise & cleane contrarie. Sure enough we are for any harme they can do us, in regard either of our owne forces (which the gods of their goodnesse have vouchsafed us) or of the distance of place so far remote. But for case wee be as much subject as the Thessalians & Etolians: Say, we are of no more credite and authoritie among the Romans (albeit we have bene alwaies their associates & friends) than the Etolians be, who were their open enemies but the other day: Then, what right, what privilege and commerce, the Etolians, the Thessalians, the Epitiores, and in one word, all Greece besides, have and use with the Macedonians, we also may have and hold the same. How is it then, that we alone like cursed and damned creatures, should thus practise to abandon the common law of men, (and as it were) renounce all humane societie. Be it, that *Philip* (when time was) did somewhat, and gave us just cause, armed as he was and ever warning upon us, to passe this decree and edict against him: what hath *Perseus* deserved? *Perseus* (I say) the new king, a harmlesse prince that never did us injurie; nay, who is willing and seeketh by courtesies and good turnes to cancell and rase out all former quarrels and enmities of his father: why are we the onely enemies that he hath in the world? And yet I might full well and truly say, that from the former kings of Macedonie we have received so great favours and benefits, that in regard thereof, we should put up and forget the wrongs of *Philip* alone (if haply he have done us any) at leastwise now after he is dead and his head laid. Indeed, at what time as the Romane fleet rid in the harbor of Cenchreæ, and the Consull lay encamped with his armie before Elæia, wee sat in counsell three daies together, debating & dividing, Whether we should band with the Romanes or side to *Philip*? And albeit the present feare of the Romanes before our eyes, might have made us in our opinions to incline somewhat and leane toward them: yet there was something in it I doubtlesse, that it was so long ere wee could resolve: and to say a trueth, it was the ancient acquaintance and amitie that we had with the Macedonians, and the great benefits which in old time we had received from their kings. Why then, me thinkes, those selfe same regards should be of some force and efficacy, to moove us, if not to be their speciall & best friends, yet at leastwise not to bee their principall and greatest enemies. Let us not, *Callistates*, make semblance and shew of that, which we are not in hand withall, and is no point of this present question. There is no motive made of a newe societie; there is no person about to draw any capitulations of a new alliance, wherein we should rashly enwrap and entangle our selves, and betie to any inconvenience. Onely, let there be a mutuall commerce between us, and an alternative intercourse of yeelding and demanding right to and fro, as appertaineth; let us not by interdicting and forbidding them to enter and traffike within our countie, debarre our selves likewise from all negotiation and dealing with them in their kingdome; that by this meanes our slaves may have no place of retreat and refuge to flee unto. And what prejudice is this to the Roman confederacie? Wherefore make we thus of a small thing & evident, so great a matter and suspicious? Wherefore raise we such troubles of nothing? Wherefore seeke we to draw others into jealousy & hatred with the Romans, and all this, to find means of courting and flatterring them? If there will be warre, *Perseus* (yea may be sure) maketh no doubt, but that we altogether will follow the Romans: yets so long as the peace holdeth, surcease & suspend we in some sort our malice and hatred for the while; it ended for ever it may not bee. When the same men who had consented to the kings letters before, gave their accord now also to this propose, the chiefe and principall persons among them tooke great indignation and disdain, that *Perseus* should seeme to demand and obtaine that by a few lines in writing, which he deemed was not worth the sending an embassage. Whereupon the time was deferred and no decree passed at this Session. Afterwards were embassadours addrest unto them from the king, at what time as a Diet was holden in Megalopolis: but the side which was for the Romanes, and feared to give them occa-

sion of displeasure and offence, did what they could to debarre them of access and entrance into the Counsell. And much about this time, by reason of these jarres, the Etolians grew enraged among themselves, and by discharging their mutuall furie in killing one another, had like to have brought the state to a small ruine and desolation. But being wearie thereof, they in the end as well of the one side as the other, sent their Embassadours to Rome, and also laboured at home to have the quarrell taken up, and to be made friends and reconciled together. Howbeit this was crossed by a new mischiefe that came betwene, which also rubbed the former gauls and fretted the old sores. For whereas certaine Hypæreans, exiled persons, & being of the faction of *Proxenus*, were promised libertie to returne home againe into their countie, with safe conduct also granted by *Enpolemus* one of the chiefe & principall men of the cite: so it was, that fourscore of them, men of marke and qualitie (whome to meet upon the way as they returned, *Enpolemus* himselfe went out with the multitude) after they had bin friendly received with courteous greetings, salutations, and shaking of hands, had no sooner entred within the gate of the citie but they were massacred, notwithstanding they pleaded the faithfull promise of protection, and called the gods to witnesse, but all in vaine. By this occasion the civill war betwene them waxed much hotter than before, and turned in the end to a light fire. Now there arrived *C. Valerius Leuinus*, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *C. Memmius*, *M. Popilius*, and *L. Canutius*, as sent from the Senate of Rome. Before these commissioners, the embassadours from both factions appeared at Delphi, and debated the matter with great earnestnes and vehemencie, where *Proxenus* seemed to have the better hand as well in right of the cause, as through his eloquent tongue: *Proxenus* (I say) who within few daies after, dranke a cup of poison of his wives tempering, whereof he died: and she condemned therefore, departed into exile. The like madnesse haunted the Candiotis also and distracted them with intestine dissention. But upon the coming of *Q. Mutius* the lieutenant generall, who was sent accompanied with a fleet of ten saile, to appease their debates, they fell to some tearmes of peace and attonement. There had bene a truce also before of fixe monthes, but afterwards the warre flamed out much more terrible. The Lycians likewise at the same time, were infested and plagued with warre by the Rhodians. But my meaning is not, neither is it any part of my purpose, to describe the warres of forreine nations, nor to discourse of the circumstances how they proceeded: for enough I have to do, and more than I can well discharge, to write the acts onely of the people of Rome.

The Celtiberians in Spaine, who being subdued and tamed by force of armes, had submitted to *Tib. Gracchus*, remained quiet all the time that *M. Titinius* the Pretour continued there in government. But immediately upon the arrivall of *Appius Claudius* they revolted: and began to shew themselves in open action of rebellion, by giving a suddaine assault upon the Romane campe. It was about the breake of day, when the sentinels upon the rampier and *Corps de guard* about the gates, might discover enemies comming a farre off, and so they gave the alarme. *Appius Claudius* having put out the signall of battaile, and in fewe words exhorted his souldiours to fight and play the men, led them forth at three gates at once. The Celtiberians made head and opposed their forces as they issued forth. At the first the skirmish was equall on both parts: for that by reason of the streights of the passage, all the Romanes could not fight: but after that one had put forward another, and followed still apace, they were all at length gotten without the trench, so as they were able now to display their battaillons, & to confront their enemies from one point of their battaile to the other, wherewith before they were environned: and then they made so forcible a sallie upon them, that the Celtiberians were not able to endure their violence. For before the second houre of the day, they were discomfited and put backe: and fifteen thousand of them either died in the place, or yeelded their bodies prisoners: two and thirtie militarie ensignes they lost, and were turned out of the campe the same day: and here an end of that warre. For as many as escaped the medley gat them home to their owne townes, and quietly afterwards bare the yoke of subjection.

That yeere were created Censors, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* & *A. Posthumius Albinus*: who made a review of Senatours and chose new. For president of the Senat they elected *M. Aemilius Lepidus* the Archbishop. Nine they put out of the Senate-house. The principall persons noted and disgraced, were these, *M. Cornelius Maluginensis*, who two yeeres before had ben Pretor in Spaine; *L. Cornelius Scipio*, Pretor for the time being, and *L.* chiefe Iustice of the common pleas, as well among citizens as aliens; and *L. Fulvius*, who was whole brother to the Censor himselfe, and as

Valerius Antias reporteth, equall in degree of calling, and his fellow every way. The Consuls also after they had made their vowes within the Capitoll, went forth to their provinces. The one of them, (to wit, *M. Aemilius*) had in charge given him by the Senat, to appease the sedition of the Padoans in Venice, who as their embassadours made report, by factious siding and part-taking, were all on a fire with civill warre.

The embassadours who were gone into *Ætolia* for to pacifie the like troubles, brought word backe, That it was not possible to bridle and reſtaine the furious rage of that nation. But the comming of the Conſull made all whole among the Padoans and cured the maladie: who having nothing else to doe in the province, returned to Rome.

These Censurs were the first that caused the streets of Rome to be paved with hard flint and pebble stone within the citie; and the high waies and causeys without to be raised with gravell, and the sides thereof to be well banked and kept in reparations: also bridges to be made in divers places: a scaffold besides for the *Ediles* and *Pretors* to behold the games & plaies. Moreover, the barriers in the race, from whence the horses begin to run, & the *Ouales* to marke and skore up the number of courses. * * * Over and besides the goles, beyond * * * the yron grates and cages * * * and at the feasts in the mount Albane for the Consuls. They took order besides all this, for the paving with flint of the cliffe or descent from the Capitoll, and from the gallerie or porch before the temple of *Saturne* looking toward the Capitoll, unto the place called *Senaculum*, and the court *Hostilia* above it. Also the merchants hall or burse without the gate *Tergemina* they paved with stone, and fenced it about with strong stakes and posts of wood. The gallerie also *Aemilia* they caused to be repaired; and made an ascent by staires from the Tyber to the burse or merchants hall aforesaid. Without the same gate also, they paved with pebble stone the gallerie or walking place into the *Aventine* * * * from the temple of *Venus*. The same Censurs bargained for the making of walls about *Calatia* and *Oxyrum*: and having made sale of some publicke edifices there, they employed the money raised thereof, in making of shops and stalles round about both the market places. The one of them, that is to say, *M. Fulvius*, (for *Posthumius* said plainly, that unlesse it were by vertue either of an act of the Senate, or graunt of the people of Rome, hee would put forth no workes to be made with dispenſe of their money) agreed upon a price for the building of a temple to *Iupiter* at *Pisaurum* and at *Fundi*: also to make a conduit, for water to be conveyed to *Pollentia*; and at *Pisaurum* for a way to be paved, and *Sinuessa* * * *. In these colonies, hee caused also a sinke or vault to be made about them, to carry away all filthinesse into the river: also the market place to be enclosed with porches, galleries, and shops; and three stately halls called *lani*, with quarrefours or foure throughfares, and as many fronts. For these workes, one of the Consuls disbursed the money, and bargained with the Publicanes and undertakers. In which regard, the inhabitants of those colonies above-named, gave him great thanks. These Censurs were likewise severe and precise in exercising their office, for the redressing and reformation of mens manners: for many gentlemen had their horses of service taken from them, which were allowed them by the citie.

A little before the yceres end, there was a solemne procession holden one whole day for the happie achievement of the affaires in Spaine, under the conduct and good fortune of *Appius Claudius* the Proconsull; and twentie head of great beasts were killed in sacrifice. And the morrow after they went in another procession with supplications, at the temples of *Ceres*, *Liber*, and *Libera*: for that there was reported from the *Sabines* countrey, a mightie earthquake, which over-turned many houses.

After that *Appius Claudius* was returned out of Spaine to Rome, the Senat ordeined, that hee should enter the citie with the pompe of an Ovation. And now approached the time for the election of new Consuls. Much adoe there was and hard hold at this assembly, by reason of the multitude of competitors: but in the end, *L. Posthumius Albinus* and *M. Popilius Lanus*, were elected Consuls: which done, the Pretours also were created, to wit, *Cn. Fabius Buteo*, *M. Metienus*, *C. Cicercius*, *M. Furius Crassipes*, *A. Attilius Serranus*, and *C. Cluvius Saxula*, these three last rehearsed, the second time.

This businesse and solemnitie finished, *Ap. Claudius* Cento entring with Ovant pompe into the citie for his victorie of the Celtiberians, brought into the common treasure 10000 pound weight of silver, and five thousand of gold. *Cn. Cornelius* was consecrated the Flamine of *Iupiter*. The

A The same yeere there was set up a painted table in the temple of the goddesse *Matuta* with this inscription, VNDER THE CONDUCT AND HAPPIE GOVERNEMENT OF TIE SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, CONSULL, THE LEGION AND ARMIE OF THE PEOPLE OF ROME, SUEDED SARDINIA. IN WHICH PROVINCE, THERE WERE SLAINE AND TAKEN PRISONERS EIGHTIE THOUSAND ENEMIES. WHICH GRACCHUS (AFTER HE HAD MANAGED THE AFFAIRES OF STATE MOST FORTUNATELY, DELIVERED MANY CAPTIVES OUT OF BONDAGE, AND RECOVERED THE TRIBUTES AND CUSTOMES TO THE COMMON-VWEALE) BROUGHT HOME WITH HIM, HIS ARMIE SAFE AND SOUND, CHARGED WITH AN EXCEEDING RICH ECOTIE, AND REENTERED THE CITTIE OF ROME, IN A SECOND TRIUMPH. IN MEMORIAL OF WHICH EXPLOIT, HEE CAUSED THIS TABLE TO BE SET UP AS A PRESENT IN THE HONOUR OF IUPITER.

Now this table contained the portraiture of the Iland Sardinia, and the picture also and resemblance of sundrie battailes. Moreover, in this yeere were represented to the people certaine pastimes and shewes of sword-players, whereof some were small and of no account: but one above the rest, exhibited by *T. Flaminius*, surpassed. And this hee did in honour of his father deceased; with a dole of flesh among the people, a great publicke feast besides, and stage-plays for foure dayes together. But the principall matter in this festivall solemnitie, was this, That in three daies space there fought at utterance with unrebatad swords, threescore and foureteene champions.



THE XLII. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIVS of Padoa, from the foundation of the Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of *L. Florus* upon the two and fortieth Booke.

E *Flavius Flaccus* the Censor uncovered the rooffe of the church of *Imo Lacinia*, which was slated with marble, and all to cover a temple which he had dedicated. But by an act of the Senate he was forced to beslow the selates there againe. *Eumenes* the king of *Asia* complained in the Senat, of *Perseus* king of *Macedonie*. His injuries done to the people of Rome are here reported: for the which, defiance was sent, and warre proclaimed against him. *P. Licinius Crassus* the Consull, unto whom the province of *Macedonie* was assigned, passed over thither, and in certaine light expeditions fought sundry battels with *Perseus* in *Thessalie*, all by horse-service, but with bad successe. The Senate appointed a day of bearing betwene *M. Janissa* and the *Carthaginians*, touching the territorie in question. Embassadours were sent to the associate citties and States, and to the confederate kings, to request them to continue loiall and fast in friendship, by reason that the *Rhodians* stood in doubtfull tearmes. The Censours tooke a review and numbred the citizens of Rome, wherein were enrolled in the subsidie bookes 257231. Moreover, this booke containeth the fortunate exploits against the Islanders of *Corfica* and the *Ligurians*.

After



After that *L. Posthumius Albinus* and *M. Popilius Lanus* the Consuls, had before all other things proposed unto the Senate as touching the government of the provinces and conduct of the armies, ordained it was, that Liguria should be the charge as well of the one of them as the other. Also that both of them should levie new legions, (and two apeece they were allowed to have) therewith to defend the said province & keep it in obedience, besides ten thousand footmen and six hundred horse of Latine allies. Moreover, to enrol three thousand foot, and two hundred horsemen of Romans for a supplie in Spaine. Last of all, commaunded they were to prest fiftene hundred footmen and a hundred horse of Romane citizens: with which strength, that Pretour unto whom Sardinia fell, should passe over into Corsica, there to warre, and *M. Attilius* the old Pretour, in meane time to see unto the government of Sardinia. This done, the Pretours went to cast lots for their provinces. *M. Attilius Serranus* had the place of lord cheefe justice within the cite, and *C. Claudius Saxul*: the jurisdiction betwene citizens and forrainers. Unto *Cn. Fabius Buteo* fell the higher Spaine, to *M. Marius* the lower. *M. Furius Crasipes* was to governe Sicilie, and *C. Cicerius* Sardinia.

Before that these magistrates tooke their journey, the Senate was of advise, that *L. Posthumius* the Consul should goe into Campaine, for to limit out the cite-lands apart from the grounds of private persons: for that it was scene and knowne, that particular men setting out their bounds & encroching by little & little upon the Commons, in proceesse of time held a great part of it in their own possession. This Cos. was angrie & offended with the Praenestines, for that upon a time when he went thither amongst them (in qualitie then of a private person) to offer sacrifice in the temple of *Fortune*, they did him no honour neither in publike nor private. Whereupon, before hee departed now from Rome, hee addressed his letters before him to Praeneste, that the cheefe magistrate should come and meet him upon the way, provide him a lodging at their cities charges, and at his departure from thence, to see that there were sumpter horses and beasts of carriage readie for him. Now before this mans Consulship, the magistrates of Rome had never beene chargeable to their allies nor put them to cost for any thing whatsoever: and therefore allowed they were from the cite their mules, set out they were with tents and pavillions, and all other furniture and provision for the warres, to the end that they should not lay upon the allies any such burden. Privat lodging they had in friends houses, which they entertained courteously and liberally with reciprocal hospitalitie. For at Rome likewise their houses were open to receive those hosts of theirs, with whom they were wont before to have kind usage, and who had bidden them welcome. In like manner, embassadours (if they were sent by chaunce to any place of a foudaine) imposed upon the towns and cities through which they were to passe, one sumpter horse onely; to farther expence were no allies put for any Romane magistrates. This revenge of the Consul for a discourtesie offered, (due and just though it were, yet not to have beene exercised during his magistracie) and the silence of the Praenestines (proceeding either of too much modestie or over-great feare) gave occasion to the magistrates ever since to take it for a privilege and custome to dog the semblable, yea and to charge their allies with more grievous impositions everie day than other in the same kind, as if the precedent example had beene approved.

In the beginning of this yeere, the embassadours who had beene sent into *Aetolia* and *Macedonie*, made report, That they might not come to the speech of *K. Perseus*, for that some said he was absent; others, that he was sicke; and the one as false, as the other was untrue: howbeit, they might evidently perceive and see, that preparation was made for warre, and that hee would delay no longer, but enter into armes. In like sort they related, that in *Aetolia* the civill dissension and sedition grew daily more and more, neither could the chieftaines of these factious discords be repressed and held in awe by their countenance and authority.

As the cite of Rome was amused upon the continual expectancie of the Macedonian warre, M before any enterprize thereof begun, thought good it was and requisite, that order first should be taken for the expiation of prodigies, and the pacification of the gods, by way of humble prayers, such as were represented and delivered unto them out of the fatal bookes of *Sibylla*. For at *Lanuvium* were scene, as the common voice went, certaine shewes and resemblances of a mightie

A mightie great navie. Item, At *Priverum* there grew blacke wooll out of the earth. Also in the Venetian territorie, neere a towne called *Remens*, it rained stones. Moreover, all the countrey *Pomptinum* was overcast (as it were) with clouds of Locusts, and within the land of *Gallia*, there were seen certain fishes to leap from under the clots of earth, that were turned with the plow as it took flitch and made furrow. For these straunge and fearfull sights, the foresaid bookes were looked into and perused, and out of them the Decemvirs declared & pronounced, both unto what gods sacrifice should be offered, and what beasts were to be slain therfore: moreover, that the one supplication should bee holden, as propitiatorie for those prodigious tokens, as also the other, which the yeare before had been vowed for the health of the people, should now bee performed, and holydaies kept therfore. So the sacrifices were accomplished according to the order and forme set downe in writing by the Decemvirs.

B The very same yeere was the church of *Iuno Lacinia* uncovered, upon this occasion: *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the Censor was building of a temple to *Fortuna equestris*, which hee had vowed during the warre against the Celtiberians, when he was lord pretour in Spaine. His desire and earnest endeavor was to straine himselfe, that there might not be in Rome a temple of more state and magnificence than this. And supposing that it would be a great beautie and ornament unto it, in case the rooffe were covered with tiles of marble, hee went into the Brutians countrey, and there he was so bold with the church above said of *Iuno Lacinia*, as to untile the one halfe thereof, making full account, that so much would serve for to cover that temple which hee was a building. Boates and barges hee had readie for to receive and carrie away the said tiles or sclates, without being impeached or controlled for this sacriledge by the allies, whom he held in awe and frightened by his Censorian authoritie. Now after the Censor was returned to Rome, those marble sclates were disbarked out of the foresaid vessels, and conveyed to the temple. And albeit no words were made from whence they came, yet concealed it could not bee. And hereupon arose much muttering in the Senate, and from all parts thereof they called hard upon the Consuls, to have the matter put to question and debated of. The Censor was sent for, who was no sooner entered into the Senate, but both all in generally, and also every one in particular had a sting at him, and much more sharply reproched him to his face in these termes, That hee could not bee content to abuse and violate the most holy and stately church in those parts, which neither *Pyrrhus* nor *Anniball* ever offered violence unto, unlesse he uncovered it also in foule sort, and in manner laid it ruinate. The lanterne thereof was taken away and gone, the rouse left bare and naked, exposed and open to raine and foule weather, and thereby subject to rot: that hee being chosen Censor for to reforme the manners of other; to whome it appertained by his office (after the auncient maner and custome) to see that the temples were close and covert; to call upon, that all publicke places be kept wind-tight and water-tight, and in sufficient repaire: that he (I say) of all others should raunge over the cities of allies and confederate States, pulling downe their temples as hee goeth, and uncovering the routes of the sacred edifices, and in demolishing the churches of the immortall gods, commit that, which if he did but practise upon the privat houses of allies, might seem an unworthie act and a great indignitie: and finally, by rearing one temple with the ruine of another, oblique the people of Rome with the verie guilt of his owne crime: as if (ywis) the immortall gods were not the same in all places, but that we must honour and adorne some of them with the spoile of others. Now as it was apparent (before the matter was put to the censure of the Senate) which way the *LL.* enclined in opinion: so immediately upon the proposing thereof, they all opined and gave one sentence, That order should bee taken with the publicanes of the cite workes, for the carrying backe againe of the same sclates to the former temple, and that certaine propitiatorie sacrifices should bee offered for the pacification of *Iuno*. As for all ceremonies requisite toward the divine service aforesaid, they were with all complements performed accordingly: but the farmers who had undertaken at a price to recarie those tiles, brought word that they had landed them in the churchyard, and there left them, because they might not meet with any workeman, who could devise with all the skill & cunning he had, how to bestow them as they were laid and couched before.

Of those Pretours who were gone into their provinces, *M. Fabius* as he was in his journey toward high Spaine, died at *Massilia* by the way: and therefore upon intelligence given thereof by the *Massilian* embassadours, the Senate ordained that *P. Furius* and *Cn. Servilius*, whome to succeed

succeed others were to be sent, should cast lots betwene themselves, whether of them should continue still in government, and have the charge of high Spaine. And the lot fell out very well and fit, that the said *P. Furius* who had ruled the said province before, should thereremaine.

The same yere, by occasion that a good part of the Ligurians and Gaules territorie woon by conquest, lay void and was not as yet in the tenor and occupation of any man, there passed an Act of the Senat, that it should be divided by the poll. So, *A. Attilius* the L. chiefe Iustice of the citty of Rome, by vertue of a decree graunted out of the Senat, created ten Decemvirs or commissioners for that purpose, to wit, *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, *C. Cassius*, *T. Ebutius Parrus*, *C. Tremellius*, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *L. both named Apuleius*, *M. Cæcilius*, *C. Saloni*, and *C. Munatius*. To every Romane citizen they set out ten acres apeece: and to the Latine allies three.

About the same time that these affaires passed at Rome, there arrived thither embassadours H out of Ætolia, about their owne civill discords and seditions. Likewise there came others from Thessalie, reporting what was a doing in Macedonie. For *Perseus* (casting now in his mind how to compass that war, which during his fathers life he devised and thought upon) endeavoured to draw and win unto him not onely all the nations but the citties of Greece, by sending his embassages among them, and promising liberally more than he performed. Howbeit the hearts of the most part were inclined to him and favoured his designes, yea and much more affectionate than to king *Eumenes*: notwithstanding that all the Sates of Greece, and most of the principall personages were obliged unto *Eumenes*, & in fee as it were with him, in regard of many courtesies and gracious favours received at his hands: and that hee carried himselfe so in his owne realme, that the citties which were subject unto him, were not willing to change their condition I with any of the free States whatsoever. Whereas contrariwise, the brute went, that *Perseus* after his fathers decease, killed his wife with his owne hands: and likewise secretly murdered *Ajeller*, whose ministrie and service in former time he had used in taking away the life of his brother *Demetrius*: for which cause he lived in exile, because *Philip* made search after him for to have him punished accordingly; him (I say) he murdered, after he had sent for him upon his fathers death, and procured him to come unto him, with great promises to recompence him highly for the execution of the foresaid fact. Yet as infamous & spotted as he was with these domesticall murders (besides many other massacres of straungers abroad) and for no good part and worthe desert otherwise commendable; he was commonly more esteemed & better regarded of the States K of the cuntry than king *Eumenes*, a prince so kind and good to his kinsfolke, so just and righte-ous to his subjects, so bounteous and respective to all men; whether it were that they, possessed aforehand with the fame and majestie of the Macedonian kings, despised the rising of this new kingdom: or that they were desirous of novelties and alterations; or lastly, that they wished and had a desire that he should make head against the Rumanes.

Now were not the Ætolians onely together by the eares among themselves, by reason they were dived so deepe in debt, but the Thessalians also: and this pestilent maladie as it were by catching and infection, was spread as farre as Perthœbia. But after that the Senat was advertised that the Thessalians had taken armes, they sent *App. Claudius* as embassadour to see and appease those troubles: who having rebuked and chastised the chieftaines of both sides, eased and stricken off a great part of the debt, which grew burdensome and grievous by excessive usurie, and L that with consent of the most of the creditours, who had thus overcharged their debtours, hee parted the payment of the due debt and principall, by even portions for certaine yeeres. The troublefom state of Perthœbia likewise was reduced into good terms of quietnes, by the self-same *Appius*, and after the same order. And at the very same instant *Marcellus* visited the Ætolians, and tooke knowledge at Delphi of their troubles and garboiles which proceeded from very hostile hearts and minds, enemiellike, and were pursued with civill war. And when hee saw that they contended and strove avie to surpasse one another in rash courses and audacious; hee would by his decree neither charge nor discharge the one partie more than the other: but he requested them indifferently on both sides, to abstaine from warre, to make an end of discord and disention, and M burie all that was past in perpetuall oblivion. Whereupon they were reconciled: & this their agreement was ratified with the assurance of pledges interchangeably given: and accorded it was, they should meete at Corinth, there to bestow their hostages. From Delphi and that generall diet of Ætolia, *Marcellus* crossed the seas into Peloponnesus, where he had appointed and published a solemne assembly and counsell of the Achæans. Wherein hee highly praised and com- mended

A mended the whole nation, for observing so stedfastly their old decree, wherby they debarred and excluded the Macedonian kings out of their confines, he declared evidently & presented to the view of all the world, what malice & hatred the Romans bare to *Perseus*. And that it might break out the sooner into open warres, king *Eumenes* came to Rome, and brought with him a note or abstract of all the preparations for the warre, which with diligent search and enquire into particulars, he had gathered.

Much about the same time, the five Embassadours sent unto king *Perseus* for to see into the affaires of Macedonie, were commaunded to take a voyage as farre as Alexandria, for to renew the old amitie with king *Ptolomeus*. The names of them were these, *C. Valerius*, *Gn. Lutatius Cere*, *Q. Bibius Sulca*, *M. Cornelius Mammula*, and *M. Cæcilius Dent*. And even then or not much B after, there came embassadours from king *Antiochus*: and the chiefe & principall person among them, one *Apollonius*, was admitted to come into the Senat, where he excused the K. his maister for many good & just reasons, in that he had not sent his tribute and made payment so soon as he ought by the day appointed: but now (he said) that he had brought it all, to the end that the king should be to them beholden for nothing but the respite of time only. And besides, that they were come with a present of certaine plate of gold, weighing three hundred pound. That the king his petition was, That the societie and friendship which had bene contracted between his father and them, might be renewed also with him: promising, that if the people of Rome would impose any thing upon him to be done, which were meet to be laid upon a good and faithfull allie, hee would not faile in his devoire to performe all offices whatsoever. For why, the Senate had so well C deserved of him, at what time as he sojourned in Rome, and such courtesie he found among the floure of the Romane young gentlemen, that of all degrees and sorts of men, he was reputed and used more like a king indeed, than an hostage for the time. These embassadours received a gracious answer: and withall, *A. Attilius* the Pretour of the citty was enjoined to renew the league with *Antiochus*, which had bene concluded with his father. As for the tribute, the treasurers of the citty received it: and the Censors tooke all the golden vessels aforesaid, who had the charge to bestow the same in what temples they thought good. Vnto the chiefe embassadour was sent a present in money, amounting to the summe of one hundred thousand Asces: who also was allowed an house to lodge in at his pleasure of free-cost: and all his charges were defraied by the citty, during the time that he made abode in Italie. The embassadours who had bene in Syria, gave D this report of him, That he was a man in great favour and highly honoured with the king: and besides, singularly well affected to the people of Rome. Now concerning the affaires of the provinces for that yeere, thus much as followeth.

C. Cicereius the Pretour fought in raunged battail with the enemies in Corsica, wherein seven thousand of the Ilanders were slaine: and 1700 and better taken prisoners. In that conflict the Pretour had vowed to build the chappell of *Iuno Moneta*. After this, was peace granted to the Corsians at their owne suit and seeking: but they were compelled to pay two hundred thousand pound weight of waxe. *Cicereius* having thus subdued Corsica, passed from thence over into Sardinia. A field also was fought in Liguria, within the territorie of the Statellates, neere the towne Caristus: for thither assembled a great armie of the Ligurians. At first upon the ar- E rival of *M. Popilius* the Confull, they kept close within the walles: but afterwards seeing the Romanes at the point to give assault and to lay batterie to the wals, they issued forth of the gates and embattailed themselves. The Confull for his part forflowed not to come to hand-fight, the onely thing he sought for in threatning to give assault. The medley continued above 3 houres, and the hope of victorie hung in equall ballance: which when the Cos. perceived, namely, how the Ligurian ensignes removed not and gave no ground; hee commaunded his Cavallerie to mount on horsebacke, and to charge with all their force and violence upon their enemies in three severall places: many of these horsemen pierced quite through the middest of the bat- tle, and passed so farre, that they charged the enemies upon the backe as they fought. Whereupon the Ligurians were much terrified, and began to flie from all parts: very few reti- F red back into the citty, by reason that the horsemen made head against them that way most: be- sides, many of the Ligurians wer left dead in the places, such was their resolute persistence in fight: killed also they were every where as they fled. Ten thousand (by report) fell upon the edge of the sword, above seven hundred taken prisoners in one place or other, and 82 militarie ensignes were carried away. And yet was not this victorie without effusion of Romane blood: for there died of them

them not so few as three thousand souldiours, by reason that the foremost of both sides fought so manfully in the forefront, and while they would not give ground one to the other, were stricken downe and slaine without mercie. After this battaile, the Ligurians rallied themselves into one place, out of all parts where they were scattered in the rout; and seeing that more of their men were lost than left behind (for in all they were not above ten thousand) they yielded simply without any composition: howbeit in good hope they were, that the Consull would not deale worse by them nor in more rigorous manner than other Generals before him. But he disciplined them all, raised their towne, sold their bodies and all that they had, and sent letters to the Senat of these exploits of his. Which when *A. Attilius* the Pretour had read in the Senat, (for the other Consull *Posthumus* was absent, by occasion that he was employed in the survey and visiting of the lands in Campania) they thought it a verie hard and cruell course, that the Statellates, who onely of all the Ligurians had not borne armes against the Romanes, who were then assailed first when as they began not of their owne accord to make war, who also put themselves into the protection of the Romanes, should be thus rigorously intreated, thus torne, dismembred and consumed in most cruell manner: that so many thousands of franke condition, innocent persons, and imploring the mercie of the Romanes, should be thus sold out-right, (a most dangerous example, that never hereafter any one will venture to submit himselfe againe:) and finally, that they should be distracted and carried away into all parts, to live in slavery under them, who having been sometimes professed enemies of the Romans, now enjoy peace and repose. In regard hereof, there passed an arrest or act of the Senat, that *M. Popilius* the Consull should pay backe the price unto the buyers, and restore the Ligurians to their former libertie; to take order also that their goods (as much as possibly might be recovered) should be rendered unto them: also that armour should be made in that nation with all speed possible, and that the Consull so soone as he had reestablished the Ligurians (upon their submission) in their former estate, should depart out of the province; forasmuch as the honour of victorie consisted not in exercising crueltie upon the poore and afflicted, but in vanquishing the obstinate. But the Consull, as he bare himselfe proud and cruell against the Ligurians, so he shewed as great forwardnesse and disobedience to the Senat. And having sent away the legions to winter in Pisa, he returned to Rome, carrying a fell and angrie stomacke against the LL. and as spitefull and malicious a mind to the Pretour: where immediately he assembled the Senat in the temple of *Bellona*, and rattled up the Pretour in broad and grosse tearmes. For that he, whose part it had been to have mooved the Senat for thanksgiving to the immortall gods, in regard of the happy achievement of the wars, in stead thereof passed an act of the Senat against him and in favor of the enemies, for to put him by his victorie and to give it away from him to the Ligurians; and finally being no better than a Pretour, would have had the Consull yielded in manner up into their hands. Whereupon he said that he would be so bold as set a fine on his head: and withall, he required the LL. of the Senat to command and ordeine, That the arrest devised against him might be reversed; and to give order, that the processions which in his absence they ought to have decreed (upon his letters sent of his good successe) might now be holden; in consideration first of the honour due to the immortall gods, and then respectively in some measure for his owne desert. But after hee was checked by some of the Senatours to his face, and that in no milder tearmes than he had been rebuked in his absence, he went his waies into his province again, and obtained neither the one suit nor the other.

The other Consull *Posthumus* having spent the whole summer in surveying the lands onely, and never so much as seene his owne province, returned to Rome against the generall assembly for election, and created Consuls *C. Popilius Lanus*. Consequently were Pretors elected, to wit, *C. Licinius Crassus*, *M. Iunius Pannus*, *Sp. Lucretius*, *Sp. Cluvius*, *Cn. Sicinius*, and *C. Memmius*, the second time. In that yeere was holden a review of the citie and the number taken of citizens, (when as *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* and *L. Posthumus Albinus* were Censors:) wherein were found and enrolled of Romane citizens 269015. The number was somewhat the lesse, by reason that *L. Posthumus* the Consull had proclaimed in a publick audience, That no person of those Latin allies who were to returne into their own citties (by vertue of an edict made when *C. Claudius* was Consull) should be enrolled into the subsidie booke at Rome, but every man in his severall citie. This Censorship was administred with concord and unities, yea and to the good and profit of the common-weale. What Senatours soever they deposed from their place and dignitie, and

so many gentlemen of Rome as they tooke their horses from, they made them all no better than contributaries to pay all skot and lot, yea and displaced them out of their tribes. And looke whomsoever the one of them noted with disgrace and ignominie, he was not relieved nor allowed againe by the other. This *Fulvius* dedicated the temple of ** Fortuna equestris*, now six yeeres after he had vowed the same in a battaile which he fought with the Celtiberians, at what time as he was Proconsull in Spaine: likewise he exhibited the stage-plays for foure daies together, and one day in the cirque or show-place, *Corn. Lentulus* (a Decemvir for the holy rites and sacrifices) that yeer died; in whole rounne was substituted *A. Posthumus Albinus*. There were such mightie drifts and clouds as it were of locusts, brought sodainly at once by a wind from the sea into Apulia, that with their swarmes they overspread all the fields farre and neere. For the riddance of which noisome vermine consuming the fruits of the earth, *Cn. Sicinius*, Pretour elect, was sent with his full commission of commaund into Apulia, who assembled a mightie number of people for to gather them up, and employed a great time thereabout.

In the beginning of the yeere ensuing, wherein *C. Popilius* and *P. Aelius* were Consuls, the remnant of the debates which arose the yeere before, was set on foot againe. The LL. of the Senat would have had the matter proposed & debated againe as touching the Ligurians, and the ordinance of the Senat in that behalfe renewed. But, as *Aelius* the one Consull put up a bill thereof, so *Popilius* the other was an earnest suiter, and besought both his colleague and also the Senat in the behalfe of his brother; nay he proceeded so far, that he gave the house to understand, in case they went about any such decree prejudiciall unto him, he would crosse & revcke the same: by which countenance of his he affrighted his colleague; but the LL. were offended so much the more and stormed against both the Consuls, yea and persisted still in their enterprise. And therefore when it was debated in counsell as concerning the provinces, albeit the Consull made meanes to be sent into Macedonie (because the war of *Perseus* was so neere at hand) yet Liguria was assigned to both of them: for the LL. protested and said, That they would not passe a decree for the government of Macedonie, unless the case of *Popilius* were propounded, and an act thereof entered. Afterwards, when they demanded a warrant to enroll new armies, or at least-wise to leveie a supply for making up the old, both the one motion and the other was denied. The Pretors also, who required to have a supplement with them into Spain, had a nay: and namely, *M. Iunius* into the higher province, and *P. Lucretius* into the fatter. As for *C. Licinius Crassus*, to him there fell by lot the jurisdiction within the citie over citizens, and to *Cn. Sicinius* that other over foreigners. *C. Memmius* was allotted to Sicilie, and *Sp. Cluvius* to Sardinia. The Consuls for these causes being highly offended and angrie with the Senat, caused the Latine feasts and holidays to be published against the very first day that possibly they might, with an intimation that they would goe straight into their province, and not attend the managing of any affaires touching the State, but onely that which directly pertained to their government.

Valerius Antias writeth, that in these Consuls yeere, *Attalus* the brother of *K. Eumenes* came in embassage to Rome, to enforce criminous matter against *Perseus*, and to give the particulars of the preparation that he made for warre. But the Annales of many other writers (more worthie of credit than he) deliver unto us, that *K. Eumenes* presented himselfe in proper person: where he was received with such honour, as the people of Rome thought not onely meet and agreeable for his deserts, but also fit and suitable to their owne favours and benefites, which they had in ample manner conferred and in great number heaped upon him. And then he had audience given him in the Senat, where he shewed the cause of his coming to Rome what it was; namely, (besides a fervent desire that he had to see those gods and men, by whose grace and favour he enjoyed so good estate, as better hee durst not wish:) because hee gladly would advertise the Senat by word of mouth, to prevent and withstand the designs of *Perseus*. And beginning his speech with the platformes and enterprises of *Philip*, hee recounted withall, how it cost him some *Demetrius* his life, for that he stood against the warre with the Romanes: moreover, how he had caused the whole nation of the Bastarnians to quit their owne countrey where they were born and bred, to the end, that by their aid he might passe over into Italie: but whiles (quoth he) these matters he projected and cast in his head, his time was come, and arrested he was by death: but he left his kingdom to him, whom he knew to be the most despitous enemy that the Romanes had. And therefore *Perseus* having received this war (as a man would say) by way of inheritance left him by his father even together with the crown & scepter, from the very first day of his

raigne, doth nought els but entertaine, foster, and promote the same, by all the meanes and de-
vices that possibly he can. Mightie and puissant he is besides in number of young, lustie, and able
men for service, who during the time of long peace have sprung up and multiplied exceedingly.
In wealth and riches a great potentate he is, and besides in his flourishing years and the best time
of his age, which as it is accompanied with the very strength and vigor of his bodie, so his spirit
and mind is insured and hardened with skilfull experience and long practise of martiall feats. For
from his very infancie nuzzled hath he been in the field and campe, conversing ordinarily with
in the roiall tent and pavillion of his father, acquainted with the warres, not onely waged against
neighbour nations, but also against the Romans; and that which more is, employed by his father
in many and sundrie expeditions and executions of service. But since that himselfe entered upon
the kingdome, and swaied the regall scepter in his owne hand, hee hath exploited and accom-
plished many things with mervellous felicitie and successe, which his father *Philip* before him could
never compass and effect, notwithstanding hee tried and assayed all means, as well of open force
as secret fraud. To augment this greatnesse of his, he hath purchased alreadie that authoritie and
reputation in the world, which others hardly in continuance of long time, and by many favors
and ample benefits attaine unto; and namely, throughout the States of Greece and Asia, all men
revere his majestie. For what good turns, for what pleasures done, for what bountie of his they
should thus doe and honour him so much, neither see I, neither can I say for certaintie; whether
it happen by a speciall gift and fortune that hee hath of his owne, or that (which I am my selfe
afraid to speake) it be the deepe malice and hatred which he hath conceived against the Romans,
which is the cause that he is of that countenance and so gracious among them. Nay, with the ve-
ry kings and princes of other nations he is highly esteemed & of passing authoritie. The daugh-
ter of *Seleucus* he hath taken to wife, without any suit of his owne, but being earnestly wooed and
requested thereunto. And to *Prusias* he hath given his owne sister in marriage, after much seeking
and instant intreatie. These two weddings were solemnized with the exceeding joy and innumera-
ble presents of infinite embassages: and who should bee present to celebrate the Auspices and
complements, yea, and give those spouses in marriage, but the noblest and most renowned
States that were? The *Bæotian* nation had been much solicited by *Philip*, yet could never bee in-
duced to draw or pen any covenants of accord and amitie with him: but now there is to be seene
a league engrossed, yea, and engraven in three severall conspicuous places, the one in Thebes,
a second at Sidenum, within a most holy, sacred and renowned temple, and the third at Delphi.
What should I speake of the generall counsell of the *Achæans*? wherein, had not the designe
beene dashed by some there in place, who intimated and alleadged hard the seignorie and em-
pire of the Romans, it would have gone very hard, but that he should have set foot even within
Achæa. But contrariwise, I assure you, my due and deserved honors (unto whom it is hard to say,
whether they bee more bounden and obligued for private pleasures or publicke benefites) are
either forlet through rechelesse disuse and negligence, or els annulled and abolished of wilfull
malice and hostile hatred. As for the *Ætolians*, who knoweth not, that in their civile broiles and
seditions, they sought to *Perseus* for releefe and succour, and not to the Romans? Being thus up-
held with societies and amities, he hath provided such furniture of his owne, and made that prepa-
ration for war at home, as he needs none from abroad. Of himselfe he is thirtie thousand strong
in foot, and five thousand in horse. For ten yeares he is stored with corne aforehand, so as for that
kind of purveiance he may spare his owne territories, and also forbear his enemies. As for money
in readie coine, he hath such abundance, that over and above the forces of naturall Macedoni-
ans, hee waighten thousand mercenarie souldiours, and hath wherewith to make due pay for as
many yeeres, besides the yearely customes and profits that arise out of the kings mines. Now
for armour, he hath gathered together into his arcenals and armories, sufficient to furnish three
such armies. What should I speake of the youth and serviceable men for warre? Set the case that
Macedonie failed him and were not able to find ynough; all *Thrace* is subject unto him, from
whence he may serve his turne as out of an ever-running fountaine and lively spring. The rest of
his speech he knit up with an exhortation in this manner. I relate not these things (quoth he) my
selfe, as blowne abroad and vented by headlesse hearefay and doubtful rumors; neither
have I ben so readie to beleeve them, as a man desirous that such criminous imputations should
be verified upon my enemies; but as undoubted and certaine reports upon mine own knowledge,
as if I had been sent by you of speciall purpose to be a spie: and declared that and no more, which
I had

I had seene with mine eyes and not otherwise. Neither would I have left mine owne realme, where-
in (by your means & goodnes) in glorious and magnificent State I sit warme ynough, for to saile
over so large a sea as I have done, & to carrie vain tales and untruths to you, thereby to crack my
credite with you for ever hereafter. But I tell you, these eyes of mine have seene the most renou-
med and noblest cities of Asia and Greece, discovering more and more from day to day, what
they intend and what their meaning is: who, if they bee let alone and permitted to run on as
they begin, would be engaged so far, as they might not possibly returne againe and save them-
selves by any repentance. Beheld I have *Perseus* (I say) how hee containeth not within the realme
of Macedonie, but one while seizeth upon this by force of armes, another while gaineth and get-
teth that by favour and good will, which with violence hee could never have conquered. I per-
ceived and considered well how unequal the match and condition is, whiles hee upon you pre-
pareth warre, and you againe performe to him securitie of peace. Although in my conceit, and
so farre as I could see into it, hee made no more any preparation thereof, but was alreadie upon
action and execution. For he chased *Abropolis*, a confederate prince and friend of yours, forth of
his kingdome. And *Artetarus* the Illyrian, another of your associates and allies, he killed outright,
because hee found that he had written some letters unto you. As for *Everus* and *Callicrates*, both
of the *Bæotians*, they had spoken their mind against him too franckely, and avowed that they
would repeat unto you what things had passed, hee caused to be made away and murdered. The
Bizantines hee succoured against the order taken in the accord: upon *Dolopia* hee levied warre:
The *Thessalians* and *Doris* both hee invaded and overran with his armie, to the end, that in some inte-
stine and civile war, by the help of the worse part he might afflict and plague the better. He shut-
ted all together, and made a very confusion of the State in *Thessalie* and *Perthæbia*, upon the
hope of cancelling all bonds and crossing out all debt bookes; that thus by a power and multi-
tude of bankrupts, such as were over-deeply engaged, and whom he had obligued and bound to
himselfe, hee might depreffe and oppresse the great men and principall personages. Having
wrought these practises uncontrolled, whiles you sit still looking on and suffering all, hee seeing you
to let him doe with Greece what he list, maketh full account, that no man will put on armes and
make head against him, before hee be passed over into *Italie*. How safe this may bee for you, nay
how this can stand with credite and honestie, see you to that and bee advised. For my selfe, I as-
sure you, I thought it a meere shame and very villanie, that *Perseus* your enemy should enter in-
to *Italie* to makewar upon you, before that I, your friend and allie, came to give you warning for
to take heed and stand upon your guard. Now since I have in this manner performed my devoure,
done that office which I was bound unto of necessitie, and in some measure acquit my selfe and
discharged my bounden dutie and obligation of fidelitie; what remaineth more behind for mee
to doe, but to be your beadsman to all the gods and goddeses, to vouchsafe you that grace, that
you may provide both for your own Commonweale; and also for us your friends and allies, who
depend wholly and only upon you? In this last speech he came neere unto the L.L. of the Senat,
and touched them to the quick. But for the present no man might know any thing, but only that
the king had been in the Senat, so silent were they all, and kept the counsel-house close shut with
secrecie. But after the warre was brought to an end, then came abroad, both what the king spake,
and what answere was returned to him againe.

Some few daies after, the Senate sat to give audience unto the embassadours of king *Per-
seus*: but having their minds and cares both, possessed aforehand by king *Eumenes*, all the defence
that the embassadours made, and all the entreatie they used, was rejected. Besides, the stoutnes
used by *Harpalus* (the principall person of the embassie) moved their patience and exasperated
their stomacks. For he said, that indeed the kings desire and endeavour was, to bee credited and
beleeved in his Apologie and defence, That he neither had said nor done any thing founding to
hostilitie: many, in case he perceived and saw, that they came upon him thus, and would needs
picke quarrels and give occasions of warre, he would stand upon his guard, and defend himselfe
with a resolute and valiant courage. For the hazard of the field was common, and the issue of
warre uncertaine. Now, all the cities of Greece and Asia both, would rather than their lives have
knowne what the embassadours of *Perseus*, and what *Eumenes* had done in the Senate: for in re-
gard of his comming, most of the states (supposing verily that hee would stirre coales and make
some worke) had sent their embassadours to Rome, pretending colourably other matters in sem-

blance, but indeed to listen after news: and among the rest, was the embassage of the Rhodians, G and the chiefe thereof was one *Sisyus*, who made no question nor doubt, but that *Eumenes* had done their errand, and put their cittie and *Perseus* together in all the criminall matters laid to his charge. And therefore hee made all the meanes that possibly hee could by the mediation of patrons, friends, and acquaintance, to debate the matter with king *Eumenes* before the bodie of the Senate: which when he had obtained, his tongue walked at large, and overbold hee was and too round with the king, in broad invectives and intemperate tearms: namely, that he had solicited and stirred up the nation of the Lycians against the Rhodians, & was a heavier friend unto Asia than *Antiochus* had bene. Which speech of his as it was plausible enough & pleasing to the States of Asia (for they likewise by this time inclined to affect and favour *Perseus*) so it was unfaverie altogether and odious to the Senate, and nothing profitable to themselves and their H cittie. But contrariwise, this banding and conspiracie against *Eumenes*, wan him the more grace and favor among the Romanes; so as they did him all the honor they could, gave him most rich and costly presents, and endowed him with a curule chaire of estate, and a staffe or scepter, both of yvorie.

After these embassages had their dispatch and were dismissed, *Harpalus* returned into Macedonia in all speed and hast possible, relating unto the king, how hee had left the Romanes not preparing as yet for warre; but so farre out with him & so highly offended, that it appeared evidently it would not be long ere they began. And *Perseus* againe for his part, besides that he looked for no other, was well enough pleased therewith, presuming upon the floure & strength of his forces. But above all other he maliced *Eumenes* most: with whose bloud hee laid the first foundation of the warre: for he suborned one *Evander* a Candiot and captain under him of certaine auxiliarie souldiours, and three Macedonians besides (whose service and ministrie he had used in the like feats) to murder the king. Hee gave them letters addrested to one *Praxo* an hostesse of his, a jollie dame in Delphi, and of greatest credite and wealth among them. For assured hee was, that *Eumenes* minded to go up to Delphi, there to sacrifice unto *Apollo*. These traitors together with *Evander* set forward; & to execute this their designed enterprise, they looked all about and sought for nothing but the opportunitie of some place or other. Now, as men ascend from Cirrha to the temple, before they come to any place much peopled and frequented with houses, there stood a mound or mud-wal on the left hand of the path or way, rising somewhat higher than the foundation and ground-work; along which wall there was passage for one by one & no more: for on the right hand the earth was broken downe and fallen, and a breach made of some good depth. Behind that mound aforesaid, these traitors had hidden themselves, & raised some steps like staires to the end that from above, as from the top of a wal, they might discharge their shot upon king *Eumenes* as he passed by. Before him their marched from the sea, at the first a sort of his friends and followers, together with his guard intermingled one with another; but afterwards as the way grew more streight and narrow, the traine waxed thinner. But when they were once come to the place wher they could not goe but by one at once, *Pantaleon* one of the States and princes of *Aetolia*, with whom the king had begun some communication, entred first into the narrow path aforesaid: with that, the knaves that lay in waite behind, rose up and rolled downe two huge stones, whereof the one smote the king upon the head, the other also L nished his shoulder. And verily all the rest of his friends and followers, seeing him fall with the blow, fled some one way, some another: only *Pantaleon* staid behind all, fearelesse, to protect and guard the king. The murderous villaines might have fetched a short compassse about the wall, and soone runne to the king to make sure worke and dispatch him quier: but they supposing they had done the deed already, fled to the pitch of the mount *Pernassus*, and made such hast, that when one of their companie hindered and staid their running, because hee dragged behind and could not keepe pace and follow them hard at heeles through those steepe and blind waies, they made no more adoe but killed him outright, for feare least if he were taken, hee should betray and disclose the whole treason. The body of the king lay along on the ground: & first his friends came running about him, then his guard & household servants. When they reared him up, they M found him stonied with the stroke and altogether senselesse in a trance: howbeit by some heat remaining, and the beating of his heart, they perceiued there was some life, but little or no hope they had that he could escape and live. Some there were of his guard and pensioners about him, that made pursuite after these murderers by their tracks: and when they had held on their chase

A chase as farre as to the crest of *Pernassus*, wearying themselves to no purpose, they gave over and returned as wise as they went. The Macedonians as they had begun an audacious enterprise inconsiderately, so they left it undone as fearfully and without advise. Now by this time was the king come agin to himself. And the morrow after, his friends conveyed him to his ship; from thence to Corinth; and from Corinth along the streights of *Isthmus* they brought their vessels, & crossed over to *Aegina*: where his cure was caried so close and secret, without admitting any person to come unto him, that the rumor ran into Asia how he was dead. And *Attalus* his brother (by your leave) gave good care thereto, & beleevied the news sooner than was becoming brotherly love and unitie. For he entred into such talke both with his brothers wife, and also with the captaine of the castle, as if he had bene the undoubted heire and assured inheritor of the crowne. All this *Eumenes* B knew full well afterwards: who albeit he purposed to dissimule the matter, and to put it up, at leastwise with silence; yet at their first encounter and meeting together, he could not hold, but reproved and reproached his brother, for being so forward and over-hastie to court and wooe his wife. The brute also was blowne to Rome, and a blunder there was of the death of king *Eumenes*.

About the same time *C. Valerius* was returned out of Greece, who had bene sent thither as embassadour to looke into the state of the countrie; to marke also and observe the plots and proceedings of king *Perseus*. He reported all things futable and agreeable to the intelligences given by king *Eumenes*, and withall, brought with him from Delphi dame *Praxo*, in whose house those villanous traitours were lodged and harboured: also one *L. Ramnius* a Brundusian, who enforced C med moreover and gave evidence as followeth. This *Ramnius* was one of the principall citizens of Brundisium, & used to lodge and entertaine in his house, not onely all the Romane captains when they came to towne, but also the embassadours of forreine nations, such as were of greatest maike, & principally those that were sent from any kings. By this means, acquainted he grew with *Perseus*, albeit they never had seene one anothers face. And being invited by the king his letters, wherein he was promised great hope of some nere and inward friendship above others, and consequently of great preferments therby, he made a journie unto him. Within a short time he was wound into very familiar acquaintance with the king, and drawne into private conference & discourse of secrets, farther ywis, than himselfe was willing or well liked of. For the king dealt with him, yea and importuned him with instant prayers and large benefits of rich rewards, that for as D much as all the Romane captaines and embassadours used to take his house for their inne, he would cause as many of them as he writ for, to be poisoned. Now for that hee knew it was a right difficult and dangerous matter to come by such a poison and compassse this project, especially if many were partie & privie to him: and besides, the event uncertaine, either in the effect of the drug it selfe to be strong, quicke, and forcible enough to doe the feat: or in the secret working thereof, lest it should be found and spied; he would therefore put into his hands such a poison, as neither in the giving, nor after it was giuen, might be knowne by any signe whatsoever. *Ramnius* fearing least if hee refused and denied, hee should bee the first man to take assay & make experiment of the poison, promised so to doe, and then departed. But returne to Brundisium hee would not, before he had spoken with *C. Valerius* the Embassadour, who then sojourned (as hee heard say) about Chalcis. First unto him he revealed this plot, & by his commandement came F along with him to Rome: where being brought into the Senate, after audience given, hee laid abroad in every point all that had passed. This new matter, over and besides those which *Eumenes* had reported, was the cause that *Perseus* was the sooner taken for an enemie, and so declared: the rather because they saw him not onely about to make open warre of a princely and royall mind, but also to practise and execute privlie all kind of mischief, by way of covert brigandage, theevish stealth, and secret poison. The manning of this warre was put off and referred to the new Consuls: howbeit for the present ordained it was, that *Cn. Scipio* the Pretour, who had the jurisdiction betwene citizens and strangers, should levie and enroll souldiours, who being conducted to Brundisium, should with all convenient speed commit to sea, and F saile over to Apollonia in Epirus, for to seize upon the maritime cities: to the end that the Consul unto whom the province of Macedonia should be allotted, might arrive there with his vessels in safetie, and set his forces on land with ease.

Eumenes, after he had bene kept a long while at *Aegina*, during the time of his hard and dangerous cure, so soone as ever he might goe safely abroad, went to Pergamus; where, over and besides

besides the old hatred settled in his breast, being pricked also with this fresh and bleeding villanie practised by *Perseus*, he prepared warre with all his power to the utterance: and thither repaired unto him embassadours from Rome, to testifie their joy for his evasion and escape out of so neere and great a daunger.

When the Macedonian warre was delaied and put off for one yeere, and the rest of the Pretours gone alreadie into their provinces, *M. Junius* and *Sp. Lucretius* (unto whome befell the government of Spaine) after that they had importuned and wearied the Senate, in suing so long for one thing, obtained at the length a commission for a supply of souldiours to make up the armie; by vertue whereof they enrolled 3000 foot, and 150 horse for the Romane legions; and levied five thousand foot and three hundred horse for the armie of the allies. These forces were transported into Spaine with the new Pretours.

The same yeere, after that a great part of the Campaine territorie, which privat persons here and there held in occupation without regard of lawfull title and tenur, was (upon diligent survey made by *Posthumius* the Consull) recovered againe for the publicke use of the citie of Rome; *M. Lucretius* a Tribune of the Commons preferred a law, That the Censors should let out to ferme, the said Campaine lands to tenants for yeerely rent. A thing that had not been done for many yeeres after the winning of Capua, namely, that particular men should be so greedie as to encroch thus beyond their bounds upon the common wast.

The Macedonian war being now concluded, but not as yet published and proclaimed, whiles the Senat was in doubtfull expectation what kings would friend them, and who would side with *Perseus*; there came to Rome embassadours from *Ariarates*, bringing with them the kings sonne, a verie child. The speech they made was to this purpose, That the king their master had sent his sonne to Rome, there to have his education; to the end that being there brought up, hee might from his first infancie be acquainted with their fashions, and converse with the people of Rome. His suit and request to them was, that they would vouchsafe unto him not onely the ordinarie entertainment and protection that private persons affourd to their guests, but also to take the charge of publicke tuition, and as it were the guardianship of him. This embassage of the king was well taken of the Senat and pleased them highly. Whereupon they ordained, that *Cn. Scipio* the Pretour, should set out a mansion house with all the furniture, wherein the young prince and his traine might keepe their residence.

The Thracian embassadours likewise presented themselves before the Senat, to debate their owne controversies in their hearing, and withall desired their friendship and amitie. They obtained their suite, and besides there was sent unto them by way of present, the summe of 2000 Aspes apeece. Glad were the LL. of the Senate that these States were received into their societie, by reason that Thracia lyeth hard on the backe-side of Macedonie: but to the end that they might have perfitt intelligence and notice, how all things went in Asia and the Ilands, they sent thither *T. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Decimius* in embassage: whome they commaunded also to visit Creete and Rhodes; and withall, both to renew the amitie, and also to spie and observe, whether the hearts of those allies had been solicited and tempted by *K. Perseus*.

As the citie was thus in doubtfull suspence and expectation of the event of this new warre, behold, in a tempest that arose in the night, a certaine columnne or pillar, garnished and set out with the beake-heads of warre ships, (which had been erected in the Capitoll during the first Punicke warre by *M. Aemilius* the Consull, who had for his companion in government *Serg. Fulvius*) was by a clap of thunder and lightning, rent and cloven from the very base to the chapter. This was taken for a prodigious token, and report thereof was made to the Senat. The LL. gave order, that the Aruspices should be conferred with about it, and their advice taken: likewise they commaunded the Decemvirs to looke into their bookes of *Sibylla*. The Decemvirs for their part pronounced and declared, that the citie should be purged and hallowed, publicke supplications and prayers made unto the gods, and greater beasts killed for sacrifice, as well at Rome in the Capitoll, as in Campaine neere the promontorie of *Minerva*. Also that with all convenient speed, there should be plaies solemnly exhibited for ten daies together, in the honor of most mightie and most gracious *Jupiter*. All this was done with diligence accordingly: but the soothsayers and Aruspices aforesaid, made answer out of their learnings, That this prodigie portended good, and signified the advancement and enlarging of their owne territories: together with the ruine and destruction of their enemies; for that those beak-heads which the storme

overthrew

overthrew and cast downe, had been the spoiles of ships woon from the enemies. There happened other occurrents besides to encrease the scrupulous religion and devotion of men: for reported it was, how at Saturnia within the towne it rained bloud three daies together. Item, At Calatia an asse was soled with three feet; and a bull together with five kine were stricken stauke dead with one thunderbolt and flash of lightning: last of all, at Oximum there was a shoure of very earth and nothing else. In regard of these wondrous also, sacrifices were celebrated, supplications made, and one day kept holiday and all shop-windowes shut.

Yet were not the Consuls departed into their provinces, because they neither would obey and condescend unto the Senate in proposing the matter as touching *Popilius* at the councill table; and the LL. were as resolute for their parts to let no decree passe, before that were done. The spight and heart-burning they bare against *M. Popilius*, grew the more by occasion of his owne letters, wherein hee wrote and gave them to understand, That being Proconsull, hee had now a second time fought with the Statellates in Liguria, and put ten thousand of them to the sword: by reason of which hard courses and extremities of warre, the other nations likewise of the Ligurians were entred into armes. At which newes not onely *Popilius* was blamed behind his backe, for making warre against all law and equitie upon them that had yielded, and thereby provoking those who before were quiet, to goe out and put themselves in action of rebellion; but the Consuls also were checked to their faces in the Senate, because they set not forward to their charge and government. *M. Martius Sermo* and *Quintius Martius Scylla*, two Tribunes of the Commons, seeing the LL. of the Senat thus drawing all in a line, tooke heart unto them, and both menaced the Consuls to fine them, unlesse they made more hast unto their province; and also recited in the Senat a law which they had drawne and framed, and were upon the point to promulge, as touching the foresaid Ligurians who had submitted. The tenure whereof ran in this forme, THAT WHAT PERSON SOEVER OF STATELLAE HAD YELDED HIMSELFE, AND WAS NOT RESTORED TO LIBERTIE AND FREEDOME BEFORE THE CALENDIS OF *SEXILIS NEXT ENSUING, THE SENAT UPON THEIR OTH SHOULD ORDAINE ONE SPECIAL COMMISSIONER TO MAKE INQUISITIONEY WHOSE FRAUD, COVIN, AND NOTICE HEE WAS IN VILLENAGE, AND PUNISH THE PARTIE ACCORDINGLY. Then by authoritie and approbation of the Senate, they published this for a law. Now before that the Consuls tooke their journey, the Senat assembled in the temple of *Bellona* in regard and favour of *C. Cicereius* the Pretor of the former yeere. Where audience was given him: and after he had declared what exploits he had performed in Corsica, thereupon demanded triumph: which when hee could not obtaine, he made no more adoe, but rode triumphant in the Albane hill; for now it was taken up and grown for a custome so to doe, and aske the authoritie and the State no leave.

The foresaid law proposed by the *Martij*, the Commons with a generall consent by their voices graunted and enacted. By vertue of which act of the Commons, *C. Licinius* the Pretour put to question in the Senat, Whom they would have to sit upon the inquisition according to the forme of the said law. And the LL. ordained himselte to be the inquisitor. Then at length and not afore, the Consuls put themselves in their way toward their province, & received the charge of the armie from *M. Popilius*. This *Popilius* durst not yet returne to Rome, for feare hee should be called in question and put to his answer before that Pretour and supreme judge, who had required the advice of the Senate as touching that enquest framed and drawne of purpose against him: knowing full well (as he did) how the Senate was not well affected to him, and the people much more maliciously bent and set against him. But the Tribunes of the Commons thought they would prevent and meet with this finching of his and absenting himselte, by intimation of another act and law provided in that behalfe, namely, That if he entred not into the citie of Rome before the *Ides of November immediately following, it should be lawfull for *C. Licinius* to proceed in judgement, and give sentence against him in his absence. This cord towed and halled him to Rome with a winesse: and when he was returned and entred into the Senat, they were upon his top, and gave him such a welcome thither, as testified their displeasure and hard conceit of him. After hee had been well baited and shaken up among them, an act of Senate was entred in this wise, That so many of the Ligurians as had not bene enemies, after the time that *L. Fulvius* and *L. Manlius* were Consuls, those the Pretours, *C. Licinius* and *Cn. Scipius*, should restore and establish in their former state of freedom; and that the Consull *C. Popilius* should set them

* 1 of August.

* 13 of Novem.

them out lands to occupie and possesse beyond the Po. By vertue of this arrest, many a thousand were set free and enfranchised, who being transported over the river Po, had land assigned unto them accordingly. Now *M. Popilius* upon the law *Martia* (promulged by the two *Marii*, Tribunes of the Commons) answered for himselfe judicially twise before *C. Licinius*. At the third time, the Pretour, overcome with a respective grace and favour to the Consull absent, & the earnest prayers of the whole name & house of the *Popilij*, adjourned. the defendant to make appearance in the court upon the *Ides of March; on which day the new magistrates were to enter into their offices: and this hee did, because himselfe by that time should be a private person againe, and therefore not to sit upon the bench as judge to heare pleas and to determine. Thus the foresaid act as touching the Ligurians, finely shifted and cunningly avoided, came to just nothing.

*15 of March.

At that time the Carthaginian embassadours were at Rome, with *Gulussa* the sonne of *Masaniissa*; betweene whome hard hold and much debating there was in the Senate. The Carthaginians complained, that over and besides the lands (about which there had been sent commissioners from Rome before-time, to view the place and to enquire into the cause) *Masaniissa* within the last two yeeres had by force and armes possessed himselfe of more than threecore and ten townes and castles within the Carthaginian domaine and territorie. And an easie matter was it for him so to doe, who made reckoning of nothing, nor had regard of any person; whereas the Carthaginians were so tryed and obliged by their capitulations to the good-abearing, that they held their peace: for, inhibited they were to beare armes without their owne country. And albeit they knew assuredly, that they should war within their owne confines, if they disheized the Numidians of those peeces, yet feared they that one expresse article of the accord, wherein they were debarred in plaine termes, to wage warre against the associates of the people of Rome. Howbeit, the Carthaginians could no longer endure his pride, crueltie, and avarice. Sent therefore they were unto the Senate as humble oratours, that it might please them to graunt one of these three requests; to wit, That either they might debate with indifferent audience before them (being allies to both alike) as touching the right of the one & the other: or that they would permit the Carthaginians to defend themselves by just and lawfull armes, against unjust and ungodly force: or else finally (if partiall favour swayed more with them than the truth of the cause) to set downe at once, what their pleasure was should be given away out of their owne, to *Masaniissa*. For they yet, would have some gage of their hand, and know what they gave; whereas he himselfe had no stay, nor would ever see to make an end; so unsatiabable was his lust and appetite. But in case they might obtaine none of these points, and that there could be found any fault or trespasse of theirs, committed since the peace graunted unto them by *Scipio*; then, that they rather than any other would chastise them. For leifer they had to live in servitude under the siegnorie of Romanes with safetie, than enjoy such a libertie as should bee exposed to the injuries of *Masaniissa*. And better were it for them to perish and die once for all, than to live and languish under the yoke of a most cruell and bloudie butcher. At which words the tears trickled downe their cheekes, and downe they fell at their feet. Lying thus prostrate upon the ground, as they moved pitie and compassion to themselves, so they procured despight and malice against the king. Then thought good it was to demand of *Gulussa*, what hee had to answer as touching these matters? or els (if he had so rather himselfe) to declare before, for what cause & upon what occasion he was come to Rome. *Gulussa* made answer, That neither it was easie for him to deale in those points, whereof he had no commission from his father: nor for his father to give him any such charge, considering that the Carthaginians, shewed not unto him of what businesse they would treat, ne yet made him so much as privie of their coming to Rome. This only was known, that there was a close counsell holden for certaine nights, by the principall States of Carthage within the temple of *Aesculapius*, from whence embassadours were dispatched to Rome with hidden and secret messages. And this was the cause that his father had sent him to Rome, to beseech the Senat not to give credite to the slanderous accusations that should be preferred against him by those that were common enemies as well to them as him; who hated him for no other cause, but for that he had continued so constant in his fealtie & allegiance to the people of Rome. The Senat thus having heard what they could say of both sides, sat in counsell as touching the demands of the Carthaginians: and at length commaunded this answer to bee returned, How their advise and pleasure was, that *Gulussa* should presently depart and goe into Numidia, and give his father

A father to understand from them, that with all speed hee send his embassadours to the Senate, as concerning those complaints which the Carthaginians had made of him: also to give intimation and knowledge unto the Carthaginians, that they repaire likewise thither to debate their controversies and differences betweene them. And if it lay in their power to effect ought for the honour of *Masaniissa*, they would be as willing to doe it hereafter, as they had been readie heretofore. Marie, to minister justice for favour and affection, that they would not doe in any wise. Willing they were that every man should know and hold his owne, and keepe him within compass; neither minded they to set out new limits, but to observe the old bounds. Indeed they had granted to the Carthaginians, after they were conquered, both townes to inhabite, and territories to possesse: not to this end, that in time of peace they should plucke that away by wrong and outrage, which during the warre they could not take from them by martiall law and force of armes. Thus was the young prince together with the Carthaginians, dismissed. Presents were given both to the one and the other, according to the order, and other courtesies of hospitalitie were friendly observed.

Much about the same time *Cn. Servilius Capio*, *App. Claudius Cento*, and *T. Annius Luscus*, embassadours sent into Macedonie for to demaund amends and restitution, and withall to disclaim and renounce the kings amitie, returned to Rome. Vho having related in order what they had seene and heard, enflamed the Senate more against *Perseus*, who were already of themselves enkindled ynough. They made report, That through all the cities of Macedonie they saw preparation for warre in all forcible manner; that when they came to the court, for many daies they could find no meanes of access to the speech of the king; and in the end, after they were departed from thence homeward (as being past all hope of parley with him) then and not afore, they were called backe againe out of their way, and so brought unto his presence: that the sum of their embassage and speech unto him was this, namely, to put him in mind of the league first contracted with *Philip*, and afterwards renewed with himselfe since the death of his father; wherein by expresse words he was inhibited to beare armes without his own frontiers, and likewise debarred to levie warre upon any confederate allies of the people of Rome: after this, that they had recounted and laid abroad from point to point those specialities, which they themselves had lately heard king *Eumenes* to declare and discourse, which were all apparent truths, upon his owne assured knowledge. Moreover, that the king held a secret counsell for many daies together, with the embassages of the cities & States of Asia: in regard of which injuries, that the Senat thought it reason and equitie that he should make satisfaction, yea, and restore back both to them and also to their associates, whatsoever hee held contrarie to right, contained in the accord. That the king hereupon at the first fell into a fit of choler and indignation, and gave them hard tearmes, reproching at every other word the Romanes for their covetousnesse and insolencie. And as for their embassadours that came unto him one after another, he said they were but spies, to listen and see what he did or said; & no marvel, for they thought it meet that he should conforme and frame himselfe in all his words and deeds, according to their becke and commandment. At the last, when hee had in this wise discharged his choler with high words and broad speeches for a long time, that he commaunded them to repaire againe unto him the next morrow, for that hee would give them their answer in writing; and then he delivered unto them a script to this effect as followeth. First, as touching the accord & covenant concluded with my father, that is nothing to me at all: if I sufficed it to be renewed, it was not for any liking or approbation thereof; but because I being new come to the crown, and lately possessed of the kingdome, I was to beare and endure all things whatsoever. But in case they will enter into a new league with me, requisit it is that a treatie and agreement passe first of the conditions. And if they could bee content that a covenant were drawne with equall and indifferent capitulations, yet I will sleepe upon it and bee well advised what to doe for the best, as I doubt not but they likewise will have a good regard to the profit of their Commonweale. And herewith, that he suddainly flung away from them, and wee all began to void out of the pallace. Whereupon wee proceeded according to our commission to abandon and disavow his amitie and societie. At which words of ours, hee staied in great wroth and furie, and with a lowd and shrill voice, warned us upon our owne perill and hazard, to bee gone out of the marches of his realme within three daies: finally, in this manner wee departed and put our selves in our journey, and found neither friendly welcome at our first coming, nor any courteous entertainment while we were there, nor yet a kind farewell at our departure.

departure. When they had once done, the Thessalian and Ætolian embassadours had audience.

The Senate, to the end that they might know out of hand, what captaines and commanders the commonweale was to employ, thought good to write unto the Coss. that the one or other of them (who first might) should repaire to Rome for the creation of new magistrates. And no great matter to speake of, as concerning the state, was that yeere done by the Consuls. But more expedient it was thought for the commonweale, to suppress and appease the Ligurians, whose bloud was up and chafed against them, considering that the Macedonian warre was in daily expectation.

Moreover the embassadours of Illyria gave occasion, that *Gentius* also king of Illyricum was had in jealousy: who at one time both complained of him, that now twice he had given the waite to their countrie: and also made report, how the Macedonian and Illyrian kings were all one, & so great together, that with one consent & common counsell they prepared to warre upon the Romans: finally, that the Illyrians were now at Rome, in shew and semblance of embassage, but indeed and very truth, no better than spies, addressed of purpose by the motive and advice of *Perseus*, to hearken & learne whereabout they went at Rome. These Illyrians were sent for into the Senat-house, and when they had said, that they were employed in embassage from their king *Gentius*, to answer unto those accusations which it might be the Illyrians framed against him: it was againe demanded of them, How it hapned that they went not directly nor shewed themselves in such sort to the magistrate, that according to the manner & custome, they might have had their lodging provided and presents given them, with the ordinarie allowance of the cittie, meet for them during their abode; that thereby knowledge might have bene taken as well of their coming, as also of their businesse and errand: But being taken in a trip & found fumbling in their answer, they were commaunded to void out of the Counsel-chamber. For thought it was not meete, to give them their dispatch as embassadours, since they made no meanes to present themselves unto the Senate: but rather they were of advise, to dispatch embassadours of their owne to the king, to signifie unto him, which of his associates had complained unto the Senate, how hee had burnt their villages within their territorie: yea, and to tell him of it plainly, that it was not well done of him, that he could not forbear but do wrong to his owne allies. In this embassage were sent, *A. Terentius Varro*, *C. Pletorius*, and *C. Cicereius*.

Likewise those embassadours, whose commission was to visit the associate kings, returned out of Asia, and reported, that in the said Asia they had communication with *Eumenes*; in Syria with *Antiochus*, and in Alexandria with *Ptolomeus*: who all of them had bene solicited by sundrie embassies of *Perseus*, howbeit they persisted firme and fast in their professed fealtie, and promised to performe whatsoever the people of Rome would command them. Also that they went to the confederate states, whome they found true and loiall enough, excepting the Rhodians onely, whom they perceived to bee floting and wavering, as altogether infected and poisoned with the counsell of *Perseus*.

Now were the Rhodian embassadours come to answer those things which they knew were commonly bruited abroad touching their cittie: howbeit the Senat was not of mind to give them audience, before the new Consuls entred into their office. But they were all of advise to delay no longer the preparation of warre. *C. Licinius* the Pretor had in charge, out of the old Quinquereines which were laid up in the dockes and harbours, to repaire as many as might serve at sea; to rig also & prepare a fleet of 50 saile. But if he could not come to make up that full number, then to write unto his colleague *C. Aemilius* in Sicilie, for to repaire, calke and trim those ships which were in Sicilie, that with all speed possible they might be sent to Brundisium. The said Pretour *C. Licinius* was commaunded to enroll of Roman citizens (& those Libertines, such as of bond-men borne had bene enfranchised) for mariners and sailers, as many as might serve five and twenty ships: & *Cn. Licinius* had commission to levie as many of Latine allies for the like number of ships: also the same Pretour was enjoyned to charge the Latine allies with eight thousand foot, and foure hundred horse. *A. Attilius Serranus*, who had bene Pretour the yeere before, was chosen to receive these forces at Brundisium, and to conduct them over into Macedonie: and *Cn. Scipio* the Pretour was appointed to have the armie in readinesse for to be transported. As for *C. Licinius* the Pretour, he by authoritie from the Senat, wrote to *C. Popilius* the Consull, that he should commaund the second legion, which had bene longest employed in Liguria, and

A consisted of most experienced souldiours, together with foure thousand footmen and two hundred horse of the Latine allies, to be readie at Brundisium upon the *Ides of Februarie. With this fleet of ships and forces of souldiours, *Cn. Scipio* was commaunded to keepe Macedonie, untill one were appointed to succede him; and for this purpose his charge of command was continued for a yeere longer. All these directions of the Senate were put in execution with great diligence and expedition. Eight and fortie Quinquereines were set afloat out of their docks: and *L. Porcius Licinius* was ordained to conduct them to Brundisium: the other twelve were sent out of Sicilie. Three embassadours were dispatched into Apulia and Calabria, to wit, *Sex Digittus*, *T. Iuventius*, and *M. Caelius*, for to buy corne to serve the fleet and the armie. Now when all things were provided and in readinesse, *C. Scipio* the Pretor departed from the cittie in his warlike coate of armes, and arrived at Brundisium. About the end of the yeere *C. Popilius* the Consull returned to Rome, somewhat later than the Senate had ordained; who was commanded to take the first time, and with all speed to create new magistrates, considering that so great a warre approached so neere. And therefore when the Consull discoursed in the temple of *Bellona*, astouching his exploits in Liguria, the LL. of the Senate were nothing well pleased to heare him; but in stead therof, they muttered every where, and asked him estoones, Why he had not restored to libertie those Ligurians, who were oppressed through the wicked proceedings of his father: The election of the Consuls was holden upon the twelvth day before the Calends of March, according to the writs that went out: wherein were created Consuls, *Pub. Licinius Crassus* and *Caius Cassius Longinus*. The morrow following, the Pretours were elected, to wit, *Caius Sulpicius Galba*, *L. Furius Philus*, *L. Caninius Dives*, *C. Lucretius Gallus*, *C. Caninius Rebutius*, and *L. Villius Annalis*. To these Pretours the provinces were assigned in this manner: that two of them should sit as LL. chiefe justices in Rome for civill jurisdiction: three other to have the government of Spaine, Sicilie, and Sardinia: so as the sixt onely should remaine not allotted to any place, for to be employed wheresoever the Senate would think good and ordeine. The Consuls elect were commaunded by the Senate, upon the solemne day when they were to enter into their magistracie, after they had sacrificed greater beasts, as it appertained, to pray in this forme, That the gods would vouchsafe the warre which the people of Rome intended now to enterprise, to speed well and come to happy issue. The same day the Senate decreed, that *C. Popilius* the Consull should set out plaies for ten daies together in the honour of *Iup. Opt. Max.* & that offerings should be made at all the shrines and altars, if so be the commonweale continued for ten yeeres, in the same good estate as now it stood. And as the Senat ordained, the Consull vowed in the capitoll, that the said plaies should bee exhibited, and offerings presented of as great valour as it pleased them to set downe. This vow was pronounced by the Consull in the presence of no fewer than 150 Senators, and according to that form of words which *Lepidus* the high-priest or soveraigne bishop indited. That yeere died certaine Prelates of State, to wit, *L. Aemilius Pappus* one of the Decemvirs or superintendents over the holy rites, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* a bishop, who the yeere before had bene Censor. This man had a foule end. It fortuned that news came unto him of his two sonnes, who then served in the wars of Illyricum, how the one was departed out of this life, and the other lay sicke of a greivous and dangerous maladie. The sorrow for the one, and the fear for the other, happening so just at one time, brake his heart and oppressed his spirits: in so much as the next morning, when his servants entered betimes into his bed-chamber, they found him hanged by a cord, and strangled. It was thought abroad, that he had never bene his owne man, since hee was Censor, and commonly it was spoken, That *Iuno Lacinia* in wrathfull displeasure against him for spoiling her temple, bereft him of his right wits. In the roume of *Aemilius*, *M. Valerius Messala* was substituted Decemvir: and in stead of *Fulvius* there was elected Archbishop, *Cneus Domitius Aenobarbus*, who to say a truth was very young to bee made a priest.

In that yeere wherein *P. Licinius* and *C. Cassius* were Consuls, not onely the cittie of Rome, and the whole land of Italie, but all the princes and States of Europe and Asia, were amited respectively upon the warre betwene the Macedonians and the Romans. *Eumenes* (king of Asia) not onely carried an old cankered malice against *Philip*, but also was pricked forward with new despite and anger upon a fresh occasion, in that by the wicked practise of *Perseus*, hee had like to have bene sacrificed at Delphi. *Prusias* king of Bithynia, was resolved not to enter into armes, but to attend the issue of the warre. For hee thought it not reason and seemely

seemely for him to take armes in the defence of the Romanes against his wives brother; and this account hee made, that if *Perseus* happened to have the better he might soone obtaine pardon at his hands by the mediation of his sister. *Ariarates* king of the Cappadocians, over and besides that hee had promised aid to the Romanes in his owne name, ever since that hee was linked in affinitie to *Eumenes*, drew the same way which hee went, and joyned with him in all his counsels both of warre and peace. As for *Antiochus* [king of Syria] his teeth watered verily at the kingdome of *Egypt*, as he, who despised as well the childhood of the young king in his nonage, as the weakenesse and negligence of his guardians: and considering there was some controversie about the title of *Coelesyria*, he supposed that he should have good occasion to levie war, to manage also and exploit the same without impeachment, whiles the Romanes were busied in the Macedonian warre; howbeit as well by his owne embassadours sent unto the Senat, as also unto theirs addressed unto him, he promised stoutly to be for them. *Ptolemæus* [the young king of *Egypt*] being yet under age, was at the dispositions of others: his tutors and protectours, as they prepared to wage warre against *Antiochus* for the recovery of *Coelesyria*, so they promised the Romanes withall to doe their devoir in the Macedonian warre. *Masani[s]* [K. of the Numidians] was altogether for the Romans; he furnished them with coine, and intended to send his sonne *Misagenes* with aides both of men and elephants in that service. Howbeit hee so disposed of his designs, as might serve his turne which way soever the world went: for if the victorie fell to the Romanes, he ordered that his affaires should remaine still in the same state; and better hee was not to looke for, because the Romanes would not suffer any violence to be offered unto the Carthaginians: but in case the Romanes went downe and had the overthrow, (who then protected the Carthaginians) then hee made full reckoning of Asia to be his owne. *Gentius* [king of Illyricum] had so demeaned himselfe, that he was suspected of the Romanes; yet was hee not fully resolved which side to take unto: and it seemed hee would joyne to one or the other, more upon a fit as it tooke him in the head, than with any discretion or advise. *Cotys* the Thracian, king of the Odrysians, tooke part evidently with the Macedonians. In these tearmes (I say) stood the KK. as touching this present warre. As for the freecities and States besides, the common people every where (as alwaies lightly it is scene) enclined to the worse part, and ran with the K. and the Macedonians: but the principall persons and men of qualitie, a man might perceive affected diversly. Some went with the Romans all upon the head, inasmuch as they greatly empaiied their authoritie in excessive favour to them: few of them were induced by the just and upright government of the Romanes, but the most part were carried away with this strong conceit, That the more they employed themselves for them, the greater men they should be at home in their owne cities. Another sort there were of the kings flattering favorites, who being deeply drenched in debt, and in despaire of bettering their fortune (if the present state held still) abandoned and gave themselves over to entertain all changes and innovations. And some there were besides, possessed with a vaine humour of their owne, because *Perseus* seemed to have more favor of the common people. A third sort there were (and those of the best and wisest of all other) who if it had lyen in their hands to determine whome they would have to be the greater lord, wished to have been under the Romans rather than the K. Marie if they might have had their liberty to be chusers simply of their fortune, by their good will they would not have had the one part advanced by the depression and subversion of the other: but that the forces and puissance of them both remaining entire and unfoiled, peace thereby might be entertained: and so betweene them both, the state of cities should continue in the best case, when as the one part might ever protect the weaker side from the injuries of the mightier. And those that stood affected thus, held them quiet and said not a word; but being safe themselves, beheld the behaviour and deportments of those that were the partakers and favourers of either side.

The Consuls that day wherein they entred their government, when they sacrificed (according to the ordinance of the Senat) with greater beasts in all the temples and chappels, wherein (for most part of the yeere) the sacred beds and couches for the gods were prepared; and there by had presaged by good tokens, that their prayers were acceptable to the immortall gods, made report unto the Senat, That their sacrifices were as they ought to be, as also their prayers, which they conceived as touching the warre. The Bowell-priests likewise by their learning declared, That if they went about any new enterprise, they should make speed; for why? all did prognosticate

A nosticate victorie, triumph, and enlargement of their seignorie. Whereupon the LL. of the Senat commaunded the Consuls to propose unto the people the first day of the generall assembly of the Centuries in this manner: IN THE NAME OF GOD, AND TO THE WELFARE AND HAPPINES OF THE COMMONWEALTH: WHEREAS PERSEUS THE SONNE OF PHILIP K. OF MACEDONIE, (AGAINST THE ACCORD AND COVENANT CONCLUDED WITH HIS FATHER FIRST, AND AFTER HIS DEATH RENEVED WITH HIM) HATH LEVIED WARRE UPON THE ALLIES OF THE PEOPLE OF ROME, WVASTED THEIR TERRITORIES, SEIZED THEIR CITIES, COMPTOTTED TO ENTER INTO ARMES AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF ROME, AND TO THAT END HATH PROVIDED ARMOUR, SOULDIOES, AND A FLEET: UNLESSE HE MAKE SATISFACTION, PLEASETH IT YOU THAT VWARRE BE ENTERPRISED AND WVAGED AGAINST HIM. This bill passed by all the suffrages of the people. Then was there an act of the Senat likewise entred, That the Consuls should either agree together, or else cast lots for the provinces of Italy and Macedonie: and looke whose lot fell to Macedonie, he should persecute with fire and sword K. *Perseus*, and all that sect and bend which tooke his part, unlesse they made amends to the people of Rome. It was concluded also, that four legions should be newly enrolled, for either Consull twaine: with this preheminance & vantage to the province of Macedonie, that whereas to the legions of the other Consull (according to the aunient custome) there went but five thousand foot and two hundred horse apeece, there should be enrolled for Macedonie six thousand foot and three hundred horse equally to a legion. Also for the one of the Consuls in the armie of the allies, the number C was augmented, so as besides those six hundred horsemen which *Cn. Scinius* had conducted already, he should of those allies transport over into Macedonie, sixteen thousand footmen and eight hundred horse. As for Italie, twelve thousand footmen of allies and six hundred horse were thought sufficient. Moreover, this prerogative had the province of Macedonie, that for Centurions and souldiours the Consull might enroll of the elder sort whome he thought good, as many as were not above fiftie yeeres of age. In choosing of Tribunes militarie and colonels, the old manner was this yeere chaunged, in regard of the Macedonian warre; to wit, that the Consuls (by advise and authoritie of the Senate) should moove unto the people, that the said Tribunes might not that yeer be elected by voices of the people, but that their elections should be referred to the judgement and discretion of the Consuls and Pretours. The charge of command was thus divided among the Pretors as followeth. That Pretour whose lot fell to go whither it pleased the Senat to send, was assigned to take his journey to the flect at Brundisium, and there to survey and revise the sea-servitours, and looke how many he thought not meet for service, them to discharge, and to make up the number with chosen Libertines; and in any wise to order it so, that two third parts consisted of Romane naturall citizens, and the other third of allies. Item, That provision of victuals for the navie and the armie, should be brought out of Sicilie and Sardinia. And the Pretours of those two provinces had in charge to exact a double tenth of the Sicilians and Sardinians, and this graine to be conveyed into Macedonie for the armie. Now Sicilie fell to *C. Caninius Rebulus*, Sardinia to *L. Furius Philus*, and Spaine to *L. Canuleius*. *C. Sulpitius Galba* was L. chiefe Iustice for the citizens of Rome, and *L. Junius Annalis* for the strangers: but *C. Lucretius Gallus* his lot was to goe where the Senate would employ him. Betweene the two Consuls there was some jarre and wrangling, rather than any great debate about there province. *Cassius* for his part said, That he was by right to warre in Macedonie without any casting of lots for the matter, forasmuch as his colleague might not enter in to lot with him, and save his oath. For hee being Pretour, had sworn solemnly in a frequent assembly of the people (because he would shift off and not goe into his province) that he had occasion to celebrate sacrifices in a certaine place and upon set daies, which could not be performed (as they ought) if hee were at sea. And the same (as I take it) cannot be well done during his absence now that hee is Consull no more than whiles hee was Pretour. Howbeit, if the Senate be of opinion and judge, that more consideration is to be had to satisfie *Caius Licinius* his will now in his Consulship, then regard of the oth he tooke before in his Pretorship, yet will I notwithstanding accommodate my selfe to the pleasure of the Senate. The LL. were consulted with hereabout, who judging that it were a proud part to denie him the government of a province, unto whom the people of Rome had graunted the dignitie of a Consulship, commanded the Consuls to cast lots. Thus Macedonie fell to *P. Licinius*, and Italie to *C. Cassius*. Then

* *C. cornutus* is
in the center of
the triangular
whorl, as indicated
by Pilani. For
figures, see
Description of the
Orid 3. Felt,
in *highly* *verges*.
Inde pares
centum den s
iceciv in orbes
Romulus,
Hastatos intitu
mque decem
Et toridem
Princeps, toid
den Pilanus
habeat Corpor
pares, legitim
quisque mer
bat equo. And
there is the
cheefly place of
Concurion in
selection, app
hly by Liguri
nus in his Oxi
ation following.

Then they put to lotterie also the conduct and employment of the legions: whereby the first and third were to be transported into Macedonie, the second and fourth to remaine in Italie. In the mustering and choise of souldiours, the Consuls went more neerely and strictly to worke by farre, than customably they used at other times. As for *Licinius*, he enrolled the elder fort also, as well for souldiours as centurions; and many there were who voluntarily entred their names, because they saw how those thrived well and grew rich, who had served either in the former Macedonian warre, or against *Antiochus* in Asia. Now when as the marshal-Colonels called forth the centurions by name one after another, and the principall first, there happened to bee three and twentie centurions of them, who before time had been *Primipilares*, and led in the cheefest and best place, & when they were cited, they called unto the Trib. of the Com. for to be relieved by their lawfull assistance. But two of that fellowship and societie of Tribunes, namely, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, & *M. Claudius Marcellus*, referred them over to the Consuls, alledging, that by right, the knowledge of these matters pertained to those who had plenarie commission to take musters, and to manage the war-affaires. But all the rest of the Tribunes avowed that they would assume it into their owne hands, and determine of that for which they were called unto as competent judges; yea, and if injurie were offered to their fellow-citizens, they would not faile but helpe and succour them. All this was debated in the Tribunes-court. Thither was *M. Popilius*, a Consular man, called to the hearing of this matter, and thither repaired the centurions and the Consull also. And when the Consull required that the case should bee heard and decided in a generall assemblie, thereupon the people was summoned to meet in publicke together. In which solemn congregation *M. Popilius*, who had bene Consull two yeeres before, spake in the behalfe of the centurions to this effect. These martiall men (quoth he) have accomplished their full time of service required by law; they carie about them bodies as wel spent & crafe for age, as broken by continuall travels: howbeit refuse they will nothing, but are readie to doe their devoir unto the Commonweale. This onely they humbly crave and request, that they may not be assigned to baser places of command, than wherein they have bene employed already when they bare armes. Then *P. Licinius* the Consull commaunded the act of the Senat to be openly read: wherein it was ordained first, To levie warre upon *Perseus*; then, to enroll as many as they could of the old experienced Centurions for that warre; and last of all, to exempt none from soulderie, but such onely as were above fiftie yeeres of age. After this hee earnestly befought them in this new warre so neere to Italie and against a prince so puissant, neither to hinder the Colonels in levying souldiours, nor forbid the Consull but that hee might appoint to each man what place and degree was thought to stand most with the good of the Commonweale. And in case there arose any doubt and difficultie in this businesse, to submit the decision thereof to the Senat. After that the Consull had delivered his mind, *Sp. Ligustinus* one of them who had appealed to the Tribunes of the Commons, requested both the Consull and the Tribunes to give him leave for to speake a few words unto the people: who having libertie graunted with all their good wils made a speech unto them in this wise. My maisters, you Quirites, I *Spurius Ligustinus* of the tribe *Crutumina*, am descended from the Sabines. My father left mee an acre of land, and a little cottage to it, wherein I was borne, bred, and brought up, and whereupon at this day I dwell. So soone as I was come to mans estate, my father gave me to wife my cousin germane, his neece by the brother, who brought nothing with her for marriage-good, but freedome of birth, honestie of life, and therewith fruitfulnessse of wombe, as much (I may say to you) as a rich man of some wealthie house may well maintaine. Sixe sons God hath sent betwene us, and two daughters to them, both maidens marriageable. Four of our sonnies are men grown, and have put on their mans robe; two are boies full in their *pretexta*, under seventene yeeres old. I myselfe was prest to the warres, the yeere when *P. Sulpitius* and *C. Aurelius* were Consuls. In that arme which passed over sea into Macedonie, I served in qualitie of a common souldiour for the space of two yeeres against king *Philip*. In the third yeere *T. Quintus Flaminius*, in regard of my forwardnesse assigned me the tenth place of leading among the Hastati in the vaward. After that *Philip* and the Macedonians were vanquished, and wee brought over againe into Italie and discharged, I went immediately as a volunarie servitour into Spaine with *M. Porcius* the Consul. And there is not a commaunder alive at this day, who saw farther into a souldiour, and could judge better of vertue and valour than hee: as they all knowfull well, who by long warfare have had experience both of him and also of other leaders. Hee being my capitaine, reputed me wor-

A thic to have the first place and leading of the forme century of the Hastati. A third time I be-
came a voluntarie againe in the expedition against the *Aetolians* and king *Antiochus*; and
M. *Caelus* advanced mee to the captainship of the Principes, in the very first place of the for-
most century. When king *Antiochus* was chased, and the *Aetolians* subdued, we were brought
backe again into *Italic*, and two yeers together I was in pay with the legions that received yeere-
ly wages and allowance. Twife after this, I bare armes and served in *Spaine*, once under *Q. Ful-*
cius Flaccus, a second time under *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* the Pretor. By *Flaccus* I was brought
home among others, whom for their valiancie and prowess he thought good to have in traine
for the honour of his triumph: and at the request and entreatie of *Tib. Gracchus* I accompanied
him into his province. Where, within few yeeres space I had the leading of the first companie of
the *Pilani* or *Triarii* in the reward. Four and thirtie times have I been rewarded with presents
at my Generals hands, in token of vertue and prowess. Sixe civicke coronets have I received:
two and twentie yeeres full have I followed the warres, and more than fiftie yeeres old I am. Now
if neither I had served out all the yeeres required by law, nor might plead exemption and immu-
nity by mine age, yet seeing I am able to shew foure fouldiours for one, my foure sonnes [I say,
for my selfe alone] me thinks it were reason, & *P. Licinius*, that I were now freed and discharged.
And all this I pray you take, as spoken for the behoofe of my cause. Now as touching my person
thus much. So long as any man who hath authoritie to enroll fouldiours, shall judge mee suffici-
ent and able to beare armes, I will not goe about to make excuse and shift it off. And looke what
place the Colonels and marshalls shall suppose me worthe of, it lieth in their good and pleasure
to assigne me unto it: but to performe that no one person in the whole armie summount me in va-
lour, that shall be my owne endeavour; like as not only my captaines, but those also who have ser-
ved with me are able to testifie, That I ever have so caried my selfe and performed as much. And
ye likewise my fellow fouldiours, albeit you practise and keepe in ure the privilege and benefit
of appealing to the Tribunes, yet meer and reason it is, since in your youthfull daies ye never did
ought in any place against the authoritie of the Senat and the Consuls; yea, now also in your de-
clining age bee at the disposition of the Senate and the Consuls; yea, and to esteeme all places
worshipfull, wherein you shall defend and maintaine the Commonweale. When hee had thus
said, the Consull highly commended him, and from before the people brought him into the
Senate. And there also by the advise and authoritie of that honourable house, thanked hee was;
and the marshall Colonels, in regard of his vertue, appointed him to be the principall centuri-
on of the *Pilani* in the first legion. So, the rest of the centuries renouncing their appeale to the
Tribunes, yielded obedience in the muster and levie abovesaid.

To the end that the magistrates and great commaunders might goe more timely into their
governments, the Latin feasts and hollydaies were published to be holden upon the * Calends of
June. Which solemnitie being finished, *C. Lucretius* the Pretour tooke his journey to Brundisi-
um, having sent before all necessarie furniture and provision for the fleet. Besides those armies
which the Consuls levied, a commissiion was directed out to *C. Sulpitius Galus* the Pretour, to en-
roll foure legions of Romane citizens with the ordinarie full proportion of infanterie and caval-
lerie, and to chuse out of the bodie of the Senate foure Colonels for to commaund them. Also
to levie of Latin allies fifteen thousand footmen and twelve hundred horse, and to take order that
this armie should bee readie to goe whether soever the Senate thought good. *P. Licinius* the
Consull at his owne instant request (that over and above the armies of citizens and allies, hee
might have an addition of auxiliaries) obtained of *Ligurians* two thousand, of *Candiot* archers
an uncerteine number, namely, as many as the *Candiot*s upon request would send. Moreover,
certain *Numidian* horsemen and elephants: for which purpose *L. Posthumius Albinus*, *Q. Te-*
rentius Culleo and *C. Aburius* were sent in embassage to *Masani*sa and the *Carthaginians*. Sembla-
bly it was thought good to send three embassadours into *Crete*, to wit, *A. Posthumius Albinus*,
C. Decimus, and *A. Licinius Nerva*.

At the very same time there arrived embassadours from king *Perseus*. But suffred they were not
to enter into the cittie; considering that both the Senate had ordained, and the people assented
alreadie, to make warre upon their king and the *Macedonians*. So, admitted they were into the
temple of *Bellona* before the Senate, where they delivered their message in this manner: That
king *Perseus* marvelled why there were armies transported over in *Macedonie*? And if the Senat
might bee intreated so much, as to recall them home, the king would make satisfaction for the

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wrongs

wrongs done unto their allies, in such sort as the Senate in their discretion would appoint. Now there was in the Senat-house at that time *Sp. Carvilius*, sent backe for that very purpose out of Greece from *Cn. Sicinius*. Hee made report and remonstrance, how Perrhoebia was forced by armes, and certaine cities of Thessalie woon; with other exploits that king *Perseus* had either performed, or els was in hand to enterprise. To which challenges the embassadours were commanded to make answer. But after they were scene once to falter in their speech, saying, they had no farther commision than that they had delivered already; they were willed to relate unto the king their maister, That *P. Licinius* the Consull would shortly bee in Macedonie with an army, unto whom the king might adresse his embassadours, if he minded to do as he said & to make amends. As for sending any more to Rome, there was no need nor cause, for as much as they would not suffer any of them to passe through Italie. When they were dismissed with this short dispatch, *P. Licinius* the Consull had in charge, to command them to depart out of Italie within eleven daies, and to send *Spurius Carvilius* for to guard them all the way to the sea-side untill they were shipped. These occurrents passed in Rome before the Consuls were gone into their provinces.

Now by this time *Cn. Sicinius* (who ere that hee left his magistracie, was sent before as farre as to Brundisium to the fleet and the armie) having put over into Epirus five thousand foot and three hundred horse, was encamped before Nymphæum in the territorie of the Apolloniates. From thence he sent certaine colonels with two thousand souldiours, to seize the forts & castles of the Dassaretians and Illyrians, by occasion that they of their owne accord made meanes and sent for garrisons, so the end they might bee better guarded and secured from the violence and invasion of the Macedonians bordering upon their confines.

Some fewe daies after, *Q. Martius*, *A. Atilius*, *P. and Ser.* both *Cornelij* and *Lentuli*, together with *L. Decimius*, who all had bin sent in embassie into Greece, brought with them to Corcira one thousand footmen; where they both parted between themselves their severall quarters whither they would go, and also their souldiours. *Decimius* was sent to *Gentius* king of the Illyrians, with commaundement, If he saw him any waies comming on and enclined to entertaine amitie with the Romanes, to found him and give the assay, yea and to draw him into the association of this war. The two *Lentuli* were sent into Cephallenia, from thence to traverse & crosse over into Peloponnesus, and before winter to fetch about and compass the coast of the West-sea. *Martius* and *Atilius* were assigned to visit Epirus, Ætolia and Thessalie. From thence they were enjoined to haue an eie into Bæotia and Eubæa, and so to saile over into Peloponnesus, where they appointed to meet with the *Lentuli*. But before that they departed from Corcira, letters were brought from *Perseus*, wherein he demaunded what reason the Romanes had either to transport any forces into Greece, or to seize upon cities? Thought good it was to returne him no answer by writing, but onely by word of mouth thus much to say unto the messenger that brought the letters, That the Romanes did it for the defence and safeguard of the said townes. The *Lentuli* as they rode their circuit visiting the citties and townes of Peloponnesus, exhorting the States and communalities thereof indifferently one as well as another, To aide the Romans at this present against *Perseus*, with seembleable courage and like fidelitie as they had stood with them first in the warre against *Philip*, and afterwards in that with *Antiochus*; might heare in their publicke assemblies much muttering and grumbling thereat. The Achæans (who from the very beginning of the Macedonian warres had bene altogether for the Romanes, & during the war against *Philip*, enemies to the Macedonians) tooke it in great disdain that they were reputed in the same range with the Messenians and Eleans, and no better than they who had borne armes against the people of Rome, for *Antiochus* their enemy; and who but the other day, being enrolled into the communalitie and counsell of the Achæans, complained that they were deliuered unto the victorious Achæans, as the recompence and guerdon of their conquest. *Martius* and *Atilius* as they went up to Girona a towne of Epirus, ten myles from the sea, in a generall countsell holden there of all the Epirotes, had audience with great contentment of them all. Four hundred of their yong and able lustie men they sent into the Oristians countrie to lie in garison for defence of those Macedonians who by them were set at libertie. From thence they held on their progresse into Ætolia: & after they had sojourned there some few daies (whiles a new Pretor was elected in the roume of him that was deceased, and *Lyciscus* appointed the governor, a man knowne for certaine to favour the Romans) they passed over into Thessalie. Thither repaired the embassa-

A embassadours of the Acarnanians and the banished persons of Ætolia. The Acarnanians were enjoined to utter and declare before them what they had committed & done against the people of Rome, being inveigled and deceived by the promises of the twokings *Philip* and *Antiochus* during the warres against the one and the other; since occasion was now presented unto them, for to make amends and salve all that was amisse. For if upon their ill demerits toward the people of Rome, they had made triall and tasted of their clemencie, they might now by good deserts proove their bountie another while. As for the Bæotians, they were reprooved and upbraided for entering into association with *Perseus*; and when they seemed to lay the whole fault upon *Isme-nidæ* a chieftaine of one of the two factions, and certaine cities and States which being of a different opinion, were drawn to the side; Say ye so? (quoth *Martius* againe) and that shall soone appeare, for we will permit every communalitie and citie to answer apart and severally for themselves the best they can.

Now was the Diet of the Thessalians holden at Larissa: where, as the Thessalians tooke good occasion & found ample matter of thanksgiving to the Romanes, for the libertie which by their goodnes they had obtained: so the Romane legates had as copious an argument to render them thanks, for that sitt in the war with *Philip*, and afterwards of *Antiochus*, they had bin so mightily aided by the Thessalian nation. Thus by this mutuall rehearsall of pleasures and good turnes given and taken, the hearts of the multitude were enkindled with a fervent zeale to decree & ordaine whatsoeuer it pleased the Romanes to desire. After this counsell was dissolved, there came embassadours from king *Perseus* unto *Martius*, upon a speciall affiance of the private friendship and hospitalitie which had passed between his father king *Philip*, and the said *Martius* [& his father.] These embassadours began their speech with a commemoration of the said familiar and inward acquaintance, requesting him to permit the K. for to have access unto him, & to comming together. *Martius* answered, that he also had heard his father speake of the limitie and mutuall hospitalitie betweene him and king *Philip*: in regard and remembrance of which neere bond of familiarie he was the more willing to take upon him the charge of that embassage and commision. As to the parlie, he would not have differred it at all, if hee might commodiously have wrought it: & now for this present he promised (so soon as he possibly could) to send his courtiers before to advertise the king, that they might come to the river Peneus, whereas the passage lieth from Omolium over to Diium. And verily at that time, *Perseus* was retired from Diium into the inland quarters of his realme, and had gathered some prettie gale of hope, in that *Martius* had given out, how for love of him he had undertaken this embassie. After some few daies they repaired to the place appointed. The king came accompanied with a great traine as well of his friends, as his courtiers and pensioners which guarded his person. The legates likewise were attended upon with no lesse a troupe, by reason as well of many that followed them from Larissa, as also of divers embassages from the States which assembled at Larissa, and were desirous to carrie home with them certaine newes of the sequele, which they should heare with their owne eares. Every man had an inward desire setled in his heart to see the manner of the meeting of this noble king, & these high commissioners from the soveraigne state and mightiest people of the whole world. Being come to the interview one of another, they stood still on either side of the river, which onely parted them asunder. For a while there passed entercouriers betwene, whiles they made it straunge on both parts, who should passe the river first: for the Macedonians stood somewhat upon the roiall majestie of a king; and the Romanes were as respective to the reputation of the people of Rome, considering withall, that *Perseus* sought the means and made first motion for this parley. Whereupon, to end this controversie, *Martius* cast out a mery word, What needs all this (quoth he) let the younger come to the elder without more ado, & the son to the father: this he spake for that himself also was surnamed *Philip*. The K. soone condescended thereunto. But then arose another doubt and difference, namely with what number he should passe over. The K. thought it meet & convenient to come with his whole traine: but the legates would have had him either to bring over with him 3 persons & no more, or els if he were minded to passe with so great a companie, to put in hostages for assurance, that during the time of the parley no outrage should be committed. So *Perseus* sent as pledges, *Hippias* & *Pentanchus*, the principall & most especial friends that wer about him, whom also he had employed in the embassage. Now were these hostages required, not so much for a gage and pawn of securitie, as that it might appeare unto the allies there present, that the K. in meeting and communing with the Romane

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commissioners, should not keepe state comparable with them, but abate somewhat of the port & majestie which they carried. Their mutuall greeting and salutation was nothing strange, as between enemies; but kind and amiable, as among familiar friends. Which done, they sat them downe upon their chaires set readie for them. After they had thus sitten a while in silence and said nothing, *Martius* began in this manner: You expect (I suppose quoth hee) that wee should answer to your letters which you sent to Corcyra, wherein you demand, Why wee are come in embassie and commission after this manner with armed souldiours, and plant garisons as wee doe in every citie? To which question of yours not to answer at all, I feare me you would take it to be pride in me; and againe to answer a truth, I doubt it will be too harsh, and unpleasant to your eares. But seeing that hee who breaketh a covenant must be chastised either by word or sword, (like as I had rather that any other but my selfe should have commission to make warre upon you;) so I will bee so bold (howsoever it fall out) to speake rough and tart unto you as to my friend: and herein will I follow the maner of Physicians, who for the health of their patients, otherwhiles minister bitter medicines and apply stinging corrosives. Since time that you first attained unto the crowne, the Senat thinketh you have done but one onely thing of all that you ought to have done, namely, that you sent your embassadors to Rome for to renew the league; and yet they judge you had done better in not renewing it, than after it was renewed, to violate the same. Chafed you have out of the realme* *Abrupolis*, a confederate and friend of the people of Rome. The murderers of *Arctetarus* you have received and entertained, yea and given the world thereby to understand, that you were well pleased (to say no worse) with his death: and killed they have a prince most fast and faithfull to the Romanes, of all others in Illyricum. Thorough Thessalie and the territorie of Malia, you have marched with an armie against the tenor of the league, as far as to Delphi: and more than that, contrarie unto the said accord, sent you have aid and succor to the Bizantines. With our allies the Bæotians, you have entred into a secret association, and bound the same with an oth, which by right you ought not to have done. Who it was that murdered the Thebane embassadors *Eversis* and *Callicratus* who came directly from us, I had leiser enquire than charge any man and declare. The civill warres in Ætolia, the massacres of their princes and States, unto whome may they be imputed in any likelihood, but to your people? As for the Dolopians, wasted they were by your selfe in person and by no other. It grieveth me and goeth to my heart, to speake who it is thar king *Eumenes* challengeth and burdeneth with this. That in his returne from Rome into his owne kingdom, he was like to have been killed as a beast for sacrifice, and that at Delphi, in a sacred and hallowed place, even before the altars. As for the secret practises which your host of Brundisium hath disclosed and set abroad, I know right well, that not onely you have received letters thereof from Rome, but your owne embassadors also have told you all by word of mouth. You might have soone avoided all this, and heard nothing thereof from me, if you would have forborne only to aske and demand, Wherefore our forces were transported over into Macedonie, and why we sent garisons into our confederate cities? But since you would needs put out such a question, more pride it had beene in us to have held our peace, than to utter the plaine truth as wee have done. Verily for mine owne part, in regard of the hospitall and friendly courtesies that have passed between your father and us, I favour you and will gladly make the best of your cause: and would to God I had some good occasion ministered from your selfe, to sollicite and further your suite before the Senate.

The answer of
King Perseus

To these challenges and imputations, the king framed his answer in this wise: Content I am to plead my cause before you, the parties appellants and judges both, which would be found (I doubt not) good, if it were debated and handled in the presence of indifferent and equall arbiters. And first, as touching those matters which are objected against me, they are such as in part, I wot not well, whether I may not glory in them, or at least wile not blush in the confessing and avowing thereof. As for the rest, as they are charged upon me in bare words, so plaine words may serve flatly and simply to denie them. For say, that this day I were subject unto your lawes and by them to have my triall, what can either that promoter of Brundisium, or king *Eumenes* enforce against me, but it will appeare, that they accuse me not so much with matter of truth, as exhibite onely slanderous and reprochfull tearmes? A like matter ywis it is, that neither *Eumenes* had any other enemy but me, (he I say, who hath done such wrong and injuriesto so many, both in common and also in particular:) nor I could find a fitter person to serve my

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A turne in the execution of my projects but this *Rammius*, a fellow that I never had scene before, nor was ever like to see againe hereafter. I must (forsooth) give account and answer for the Thebanes, who as it is well knowne, perished by shipwracke: as also for the murder of *Arctetarus*; and yet therein I am no deeper charged than thus, that the murderers of him lived in exile and were shadowed within my realme. Now surely, this hard conclusion and unreasonable condition I will not refuse to under-goe, in case you also will be content to take upon you and avow all those crimes and facts, for which they stand condemned, who as banished persons have fled either to Rome or into Italie: but in case both you and all other nations will disavow and disclaime that, I also will be one among the rest. And in good faith, to speake uprightly, to what end should any man be banished from one countrey, if hee may not find a place in another, and be permit-
B ted there to live in exile? And yet (so soone as ever I found by advertisement from you that they were within Macedonie) I for my part, made diligent search untill I had them, and then I commanded them to depart out of my kingdom, yea and expressly forbade them for ever setting foot againe within my dominions. And thus much verily concerning the criminall matters objected unto me as a defendant pleading at the barre. Now let us argue and debate the rest, enforced and laid against me in qualitie of a king, namely, which concerne and touch the accord contracted between me and you. For if the words run in this sort and are thus written in the fore-
C laid covenants of accord, That I may not be suffered to defend my selfe and my realme, nor if any enemy of mine levie warre against me; then I must confesse indeed, that the league I have broken, in that I stood upon my guard and defence by force of armes against *Abrupolis*, an associate of the people of Rome. But if it were lawfull for me so to doe by warrant of the accord, and allowed also by the law of nations, by force to repell force; what should I lesse, nay what could I else have done I pray you? when *Abrupolis* had laid wast the frontiers of my kingdom even as farre as to Amphipolis, led into captivity many persons free-borne, carried away a mightie number of slaves, and driven before him many thousand head of cattaille; should I have sitten still and suffered him untill he had come armed to Pella, even unto my royall pallace? But some man may haply say, You did well indeed and justly, in making head and pursuing him by force of arms; many, vanquished he should not have been, neither ought he to have suffered those calamities which follow men vanquished. Why? if I have endured the hazard and fortune thereof, provoked as I was to warre, how can he justly complaine of tasting the like, beeing himselfe the cause and first motive of all? I will not use the same maner of defence (O Romanes) to this, that by force of arms I have bridled and repressed the Dolopians: for if I have not done by them according to their demerits, yet I am sure I have delt by the vertue of the right I have over them, being as they are of mine own kingdom, under my obeisance, & made subjects to my father even by a decree of your own drawing. And yet, were I to render a reason of my proceedings against them, I say, not unto you nor unto my allies, but even to those who like not of any hard and cruel command so much as over bondslaves; can I be thought to have exercised more rigour against them, than equitie and reason would beare? For, *Euphranor*, whom I deputed governor over them, they killed in such sort, that death is too good for them, and the least punishment of all others that they have deserved. And as I marched forward in my progresse from thence to visite the cities of
E Larissa, Antron & Pylleon, I ascended up to Delphi, there for to sacrifice, to the end that I might discharge my conscience and pay those vovyes which I had of long time owed. Now, to aggravate matter in this also against mee, it is said moreover, that I was there with my armie, and intended (no doubt) for to seize cities into my hands, and put garisons into fortresses; for which at this present I complaine of you. Call the States and cities of Greece together to a generall assembly, through which I passed. Let any one man come forth and make complaint of the least harme and wrong done by any of my souldiours; then will I not refuse to bee reputed and censured for one who under pretence and colour of divine sacrifice, went about another thing. Wee sent indeed garisons to the Ætolians and Bizantines, yea, and with the Bæotians wee contracted amitie. But these things, in what sort and for what purpose they were done, my embassadors have
F not only declared, but also excused oftentimes before your Senat: where I found some umpires to heare and decide my cause, although not so indifferent and favourable to mee ward, as your selfe are, O *Martius*, my fathers old friend and familiar. For as yet *Eumenes* my accuser was not come to Rome, who by false surmises and suggestions, wresting at his pleasure every thing to the worst, to make all suspicious and odious unto you, went about to make you beleieve, that Greece could

could not possibly be restored to freedome, and enjoy the fruit of your gracious benefite; so long as the kingdome of Macedonie stood entier and upright. Well, the world you shall see, will turn about; and anone one or other will be here, to make remonstrance and prove, That to no purpose *Antiochus* is removed and confined beyond the mountaines of Taurus; that *Eumenes* is become much more greivous & unsupportable to all Asia than *Antiochus* ever was; and that your allies cannot be at rest nor live in quiet, so long as hee keepeth his roiall court in Pergantus, a citadell (as it were) overlooking and commanding all the neighbour cities bordering thereupon. Right well I know, O *Martius* & you *Attilius*, that whatsoeuer either you have objected against me, or I answered for my defence & purgation is but as the eares and affections are of the hearers; neither what I have done, nor what mind and intention I have carried in mine actions will bee so much regarded, as how you take every thing either done or intended. Mine owne conscience beareth mee witnesse, that writing and willing I have not faileed; now, if for want of knowledge and foresight I have beene overseene and done some what amisse, it may bee corrected and amended by this present rebuke and chastisement. This I am sure, my trespass is not incurable; neither have I committed ought; that you should deeme worthe to bee pursued by warre and force of armes. And if yee doe, then surely it is forought, that there goeth this hame abroad throughout all nations of your clemencie: and yett both, if I say for so slight occasions which hardly are worth the complaint & the reasoning about, you be readie to enter into armes & levie warre upon your confederate princes. *Martius* for that time accorded to his speech, and moved him to addressse ambassadors to Rome, being of advice and opinion himselfe to trie all meanes to the very last point, and to let slip nothing whereof some hope of good might arise. It remained only to be debated in counsell, how ambassadors might passe in safetie. And to this purpose, when it was necessarie for the King to request a surcease of arms, albeit *Martius* himselfe was willing and desirous thereof (for that his drift was to nothing els by all this conference and parley) yett he seemed to make a hard matter and difficultie of it, and to doe a speciall favour and pleasure unto *Perseus* in granting his petition. The truth was, the Romanes yett were not readie, nor thoroughly appointed at this present for the warre; they had neither armie puissant ynough, nor captains sufficient: whereas *Perseus* (but that he was blinded in al his counsels with a vain hope of peace) had all things prepared and in readinesse, and might then have begun to wage war, as in the best and most opportune season for himselfe, so the worst and unfittest of al other times for his enemies.

After this parley and the abstinence of warre assured faithfully on both parts; the Romane commissioners were appointed and resolved to go into Bæotia, where there was begun already some trouble and commotion, by reason that certaine States of the Bæotians were departed from the societie of the common Councell, ever since it was reported backe, how the Romane Legates made answer that it should appeare and bee scene, what cities they were indeed which tooke no pleasure to have any association with the king. And first, the embassadours from Cheronea; afterwards, from Thebes encountered them upon the way, who assured them, that they were not present in that Diet and Counsell, where this association was concluded. To these embassages no answer for this time was made, but willed they were onely to give their attendance and follow them to Chalcis.

At Thebes great variance there was, which arose by occasion of another strife and debate. In their solemne assembly for the election of the Pretour of the Bæotians, that part which had the repulse, in revenge of that injurie and disgrace, assembled the multitude and made a decree at Thebes, That the Bæotarches should not bee received within their cities: in such sort, as like banished men they retired to Thespium; from whence (for received there they were inconitently without any stay) being called againe to Thebes upon better advisement and change of mind, they made an ordinance; That if to the number of twelve private persons held any conventicle or publicke meeting together, they should bee condemned to exile. After this, *Ismenias* the new Pretour, a noble personage and of great puissance, by vertue of a decree adjudged them in their absence for to loose their lives. To Chalcis they were fled, and from thence to the Romanes at Larissa they went: where they declared that *Ismenias* was the cause of their association with king *Perseus*. Upon that foresaid difference, they grew to hore contention, yett embassadours from both parts came to the Romanes, as well the banished persons and accusers of *Ismenias*, as also *Ismenias* himselfe. But so soone as the Romane Legates were come to Chalcis; the States and heads of other cities

cities (who every one by a speciall decree of their owne had renounced association with king *Perseus*) joined with the Romanes; wheratt they tooke exceeding great contentment and joy. *Ismenias* thought it meet and reason that the Bæotian nation should be committed to the protection of the Romanes. Whereupon arose a tumultuous fray, and but that he fled into the Tribunal of the Legates to save himselfe, he had escaped narrowly from being killed by the said exiled persons, with the helpe of their supporters and favorits.

Also the very citie of Thebes, which is the capitall place of State within Bæotia, was in great trouble and uprore; whiles some drew to the king, others enclined to the Romanes. Besides, there was a multitude of Coronæans and Haliartians gathered together to maintaine the ordinance and decree as touching the association with the king. But such was the resolute persistence of the principall and cheefe men, who shewed by the late calamities of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, how great the forces, and how happie the fortune was of the Romane empire, that the same multitude relented, & being overruled, passed a new decree, to reverse and cancele the former confederacie with the king; sent those that were the motifes and persuaders of contracting that amitie to Chalcis for to satisfie & content the Roman Legates; yea, & to conclude, were of advice to recommend the citie to the faithful patronage of the said commissioners. *Martius* and *Attilius* took great pleasure to hear the Thebanes sing this note, they persuaded with them severally apart, and gave them counsell to send embassadours to Rome for the renewing of this amitie: but before all things they tooke order for the restoring of the banished persons: as for the authors of the confederacie contracted with the king, they by their owne decree condemned. Having thus by this means infringed and made frustrate the Diet of the Bæotians (the thing which above all they most desired) they tooke their journey to Peloponnesus, together with *Ser. Cornelius*, whom they had sent for to Chalcis. For their sakes a counsell was holden at Argos, where they demanded nothing els of the Achæan nation, but onely to furnish them with a thousand soldiers. This garison was sent to the defence of Chalcis, untill the Romane armie were transported into Greece. *Martius* and *Attilius* having thus dispatched all the affaires that they had to doe in Greece, in the beginning of winter returned to Rome.

Then was there sent from thence about the same time an honourable embassie to the Isles in Asia. These embassadours or Legates were three in number, to wit, *T. Claudius*, *P. Posthumus*, and *M. Iunius*. They in their circuit & vilitation exhorted all their allies to take armes against *Perseus*, for the Romans. And the mightier & more wealthie any citie was, the more earnestly travailed they there; because the inferiour states were like to frame and sort themselves suitable to the example and authoritie of the greater and superiour. Now of all others the Rhodians were reputed of most import and consequence everie way, for that they were able not onely to favour with their countenance, but also maintaine and aid with their forces this warre: and by the persuasion of *Hegesilus* they had gotten together a fleet of fortie saile. This *Hegesilus* their sovereign magistrate (whome they call Prytanis) had by many reasons prevailed with the Rhodians, to abandon the hope they had by entertaining these KK. (which they had found by often experience how vaine it was) and to hold themselves to the societie and alliance of the Romans, the surest hold of all others at that time in the world, as well for strength of forces as trustie assistance and fidelitie. There is intended war by them (qd. he) against *Perseus*, and no doubt the Romans will require of us the same provision and furniture of ships and sea forces, which they have scene in their warre lately against *Antiochus*, and before that, against king *Philip*: and then you will be so secke, and forced in great hast to provide a fleet, when it were more time it should be set out and sent forth, unlesse ye begin betimes to repaire and rig your ships, unlesse I say, you set in hand to furnish the same with sailers and mariners. And with to much more endeavour ought yee thus to doe, that by your deed and effectuall employment, you may refute and disprove the false imputations wherewith *Eumenes* hath charged you. By these remonstrances induced they were, insomuch as at the arrivall of the Roman legats aforesaid, they were able to shew unto them an armada of 40 ships readie rigged and well appointed, that they might know & see they looked not for to be exhorted thereunto. And this embassage was of great import and importance also to gain the hearts of the States in Asia. Only *Decimius* returned to Rome without any effect of his errand and commission, nay hee ran into an ill name and obloquie, upon suspicion that he had received certaine bribes of the princes in Illyricum.

Perseus upon the conference and communication had with the Romanes, retired into Macedonie

donic, and sent his embassadours to Rome, to treat about the conditions of peace begun already with *Martius*: to other embassadours also of his he gave his letters to carrie to Bizantium and Rhodes: the tenor of which letters was one and the same directed to them all: namely, That he had communed with the Romane legates, but he had so placed and couched as well what he heard as what he spake, that it might seem he gave not one foot unto them but gained the better hand in that dispute and debating with them. These embassadours added moreover and said unto the Rhodians, that they hoped assuredly there would be a peace, for that they by the motion & advice of *Martius* & *Attilius* were addressed in embassie to Rome. Now if the Romans, say they, against the covenants of accord proceeded to levie warre, then the Rhodians were to endeavour with all the credite and power they have, to reunite the peace againe; but if with all their praier and intreatie they might not prevaile, then they were to looke about and labour this one point, That the might and puissance of the whole world were not devolved into the hands of that one people. And as this imported and concerned all the rest, so the Rhodians especially, who surrounded other States in dignitie and wealth, both which should be obnoxious and enthralled, if there were regard and respect made of none but the Romanes. The letters of the king and words of the embassadours, were entertained with friendly audience, other effect they tooke none to change their settled minds: for now the authoritie of the better part began also to carrie the greater sway. But this answer was returned to them, & that by way of decree, That the Rhodians wither peace with all their hearts: but if it should come to warre, their king and maister was neither to expect nor yet to exact any thing at their hands, to disjoine the ancient amity which they held with the Romanes, and which they had acquired by many and great deserts, as well in warre as in peace. In their returne from Rhodes, they went to the cities of Bæotia, and namely to Thebes, Coronea & Haliartus, from whom it seemed a thing extorted forcibly against their will, that they were disbanded from the king and clave to the Romanes. The Thebans stood firm & immovable, although they were somewhat discontented with the Romanes, both for condemning their cheife and principall citizens, and also for restoring the banished persons. But the Coroneans & Haliartians upon an in-bred & settled favor by kind unto the kings, sent embassadours into Macedonia, requesting a garrison for their defence against the excessive pride of the Thebanes. To this embassie the king thus answered, That a garrison hee might not send, by reason of the truce made with the Romanes: howbeit he advertised them to maintaine and guard themselves against the injuries of the Thebanes all that ever they could: but yet so, as they gave the Romanes no cause to be their heavie friends, and so to proceed in rigor against them.

Martius and *Attilius* being come to Rome, made report of their embassie within the Capitoll, in such manner, as in nothing they gloried more, than in deluding and deceiving the king, by means of a cessation from armes, and a pretended hope of peace. For so well appointed was hee and furnished with all provision for warre, and they contrariwise so unprovided every way, that hee mought easily have possessed himselfe of all places of opportunitie and advantage, before that their armie could passe over into Greece. But now having this respite & time of the truce, as the king would come nothing better provided, so the Romanes might begin the war, more fully furnished with all things convenient. Moreover they related how they by their cunning distracted & set a jar in the generall counsell of the Bæotians, so as by no means any more hereafter they can be rejoined to the Macædonians by consent and accord. The greater part of the Senate approved this service of theirs as performed with singular discretion and dexteritie: But the old Senators and those that held in remembrance the ancient maner and custome of the Romanes, said plainly, That in all the course of that embassie, they could see no Romane practise and dealing at all. Our ancestors (say they) were wont to war not by wait-laying and secret ambushes, nor by skirmishes in the night season; ne yet by false semblant of running away and suddaine turning their face againe at unawares upon their unprovided enemies; neither sought they to glorifie themselves by subtil slights more than by true vertue and valour: Their use and manner was, to intimate and publish wars before they made any: yea and to denounce and proclaim the same; otherwhiles also to assigne and appoint the very place where they went to strike a battaile. According to this plaine and faithfull dealing, they detected and disclosed unto king *Pyrrhus*, the physician that would by poison have taken away his life: by the same they delivered bound unto the Faliscians the vilanous traitour that would have betrayed the children of their K. These are the Roman fashions (say they) not to use the cunning casts and slie shifts of the Carthaginians,

A thaginians, nor the craftie pollicies of Grecians, who ever reputed it more glorious and honorable by fraud to compass, than by force to surpass the enemy. Indeed otherwhiles for the present time, more good is done & greater matters are effected by guile & pollicie, than by valour and vertue: but to say a truth, the courage of that enemy is for ever conquered, who is forced to confesse that he was vanquished not by cunning, nor by venture, but in just and lawfull warre by maine strength and close fight at handie gripes. Thus spake the auncients, who had no great liking to the new-found devils of these politicians. Howbeit that side of the Senate which made more reckoning of profit than of honestie, carried it away and imported so much, that not only the first embassie of *Martius* was approved, as well performed, but also himselfe was sent back againe with certaine *Quinqueremes*, with a mandate also & commission to deal in the rest according as he should thinke to stand with the good of the common weale. They dispatched likewise *Aul. Attilius* to seize Larissa in Thessalie; for feare least if the terme of truce were expired, *Perseus* should send a garrison thither, and hold in his hand the capitall citie of Thessalie. The said *Attilius* had a warrant to receive two thousand footmen of *Cn. Sicius* for to effectuate that enterprise. Also *P. Lentulus* lately returned out of Achæa was allowed the conduct of 300 souldiours of the Italian nation, to the end that at Thebes he should endeavour to bring all Bæotia under the obedience of the Romanes. When all things were set in this forwardnes, albeit they were at a point and fully resolved to make warre, yet thought good it was to give audience unto the embassadours of *Perseus* in the Senat; who rehearsed and related in maner the same reasons which were delivered by the king in the late conference and parlie. Much ado they made and laboured hard, to acquit the king of the imputation laid to his charge, for seeking the death of *Eumenes*; but with final probabilitie or none at all: for the thing was too too apparent. In the end they fell to praier and intreatie: howbeit no care was given unto them, with any such mind and heart, as could bee either instructed or inclined. In stead thereof, warned straightly they were to depart immediately forth of the liberties of Rome, and within thirtie daies out of Italie.

After this, *P. Licinius* the Cos. who was charged with the province of Spain, had commandement given him to assigne unto the armie the soonest day that he could, for to meet in one certaine place. *C. Lucretius* the Pretour who had the conduct of the fleet, tooke his leave of the citie with 40 *Quinqueremes*: for advised it was, that the rest of the ships which had bene repaired, should be itaied at home for to be employed otherwise about the citie. And the Pretour sent his brother *Lucretius*, before with one Galeace or *Quinquereme*, and commission to receive of the allies that shipping which by covenant they were to find; and with them neere the Iland Cephalenia, to joine with the rest of the armada: to wit, from the Rhegines one trireme galley, from the Locrians twaine, from the Vires four. With which he coasted along Italie, and having doubled the utmost point of Calabria within the *Ionian sea, he arrived at Dyrrhachium. There he found ten gallions or barks of the Dyrrhachians, twelve of the Issæans, and fiftie foure belonging to king *Gentius*, which he tooke all with him along, making semblance that he supposed they were provided of purpose for the service of the Romanes: with this fleet by the third day hee fell with the Ile Corphu: and so forward he made saile and arrived at Cephalenia. *C. Lucretius* the Pretor, having losed to sea from Naples, crossed the streights of Sicilie, and on the fiftieth day cut over likewise to Cephalenia. Then the fleet struck anchor, expecting as well the arrivall of the land-forces, as also that the hulkes and vessels of cariage which were scattered upon the seas from the rest of their companie, might overtake them.

It happened about this time, that *Pub. Licinius* the Confull having conceived and solemnly made his vowes within the Capitoll, departed in his coat of armes from the citie. A solemnitie at all times verily this is, done with much dignitie and majestie: but especially with exceeding great pleasure and contentment of the beholders; when the Confull is accompanied with a stately traine at his first setting forth, to encounter some great and famous enemy, renowned as well for vertue, as qualitie and fortune: for at such a time men assemble and gather together, not onely in regard of dutie to acquit themselves of their devoir, but also upon a desire they have of the verie shew and sight presented unto their eyes; namely, to see their capitaine to whose conduct and counsell they have committed the managing and defense of the common-weale. Moreover, they take occasion thereby to thinke of the hazard of warre, how adventurous is the event and how doubtfull the issue of battaile in the field. They call to mind the alternative course of good

good fortune and bad; and namely, how by the blind ignorance or the unadvised rashnesse of G
leaders, many foiles and overthrowes have happened; and contrariwise by politicke wisdom and
hardie courage, great matters have been effected and happy victories achieved. And what mor-
tall man is he that knoweth, of what mind and cariage good or bad, how fortunate or unluckie
the Confull is, whom they send forth to war: whether he be like soon to be seen again, in trium-
phant wise with his victorious armie mounting up the Capitoll unto those gods, of whom now
he taketh his leave: or shall give occasion to the enemies in the same manner to rejoyce? As for
Persus the king, (against whome this expedition and journey is taken) a prince hee is highly
renowned both by the Macedonian nation (so famous for feats of armes,) and also by his fa-
ther *Philip*, who among other fortunate achievements of his, was ennobled by his war against
the Romans. Moreover, the verie name of *Persus* himselfe (since time that first the diademe was
set upon his head) was in every mans mouth, and no talke continually but of him and the ex- H
pectation of this warre. With these and such like cogitations (I say) a mightie number of men
of all sorts and degrees attended and accompanied the Confull at his departure. With him
were sent two Colonels or knight-marshals about the rest, who had been Consuls, namely, C.
Claudius and *Q. Mutius*: also three brave and lustie young gallants, to wit, *P. Lentulus* and the
two *Manlij*, both surnamed *Acidini*, the one sonne to * *M. Manlius* and the other to *L. Manlius*.
The Confull thus accompanied, first went to Brundisium to the armie, and from thence pas-
sed the seas to Nymphæum, and so encamped in the territorie of Apollonia.

* *This M. Man-
lius seemeth to
be, plebeian ge-
nitist: that there
passed a Man-
lius, That no
Manlius Patri-
cius might be na-
med Marcus: &
that there were
Manlii of dif-
ferent gentes, but
not of the same
as learned Antiqui-
ties have made
believe, as if Ge-
nus to a Philo-
sophic.*

Perſeus ſome few daies before, upon the returne of his embaffadours from Rome, who had
 cleane put him out of all hope of peace, held a counsell; wherein for a good while the matter
 was debated with great varietie of fundrie opinions. Some were of mind, that in caſe the Ro-
 mans enjoined them either to yeeld a tribute, or to forgoe ſome of their lands; yea if they im-
 poſed upon them ſome fine by way of amends and ſatisfaction: in briefe, whatſoever elſe they
 ſet downe and ordeined, to doe and ſuffer all for to redeeme their peace, and not to reſuſe any
 condition were it never ſo hard, but to take heed and provide in any wiſe, that *Perſeus* put not
 himſelfe nor the realme upon the dangerous hazard of ſo great a jeopardie. For if hee held ſtill
 the maine point and continued in quiet poſſeſſion of his kingdome, in time and ſpace much
 good might happen; by meanes whereof he ſhould be able not onely to licke himſelfe whole
 and recover his loſſes, but alſo become hereafter dread and terrible unto thoſe of whome
 now he ſtandeth in feare. But the farre greater part caried with them a more courageous ſpirit
 and gave adviſe accordingly. For they affirmed, That if *Perſeus* parted with ought and yeelded
 never ſo little, he muſt make account withall to quit the free-hold of his whole kingdome ſome
 after. For ſis neither money nor land (ſay they) that the Romanes want; but this they wote full
 well, That as all things els in the world, ſo eſpecially great monarchies and empires are ſubject to
 many accidents and casualties: right well they know alſo, how they have quelled and bruiſed
 the puſſiance of the Carthaginians, and for to yoke their necks and hold them downe, have ſet
 up a mightie king to be their neighbour and to commaund them; yea and that *Antiochus* and
 all his race is macedoned and chafed beyond the mountaine Taurus. There remaineth only now
 the realme of Macedonie, which is both ſeated in a neere region, and alſo (if the fortune of the
 people of Rome ſhould happen to faile) ſeemeth able to give heart and courage to her kings at
 this day, anſwerable to that of their noble progenitors in former times. And therefore whiles the
 ſtate ſtandeth entire and unſoiled, *Perſeus* ought to reſolve, whether he had leiſure by forgoing
 one thing after another, trip himſelfe in the end of all his goods and lands, and ſo turned cleane
 out of his kingdom, be driven to requelt at the Romans hand either Samothracia or ſome other
 ſuch petite iſle, where, in qualitie of a privat perſon he may ſurvive his roiall eſtate and live to old
 age in baſe contempt and needie povertie: or els, to take arms in the defence and maintenance
 of his royall place and dignitie, like a prince of valor and courage; and either abide all hazards
 whatſoever the fortune of the field ſhall plunge him into; or after victorie achieved deliver the
 whole world from the dominion & imperious ſeignorie of the Romans. And no greater wonder
 and miracle is it to hunt the Romans out of Greece, than it was to chaſe *Anniball* out of Italie:
 neither ſee wee in good faith (ſay they) how by any reaſon it can well ſtand, that he who reſiſted
 with all his might and maine his owne brother, that would have made himſelfe king againſt all
 right and law, ſhould now to ſtraungers and aliens render the poſſeſſion thereof, which hee
 came ſo well and truly by, and wherein he is ſo rightfully inveſted? Finally, in war and peace how-
 ever,

A soever men make questions, disputing and arguing too and fro; yet this conclusion they all grant and agree upon, That as there is nothing more shamefull and dishonest, than to abandon and loose a kingdome without battaile, so there is nothing more glorious and honourable than for the maintenance of princely dignitie and regall maiestie, to hazard all fortune whatsoever. This counsell was holden at Pella, the auncient pallace wherein the Macedonian KK. kept their roiall court. Why then (quoth hee) on Gods name, since you are of that mind and resolution, let us take armes and to the field : whereupon he sent his licters into all parts to his gallants and captaines, and assembled and drew all his forces to Citium a towne of Macedonie. Himselfe in person after he had performed a magnificent sacrifice (like a king) of an hundred head of bealts to the honour of *Minerva*, surnamed *Alicia*, he departed accompanied with a number of his courtiers, pensioners, and yeoman of the guard to Citium. To which place were gathered already all his forces, as well Macedonians as auxiliarie strangers. Hee pitched his campe before the towne, and embattailed all his armed men in the plaine. Hee was in all fortie thousand strong; whereof one halfe well-neere consisted of those whome they call Phalangitæ, and those were commaunded by one *Hippias* of Berthæa. Besides, there were two choice companies (for the flower of age and strength of bodie) selected out of the whole number of targueters, called Cetrati. This regiment, themselves called by the name of The legion; and the same was under the conduct of *Leonatus* and *Thrasippus* both * Eulyestanes. The rest of the targueters to the number of three thousand or verie neere, were led by *Antiphilus* of Edeffa. The Pæonians, those also of Paçoria and Pastrymonia (places subject unto the Thracian) and the Agrianians, together with some inhabitants of Thracia entermingled among them, amounted also to the number of three thousand. *Didas* of Pæonia had levied and armed them; even the man that murdered young *Demetrius*. There were besides, two thousand Frenchmen in armes under the leading of captain *Asclepiodorus*. From Heraclea likewise out of the Sintians country, there were three thousand Thracians free-men borne, under a leader of their own. The like number well-neere of Cretensians followed their commanders, *Sylus* of Phalassarna, and *Syllus* of Gnosos; also *Leonides* the Lacedemonian, had the charge of five hundred out of Greece, but a mixt companie they were of divers nations. This *Leonides* was said to have bene of the bloud roiall, a banished person, condemned in a frequent assembly and counsell of the Achæans, for certaine letters which he sent to *Persus*, and were intercepted. The Ætolians and Boeotians who in all made not above five hundred, were conducted by *Lyco* an Achæan. These auxiliaries or aid-soldiours of so many states and nations mixt and blended together, grew fast upon the number of twelve thousand armed men. As for the cavallery, he had levied out of all Macedonie three thousand horse or thereabout. *Corys* king of the Odrysians, the sonne of *Scuthe*, was thither come with a thousand chosen men of armes, and almost as many footmen. In summe, the whole armie arose to the number of 39000 foot and foure thousand horsemen. And this was held for certain, that the like army was never raised by any king of Macedonie, unlesse it were that again, with which *Alexander* the great passed over into Asia. Twentie yeeres now and sixe were come and gone, since time that peace was graunted unto *Philip* at his owne suite and request: during which space betwene, Macedonie being in rest and quietnes, had brought forth a goodly frise of fresh youth: a great part whereof was of sufficient age to beare armes; and by the continuall skirmishes which they maintained with the Thracians their neighbours, were rather whetted than weakened, and more enured than wearied; and in one word lived ever in practise of martiall feats: wherby it came to passe, that all things were preft and in readinesse for the war, which *Philip* first, and *Persus* afterwards projected to wage against the Romans.

This armie stirred and advanced a litle, not in manner of a full march as to a present battle; but onely for this, that they would not be seene to have stood still in their armes: and thus armed as the souldiours were, *Perseus* called them to an audience, intending to make an oration unto them. Being mounted up to his Tribunal, he stood there with his two sonnes about him, one of either hand, whereof the elder (named *Philip*) he adopted to be his child, whereas indeed by nature he was his brother; but the younger (whom they called *Alexander*) was his owne naturall sonne. Then and there he exhorted his souldiours to fight manfully, and laid before them what wrongs and injuries the people of Rome had done both to his father and also to himselfe. As for my father (quoth he) forced he was by all kind of indignities to enter into armes and begin warre againe; but in the very preparation thereof, he was suddenly surprisid and stricken

* Or, *Elymiotes*,
according to
Torneib, in
Adversariis.

and "Perseus to his
soldiers.

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with death. To my selfe at one time were embassadours from them sent to treat of peace, & armed souldiours also for to seize upon the cities of Greece. Afterwards, by a deceitfull shew of a parley, under colour of reconciliation and peace making, we were born in hand and drawn out a whole winter, to the end that they might gaine time to prepare for warre. And now is the Confull coming with two Roman legions having either of them some three hundred horse besides, and with a proportionable number (and that is the most) of allies, as well foot as horse. And say that the KK, both *Eumenes* and *Masaniissa* joine with their aidforces, yet can they not amount above the number of seven thousand. Now that yee have heard what the strength is of the enemies, regard and compare your own armie, namely, how far both in number, as also in goodnesse and qualitie of souldiours, you surpasse them; being your selves from your childhood and infancie warriours trained in practise of armes & warfare, wrought, framed and hardened in so many battels: where as they be new & raw souldiers taken up in hast & enrolled now the first time against this present service. As for the auxiliaries of the Romans, what are they but Lydians, Phrygians, and Numidians? but we to set against them, have to aid us Thracians and Gauls, the most courageous nations under heaven. For harness and weapons, they have no other than such as every poore souldior is able to provide for himselfe: but the Macedonians are furnished out of the kings roiall armorie and arsenal with such armors of prooffe, as my father in many yeeres caused to be made with great care, and to his no small expence. The Romans be far from their provisions, & the same exposed to all the casualties of the sea: but we, besides the revenues and issues out of the mines of mettall, have laid by both coine and corne sufficient to serve for ten years. The Macedonians have store and foison in great abundance heape-full of all things necessarie, and bee provided as well by the gracious favour of the gods, as the carefull diligence of a king. It remaineth now that yee carrye that mind and courage with you, which your noble progenitors bare before you, those I say, who after they had conquered and subdued all Europe, passed into Asia, and by force of armes made way and discovered that part of the world that was never heard of before, and gave not over to win ground still and make more conquests, untill they were barred by the red sea, and could find no more land to conquer. But now beleewe me, fortune hath denounced a trial by warre, not for the purchase of the utmost bounds and marches of India, but for our free hold and possession, for our inheritance even of Macedonie. These Romanes, when they warred against my father, pretended a goodly title, and made a glorious shew to the world, as though they would deliver Greece, and establish it in freedome: but now in open and plaine termes they shoot at Macedonie, intending to bring it into servitude; to the end there might be no king neere neighbor to the Romane seignorie, nor any nation renowned for martiall prowesse, permitted to beare armes and have weapon in hand. For, these things and no lesse, forced shall yee be to part with, and deliver up unto these prowde LL, together with king and kingdome, in case yee surcease war; and to doe whatsoever they will commaund you. All the while that he delivered this speech, there might be heard secret succlamations oftentimes, sufficiently testifying the generall assent of them all: but at these last words they lift up their voices and cried out aloud, part for anger and indignation menacing the enemy, part for courage and resolution exhorting the king to be of good cheare and take a good heart; in so much as hee was constrained to give over, and make an end of his Oration: onely he commaunded them to bee readie for the remove, and to put themselves in the journey against the enemy: for by this time advertised he was that the Romans were dislodged from Nymphæum. After this assembly was dismissed, he gave audience to the embassages from the States of Macedonie: for, come they were to make promise and offer both of money and graine to maintaine this warre, every one according to their abilitie. Thanked they were each one, and releafed of all that charge, with this answer, that the kings provision was sufficient. Onely hee commaunded them to find waines and carts for carriages of the peeces of ordinance, the engines of batterie, the darts, quarrels, and other shot, whereof a mightie deale hee had provided; and in summe, all the instruments and furniture of warre. Then he set forward with his whole armie, marching toward Eordea, and neere unto the lake which they call Begarites, he encamped. The next morrow he advanced to Elimea upon the river Haliacmon. After this having passed over the mountaines named Cambunij through a straight and narrow passage, hee descended to those that inhabite Azorus, Pythous and Doliche, which quarter is called Tripolis. These three townes staid somewhat in suspence, by reason that they had given their hostages to the Larissæans: but in the end, overcome with the fear presented before their eyes, were

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A content to yeeld themselves into his hands. *Perseus* used gracious words to this people, making this account, that the Perrhæbians would doe the like: and in very deed he entred upon the citie (which surrendered at his first arrivall) without any doubt or stay at all made by the inhabitants within. As for the town Cyretie, he assailed to batter it, and the first day he was repulsed in a sharp skirmish at the very gates made by the townesmen that put on armes, drew to an head, and made resistance. But the morrow after when he had assailed the citie with all his forces, they submitted al to his mercie before night. The inhabitants of the next towne to it, *Myleæ*, presuming upon their fortifications, and standing upon this, That their citie was imprenable, were so prowde and lustie, that they could not be contented to shut the gates onely against the king, but most rudely and malapertly spared not to cast out reprochfull taunts and gibing tearmes against his owne person and the Macedonians. Which manner of dealing, as it envenomed the enemies and edged them the rather to enforce & follow the assault, so it kindled themselves the more (upon dispaire of all pardon and mercie) to maintaine and make good their place, and stand more resolutely in their owne defence. Whereupon for three daies together the towne was assailed by one part, and defended by the other with mightie courage right valiantly. The Macedonians were so many in number, that by turnes they releevd the assault without any difficultie, and entred one in the place of another. But the townesmen who evermore day & night guarded the walls, without any change and new supplie, were not onely overcharged with many wounds, but also wearied and enfeebled with continuall travell and want of sleepe. The fourth day, when at one instant the skaling ladders were reared against the walls in every quarter, and the gate assailed with greater force and violence than before, the inhabitants being driven from the courtaine & battlements, ran all to ward the gate, and made a suddaine sallie upon the enemies: which proceeding more upon inconsiderate and blind anger, than any true and assured confidence of their owne strength, caused them (few in number and wearied) to bee discomfited and put to flight by the enemies fresh and in heart, who entred pell mell with them into the said gate standing wide open. Thus was this citie taken and ransacked. The bodies also of the free borne persons, as many as remained after the bloudie execution, were sold in market. *Perseus* after hee had rased, ruined and burned a great part of the towne, dislodged and departed from thence to Phalanna, and the next day following went onward, and marched to Gyrrone. But being advertised that *T. Minutius Rufus* and *Hippus* the Pretour of Thessalie were entred thither with a garrison, hee passed besides the towne and never made offer of any assault. But hee surprisid *Elatia* and *Gonnus*, by reason that the townesmen were stricken with exceeding feare upon his suddaine arrivall. These two townes are situate upon the very streight which leadeth to Tempe, but *Gonnus* especially. And therefore hee left it guarded with a strong garrison both of foot and horse, as also fortified with a triple trench and rampier. Himselfe in person went onward still to Sycurium, minding there to attend the coming of the enemy: and withall he commaunded his armie to forage and purvey come every way all over the territorie of the enemies lying under him. For Sycurium is seated upon the hanging of an hill toward the very foot of the mountaine *Ossa*, having upon the South side the plaine champion of Thessalie under it, but behind on the backe Macedonie and Magnesia. Over and above these commodities, the place is very healthfull and plenteous of all good things, watered also with many quicke and running springs round about.

The Romane Confull having his armie on foot about that time marching toward Thessalie, the first found good way and readie passage through Epirus: but afterwards when hee was passed over once into Athamania, he met with a rough countrey and rugged soile, and in maner insuperable: so as with exceeding great difficultie and by short journeyes hee had much adoe to reach unto Gomphi. And if at that time, whiles his men and horses were encumbered and taintred, the king had made head in battell arraunged, taking the vantage of time and place against him, leading as he did an host composed but of rude and untrained novices, the Romanes themselves cannot denie, but it would have gone very hard with them, and a great overthrow they must needs have received in that conflict. But when they were come once to Gomphi without any skirmish, besides the joy which they conceived, for that they had escaped and overcome that dangerous passage, they began also to contemne their enemies, for that they knew not their owne good, and were so ignorant of the opportunities which they had. The Confull after he had duly sacrificed (as it appertained) and distributed the allowance of corne among his souldiours, sojourned there some few daies for the rest and repose both of man and beast: where, hearing that

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the Macedonians raged and over-ran the countrey of Thessalie, waisting and spoiling the territories of the Romane allies, he led his souldiours now sufficiently refreshed unto Larissa. And having marched from thence within three miles of Tripolis (which they call Scea) he pitched his tents, and lodged upon the river Peneus.

At the same time *Eumenes* arrived by sea at Chalcis, together with two of his brethren, *Attalus* and *Athenus*, leaving at Pergamus a third brother *Philærus*, for the defence of his realm. From thence, accompanied with *Attalus* and a power of foure thousand foot and a thousand horse, he came to the Consull, and left at Chalcis two thousand footmen, commanded by *Athenus*. Thether also repaired other aids which came in to the Romanes from all the States of Greece, but most of the particulars were so small as now they are growne out of remembrance. The Appolloniates sent three hundred horsemen and a hundred footmen. From the *Ætolians* there came to the mountance of one Corner of horsemen, even the whole Cavallerie that the said nation could make. Likewise all the Cavallerie of the Thessalians which exceeded not the number of three hundred that served in the Romane campe, and quartered apart. The *Achæans* sent one thousand men of their youth, armed for the most part after the Candiot manner. And much about this time *C. Lucretius* also the Pretour, who had the conduct of the ships that anchored in the rode of Cephalenia, after he had given charge to *M. Lucretius* his brother, to make saile with his fleet beyond the cape of Malea, and so to passe to Chalcis, himselfe went aboard unto a trireme galley, and sailed toward the gulfes of Corinth, for to be seized first of the countrey of *Bæotia*, and to prevent all matters there. Hee made way but slowly, because of the infirmities and weaknes of his bodie. *M. Lucretius* being arrived at Chalcis, and advertised that *P. Lentulus* lay against the citie of Haliartus, sent a messenger, commanding him in the name of the Pretor to raise the siege and dislodge from thence. The lieutenant notwithstanding he had set into that service with the help of the youth of that part of *Bæotia* which tooke part with the Romanes, retired from before the wals. The levying of this siege gave occasion of a new enterprise: for incessantly *M. Lucretius* besieged and invested Haliartus with his owne sea-forces to the number of ten thousand fighting men, together with two thousand souldiours from king *Eumenes*, whereof *Athenus* had the charge: and as they were now upon the point to give an assault, the Pretour came in unto them from Creusa. And very neere to that time, there arrived also at Chalcis certaine ships from the allies, namely two Quinquere galeaces of Carthage, two trireme gallees from Heraclea in Pontus, foure from Chalcedon, as many from Samos, and five quadrireme gallees of Rhodes. All these vessels the Pretour sent backe againe to the allies, and eased them of that charge, because there was no sea-service to bee performed in any place. *M. Marius* also came by sea to Chalcis, after he had woon Halops and assaulted Larissa called Cremaste.

This was the state of *Bæotia*, when *Perseus* (as hath bene said before) lay encamped at Sycurium: who after he had from every coast thereabout gotten together all the graine that he could come by, sent certaine companies to give the waite unto the territorie of the Phœceans, supposing the Romanes might be surprised, when they should be drawn farre from their owne campe to the succouring of their distressed associates. But perceiving that they stirred never the more for all that tumult: he dealt among his souldiours all the prey, but onely of men and women: now the bootie stood most upon cattails, wherewith they made good cheere. After this, but neere about one & the same time, the Consull & king *Perseus* both, debated in their counsell, how and where they should begin the warre. The king had taken great heart and courage by occasion that the enemy suffered him to make such havocke and doe his pleasure in the Phœceans territorie. And therefore his resolution was, to march directly against the Romane campe, without giving more time and making any farther delay. The Romanes likewise for their parts were of opinion, that all forsaking now would greatly prejudice their reputation among the confederates, who tooke it exceedingly to the heart, that they had not succoured the Phœceans. As they sate consulting what to do, (now *Eumenes* and *Attalus* both were present at this counsell) there came a messenger in post hatt with newes that the enemy approached here at hand with a mighty army. Whereupon the counsell brake up, and presently the signall was given to arme. And advised it was in the meane while, that there should goe forth a hundred horse, and as many darters and foot out of king *Eumenes* his companies.

Perseus about the fourth houre of the day, being come within a mile and somewhat more of the Romane leaguer, commanded the ensignes of the footmen to stand. Himselfe in person with the

A the men of armes and light armed souldiours advanced forward, and so together with king *Cecilius* and the captaines of the other auxiliaries, they two marched before. Now when they were within halfe a mile from the campe, they might discover the horsemen of their enemies. Two corners they were, most part *Gauls*, under the conduct of *Cassignatus*; besides the loose and light armed forlorne hope, to the number wel-neere of a hundred and fiftie, and those were partly *Myrians* and partly *Cretenians*. Hereat the king made a stand, not knowing well the number of the enemies: and anone out of the regiment that hee had with him hee crew two wings of Thracian horse, & as many Macedonians; likewise two cohorts of *Cretenian* & as many Thracian footmen. Hereupon ensued a skirmish: but for as much as they were matched even in number, and no succour came in to rescue from the one part or the other, it ended likewise in doubtfull ballance of victorie. Of *Eumenes* his part there died about thirtie: in which number *Cassignatus* the commander of the *Gauls* was slaine. So for that time *Perseus* retired his forces to Sycurium: but the next morrow the king marched with them againe to the selfe same place, and much about the foresaid houre. Certaine carts and waines laden with water followed after: and by reason that for a dozen mile space, all the way was water-lesse and full of dust withall, hardly bestead (as it should seeme) they had ben for very drought and thirst, in case they had ben charged & put to skirmish, at the time when they were first in sight. But considering that the Romanes kept quiet, yea and had reduced their corps de guard within their rampier, *Perseus* likewise retired with his forces into his campe. This did the enemies for certain daies together, hoping ever that the Romane cavallerie would charge upon the taile of the arriereguard in their retreat: & when C by that occasion the skirmish was once begun, and that they had trained and drawne them farre from their campe; then, they thought with ease wherefoever they were, turne upon them and make head, having the ods of them in horsemen and light armed souldiours. But the king seeing this would not speed, encamped neerer unto the Romanes, and fortified the compasse of halfe a mile. From whence betimes in the morning by the breake of day, after hee had embattailed his infanterie in the usuall place, he led all his cavallerie and light armed men toward the campe of his enemies. The Romanes seeing a greater dust raised by more in number, and the same neerer than ordinarie it had bene, were mightily afraid within their campe. But at the first they would hardly beleve the messenger that brought the newes: for that continually all the former daies the enemy used not to be seene, untill the fourth houre of the day, and now the sun was but newly risen. Howbeit afterwards (I say) when about the gates there were thicker alarmes given, and more and more running from thence, and that now there was no doubt at all of the matter, there grew an exceeding trouble and hurlyburly. The marshals, colonels, captaines, and centurians, betooke themselves into the quarter about the Pretours pavillion: and the souldiours ran every man to his owne tent. *Perseus* had embattailed his men lesse than halfe a mile from the rampier about a litle hill which they call Calicinus. King *Corys* had the charge of the left wing, with all those of his owne nation. The ranks of the cavallerie stood marshalled afunder one from the other, by reason that the light armed souldiours were bestowed betwene. In the right wing were placed the Macedonian horsemen, and the *Cretenians* likewise intermingled among them. *Milon* of Berthæa led these light armed souldiours: but *Meno* of Antigonie commanded the horsemen, and the whole regiment of that part. Next to those wings the cavallerie of king *Perseus* was arranged together with the selected aid-souldiours of many and sundrie nations: and the same were conducted by *Patrocles* of Antigonie, and *Didas* the gouverneur of *Pæonia*. In the midst of all was the king himselfe: having about him a band called *Agema*; and certaine corners of horsemen named [the sacred wings.] Before him he planted the slingers & darters, who both together amounted to the number of 400: and over them he appointed for to be their leader one *Ion* of Thessalonica, & *Timanor* the Dolopian. In this manner as is before said, stood the kings forces embattailed. The Cos. having put his infanterie in order of battaile, sent out his cavallerie likewise with the light armed companies, who were set in array before the campe. *C. Licinius Crassus* the Consuls brother had the leading of the right point, with all the Italian horsemen and the footmen lightly appointed intermingled among them, *M. Valerius Maximus* in the left, commanded the horsemen of the Greeke associates, together with the light armed soldiers of the same nation. *M. Mutius* conducted the battailon in the mids with certain extraordinary chosen men of armes. Before their guidons, 200 horsemen of the *Gauls* stood in ordinance: & of the auxiliaries of king *Eumenes*, three hundred *Cyrtians*, & four hundred Thessalian horse. Not far

from thence were ranged, somewhat above the left point king *Eumenes* himselfe and his brother *Attalus*, with all their power were planted behind, even betweene the rereward and the trench. Thus stood both battailes much after this manner arraunged, and having of either side alike strength in manner of horsemen and light-armour, they encountred and charged one another; and then the conflict was begun by the forlorn hope of loose shot, to wit, the slingers and darters that went before. And first of all others the Thracians, faring like wild and savage beasts who had been long pent up within some grates and cages, with a nightie crie advanced forth and ran upon the Italian horsemen in the right wing, to the end that they might trouble and amaze them; being otherwise a nation fearlessse, as well by nature as for long experience and practise of warre. * * * The footmen with their swords assailed to cut off the heads of their pikes; and one whiles they hought their horses, and another whiles they ran them into their flanks. *Perseus* rode into the mids of the battaile, and at the first shooke forced the Greekes to turne aside and give way: and when the enemy pressed moreover hard upon them behind, behold, the Thessalian horsemen who were placed in the rereguard for succour, and stood somewhat apart and severed from the left wing, who at first were beholders onely of the fight (as keeping without the danger of the charge) afterwards stood them in verie good stead, even as they were at the point to goe downe and have the worse. For as they retired leifurely without breaking their ranks, after that they once joyned with the aids of *Eumenes*, they both yeelded the opportunity to their allies who were disbanded in the rout, to retire in safetie within their ranks: and also espying their owne vantage, when the enemies pursued not so thick in troups, they adventured to put themselves forward beyond, and so staied many of those their allies whom they encountred and received in their flight. Neither durst the kings men, being now also disarraied and disperfed here and there in following the chase, come to hand-fight and joyne battaile with those, continuing so well in order as they did, and marching firme and strong together; whereas the matter had been dispatched and the warre brought to a finall end; in case the king who won the better in horse-fight, had never so little come in with helpe and succour. For as he encouraged his souldiours to fight, there came in place very fady and in passing good time, the Phalanx, which *Hippias* and *Leonatus* (because they would not be behind-hand in this hardie enterprise) brought of their owne accord in great hast so soon as ever they heard of the winning-hand of the Cavallerie. And whiles the king wavered in doubtfull suspence, betwene hope and feare of this so great an adventure, *Evander* the Cretensian, whose service *Perseus* had used in the await laid for king *Eumenes* at Delphi, seeing that main battell marching heavily armed under their ensignes, ran unto the king and earnestly advertised him to take heed, least that presuming too much and bearing himselfe over confident of this good speed of his, he brought not unadvisedly the maine chaunce of all his estate, into a needlesse and unnecessarie hazard. For if (quoth he) you can be content with the happie fortune of this faire day and so rest, either you shall have the meanes to make an honourable peace, or else (if you had leiser prosecute the warre) to win exceeding many allies to beare armes with you in the field; who no doubt will follow the traine of your good fortune. To this way stood the kings mind ever, and thither hee soone enclined. Therefore having commended *Evander* for his good advise, hee commaunded the ensignes to retire, and the footmen to returne into the campe: likewise to found the retreat unto the guidons of the men of armes. In this battaile 200 Romane horsemen that day lost their lives, and no fewer than two thousand footmen, and fast upon two hundred of the Cavallerie were taken prisoners. Of the kings side, there died not past 200 horsemen and fortie of the other.

After that the victorious enemies were upon their return into the camp, all were jocund and glad in generall, but above the rest the Thracians shewed themselves in joy for this their victory, over insolent: for they returned singing full merily, and carried the heads of their enemies fixed upon their speare points. But the Romanes were not onely sad and heavey for this unfortunate journey, but fearfull also lest the enemy should forthwith assaile their camp. *Eumenes* gave counsell to dislodge and remoove to the other side of the river *Peneus*, that it might serve them in stead of a defence and bulwarke, untill such time as the amazed souldiours had recovered their spirits and taken heart againe. The Consull was ashamed and abashed to bewray his feare; howbeit, over-ruled with reason, he set his armie over the river in the dead time of the night, and encamped on the farther banke. King *Perseus* the morrow after advanced forward to bid the enemies

emies battell, but perceiving they wer lodged in safetie beyond the river, he confessed that he had faulted indeed, for that he had not followed his victorie the day before; but more overseen a good deale he was in lying still and taking repose that night: for without troubling any els of his own men, he might have sent out the light armed soldiors only to set upon the enemies as they passed over the river in hast and fright, and so defeated a great part of their forces. Now, the Romanes shook off their feare for the present, considering they were incamped in a sure place: but among other damages, the blot especially of their honor and name grieved and troubled them. And as they sat in counsell before the Consull, everie man for his part laid all the blame upon the *Ætolians*, who first began to be afraid and runne away; and whose example of feare the other allies of the cities of Greece followed: for it was said, that five principall men of marke among the *Ætolians*, were scene and noted first of all other to have turned their backs. But the Thessalians were praised in a full assembly of the whole armie; and their captaines for their vertue and valorous service were honoured with presents. The spoiles of the enemies were brought before king *Perseus*; out of which hee bestowed freely upon some, brave and gorgeous armors; upon others, goodly great horses; and finally, certeine were rewarded with the prize of good prisoners. Targuets there were above a thousand and five hundred, cuiraces and coslets not so few as a thousand; besides, a farre greater proportion of murrions, swords, and shot of all sorts. Great matters these were, considered in themselves; but much more amplified and set out by the king himselfe with a speech that hee made in a frequent audience of his armie assembled together, after this or the like manner. You see alreadie by this (quoth he) what you may judge before-hand of the finall issue of this warre: discomfited yee have the better part of your enemies, to wit, the Romane Cavallerie, wherein they tooke themselves to be invincible. For their horsemen are the very gallants and bravest of their youth; their gentlemen of armes (I say) are the seminarie and nource-garden of their Senate. From them they chuse their nobles and peeres to make Consuls of yea, and Generals of the field another day. And the spoiles of these we have erewhiles divided among us. Neither is the victorie lesse which yee have gained of the Infanterie and legions, who although by night they made an escape from you, yet in hastling to passe over the river, they resembled a sort that had suffered shipwracke at sea, and in fearfull hast for their lives have swum and overspred the river every where with their bodies. Sooner shall we and with greater ease, I trow, get over *Peneus*, to chase them thus alreadie overcome, than they did, making such hast for feare: and being once set on the other side, wee shall out of hand assaile their campe, which we mought have forced and woon this day, but that they tooke them to their heeles and fled. But if they will come to a field and trie the quarrell by the sword point, looke yee for no other issue of the conflict with footmen, than was before of the other with horsemen. These words, both the horsemen (who bare upon their own shoulders the spoils of their enemies lying slain before their eies in open view) heard with great pleasure and contentment, as measuring the hope of the future speed by the fortune passed; and also the footmen enflamed now with the glorie of others (and namely those that were of the Macedonian Phalanx) wished with all their hearts to have the like occasion offered unto them, wherein they might not onely shew their valiant service before the king, but also win semblable glorie of their enemies. Thus the assembly was dissolved, and the morrow after the king marched forward and encamped upon *Mopselus*, which is an hill situate in the mid way betwene *Tempe* and *Larissa*. The Romanes removed their campe into a place of more securitie, howbeit not farre from the banke of *Peneus*. Thither repaired *Misagene* the Numidian, with a thousand horse, and as many foot, besides two and twentie elephants. Now as king *Perseus* during these daies, sat in counsell what course to take as touching the maine conduct of his affaires, when his courage was now well abated and not so lustie for his late victorie, some of his friends were so hardie as to advise him to use this good fortune of his for the obtaining and compassing of some honourable peace, rather than upon a vaine hope to carie his head aloft, and engage himselfe and his whole state into some hazard and jeopardie, out of which hee should not bee able to recover and retire into safetie. For to keepe a meane and moderation in prosperitie, and not over-confidently to trust upon the present flattering fortune, is the part (say they) of a wise man indeed and truly happie. And therefore the best course is, to send certayne men of purpose unto the Consull, for to renew the league upon the same conditions, with which your father *Philip* had accepted peace heretofore of *T. Quintius* the conquerour. For neither (say they) can the warre be taken up with greater honour and reputation,

tion, than after so memorable a battell; nor ever will there bee presented more firme and assured hope of a peace to continue for ever, than upon this occasion, which will worke and mollifie the Romanes as a man would have them, to come on and assent to any accord, considering they are well tamed with the infortunitie of this battell. But in case the Romanes upon an inbred peevishnes and engrafted pertinacitie of theirs, should not hear reason, but refuse an indifferent end, then both God & man shal be witnesse, as wel of the moderation of *Perseus*, as of their pride and insolent frowardnes. The *K.* was willing enough to give care to this, & indeed never misliked such discourtesies; & therefore the advise was approved by the assent of the most part: wherupon embassadours were sent to the *Col.* and in a frequent councill assembled, had audience given them. Peace they demanded, and promised that *Perseus* should pay unto the Romanes as great a tribute as *Philip* had covenanted for; and likewise quit the same cities, pieces, and territories, which *Philip* had given up and surrendered. To this effect spake the embassadours; who being retired aside, the Romanes debated in councill, and in the end, Romanes constancie imported and had the upper hand: for in those daies the manner and use was, in time of adversitie to beare all out and let a good countenance, but in prosperitie to hold an even hand and to use governance. So agreed it was to returne this answer, That peace might be graunted with this condition, That *K.* *Perseus* should permit full and free power to the Senate of Rome, for to dispose both of his person and the kingdome of Macedonie at their good pleasure. When the embassadours had made relation hereof, this constant resolution and invincible persistance of the Romanes made them to wonder againe, as being not acquainted with their manners and fashions: and most of them forbade to make mention any more of peace, saying, That the Romanes would be glad shortly to seeke for that of their owne accord, which now at this present they loathed and rejected when it was offered. But *Perseus* mightily feared, that this arrogant spirit of theirs, proceeded from the confidence they had in their owne forces; insomuch as he gave not over so, but assaied to tempt the Consull, if haply by augmenting the summe of money, he might buy peace at any price and reckoning whatsoever. But seeing him nothing to come downe, nor to alter one jot from the first answer; in despaire now of all peace, he returned to Sycurium from whence he came, purposing once againe to trie the hazard of the field. Now the fame of this late fight of cavallerie was slowne over all Greece, and discovered the minds and affections of men: for not onely they that tooke part with the Macedonians joyced to heare this newes, but also very many of them who were obliged & beholden unto the Romans for benefits and favors received at their hands, and some likewise who had tasted of their violence & proud government. And this they did for no other reason at all, but only upon a foolish & perverse affection, like to that wherewith the common people ordinarily is carried away in the beholding of disports and triall of maisteries, even to favour evermore the weaker and him that taketh the foile.

At the same time *Lucretius* the Pretour had with most forcible meanes assaulted the cittie of Haliartus in *Bæotia*: and albeit the besieged defendants within were releevd by no foraine aid, but onely the youth of the *Coronæans* (who at the beginning of the siege entred the cittie) not hoped for any to come; yet they stood out and made resistance with courage of heart more than with strength of hand: for they issued forth many times, and sallied upon the fabrickes & engines of the enemye, yea, and when the ram approached hard to the wall, they let fall therupon a mightie weight and counterpoise of lead, and so depressed and drave it downe to the ground. And if haply the enemies who ran with the ramme against the wall, avoided that devise of theirs, laid batterie, and shooke it in some other place; the townesmen within, raised presently with great speed another mure, piling up hastily the stones one upon another, which they found lying among the very ruines of the breaches. The Consull seeing this manner of service by way of ordnance and batterie, to become slow and tedious, commaunded to divide ladders among severiey companie, and purposed to invest the cittie round about with the *Escalados*; supposing that the number which he had would be sufficient to exploit this enterprise, because on that side where-as the towne is enclosed with a marish, it was bootlesse (or rather impossible) to assault it. Himselfe in person presented two thousand elect souldiours before that part, whereas two turrets, and all the wall betweene was beaten downe and overthrowne; to the end, that in the very instant, whiles he assaied to enter at the breaches, the townesmen should run all thither to repulse him, and in the meane while the walls void of defendants might in some part or other bee skaled and woon. But they within bestirred themselves lustily to give him the repulse. For having piled in the

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A very open breaches a mightie number of faggots made of drie vine cuttings and such small brush, they stood readie with flaming firebrands and burning linkes, threatening ever and anon to kindle the same and set all on fire, to the end, that being defended from the enemye by the meanes of fire betweene, they might have time to oppose an inner countermure against them. But by mischance this devise and enterprife of theirs was impeached. For there poured down on a suddaine such a mightie shower of raine, that the fewell would not easily take fire, and looke what was set a burning, it soone was quenched againe. By which meanes not onely the passage was made open betweene the smoking faggots drawne apart one from another here and there, but whiles they all intended wholly the defence of that one place, the walls were taken at one instant by ladders reared up against many and sundrie parts thereof. In the first heat upon the winning of the citie, old and young, such as chanced to come in their way, without any respect at all of age were put to the sword. The armed souldiours fled into the castle, and the next day being past hope to make good the place, they yeilded and were all sold under the girland in port-sale, to them that would bid most, to the number of two thousand and five hundred men or very neere. The ornaments and beauties of the citie, as statues, images, painted tables and pictures, and whatsoever was found in the pillage to beare a better price, was caried to shipbord, and the towne it selfe raised from the very foundations, and laid even with the ground. From thence the armie was conducted to Thebes: which being woon without any resistance he put into the hands of the banished persons, and those that tooke part and sided with the Romanes; but those of the contrarie faction, such as favoured the king and the Macedonians, hee sold by whole families in covert market to the best chapmen. Having performed these exploits in *Bæotia*, he retired himselfe to the sea side to his ships.

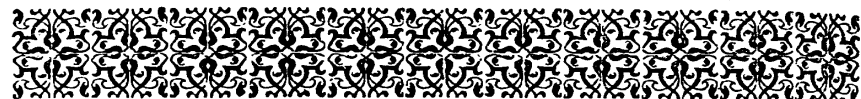
Whiles these affaires passed thus in *Bæotia*, *Perseus* lodged for certaine daies in campe at Sycurium. Where being advertised, that the Romanes made great hast to inn the corne newly reaped downe, and to carie it from all parts of the fields unto the leaguer, and that every souldior before his tent cut & shred off the ears as they lay bound in sheaves, to the end they might thrash & drive out the cleaner corn, by which occasion they had made great heaps of straw throughout all parts of the camp, he supposed it was an easie matter to set all their tents and pavillions afire. Wherupon he commaunded to provide torches, linkes & balls made of tow besmeared with pitch and tarre: thus provided & furnished, he set out at midnight, that by the dawning of the day, he might put this devise in execution without being descried before. But all came to nothing; for the foremost corps *de guard* although they were surprised with this sodaine comming, by their trouble and affright awakened & raised all the rest, & immediatly the alarme was given; so as at one instant the souldiours were readie and well appointed at the gates, and upon the rampier bent and prest for to defend the campe. *Perseus* likewise incontinently turned about with his ensignes, putting his hardage and carriage before, and then commaunded the infanterie to march after: himselfe with the cavallerie and light-armours staied behind to fortifie and guard the reeward, supposing (as it fell out indeed) that the enemies would make after to charge upon the taile of the march. His light armed souldiers had some short skirmishing especially with the forlorne hope & loose avantcourriers, but the horse & footmen both, retired without any impeachment into the camp. E Thus when all the corne was cut downe about those quarters, the Romanes dislodged & removed into the territorie of Crannon, which as yet was not endammaged. Whiles they lay encamped in securitie and mistrusting nothing (because the enemies were so far off, and by reason that the way between Sycurium and Crannon was so difficult for want of water;) behold all on a suddaine early in the morning by day light, the kings cavallerie and light armed souldiours shewed themselves upon the hills that overlooked them from above, and put them into great trouble. Departed they were from Sycurium at noon the day before, and had left the infanterie behind, about the breake of day upon the plaine next thereto. For a while he stood upon those said hills, hoping that the Romans might bee trained forth to an horse-fight. But perceiving them not to stir at all, he sent one on horseback to commaund the footmen to retire againe to Sycurium, and himselfe in person followed streight after. The Roman horsemen made after a pretie distance off, if haply they could spie any vantage in one place or other to charge upon them, disbanded and straggling a sunder. But when they saw that in their dismarch they kept close together, following their guidons and keeping their rankes, they also returned into the campe. After this, the king wearie of making so long journeyes, dislodged and removed to Mopsium. The Romans

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for their part likewise having mowed downe all the corne of Crannon, passed into the territorie of Phalanneum. The king having intelligence by a renegade revolt, that the Romans were scattered all over the fields, and reaping the standing corn without any guard of armed men, made a rode with one thousand horse, and two thousand Candiots and Thracians: who marching with as great hast as possibly they could, set upon the Romanes at unawares all unprovided; where he tooke a thousand carts or thereabouts, together with their teemes, most of them laden, and upon 800 men besides. The guard and convoy of this bootie into the campe hee committed to the charge of three hundred Cretensians. Himselfe having rallied his cavallerie dispersed here and there busie in execution, and reunited withall the rest of the footmen, led them to the next *corps de guard* or garrison of the enemies, supposing that with little ado they might bee surprised and vanquished. *L. Pompeius* a Colonell had the command of them, who seeing his souldiours affrighted with this suddaine comming of the enemies, retired with them to an hill neere at hand, for to defend himselfe by the vantage and strength of the place, considering that otherwise in number and forces he was too weake. Where after he had cast his men into a ring, for to ward against the shot of arrowes and darts by a rouse and fence of targuets couched close together over their heads: *Perseus* having environned the hill round about with armed men, commanded some to mount up and assay to win the place on all parts; if possibly they could, and then to fight close hand to hand: others he charged to launce their darts and shoot their shafts thick at them a farre off. The Romanes were beset with a double fear; for neither could they maintaine skirmish and fight close together, because of those who laboured to climbe the hill: and say they had broke any ranks with excursions and outrodes upon them, yet were they exposed and lay open to the shot of arrowes and darts. Most hurt they had by certaine weapons called *Cestrophendonæ* [sling-darts.] A new kind of dart this was and lately devised in the time of this very warre. It had a sharpe head of yron the length of two hands breadth, & the same set fast in a stele which was halfe a cubite long, and about the thicknes of a mans finger: for to flie direct and straight, three feathers it had about it in manner of a shaft: the sling from the middle part had two cords of an unequal size: now when as the slinger swong it about, as it lay even poised in the greater capacite of the leather thong, out flew the dart and was driven with violence like a bullet. Many of the souldiers being very fore wounded as well with this weapon as all other sorts of shot, so as now for wearines they were scarce able to beare their owne armour: the king was earnestly in hand with them to yeeld and submit, assuring them upon his faithfull word their lives, yea and otherwhiles promised them rewards and recompences. But there was not a man whose heart enclined once thereto. Now as they stood thus stiffe and resolute to die, there shone upon them a little comfort & some hope of evasion beyond all their expectation. For certain of the forragers and corn purveyors, who hapned to flie for refuge unto the camp, brought word unto the Consull, that the *corps de guard* aforesaide was besieged round: whereupon being moved with the jeopardie wherein so many cittizens stood (for about nine hundred they were, and all cittizens of Rome) he went forth of the campe with the cavallerie and light armed souldiours, and unto them joyned certaine new succours of the Numidians as well horse as foot, together with the elephants: and gave commandement to the martiall colonels, that the ensignes of the legions should follow after. Himselfe in person marched before toward the hill aforesaid, taking with him a certaine number of skirmishers, for to strengthen the light armed auxiliaries. *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, & *Misagenes* also the king of the Numidians, flanked the Cos. on either side. When as the besieged Romanes had a sight once of the formost ensignes of their friends and fellows, they tooke comfort and courage againe upon their former extream dispaire. *Perseus*, who had purposed in the first place, not to spend any long time in laying siege to this *corps de guard*, but to content himselfe with the fortunate successe which at a venture hapned, in that he had taken and slain some of the forragers: secondly (when he was in some sort entred into that action) to depart (whiles he had means thereof) without any damage received, as knowing that hee had no strength, to speake of, about him: yet puffed up & caried as it were above the ground with the conceit of his late good hand, both staid in person to attend the enemies comming, & also sent out in all hast, for the [Macedonian] Phalanx. Which comming later than the present necessitie required (albeir in great hast they hurried) it fell out so, that they were to encounter (troubled & disordered as they were in running) their enemies that were well appointed and provided aforehand. And the Cos. who had prevented them, presently welcommed them with battaile. At the

A the first, the Macedonians made resistance; but afterwards being in no respect equall unto the enemies, after they had lost three hundred footmen, with foure and twentie of the most forward and bravest horsemen out of that corner which they call *Sacra* (amongst whom *Antimachus* also their leader died) they endeavoured to retire & be gone. But the way by which they were to passe, was more troublesome to speake of, than the skirmish and battaile it selfe. The Phalanx being sent unto by a messenger in hast, and conducted as hastily, encountred affront in a certaine straight a troupe of prisoners, and likewise the waggons charged with corne. Who being laid at to give way, thereupon arose a great trouble as well of the one part as the other; whiles no man tooke heed how to march in ordinance: but the armed souldiours cast down and overthrew the heapes of sardage and baggage, for otherwise there could no way bee made: and the draught-beasts being pricked and provoked forward, raged & made foule worke in the prease & throng. B Hardly and with much adoe were they dispestered and rid of this confused & disordered companie of captives, when they met with the king his companie and the horsemen discomfited. In which place, the noise which they made crying unto the Phalanx, Backe againe, Backe againe, made a fright among them, as if there had bene something readie to fall upon their heads: in such sort as if their enemies durst have entred into the straight and pursued farther after them, no doubt they had received a great overthrow. But the Consull contenting himselfe with a meane good hand, in that he had rescued and recovered his *corps de guard* from off the hill, retired with his forces into the campe. Some write that there was a great battaile fought that day, and how eight thousand enemies were slaine, and among them *Sopater* and *Antipater* two of the kings captaines. Also that there were taken prisoners about two thousand foure hundred: and militarie ensignes seven and twentie carried away. Neither was the victorie easily gotten but cost blood, for not so few as foure thousand and three hundred were slaine of the Consull his armie, and five guidons of the left wing lost. This journey recomfited the Romanes, but daunted and quailed *Perseus* in such sort, as after he had staid a few daies at Mopselum, especially about entering the bodies of his dead souldiours, and left a sufficient garrison at Gonnos, he retired his armie into Macedonie, leaving also at Phila one of his owne captaines named *Timotheus*, with some small forces, whom he commanded to assay the Magnesians and the borderers adjoining. When he was come to Pella, he dismissed his armie out of the field, and sent them to their wintering harbours, but himselfe together with king *Cotys* went to Thessalonica. D Thither newes came, that *Attesbius* a petie king of the Thracians, and *Corragus* a captaine under king *Eumenes*, had invaded the marches of *Cotys*, and were maisters of the countrie. which they call *Marene*. And therefore supposing that hee must needs discharge *Cotys* to looke to the defence of his owne realme, he bestowed rich presents upon him at his departure: and gave him 200 talents for sixe months wages of his cavallerie, whereas at the beginning he purposed to bee at the charge of a whole yeeres pay. The Consull after he heard that *Perseus* was gone, approached with his armie neere to Gonnos, and there lodged; if haply he might force and gaine that also. Situate it was over against Tempe, at the very mouth and guller of the streights, and is the very frontier town, yeelding both a most assured defence and strength to all Macedonie, and also a commodious passage for the Macedonians to enter into Thessalie. And being a place imprenable, as well for the naturall site thereof, as the strong garrison therein planted, he gave over the enterprise. So turning and bending his way into Perrhaebia, after he had forced Mallaea at the first assault and put it to the ransacke; and received Tripolis with the rest of Perrhaebia, yeelded by composition; he returned to Larissa. And then having sent *Eumenes* and *Attalus* home into their owne countrie, & bestowed *Misagenes* and the Numidians in divers cities of Thessalie neere at hand, to remain there for the winter time, and distributed part of his forces throughout all Thessalie, in such sort, that not only they had all commodious wintering, but also served in stead of garisons to the cities. *Q. Antiochus* his lieutenant he sent with a regiment of two thousand men to guard Ambracia and keepe it in obedience. All the confederates of the Greeke cities, save onely the Achæans he licenced to depart. With one part of his armie he went into Thessalie in Phthia; where he rased down to the ground Pteleum, abandoned of the inhabitants. But Antrona he wooon with the good will of the townsmen. Then afterward hee approached before Larissa with his forces. The citie was left desolate, for all the people were retired into the fortresse, the which hee began to assault: and first the kings garrison of Macedonians quit the place: of whom the townsmen being forsaken and left

left to themselves, submitted incontinently. Then he stood in doubt whether he should assaile Demetrius first, or haue an eye and looke into the troubles and state of Bœotia. For the men of Thebes being grievously molested and annoied by those of Coronæa, had sent for him into Bœotia: at whose praiers, thither he conducted his armie; and besides, Bœotia was a country more commodious to winter in than Magnesia.



THE XLIII. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the
Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the three and fortieth Booke.



Divers Pretours were iudicially condemned, for demeaning themselves with crueltie and avarice in the administration of their provinces. P. Licinius Crassus the Proconsull, woon by force many cities in Greece, and cruelly risted them. For which rigour of his, the captives whome he had sold under the guise and in ouert market, were by an order directed out of the Senate, restored afterwards to their former estate. The Admirals of the Romane fleets committed many outrages and enmities against their allies. Besides, there are comprised in this booke, the prosperous affaires of king Perseus in Thrace, after hee had vanquished the Dardaniens and subdued Illyricum, wherof Gentius was king. The troubles which began in Spaine by means of Otonius, were appeased by his death. M. Æmylius Lepidus, was by the Censors created president of the Senat.



He same sommer, wherein the Romanes wan the victorie with horse-fight in Thessalie, the lieutenant being sent into Illyricum from the Consull, compelled by force and armes two rich townes to yeeld; unto which neverthelesse he gave all their goods againe, to the end that by an opinion of this clemencie, hee might win the hearts of the inhabitants of Carnus, that strong citie. But when he saw that he could not contraine them to render, no more than force them by siege; because his soldiours should not seeme to have been wearied for nought in the besieging of two townes, he fell to rife and ransacke that, which before hee left untouched. The other Consull C. Cassius neither performed any memorabile exploit in Gaule, which was his province by lot; and having endeavoured to conduct his legions through Illyricum into Macedonie, all his designment came to no effect at all. That the Consull was entred upon this journey, the Senat was certified by the embassadours of the Aquileians: who complained that their colonie newly erected was feeble, and not as yet wel secured among those fierce nations of the Istrians and Illyrians: and withall they made suit, that the Senat would provide and take order, that the said colonie might be fortified: and when the question was put unto them, Whether they would be content that commission should be directed unto C. Cassius in that behalfe? they answered, That the said Cassius, having assembled his armie at the *Rendez-vous* in Aquileia, was departed through Sclavonia into Macedonie. This at first was thought incredible, and every man supposed verily, that he had been gone to levie warre, upon the Carnians haply or the Istrians. The Aquileians were able to reply no farther, nor affirme more upon their knowledge than this, That allowance

of corn was made for the soldiours to serve thirtie daies, and that guides were sought and brought out, who knew the waies out of Italie into Macedonie. Hereat the Senat (yea may be sure) tooke great smitte and was highly displeased, that the Consull should be so hardie as presume to leave his owne province for to passe into that which belonged to another, and to lead his armie an unknownen and new way, and the same dangerous, through strange and foreine countries, thereby to open passage as it were, for so many nations to come into Italie. Whereupon in a frequent assembly of the Senatours, there passed a decree, That C. Sulpitius the Pretour should nominate three embassadours out of the bodie of the Senate, for to depart out of the citie that present day, to make all the hast they possibly could to overtake the Consull wheresoever hee was, and to give him warning to levie no warre against any nation without direct warrant from the Senate. And these Embassadours went, namely, M. Cornelius Cethegus, M. Fulvius, and P. Martius Rex. The present feare as touching the Consull and the armie, was the occasion that the care of fortifying Aquileia was deferred for that time.

After this, were the embassadours of certaine States in both provinces of Spaine admitted to come into the Senate: who complained of the covetousnes and pride of the Romane officers and governours among them; humbly beseeching the Senate upon their knees, Not to suffer them (being allies and confederates) to be more shamefully pilld and spoiled than the verie enemies. Among other indignities for which they shewed themselves aggrieved, notorious it was, that the said magistrates had taken bribes, yea and used extortion in wringing mony from them. Whereupon a commission was graunted to L. Canuleius the Pretour (unto whom Spaine by lot was fallen) to ordaine five judges or commissioners (and those out of the rounge and degree of Senatours) for every person of whome the Spaniards claimed to recover such monies; and likewise to permit the plaintifes to take unto them what advocates and counsell they would. Then, after those embassadours were called againe into the Senat, this decree and act of the Senate was read unto them, and willed they were to nominate their advocates; who named foure, to wit, M. Porcius Cato, P. Cornelius Scipio the sonne of Cneus, L. Æmylius Paulus the sonne of Marcus, and C. Sulpitius Gallus. And first they tooke commissioners to proceed against M. Titinius, who had been Pretour in the higher province of Spaine, when M. Manlius and M. Junius were Consuls. Twise was the cause of the accused partie adjourned to a farther time, but at the third session he was quit and found unguiltie. Then arose some variance and dissention between the embassadours of those two provinces. The States of this higher Spaine, tooke for their patrons and advocates, M. Cato and Scipio; they of the farther and lower Spaine, made choice of L. Paulus and Gallus Sulpitius. They of high Spaine convented before the delegate judges, P. Furius Philus; the other of base Spaine, M. Matienus. Philus had ben L. deputie there three yeeres past, when Sp. Posthumius and Q. Mutius were Consuls; but this Matienus two yeeres before, during the Consulship of L. Posthumius and M. Popilius. Charged they were both of them with right grievous matters and imputations, and a farther day graunted of a finall judgement: but when they were to answere judicially againe, they made default, and for excuse it was alledged, that they were both out of the country; and so they departed into voluntarie exile, Furius to Præneste, and Matienus to Tibur. The voice went, that the patrons of the plaintifes would not suffer them to follow proceffe still against such noble and great personages: and the suspicion hereof was more pregnant, by reason that Canuleius the Pretour let this matter fall, and began to take musters and levie souldiours for the warre; and so forthwith directly went into the province, to the end that no more men should be brought into question and troubled by these Spaniards. By this means, all former matters past were buried in silence and no more speech made of them; but for future time, the Senat tooke order and provided for the Spaniards so well, that they obtained an immunitie, That no Romane magistrate should have power and authoritie to set the price upon any graine, nor force the Spaniards to sell the *Vicesimes* at what rate he pleased to set downe: also that there should be no commissioners appointed within their townes for the gathering and receiving of the revenues and mony issuing from thence. Besides, there came another embassie of a sort of people out of Spaine, after a new and strange manner: for there were above four hundred persons, avouching themselves the children of Romane souldiours and Spanish women not joyned in wedlocke: who appeared before the Senate and besought them, for to allow them a citie to inhabit. Whereupon ordained it was, That they should enter their names and be matriculated before their Pretour L. Canuleius: and looke whomsoever of them

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he enfranchised and made free, those they thought meet to be sent to Carthage neere the sea side, and there planted: also that those Carthians, who were willing still to keepe home and remaine there, should be privileged as Coloners & so enrolled, and to enjoy besides a portion of lands assigned unto them. This was a Latine colonie, and was called the colonie of the Libertines.

At the same time there came an Embassadour out of Africke, *Gulussa* the sonne of *Masani*, and likewise the Carthaginian embassage. *Gulussa* first was brought into the Senate; who declared what his father had sent unto them against the Macedonian warre: promising withall, that if it pleased them to impose more upon him, hee would be readie to performe the same in remembrance of the benefits received from the people of Rome: finally, he gave the LL. of the Senate a caveat by the way, to take heed that the Carthaginians deceived them not in the end: for that resolved they were, and went in hand to prepare a great navie, under pretense of sending it to the Romanes against the Macedonians; which if it were once readie rigged and furnished, it was in their choice then, to make whome they would either friends or foes.

Being entred the campe and shewing the heads aloft, they struck such a feare, that if immediately the armie had come forward and advanced against them, the campe might have been woun: and yet even then as it was, they fled amaine: and some there were who gave their opinion, to send embassadours to treat and with prayers to intreat for peace. Vpon the newes reported hereof, many cities submitted and were surrendered. Such as made excuse, and laid the fault upon the follie of two persons only, who had of their owne accord offered themselves to be punished, obtained pardon of the Pretour. And then forthwith hee went in expedition against other cities; but finding them all readie to doe whatsoever they were commaunded, hee passed quietly with his armie through that countrey in peace, which but a while before was all up in armes and on a light fire. This lenitie of the Pretour, which he used in taming and subduing this most fierce and proud nation without effusion of blood, was by so much more acceptable to the LL. of the Senate and the whole bodie of the people, as the Consull *Licinius* and the other Pretour *Lucretius* had warred in Greece with greater crueltie and avarice. As for *Lucretius*, the Tribunes of the Commons accused him daily in their ordinarie orations before the people for his absence: Notwithstanding his excuse was alleadged, that absent he was, and employed about the affaires of the State. But in those daies, so unknowne were things done hard by, that even at that present he was at his ferme within the territorie of Antium, and busie in conveying a conduct of water out of the river Loricina to Antium: the charges whereof he defraied with the money raised out of the sale of prizes taken from the enemies. Some say that he bargained to have that peece of worke effected, for the summe of a hundred & thirtie thousand Asles. Moreover he embellished and adorned the temple of *Aesculapius*, with the painted tables found in the pillage. The envie and ill will, the obloquie also and dishonour like to grow to *Lucretius*, turned upon his successor *Hortensius*, by occasion of the embassadours of Abdera, who in piteous wise complained with teares before the Senate, that their towne was by *Hortensius* forced and ransacked: How the cause of this ruine and destruction of their cittie was no more but this, that being enjoined by him to make payment of a hundred thousand Denarij, and allowance of fiftie thousand Modij of wheat, they requested some respite of time, wherein they might address their embassadours, as well to *Hortensius* the Consull as unto Rome, concerning this imposition. For scarcely were they come unto the said Consull, but they heard how their cittie was forced, the principall citizens thereof beheaded, and all the rest sold in portsale under the guirland. These were greivous indignities in the sight of the Senate, whereupon they passed the same ordinance in the behalfe of the Abderites, that the year before had bene directed in the like case as touching the Coronians; and commaunded the Pretour *Q. Metellus* to publish the said decree before the publicke assemblie of the people. In like manner two Commissioners were sent, namely, *C. Sempronius Blasus*, and *S. Julius Caesar* for to reestablish the Abderites in their freedom: who also had in charge to signifie from them, both to the Consull *Hortensius*, and also to the Pretour *Hortensius*, That the Senate judged the hostilitie offered unto the Abderites injurious, and the warre unlawfull, and therefore that all such as were brought into servitude, should be sought out and restored again to libertie.

At the same time presentation was made unto the Senate of certaine complaints against *C. Cassius* who had been Consull the year before, and at that time was employed in qualitie of a Colonel-marshal together with *A. Hostilius* in Macedonie. Likewise there arrived the embassadours,

A dours of *Cincibilis* a petie king of the Gaules. A brother of his having audience graunted in the Senate made a speech, wherein he complained, that *C. Cassius* had given the wast to the lands and territories of the people inhabiting the Alpes, who were their allies and confederates, and from thence had led away into captivitie many thousand persons. And much at one instant there came the embassadours of the Carnians, Istrians & Iapides with complaints against *Cassius*. That first hee had enjoined them to furnish him with guides for to shew and direct him the best way to march with his armie into Macedonie, and so departed in peace from them, as if he had ment to war elsewhere: but afterwards out of the midway of his journey, he returned upon them, and in hostile manner overran their frontiers, robbing, spoiling and burning wherefoever he went; and to this day they cannot devise and know the reason, wherefore the Consull should hold them for enemies and deale so cruelly by them. As well the prince of the Gaules aforesaid being absent, as these embassadours in place received this answer, That as touching the outrages for which they shewed themselves grieved, the Senate neither knew thereof beforehand, that ever they were intended, ne yet approved of the same, since they were committed. But against al right & equitie it were to condemn unheard in his own defence, & absent, such a personage as he is, namely a man who had ben Consull considering also that his employment about the C.W. is the occasion of his absence. When *C. Cassius* is once returned out of Macedonie, then if they would shew themselves and accuse him face to face, the Senate would heare the cause and take knowledge accordingly, yea, and endeavour that they should be satisfied and contented. Moreover, thought good it was, that these nations should not be dispatched onely with this bare answer, but that embassadours also should be sent: two unto the foresaid king beyond the Alpes; and other three to the people above named, for to acquaint them with the resolution of the lords of the Senate. And they gave order besides to send presents to each of the embassadours to the valour of two thousand Asles over and above, to the two princes that were brethren, these gifts following, to wit, two chaines of gold weighing after they were wrought five pound of gold: also five peeces of plate in silver, amounting to the weight of twentie pound: two bard horses with their hennemen and lackies: likewise horsemens armours and their cassiocks: and liveries likewise for all those of their traine, as well bond as free. These were the things sent unto them. But at their owne request granted it was besides, that they might for their money buy each of them ten horses, & be allowed to transport them out of Italie. The embassadours sent with the Gaules beyond the mountaines, were *C. Lalius* and *M. Aemilius Lepidus*: to the other nations, *C. Stanius*, *P. Cornelius Blasio*, and *T. Memmius*.

Moreover, there met together in Rome at once, the embassadours of many States both of Greece and Asia. And first the Athenians were brought into the Senate, who related, That they had sent unto the Consull *P. Licinius* and the Pretour *C. Lucretius*, what shipping they had, and all the fighting men they were able to make: but seeing they had no use of them, they had raised a levie of a hundred thousand Modij of corne. Which, albeit their land was but barren for tillage, and the very husbandmen themselves lived of forraine corne brought in unto them, yet they had made meanes to doe accordingly, because they would not seeme to be wanting in any dutifull service: and willing they were yet, and prest to performe whatsoever they would require. E The Milesians for their part said, That hitherto they had done nothing, marrie they offered themselves to be readie to accomplish all that the Senate should commaund them toward this warre. The Alabandians shewed, That they had built a temple to the cite of Rome, and ordained besides, that in the honour of that goddess there should be a solemnitie of games and plaies exhibited every yeere. Also, that they had brought with them for a present, a crowne of gold weighing fiftie pound, to set it up in the Capitoll as a gift and offering to *Iup. Opt. Max.* and withall, three hundred horsemens shields, which they were minded to bestow upon those, unto whom it pleased them to appoint and commaund. Their petition was, that they might bee permitted to offer their present in the Capitoll, and there to sacrifice. The men of *Lampascus* came with a golden crowne weighing fourescore pound, protesting, That they had quit and abandoned *Perseus*, so soone as ever the Romane armie was arrived in Macedonie, notwithstanding they owed alleagiance unto *Perseus*, and were homagers to his father *Philipp* before him. In which consideration, as also for that they had performed their devoir to their full power to the Romane Generals, they requested no other favour to be gratified withall, but to bee received into the amitie of the people of Rome: and in case there should be peace concluded with *Perseus*, that they might bee excepted

cepted and exempted in the accord, for being reduced under his obedience. The rest of the embassadours had a gracious answer returned unto them. As for the Lampfacenes, order was given to *Q. Menius* the Pretour, to enter and enroll them in the number of allies. Every one of these embassadours were rewarded with a present worth two thousand Assees. The Alabandians were appointed to carrie backe with them into Macedonie their shields aforesaid, and to deliver them unto *A. Hostilius* the Consull. Over and besides, the Carthaginian embassadours out of Africk, made relation that they had brought from thence ten hundred thousand Modij of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley, which they had a shipbord at the sea-side, readie to carie the same wheresoever the Senate would appoint. This benevolence of theirs they accompanied with good words, saying, they knew well that this gift & recognoissance of their dutie, was inferior either to their own goodwill, or the demerits of the people of Rome. Howbeit many times heretofore they had shewed themselves to doe the part of thankfull, faithfull, and trustie allies, in all things tending to the profit and good of both states. In like sort the embassadours of *Masissa* promised the same proportion of corne, with 1200 horse, and twelve elephants, assuring them in his name, to doe whatsoever the Senate would impose and should be thought needfull; and that with as free an heart as the benevolence offered of his owne accord. Thanks being given both to the Carthaginians and also to the king, requested they were to transport over into Macedonie to the Consull *A. Hostilius*, those things which they had promised. To the embassadours were sent by way of presents, two thousand Assees apeece. The Cretensian embassadours, related how they had sent into Macedonie such a number of Archers, as the Consull *P. Licinius* had imposed upon them: and when they denied not upon the question asked, that there served more archers of theirs under *Perseus* than with the Romanes, this answer was made unto them, That if the Cretensians would well and truly and in good earnest preferre the friendship of the people of Rome before that of king *Perseus*, the Senat of Rome likewise would give them answer as certaine & assured allies: in the mean while, they should let their countie-men to understand, that it was the will and pleasure of the Senate, that the Cretensians should with all speed possible call home all those souldiours whom they had in any garrison of king *Perseus*. The Candians being dismissed with this dispatch, then the Chalcidians were called in: and at the very first sight of them it soone appeared upon what termes of necessitie they were driven to send an embassage: when *Asicion* the chiefe man among them, by occasion that he was lame with the gout in his feet, was brought into the Senate in a litter. In which extremitie diseased as he was, there was no pleading of any excuse by his infirmities, nor craving pardon, since he was to go without, when he had all done. He began by way of preface and preamble, saying, he had nothing left alive but his tongue, for to deplore & bewail the calamities of his country: then he went forward, & first shewed what courtesies & good turns the State wherein he lived had performed to the captaiues general and armies of the Romanes, both of old, and also of late in the warre against *Perseus*. After this, he declared what parts of pride, covetousnes, and crueltie, first, *C. Lucretius* a Romane Pretour had exercised upon his countie-men, & afterwards what *L. Hortensius* practised, at that time above all others: also how the Chalcidians were resolved to endure all calamities, were they more grievous than those which they presently suffered, rather than they would yeeld to *Perseus*. And as for *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*, they knew full well, that it had bene better & more for their safetie to have shut their gates against them, than to receive them into their cittie. For such as had excluded them forth, as namely they of Emathia, Amphipolis, Maronea, & *Aenus*, remain still entier & in good estate; but with us (say they) the temples have bin robbed of all their beautiful ornaments, and utterly spoiled by these sacrileggers. *C. Lucretius* hath carried away, by water over to Antium, and hath led away into bondage and captivitie the persons free borne. So as the goods and fortunes of the allies of the people of Rome, both have bene and daily are pillled and rifled. For according to the use & fashion brought up by *C. Lucretius*, *Hortensius* likewise houseth his mariners as well in summer as winter, and our houses are full of a rable of these sailers and sea-men, in such sort as our wives and children bee forced to converse among such groomes as make no account at all what either they say or doe. Hereupon thought good it was, to send for *Lucretius* into the Senate, that he might see his accuser, answer face to face, & purge himselfe of these challenges. But when he was come in place, he heard much more in presence, than had bene spoken against him in his absence. Over and besides, there shewed themselves and joined together against him, two other more stout adversaries and bitter accusers, to wit,

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M. Iuventius Taurus and *Cn. Aufidius*. And these two not onely coursed him before the Senat, but also having drawne him perforce into the generall assembly of the people, and charged him before them with many reproches, tooke out processe also and arrested him to make his appearance and answer judicially at a day before the people. Then *Q. Menius* the Pretour, by order from the Senate, answered the Chalcidians in this manner: Whereas yee alleadge and say, That yee have well deserved of the people of Rome both heretofore and also in this present war now in hand, the Senat knoweth all that to be true, & accepteth the same thankfully in the best part, as of right they ought: As touching your grievances and complaints for the lewd parts which *C. Lucretius* hath plaied, and which *L. Hortensius* still practiseth (both Pretours of Rome) the same neither have bene nor are committed & done by the will and allowance of the people of Rome. For who would not judge so of it, that knoweth how they levied warre upon king *Perseus* and his father *Philip* before him, for to enfranchise Greece and set it at libertie; and not that their allies and friends should thus hardly be intreated by their magistrates and governours sent from hence? Write therefore they would unto *L. Hortensius* the Pretour, to let him understand that the Senate is not well pleased with these pranks of his which the Chalcidians complaine of. Also if any free-borne persons were become thrall and bound, that withall convenient speed he should take order to seek them up and restore them again to their former freedome. Last of all, that they deemed it meet & reason, that no sailer or martiner, but onely the maisters of ships should be lodged and enterreined in your houses. And these were the contents of the letters written unto *Hortensius*, by commandement from the Senate. Vnto the embassadours were gifts sent, to every one as much as came to two thousand Assees. As for *Micion*, he was allowed his carriage in chariots at the charges of the citric, and order given that he should with all ease ride in them to Brundisium. As for *C. Lucretius*, when the day of appearance was come, the Tribunes commended an action against him before the people, to be fined at a million of Assees. And in a generall assembly and Session holden for this purpose, cast hee was and condemned by the suffrages of all the tribes, even thirtie five and no fewer.

In Liguria no memorable exploit was that yeere performed: for neither the enemies entred into armes, nor the Consull led his legions into their countie; and when he was assured of peace for that yeare, hee discharged the souldiours of two Romane legions, within 60 daies after his first comming into the province. As for the armie of the Latine allies, hee brought it early into the cities of Luna and Pisa there to winter: and then himselfe with the cavallerie visited most of the cities in the province of Gaule.

In no place was there any warre but in Macedonie: howbeit they had in suspicion *Gentius* and the king of the Illyrians. Therefore the Senate ordeined to send from Brundisium eight ships readie rigged and fully furnished, unto the lieutenant *C. Furius* at *Issa*, who was governour of the Iland with the guard and strength of two Ilesian vessels; in which were put aboard and shipped two thousand souldiours, which *Q. Menius* the Pretour by a warrant directed out of the Senate, enrolled in that quarter of Italie which lieth opposite to Illyricum. In like manner the Consull *Hostilius* sent *Appius Claudius* into Illyricum with foure thousand footmen, for to defend the people in those parts: who not content with those forces of his owne which hee had brought with him thither, demanded here and there aids and succours of the allies, untill hee had put in 20000 eight thousand men of divers and sundrie nations. And after hee had made his progresse through all that region, hee set him downe and rested at Lichnidum a citie of the Dassaritians. Not farre from thence there stood a frontier towne called *Vscana*, and for the most part raunged under the obedience of *Perseus*. There were within it one thousand citizens, and a small garrison of Cretensians for their better safeguard and defence. From thence there came to *Claudius* secret courriers, advertising him, that if he would approach neerer with his armie, there would be some readie at hand to betray the towne into his hands: and woorth the adventure it was (say they) and would quit for all the paines: for able it was with pillage to enrich not himselfe and his friends only, but also all his soldiours. The hope of this cheat, fitting so well his covetous humour, so blinded his spirit and understanding, that he had not the sence to keep with him any one of those courriers that came unto him, nor the wisdom to demand hostages for assurance of this enterprise which was to be exploited by stealth & fraud, ne yet the foresight to send out escours & espies, or so much reason & mother-wit as to require their oth & bond of faithfull promise. Only at the day appointed he departed from Lychnidum, and within twelve miles of that citie

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After this the assembly was published for the chusing of Censours. In election there were for this dignitie of Censureship, the very principal persons and of best note in all the citie, *C. Valerius Lavinius*, *L. Posthumus Albinus*, *P. Mutius Scævola*, *C. Iunius Brutus*, *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. These two last rehearsed the people of Rome chose for Censours. When as by occasion of the Macedonian warre, a greater care was had about the taking of musters, than at other times before, the Consuls found much fault with the common people, and complained unto the Senate, that the young and able men for service being called, would not answer to their names. But *C. Sulpitius* and *M. Claudius* two Tribunes of the Commons, maintained the cause against them in the behalfe of the Commons, saying, That it was no hard & difficult matter for Consuls to levie souldiours: marie, for corrupt, affectionate and popular Consuls, it was not so easie a thing, and namely, such as would be sure, to enroll no souldiours against their wils. And to the end that the LL. of the Senate might know this to bee a truth, they should see the Pretours (if the Senate were so content, and thought well thereof) whose power of command, and authority of government was *lesse than the Consuls, to go through with the musters without empeachment. So that charge was committed to the Pretours with the great assent of the Senatours, but not without some backbiting and detraction of the Consuls. And the Censours for to assit and set forward that affaire, made it knowne, and protested in the full assembly of the people, that they would publish an act, as touching the review and estimate of every mans havoir and habilitie; that besides the ordinarie oth of all citizens, they should sweare to these points in this forme following: Art thou under fixe and fortie yeeres of age? then by vertue of the edict made by the Censours *C. Claudius* and *Tib. Sempronius*, come forth and shew thy selfe at the musters so often as there shall bee any levie taken: and what Censours soever shall happen to be in place, thou shalt appeare and be enrolled, in case thou wert not a prest souldiour before. Moreover, because the voice went, that many soldiours of the Macedonian legions were absent from the armie, & had obtained large passports without limitation of return, & that through the corruption and favour of the Generals, they published an edict as touching the souldiours enrolled for Macedonie, when *P. Aelius* and *C. Popilius* were Consuls, or any time after, That as many of them as remained within Italie, after they were enrolled and registred first under their hands, should within thirtie daies repaire againe to their colours into the province: and whosoever of them were at the disposition of father or grandfater, their names should be presented and declared before them. Semblably, they would take knowledge of their causes who were cleane dismissed and cased: and look whomsoever they judged to have obtained their discharge by any speciall grace and favour, before they had served out their full time by law required, they would commaund them to be enrolled souldiours againe. By vertue of this edict of the Censours, as also by their letters sent out and divulged abroad in all incorporate townes and places of resort for market and merchandise, there assembled together and came to Rome such a multitude of lustie, young, and able men, that their unusual and extraordinary number was chargeable and comberous to the citie. Thus besides the former levie taken of those that were to bee sent and employed in supplie of the old armies, foure legions more were enrolled by *C. Sulpitius* the Pretour, and within eleven daies the musters were accomplished and ended.

Then the Consuls cast lots for their provinces. For the Pretours had their governments allotted unto them before, and the sooner, by reason of the civile causes which required their jurisdiction. The one over the citizens was fallen to *C. Sulpitius*, the other over forrainers to *C. Decimus*. *M. Claudius Marcellus* obtained the regiment of Spain, *Serg. Cornelius Lentulus* of Sicilie, *P. Fannius Capito* ruled Sardinia, *C. Marius Figulus* had the conduct of the navie. And then, I say, to *Q. Servilius* one of the Consuls fell the government of Italie, and to *Q. Martius* the other of Macedonie. This *Martius* so soon as the Latine feasts were solemnised, departed toward his province immediately. After this, upon the motion of *Capito* to the Senate to know their pleasure, which two legions of the new hee should conduct into Gaule: the LL. ordained, That the Pretours *C. Sulpitius* and *M. Claudius* should give unto the Consull, which it pleased them of those legions that they had enrolled. This hee tooke to the heart, that hee a Consull was thus subjected to the will of the Pretours; yet after the Senate was risen, hee stood waiting at the Tribunall of the Pretours, and required them according to the order set downe by the Senat, to assigne him his two legions. But the Pretors submitted the choise thereof to the Consull himselfe. This done, the Censours tooke a review of the Senat, and chose new Senatours: and *M. Aemilius Lepidus*

*The civile Pretours within the citie were allotted but two Licitors, & the provinciall abroad in forraigne parts not above fixe apeece, whereupon Polybius calleth a Pretour *ἡγεμῶν*, where as each Consull had everie where twelve.

Lepidus was elected president of the Senat; and these were the third Senatours that made choise of him consequently one after another. Seven were displaced and deposed from their Senatours dignitie. Now in taking the number of the people, and in assessing them, they compelled to returne into Macedonie those who were departed from the armie there: and by meanes of this assessment, they soone knew who were absent from their companies: they examined them for what causes they were discharged from soldierie; and whose licence they judged not to be grounded of good and sufficient reason, those they forced to take the militarie oth againe in this manner and forme: According to the edict of *C. Claudius* and *Tib. Sempronius* the Censours, thou shalt well and truly sweare, to returne willingly and with all thine heart, into the province of Macedonie; and this shalt thou doe to thy power without fraud or covin. In making the review of them that served on horsebacke, their censure was executed with great rigour and extremitie. They tooke from many their horses of service: upon which occasion having given offence to the wholestate of knights and gentlemen of Rome, they blew the coales and kindled the fire of ill-will and heart-burning against themselves: by a certeine edict of theirs besides, whereby they intimated, That none of them who in the time that *Q. Fulvius* and *Au. Posthumus* the Censours had taken to farme the renewes, fruits and profits of the citie, or undertaken at a price the publicke workes and provisions, should be so hardie as to present themselves to their speare set up, either to be farmers or undertakers, no nor to bee parteners, or have anything to doe with those that were in such negotiation, commerce and bargain. The old Publicanes and farmers had oftentimes complained hereof to the Senate: but when they could obtaine no comfort from them; to moderate and abridge this infinite power of the Censours, at length they met with a Tribune of the Commons, one *Rutilius*, to stand with them and defend their cause; a man who upon a particular and private quarrell of his owne was offended and bare a grudge against the Censours. And this was the occasion: They had commaunded one of his late vassals and enfranchised retainers, to pull downe a wall standing in the street *Sacra* over against a publicke edifice; pretending that the said wall was built upon the citie ground. The man a private person, called unto the Tribunes for their lawfull helpe and favour: but when as none of them all but onely this *Rutilius* would meddle in the matter and interpose their helping hand, the Censours sent to straine and take gages for to bind him to answer the cause, and before the bodie of the people intended an action against him, and set a greivous fine upon the head of that partie aforesaid. By meanes of this debate begun upon such an occasion, when as the old publicans betooke themselves for succour to this Tribune, presently there was a bill preferred and subscribed with the name of the said Tribune alone, in this forme, That what publicke renewes and profits of the State, *C. Claudius* and *Tib. Sempronius* had to ferme let for a rent, or what publicke workes and provisions they had put out to bee made and purveied at a price, the same leases and bargaines should not stand for good but bee cancelled, and new demises drawne and made. Also that it might bee lawfull for all then indifferently either to bee farmers or undertakers of the premises. And the said Tribune assigned a day for a generall assembly and session, to have this bill to bee cast by the voices of the people. When the day was come, the Censours advanced and put themselves forward to dissuade and plead against the bill. So long as *Gracchus* spake, hee was heard with patience and silence. But at *Claudius* when he opened his mouth, they hissed and kept a muttering, so as hee was forced by an *οἶκ* made by the crier to procure audience: which being made, the Tribune found himselfe grieved and complained, that the people there assembled were withdrawne and called away from him, to the prejudice of his autoritie and honour, and with that slang out of the Capitoll where this assembly was holden. The next day hee kept a great coile and made a soule stirre: first he interdicted the goods of *Tib. Gracchus* as condemned and accursed, for that in setting a fine, and streining gages of him, who had appealed to a Tribune, and in not obeying and condescending to his opposition, hee seemed to set light by his Tribunes autoritie, & prejudice his reputation. As for *C. Claudius*, he arrested him to answer at a day, for that he had withdrawne the assembly from him: nay, hee professed that he would endite both the Censours of treason or felonie in the highest degree, and required of *Sulpitius* Pretour for the citizens, a day of assizes for their judiciall triall. The Censours refused not to have this matter put to an issue with all speed, and to be tried by the dome of the people. So the time for the hearing and determining of this hainous crime of majestic or treason aforesaid, was assigned the *daies immediately before the eight and seventh calends of October. Upon this,

*ante 8. & 7. Calendas Octobris, that is, the 25 and 24 of September.

this, the Censours incontinently ascended up into the Porch of Libertie: where after they had made sure and sealed the publicke registers and records, shut up and locked all the offices of the Chauncerie, and discharged for the time the publicke clarkes and proto-notaries attending upon that court, they protested that they would not goe in hand with any publicke affaires of state, before the sentence and judgement of the people were passed upon them. The day came, and *Claudius* first pleaded his owne cause and spake for himselfe: and when of twelve Centuries that were of gentlemen, eight had found the Censor guiltie and cast him, yea and many other centuries of the first *Clasis*. Then presently, the principall persons of the citie in the very sight of the people, changed their weed, laid away their rings, and went about from one to another in humble manner, to crave the commons to be good unto the Censors. But that which most of al either staied or reversed the definitive dome against him, was (by report) *Tib. Gracchus* himselfe the other Censor: for that when the commons cried from all parts, that there was no danger growing toward *Gracchus*, hee swaie by expresse words, That if his colleague were condemned, hee would (without attending the judgement of the people as touching himselfe) accompanie him into banishment. Howbeit the defendand and accused person, was driven to this neere point and hard exigent of extremitie, that he came within eight centuries of being cast and condemned. Thus when *Claudius* was acquit, the Tribune said hee would not trouble and molest *Gracchus*.

This yeer at the earnest suit of the Aquileian embassadours unto the Senat, for to have the number of their colonies encreased; a thousand & five hundred families (by vertue of a decree granted out of the Senate) were enrolled: and for the conducting of them to Aquileia, were sent as Triumvirs or commissioners these three, to wit, *T. Annius Lufcus*, *P. Decius Subulo*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. The same yeere *C. Popilius* and *Gn. Octavius* embassadours, who had bene sent into Greece, having first red and published at Thebes the arrest and ordinance of the Senate, carried it afterwards throughout all the cities of Peloponnesus, to this effect, That no person should contribute toward the warres, and put into the hands of the Romane magistrates, more than that which the Senate had set downe. This put them in good hope and assurance for the future time, that they should be eased of those charges and expenses, by which they were impoverished and wasted, whiles every one imposed upon them some taxation or other, and never gave them repose. In the Achæan generall counsell holden at Argos, they had audience given them and were heard in gracious sort: from whence leaving this most loial and faithfull nation in singular good hope of happie estate for the time to come, they passed into Ætolia. There was as yet no sedition broken out there; but all were in jealousie and suspicion one of another, and full of naturall accusations: in regard of which jarres and troubles, the embassadours onely demanded hostages, and without any other end made, went directly into Acarnania. The Acarnanians graunted unto these embassadours a Diet to bee holden at Tyrreum: where some debate was betwene the partakers of divers factions. Some principall men of the States, required that there should be garrisons received into their cities, to bridle the wilfull folie of those that inclined to the Macedonian nation: others gainsaied this course, and besought the contrarie, for feare least that peaceable and confederate cities should be put to receive that disgrace and dishonour, which usually falleth upon knowne enemies and those that are conquered by force of armes. And this request was reputed just. Then the embassadours returned to Larissa unto *Hyllius* the Pro-consull, for from him they were employed in embassage. *Octavius* he retained still with him: but *Popilius* together with a thousand souldiours or very neere, he sent to Ambracia, there to lodge for the winter time.

Perseus in the beginning of winter durst not go forth of the frontiers of Macedonie, for feare least the Romanes would invade with violence his realm in some place or other, if they found it void and disurnished. But toward the mids of December about mid-winter, when by reason of the deepe snow the mountaines are unpassable and unsuperable from out of Thessalie, thinking he had then a fit season & opportunitie to cut off the hopes and breake the hearts of the neighbour-borderers, that when he should be averted another way and busied in the Romane warre, he might be secured of danger from them: considering that from the parts of Thracia hee had peace with *Cotys*; and likewise from Epirus side (by the means of *Cephalus*, who suddainly of late was revolted from the Romanes:) moreover having newly vanquished the Dardanians in warre; and seeing onely that quarter to infect and annoy Macedonie, which regardeth and affronteth Illyricum;

Illyricum; and that those Illyrians also were not quiet & at peace, but readie to give entrance unto the Romanes; but if he had subdued & tamed those Illyrians which were next unto him, then king *Gentius* also, who a long time hung betwene in doubtfull tearmes, might bee induced and drawne wholly into societie with him: he revolved at length, and with ten thousand footemen heavily armed, whereof part were Phalangitæ, and other two thousand lightly appointed; and five hundred horse, he made a rode and presented his forces before Stubera: from whence after he had provided himselfe of come to serve for many daies, & given order that the ordinance and engines of batterie should follow after; at the third daies end he lodged nere Vlcana, the head citie of all that land Penestria. But before that he offered any assault, he sent certaine of purpose to sound & sollicite the affections, one while of the captaines of the garrison, and another while of the townesmen. Now there lay within the cittie, together with the manhood and youth of the Illyrians, a garrison also of the Romanes. And when he saw that they brought no news of any peaceable dealing from thence, he began to bend his forces against them, and assaied to invest them round about, and so to force the cittie. And albeit both night and day without any rest and intermission, they pressed upon the inhabitants, and evermore one succeeded another; whiles some reared ladders against the walls, others threw balls of fire against the gates, yet the defendants of the citie held out and endured that furious and violent tempest: because they hoped that neither the Macedonians lying abroad were able any long time to endure the rigor of the cold winter; nor the king on the other side could have so much release and relaxation from the Romane warre, as to stay there and make his abode. But after they perceived once the mantlets approach, and the frames of turrets and fabrickes erected, their persistance was over-matched and they began to relent. For besides that in plaine force they were the weaker and not able to resist, distressed also they were for want of corn, neither had they store of any other provision, as being taken on a suddaine, and looking for nothing lesse than siege at such a time of the yeere. Therefore when they were past all hope to be able any longer to resist, *C. Carvilius Spoletinus* and *C. Afranius* were sent from the Romane garrison, to crave of *Perseus*, first that hee would permit them to depart in their armes, and to carrie with them their bag and baggage: secondly, if they might not obtaine so much, that he would but give them assurance of life and libertie. The king was more free and liberall to promise, than fast and faithfull to performe. For after he had commanded them to goe forth, and carrie with them all that was their owne: the first thing that hee did was to disarme them and tak away their weapons.

They were not so soone departed out of the town, but both the company of the Illyrians, to the number of five hundred men, & also the inhabitants of Vlcana ranged themselves & their citie. *Perseus* when he had put a garrison in Vlcana, led away the whole multitude of the yielded townsmen (& those were wel-nere as many in number as his own army) & transported them to Stulera: where, after he had sent the Romanes (al besides their chieftains) who were 4000 fighting men, into sundrie cities to be kept in wards, & sold the Vlcenians & Illyrians; he led his armie back into Penestria, intending to be maister of Oeneum, a town seated otherwise commodiously, & with all it is the very key and highway that openeth passage into the countrie of the Labeates, within the realme of king *Gentius*, and where he kept his roiall state. As he passed by a strong borough town wel inhabited, named Draudacum, one about him that was well acquainted with the coasts of that countrie, put into his head, that bootlesse it was & to no purpose to win Oeneum, unless he had Draudac also in his hands, as being a towne situate more commodiously in all respects. Whereupon he advanced forward, and so soone as ever he presented his armie before it, incontinently all the inhabitants submitted and yeeldec. Being much animated and encouraged with this surrender of theirs, which they made farre sooner than he hoped or looked for; after that he perceived how terrible this redoubled armie of his was, all the way as hee marched hee brought under his subjection eleven other castles and strong holds, upon the like feare that they were put into. Violence he used against very few of them; the rest yeeldec willingly: wherein were taken fiftene hundred Romane souldiours, placed there in severall garrisons. In great heed and to very good use served *Carvilius Spoletinus* in all their parlies; who evermore gave it out, that there had bene no crueltie nor rigor exercised upon him and his fellows. At length the king came before Oeneum, which could not possibly be woon without a set and full siege. For the town had far more youth and able men within it than the rest, was fortified with a strong wall about it, and defended of the one side with the river called Artaxus, and of the other with an exceeding high hill,

hill, and the same of hard and difficult access. All these things considered, the townsmen were in good hope to be able for to make resistance. *Perseus*, having entrenched the towne and cast a rampier round about it, began likewise to raise a terrace and mount from the upper part thereof, to that height as might surmount and over-top the walls. But during the time that this peece of worke was in hand and brought to perfection, a great number of the inhabitants within were consumed by divers and sundrie adventures, whiles they skirmished off and sallied forth, endeavouring both to defend their owne walls, and also to impeach the fabricks and devises of their enemies. And those that remained alive, what with toilsome labour night and day, and what with many a wound, were past all service and good for nothing. So soone as the terrace and mount afore said was raised close unto the wall, both the kings cohort (whom they call *Nicatores*) mounted up into it, and also with ladders the assault was given unto the citie in many places at once. All that were above fourteene yeeres old hee put to the sword: their wives and small children he cast into prison. The rest of the boocie and pillage fell to the soldiours share. As he returned from thence with victory to Stuberæ, he sent as ambassadors unto *Gentius*, *Pleuratus* the Illyrian (a banished person who sojourned with him) and *Aputus* a Macedonian of Berthæa. Them hee gave in charge to declare unto *Gentius*, what he had atchieved against the Romans and Dardanians the sommer past, together with the late exploits performed in that winter expedition; and withall to perswade the king, for to be knit in amitie with him and the Macedonians. These embassadours having transmounted the top of the hill Scordus, and traversed the wilds and wolds of Illyricum, (which the Macedonians of purpose had laid wast and desert, to the end, that the Dardanians might have no easie passage either into Illyricum or Macedonie) after much paine and travaile they arrived in the end at Scodra. Now was king *Gentius* at Lissus, and thither were these embassadours sent for, where they delivered their message with gracious audience: but they went away with an answer to no effect; namely, That he wanted no will, and his heart was good enough to warre upon the Romans; but his coffers were emptie, and he lacked money especially, to goe in hand and enterprise that which hee desired. This answer they related unto king *Perseus* at Stuberæ, at what time as he was most busie in selling of his captives taken in Illyricum. Then forthwith were the same embassadours addrest againe unto him, accompanied with *Glaucias* one of the kings guard and squires of his bodie, without any mention made of money, and that was the onely meanes to induce the bare and needie barbarous prince to levie warre. After this, *Perseus* ransacked the citie Ancyra, and once againe reduced his armie into the Penestines countrey, and having strengthened the garrisons in Viscana, and in all the forts and peeces about it, he returned into Macedonie.

L. Celus a Romane lieutenant, lay in guard for the defence and rule of Illyricum, who durst not stirre so long as king *Perseus* was in those quarters; but in the end after his departure, hee endeavoured to recover Viscana in the Penestines countrey, but was repulst from thence by the garison of the Macedonians there, and caried away nothing but many a drie knock and bloudie wound, and so retired with his forces to Lynchnidum: from whence, some few daies after, he sent *M. Trebellius Fregellanus* into the Penestines countrey, with a strong and sufficient power, for to receive hostages of those cities who faithfully had persisted in amitie and friendship. Hee commaunded him also to go forward to the Partines (for they likewise had covenanted to put in pledges) for that of both these nations, the said hostages might be exacted and gotten without any stirre and trouble. The hostages of the Penestines were lent to Apollonia, but those of the Partines to Dyrrhachium, which in those daies was more usually called by the Greeks, Epidamnus. *App. Claudius*, desirous to rase out the blemish and make amends for the dishonour received in Illyricum, set in hand to assault Phanotes a fort of Epirus, having brought thither with him the Athamans and Thesprotians (over and above the Romane armie) to the number of 6000 men; but he got nothing there but travaile for his paines, by reason that the place was valiantly defended by *Clevis*, left there with a strong garison by *K. Perseus*. *Perseus* likewise made an expedition to Elinia; and after he had taken a tolesome survey of his armie about it, hee conducted his power to Stratus at the request of the Epirotes. This Stratus then, was the strongest citie of all Ætolia. Situate it is upon the gulf of Ambracia, neare the river Achelous. He advanced thither with ten thousand foot and not above 300 horse of them hee rooke the fewer with him in number, by reason of the streight passages and rugged waies. Being come at the third daies end so farre as to the mount Citius, after hee had with much difficultie passed over it, the snow lay

lay so deepe, that hardly and with much adoe could hee find a convenient place to encampe in. From thence he remooved, more for that he could not there abide and remaine, than for any intollerable way and weather hee met withall in his dismarch and journey forward: so with passing great traivale and trouble, of his beasts especially, the second day he arrived at the temple of *Iupiter* called Niceus, and there lodged. Then, after he had taken an exceeding long journey, he abode at the river Arachthus, being staid there by reason of the deepe waters, during which time, he made a bridge over and transported his forces; and when hee was gone a daies journey onward, he encountered on the way *Archidamus* a principall person of the Ætolians, by whose meanes the citie of Stratus was to be delivered up unto him. And that day hee lodged upon the frontiers of Ætolia: from whence the next morrow hee journeyed as farre as to Stratus, where, having encamped neere the river Achelous, hee looked that the Ætolians would run out unto him by heaps at all their gates, to yeeld themselves unto his protection: but in stead thereof he found their gates shut, and a garison of Romanes received into the citie that very night when he came, together with the lieutenant *C. Popilius*. For the chiefe of the citie (who induced and enforced by the authoritie of *Archidamus* whiles he was present in place, had sent for the King) became more slacke and negligent, by occasion that *Archidamus* was gone forth to meet with him, and thereby gave advantage and opportunitie to the adverse faction, to send for *Popilius* with a thousand footmen from Ambracia. In verie fit time and to right good purpose came *Dinarchus* also a capitaine of the Ætolian Cavallerie, accompanied with sixe hundred foot and a hundred horse. Knowne it was for certain, that he marched toward Stratus, as intending to band and take part with *Perseus*; but changing his mind together with the turning of fortune, hee joyned with the Romans, & banded against him for whom he set out at the first. Neither was *Popilius*, among these wavering and inconstant spirits, more secured than he should be: and therefore incontinently gat the keyes of the gates into his hands, and possessed himselfe of the guard of the walls. As for *Dinarchus* and the Ætolians, together with the youth and able men of Stratus, he bestowed them all in the fortresse, under a colour of guarding the same. *Perseus*, having assaied to parly with them from the hills which commaunded the higher part of the citie, finding them perverse and obstinate, and seeing them readie to set him farther off with thot of their darts, encamped five miles off from the citie, beyond the river Petitarus. There, hee called a councell; in which, *Archidamus* together with the revolts and renegates of the Epirotes, exhorted him thereunto to sojourne and continue: but the chieftains of the Macedonians contrariwise were of advise, that there was no striving with that troublesome and daungerous season of the yeere, considering their provisions were not readie; and the assailants were like sooner to feele the scarcitie and want thereof, than the defendants: in regard whereof, and especially for that the enemies wintered not far from thence, hee dislodged and remooved to Aperantia. The Aperantians by reason of the great credit and reputation of *Archidamus* among them, received him with a generall content. And the same *Archidamus* was made capitaine there over a garison of eight hundred souldiours. And so the king returned into Macedonie, with lesse trouble both of his men and beasts, than he came thither. Howbeit the bruit blowne abroad, that *Perseus* led his forces against Stratus, caused *Appius* to levie his siege from before Phanotes. And *Clevis* with a brave regiment of lustie men well appointed, followed hard after him, and at the foot of the hills which were almost unpassable, hee slew well-neere a thousand of them as they marched heavily armed and encumbered, and tooke prisoners about two hundred. But after that *Appius* was passed those streights and come into the plaine called Eleon, he lay encamped there some few daies: meane whiles *Clevis*, accompanied with *Philostatus* the chiefe commaunder of the Epirotes, passed over into the territorie of Antigonea. The Macedonians went about to rob and spoile: but *Philostatus* with his cohort sate him downe in await, under a covert and hidden place for the purpose. And when as those of Antigonea issued forth in armes, and charged upon the forraiers as they raunged over the fields, and dispeafed in straggling-wise; pursuing them too eagerly in their flight, they chaunced to engage themselves over farre within the valley where the enemies lay in ambush: and there, to the number of a thousand of them lost their lives, and almost an hundred were taken prisoners. And so the enemies having sped well in all their enterprises, remooved their campe close to that of *Appius*, to the end that the Romane armie might doe no violence and outrage upon their friends and allies. Thus *Appius* spending the time in these parts to no purpose, and doing no good, after hee had

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discharged

discharged the companies of the Chaonians, and as many of the Epirotes as were with him, returned into Illyricum with his Italian souldiours: and when hee had distributed them among the confederate cities of the Partynians, there to winter, returned himselfe to Rome by occasion of a certaine solemne sacrifice. *Perseus* sent to *Cassandrea* for to lie in garrison there, a thousand foot and two hundred horse, whom hee had caused to come againe out of the cuntry of the Pene- stines. And they that returned from *Gentius* related still the same song from him, yet never- rested hee nor gave over to tempt and importune him, sending embassadors after embassadors unto him, knowing right well, that in him rested great importance: yet could not hee by any meanes possible bring the man to expend ought and to be at any charge, in a matter every way of greatest consequence.

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THE XLIII. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIVS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the
Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the foure and fortieth Booke.



Quintus Martius Philippus passing through wilds and woods, entered into Macedonie and surprised many cities. The Rhodians sent embassadors to Rome, threatening to aid *Perseus*, unless the people of Rome would conclude peace and contract amitie with him: whereat was taken great scorn and disdain. Now when the charge of this warre was committed to *L. Aemilius Paulus* the Consull now the second time for the yeere following, *Paulus* before the publike assembly of the people praised unto the gods, that all infelicitie and cursed fortune comming toward the people of Rome, might bee averted from thence, and light upon his owne house. And so having taken a voyage into Macedonie, vanquished *Perseus* and subdued all Macedonie. A little before he should strike a battell, *C. Sulpitius Gallus* a martial Colonel, fore-warned the armie that they should not wonder and be troubled in mind at the eclipse of the mome which was to happen the next night following. In like sort *Gentius* the king of the Illyrians having entred againe into armes, was overcome in field by *Anicius* the Pretor: and having submitted himselfe unto him, was with his wife, children, and kindred sent to Rome. From Alexandria there arrived the embassadors of *Cleopatra* and *Ptolemus* king and queene of Egypt, complaining of *Antiochus* king of Syria, for that hee warred upon them. *Perseus* having solicited *Eumenes* king of Pergamus, and *Gentius* king of the Illyrians to aid him, was by them abandoned, for that he made not true payment of money according to his promise.

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IN the beginning of that spring which immediately followed the winter wherein these occurments happened, *Q. Martius Philippus* the Consull came to Brundisium with five thousand men, whome hee intended to transport over the seas for the supplie of his legions. And *M. Popilius* (one who had been Consull) and other brave gallants of noble parentage as well as him- selfe, followed after the Consul to be martiall Tribunes in the Macedonian legions. Also about the same time *C. Martius Figulus*, the Pretor, & admirall of the navie, repaired to Brundisium, VVho weighing anchor, loosed to sea from Italie together, and arrived the next day at Corphus; but the morrow after that, they put within *Aetium*, an haven of

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A of Acarnania. From thence the Consull set saile for Ambracia, where hee disembarked and travelled by land to Theffalie. But the Pretor having doubled the point of Leucas, entred the gulf of Corinth; and leaving his vessels at Crensa, journeyed likewise by land to Chalcis unto the naval forces, making such expedition that he crossed through the middest of *Bæotia* in one day. At the same time *A. Hostilius* lay encamped in Theffalie, neere to Palæpharsalus. VVho albeit hee had performed no memorable exploit of warlike feats, yet he had reclaimed his souldiours from all licentious loosenesse wherewith they were corrupted, and raunged them within good order of militarie discipline. Also by his faithfull carriage in government, hee had entertained and kept the love of the allies still, yea, and protected them from all manner of wrong and injurie. Now when he was advertised of the arrivall of his successour, he assembled with all diligence his forces both men and horse, and gathered together all armour, as well offensive as defensive: and so with a brave armie right well appointed, he went forth to meet the Consull upon the way. As their first encounter and meeting was honorable, and besitting as well their own reputation as the great estate of the Roman name, so for the managing of the affairs afterward [*it was very expedient to the Consull *Philip*: For the pro-consull turning to his own armie, exhorted the souldiours to performe valiant service; and so when he had delivered it to the Consull, returned to Rome.] Some few daies after the Consull, made an Oration in a solemne audience of all his souldiours: Wherein first hee began with the parricide of *Perseus*, committed upon the person of his owne brother, but projected against his very father. Then he proceeded forward and declared the wicked and divellish means whereby he attained to the crowne, also his practices of poysoning, his bloudie murders, how hee laid await for king *Eumenes* his life by way of detestable brigandage & robbrie: moreover, the injuries offered to the people of Rome, and the sacking of associate cities against the covenants of accord. All which dealings of his he should find one day (quoth he) by the issue of his affaires, how odious and cursed they are in the sight also of the immortall gods. For the gods are evermore favourable and gracious to pietie and fidelitie, the only means whereby the people of Rome is mounted to that pitch and heighth of felicitie. Then hee compared the forces of that State which already compassed the round world, with the strength of Macedonie; he set armies to armies, making remonstrance how far greater was the puissance of *Philip* and *Antiochus* before, & yet was it defeated utterly by no greater power than the Romans now were able to shew. Having thus enkindled & enflamed the courages of his souldiours by this manner of exhortation, he began to debate in counsell as touching the principall & maine point of the whole war. And thither repaired unto him from Chalcis, the Pretor *C. Martius*, after he had taken the charge of the armada & sea-forces. Resolved it was and concluded to make no longer abode in Theffalie, & there to loose time, but presently to dislodge & remove directly into Macedonie: that the Pretor also should endeavour and cast, how at one and the selfsame time hee might infest and annoy the sea coasts of the enemies. Now after that the Pretor was dismissed & sent away, the Consull commaunded his souldiours to bring every man with him provision for a moneth: and so the tenth day after he had received the conduct of the armie, he removed the campe and set forward. VVhen he had gone a daies journey, he called together the guides, and after hee had commaunded them every one to declare before the counsell there assembled, which way each one of them intended to direct the armie, he caused them to void and goe aside: and then debated it was in counsell, which course to take above all others. Some were of opinion to lead by the way of Pythoum; others advised to passe over the Cambunian mountaines, like as the yeere before *Hostilius* the Consull conducted his armie; and there were who gave advise to goe neere to the moore and marish of *Afcuris*. Now there remained yet some part behind of the way, which lay indifferent still and common to all these places; and therefore their consultation of this point was put over unto the time when they should encampe neere to the parting and division of the said waies. So from thence he led the armie to *Perrhæbia*, and sat him downe between *Azorus* and *Dolice*, for to consult once againe for all, which way to take.

The same time *Perseus* knowing that the enimie approached, but yet ignorant which way hee ment to come, determined to beset all the passages with strong guards. VVhereupon he sent ten thousand yong & lustie men lightly armed, to the very pitch of the Cambunian hills (which the inhabitants themselves call *Volutana*) under the conduct of capitaine *Asclepiodorus*. But hee commaunded *Hippias* with a power of twelve thousand Macedonians to seize the streights of a certaine fort situate upon the marsh *Afcuris*, & is called *Lapathus*. Himselfe in person accom-

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panied

*The place is here descriptive, but may be supplied, as *Sigoni* thinks, in this manner as you see, between these marks []

panied with the rest of the forces, lodged first neere to Dium: but afterwards seeming as if hee were unprovided of counsell and void of sense and understanding, hee with his light horsemen made rodes and courtes along the strond, one while toward Heraclea, and otherwhiles to Phila; and so backward againe the same way to Dium. In this meane time the Consull resolved fully to lead his armie by that passe, where wee said before that the armie of king *Philip* encamped sometimes, nere a place called *Ootolophus*. Howbeit he thought good to send out before foure thousand armed men, for to prevent the enemies and bee possessed first of the most commodious places of advantage: this regiment was commaunded by *M. Claudius* and *Q. Marius*, the Consuls sonne; and incontinently all the forces in generall followed after. But the way was so steepe and difficult, so rough, uneven and rugged, that in two daies space, they which were sent before, albeit they were not charged with the carriage of any thing, had much adoe to march fiftene myles: where they lodged, and the place which they made choise of was called the Towre Eudicru. From whence the morrow after they journied seven miles forward, and seized a hill not farre from the enemies campe: where they dispatched a courier backe to the Consull, to give intelligence, that they were come neere to the enemye, and setled in a place of safety, commodious also for all purposes; and withall to advise him for to make all possible speed after, for to overtake them and joine together. This messenger encountered the Consull at the Meere *Afcurus*, when he was greatly perplexed as well for the difficultie of the way which hee was to enter himselfe, as also in regard of the danger of them whom in so few number hee had sent before, even through the mids of the enemies *corps de guards*. Whereupon he tooke a better heart to himselfe; & having united all his forces, encamped upon the foresaid hill which his men already held, on that side which (considering the nature of the ground) was most commodious. And there they might discover within the view of eie, not onely the enemies campe distant from thence little above a mile, but also the whole countrie as farre as to Dium and Phila, yea and all the sea-coast, by reason that the high pitch and top of the mountaine yelded a prospect farre and neere round about. And this was it that set on fire the souldiours hearts, when they beheld the whole weight of the warre, the kings forces altogether, & the enemies countrie so neere unto them. In which spirit of cheerfulness when they were earnest with the Consull, and exhorted him to advance directly against the enemies campe, they had but one day granted them to rest after their wearisome journey. So upon the third day the Consull leaving part of his forces to guard the campe, led the rest against the enemye. Now had *Hippias* beene lately sent from the king to keepe and guard the passage, who since the time that first he espied the Romane campe upon the hill, had prepared the minds of his men to a battaile, and so encountered the armie of the Consull and met it halfe way. The Romanes advanced forth to fight, nimble appointed; and the enemies likewise were lightly armed, and by reason thereof most fit and provided for to give the charge and begin skirmish. So soone as they affronted and encountered one another, presently they fell to launcing of their darts on both sides. Many a wound was given and received of the one part as well as the other by their rash charging at randon, and few of both sides were slaine. Thus were their stomackes whetted & edged against the morrow; and then had they skirmished and maintained fight with greater forces and more deadly fewd, if the ground would have served and them to have displayed their battailions at large: but the top of the mountaine was straight, and arose to a sharp crest in forme of a coine or wedge; and hardly afforded rounge enough for three ranks of armed men affront; and therefore when some few were in fight, all the rest, and specially they that were heavily armed, stood as lookers on. As for the light armour of the one part, they would run forth at the broken craggies of the hill, and ever from the sides joine battaile with the like of the other party; yea and find means to charge their enemye, were the place open or uneven, it skilled not whether. But after that, more that day also were wounded than killed, the night at length parted the fray. The third day, the Romane Generall was to seek for a place where he might retire what to doe; for neither could he stay any longer upon that hill, for want of all things necessarye back from thence it was not possible, without dishonor & danger both. Moreover he considered, the enemye might prease upon him from the upper ground with advantage. Therefore hee therefore no other means but to amend that which was audaciously enterprised, with a more and hardy persistence in execution; a thing that otherwhiles proverly well in the end, proceeded from wile and deliberat counsell. And verily to this hard passe and difficult tearm, they were come, that if the Consull had bene to deale with an enemye like to any of the Macedonians

kings

A kings in old time, he might soone have received a great foile and overthrow. But king *Perseus* as he coasted & ranged with his cavallerie upon the strond nere Dium (albeit for the space of twelve miles wel-nere, he heard the cries and shouts of them that were in fight); neither reenforced the companies by sending fresh souldiours in place of the wearied, nor shewed himselfe in person at the battaile: (which had bene a thing, I assure you, of most importance) whereas the Romane Generall being above threecore yeeres of age, corpulent besides and unweldie, performed himselfe right lustily all military services of a valiant warrior; persisting in that to the very end most bravely, which he had begun and enterprised so boldly; and having left *Popilius* for to guard the hill top, passed over places that had no tracts at all to direct them, by sending out before, certain men of purpose to scoure and prepare to make passage. As for *Attalus* and *Misagenes*, hee commaunded them both, with the auxiliarie souldiours of their owne nation to guard them that opened the way before. Then hee putting before him in the march the horsemen with the baggage, came behind with the legionarie footmen in the rereguard. No tongue is able to expresse what a toile and painfull labour they found in going down the hill, the sumpter horses with their packes and carriages tumbled so downe one with another: in so much as when they had scarcely gone foure miles forward, they wished in their hearts nothing more, than to returne the way they came, if it had bene possible. The elephants troubled the march as much in manner as the enemies could: for when they were come to a place where they could see no way, downe they cast their riders and governours, laying them along on the earth, and with the horrible braying that they made, affrighted their horses especially, untill such time as a devise was found for their passage. They began first to make the head or entrance of a bridge at the very brow and edge of a steepe downefall: this done, in the lower ground beneath, they set fast in the earth good strong and long posts of wood, two by two distant one from the other traverse-wise little more than the largenes of one of those beasts. Upon which rested fast joined with tennon & mortise certain rafters like wal-plats 30 foot in length, and those being couched with planks crosse over in foirne of a bridge, had earth and mould cast thereupon. A little way off beneath it, such another bridge was made; and so a third likewise, and many more consequently according as the craggie ground was broken and uneven. Now the Elephant from the firme ground entred upon the first bridge aforesaid; but before he was gone as farre as to the foot and end thereof, the posts abovenamed were cut a two underneath; to the end that the bridge might fall, and in the easie reeling thereof the beast also gently slide, as it were, and be carried therewith as farre as the head of a second bridge. Thus some of them glid and kept themselves standing upright on their feet, others rested upon their buttockes. Againe, when they were come to the plaine and levell floure of another such like bridge, by the fall of it in manner aforesaid they were driven unto a third bridge beneath it, untill such time as they were come to a more plaine and even valley. In this order the Romanes could rid little more than seven miles that day. And the least part thereof went they upright on their feet, but were faine most what to tumble and roll over and over with their armour and fardels about them: and thus they gat forward in all kind of paine and trouble; in such sort, that he who induced them to this journey and conducted them therein, could not denie but the whole armie (with a small power coming against them) might utterly have ben defeated. By night they arrived at a pretie plaine; but the place beeing so enclosed on all sides, they had no space and rounge to view round about, whether it were dangerous or no. At length after much adoe and beyond their expectation, they met with a firme peece of ground, whereas they might take sure footing; and there they were forced the morrow following to attend in the hollow valley the coming of *Popilius* and the companies left with him; who also were exceedingly fore vexed and plagued with the roughnesse of the way, albeit the enemies troubled and affrighted them no whit at all. The third day, after they had joined their forces together, they tooke their way through a passe, which the inhabitants call *Callipeuce*. The fourth day they passed over a place that had no more meanes to direct them, than the other before; but by use and experience they were growne more skilfull: and better hope they had, for that the enemye in no place appeared, but approached neere to the sea. When they were come once downe into the plaines between *Haractus* and *Lebethrus*, the footmen (whereof the greater part kept the hills) pitched their tents and tooke up the valley, and a good part of the plaine wherein the horsemen should quarrel. As the king was bathing himselfe, it is said that word came, How the enemies were neere at hand: at which newes he was so skared, that he leapt from out of his bathing

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thing vessel, and he had gat him out of the bame, crying aloud, That hee was vanquished with-
out drawing sword and stroke given: neither wist hee for feare which way to turne him; taking
sundrie counsels one in the necke of another, and commaunding he knew not what, sometime
this and sometime that. In this perplexitie hee sent for *Asclepiodorus* (one of his two especiall
friends) out of the place where he lay in garrison, to goe to Pella where all his money and trea-
sure lay; and by this meanes opened all the avenues for the Romanes to make warre. Himselfe,
after he had in great hast bestowed and piled up in his ships, all the gilden images at Diu, to
the end that the enemye should make no prize of them, caused with all speed possible to truffle
up and to remoove to Pydna; and hereby gave occasion, that the enterprise of the Consull
which might have seemed rashnesse (in that he had engaged himselfe so farre, that he could not
possibly retire againe without leave of the enemye) proved in the end no inconsiderate and un-
advised designment. For now the Romanes had the choice of two passages through which they
might escape away; the one, by Tempe into Thessalie; the other into Macedonie, by the way
nere Diu: both which before were held by the kings guards. So as if a resolute and fearelesse
captaine could have held out and endured but one ten daies the first apparence and shew of ter-
ror that approached, the Romanes could neither have returned into Thessalie by Tempe, nor
found way for conveiance of provision and victuals to the place where they were. For Tempe is
of it selfe a difficult passage, even without any force of armes to make it dangerous. And why?
besides the straight gullet five miles in length, yeelding a very narrow way for one beast to goe
charged with burden; the rocks of either hand are so steepe and upright, that hardly a man is
able to looke downe from them, but his eyes will dazle, his braynes turne, and his head be giddie
withall. Moreover, the sound and noise, yea and the depth of the river Peneus running directly
through the mids of the valley, encreaseth the feare so much the more. This place, so perillous
of it owne nature, had beene holden and guarded with the kings garrisons in foure severall
distant places. The one kept at the verie first entrance, necere to Conius; the second at Condyl-
los, a fort imprenable; the third about Lapathus, which also they call Charax; and the fourth
was placed even upon the verie avenue it selfe, about the mids of the valley, where it is at the
steepest, and which may be easily defended with ten men if there were no more. In this manner
(I say) the passage being stopped up by Tempe, as wel for portage of provisions thither as for re-
turne from thence, the Romanes mult by force have retired againe up to the same mountains from
whence they were descended. But as they came downe & were not discovered, so being now descried,
they could not possibly have gained them againe in open view, considering that the enemyes
had possessed the tops of the mountains; and no doubt, the difficultie therof besides, which they
had tried already, would have cut off all hope of that adventure: so as, being waded thus far into
this rash enterprise, there remained no meanes else for them, but to have passed through the
mids of the enemyes at Diu, for to escape and pierce into Macedonie: an adventure no doubt;
(if the gods had not bereft the king of his right wits) most difficult and dangerous unto them.
For it being so, that from the foot of the mountaine Olympus unto the sea, there is little above a
mile space betwene: the one halfe whereof, is taken up with the mouth of the river Bophyrus;
which in this place spreadeth very broad and large; and another part of the plain; either the
temple of *Jupiter* or the towne it selfe occupieth: the rest besides, being but a verie small place,
might have beene enclosed and made fast against them with a little trench and rampier; besides
such store there was of stone readie at hand, and of timber out of the forest, that they might ei-
ther have raised a mure, or framed turrets and such like fabricks in their way. But the king (whose
spirit & understanding was blinded with sodain feare) fore-seeing none of all these things, but dis-
turbning every sort of their garrisons, made open passage for the current of war, & fledd himselfe
to Pydna. The Consull perceiving that he had gotten great advantage and many hopes by the
follic and negligence of his enemye, dispatched a carrier back toward Larissa unto *Sp. Lucretius*,
willing him to seize those forts into his hands about Tempe, which were abandoned by the ene-
mye: and after he had sent *Popilius* before in spiall to discover all the passages about Diu, and
perceived that the avenues were open in all parts, hee marched forwards himselfe, and by the
second gitt came to Diu; where he commaunded to encampe under the very temple, to the
end, that no violent outrage should be committed in that holy place. Himselfe in proper person
entred into the citie, which as it was not great, so it was garnished with faire publick buildings,
beautified with a number of goodly images, and passing well fortified besides: in so much as he
could

A could not well beleeve, that things of such importance were abandoned for nothing, but that
there was some secrete deceit and treacherie lurking underneath. After hee had staied there one
full day, to espie and see that all coasts were cleere, hee dislodged and marched on; and supposing
verily that he should be provided of sufficient store of graine, hee advanced forward that verie
day to the river named Mytis. The morrow after, he tooke possession of the citie Agassa, which
the inhabitants willingly rendred unto him. And to win the hearts of all other Macedonians,
(contenting himselfe onely with hostages) he promised to leave them their citie cleere without
a garrison; and to permit them to live under their owne lawes, without payment of any tribute.
Being marched onward one daies journey from thence, hee pitched downe his tents fast upon
the river *Ascordus*: but feeling and finding still (the farther he went from Thessalie) more and
more want of all things, hee retired backe to Diu; and then all men saw plainly and made no
doubt, to what streights hee should have beene driven, in case he had beene cleane shut out from
Thessalie, considering that it was not safe for him to remove far from thence where he was.
... *Perseus* having rallied all his forces, and assembled his captaines into one place, checked and
raised up the captaines of the garrisons and guards aforesaid over the passages: but above all he
rebuked *Asclepiodorus* and *Hippius* most, saying; that those two had betrayed unto the Romanes
the port-gates into Macedonie: whereas indeed no man was more justly to be blamed for that,
than his owne selfe.

The Consull after he had discovered a farre off from sea a fleet of Romane ships, conceived
good hope that vessels were coming charged with provision of victuals (for now in his campe
the dearth was great, and brought they were alreadie to extreame want and scarcitie.) But hee was
advised by them who were entred within the harbour, that the hulkes and ships of burden were
left behind at Magnesia. Whereupon, being in great doubt what to doe (so hard went all things
with him at the present, that hee had worke ynough to wrestle with that onely difficultie, with-
out being farther encombred with any empeachment from the enemye) behold in happie time,
messengers were brought unto him from *Sp. Lucretius*, importing thus much; That hee was master of
all the forts and holds planted upon Tempe and round about Phila, where he had found great
plentie of corne and other necessaries. The Consull right joious for these good tidings, set his
armie on foot from Diu to Phila, as well to strengthen the garrison there, as also to deale come
among his souldiours; which would have requiied a long time ere it could have beene brought
over to them at Diu.

D That departure and journey of his was nothing wel spoken off: for some gave out, that the Ge-
nerall reculed from the enemye for very feare; because that if he had staied there still, he should
have beene forced to a battaile: others said, that he had no skill in warre, neither in those occur-
rents, which fortunes wheele turning about altereth every day, offering one new thing or other;
who when occasions and opportunities were presented unto him, let the same slip out of his
hands, which soone after might not possibly be recovered againe. And verily, he had not so soon
quitted possession of Diu, but he started and awakened the enemye, and put in his head now at
length to regain those matters, which had ben lost before through his own default. For hearing
that the Consull was departed, he returned immediately to Diu; where he repaired whatsoever
E had beene demolished and ruinate by the Romanes: the battlements of the wals which were cast
downe he set up againe in the right place; and in all parts fortified the mure and bulwarks of the
citie. Which done, he encamped five miles off on this side Enipeus, intending that the river it
selfe (which is verie hard to be passed over) should serve him in stead of a rampier and trench of
defence. This river runneth out of the vale from under the mountaine Olympus, and in sommer
season is small and shallow, but in winter it riseth high and spreadeth broad by reason of raine:
running also with a forcible current and streame, it tummounteth great rockes, and among those
stonie crags and shelves maketh many whirlpits: by occasion likewise, that from thence it carri-
eth away with it into the sea, store of earth, there are many gulfes of exceeding depth: and by rea-
son that it hath eaten a hollow channell in the mids, the banks of ech side are verie high and steep
upright. *Perseus*, supposing that by the means of this river, the enemyes were debarred from all
F passage, purposed in his mind to hold off, and drive out the rest of the sommer in that sort.

But the Consull in the meane while sent *Popilius* from Phila into Heraclaea with two thousand
armed fighting men. This Heraclaea standeth about five miles from Phila, situate in the mid-way
betwene Diu and Tempe, upon a rocke that commaundeth this river. *Popilius*, before that he
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caused his men to approach the walls, sent certaine persons of purpose to perswade the magistrats and cheefe of the citie, to make prooffe of the faithfull protection and clemencie of the people of Rome, rather than to trie their rigor and violence. But this motive and aduise availed not, because they might discerne the fires from out of the kings campe neere to Enipeus: whereupon, both from the land and sea-side (for the fleet also being thither arrived ankered neere the shore) as well by force of armes as by fabrickes and engines of batterie, they began to assaile the towne. Moreover, certaine young and lustie Romane souldiours (making use now in warre of the exercise which they had practised in the games Circeanes) gat over the wal where it was lowest. The manner was in those daies (before this wastfull prodigallitie came up of filling the whole cirque or shew-place with beasts fet out of all countries) to devise & seek sundrie sorts of publick sights & spectacles to behold; and not in running one course with the chariot, & another on horsebacke, and so an end, to employ in both races hardly the space of one full houre. Among other feats of activitie exhibited, the maisters and wardens of those exercises and games, brought into the race commonly 60 (and otherwhiles more) lustie young men in armes well appointed. Their training in part represented a shew and apparance of two armies encountering and charging one another, in part also the use and practise of a more gentle and elegant exercise than militarie profession, and coming neerer to the handling and managing of weapons. after the order of sword-fencers. These young gallants, after they had performed other ordinarie runnings and courses, put themselves in a four-square squadron, with their bucklers or targuets close cotted and joined together over their heads, in this manner: They that were formost in the front stood bolt upright; the second ranke stooped somewhat lower under the other; the third course more than they, and so the fourth, untill the hindmost kneeled on their knees: and by this means they resembled a pavoisade rising up higher and higher, like the pent-house or rouse of edifices. This done, two men well armed, fetching their run sitie foot or thereabout backward from thence, and seeming to desie and challenge one another, mounted the foresaid pavoisade, and ran from the nether end up to the top upon those targuets so jointly united & set close and thick together: and one while they set their countenance as though they would defend the sides and edges thereof, otherwhiles in the mids they seemed to performe their devoir and maintaine combat one with another, as upon firme and steadie ground. Like for all the world to this, was there a pavoisade framed and brought close to one part of the wall: and when armed men were mounted upon it, they that stood upon the verie ridge thereof, were as high full as the defendants which kept the wall: who being once beaten backe and turned downe, two ensignes of souldiours gat over into the citie. The onely difference betwene this pavoisade and the other above described was this, that they onely who stood in the front before: and in the flanks, bare not their targuets aloft above their own heads, because their sides and bodies should not be naked and exposed to hurt, but carried them before, after the usuall manner of fighting men in a battaile. By which meanes, neither the arrowes and darts discharged from the wall hurt them affront, nor the shot that light upon their targuet-fence tooke any hold; but glaunced and glid downeward from the top without doing any harme, like to raine water that shooteth from the ridge of an house, and runneth downe the eaves. The Consul likewise, now that Heraclea was woen, advanced forward with his armie thither, pretending as though hee marched toward Diu, and as if after hee had chased and driven the king from thence, hee minded to passe forward also into Pieria. But preparing now against winter, he commaunded to make the waies fit and handsome, for the carriage of provision out of Thessalie, and to chuse out commodious places for garners: also to build certaine houses, wherein they that brought the provision, might lie in couert and lodge commodiously. *Perseus* in the end having taken heart againe and gathered his wits together, upon that late fright which had amazed his spirits, wished then with all his heart, that his commaundements had not been obaied, at what time as in a fearefull fit hee gave expresse charge to cast the treasure into the sea at Pella, and to set on fire the arcenall at Thessalonica. *Andronicus* being sent for the same purpose to Thessalonica made no hast to execute his will, but trised out the time for the nonce, leaving the king some respite to repent, as it fell out indeed. *Nicias* was not so provident and well advised at Pella, in throwing away some part of the money which hether found: howbeit hee thought his fault such, as might in some sort be remedied and amended, for that, all the said treasure in maner was recovered by the means of certain dyvers that fished for it under water, and fetcht it up from the bottome of the sea. But the king himselfe was so ashamed of

A of this foolish feare, that in a melancholic hee commaunded those poore dyvers to bee secretly murdered, yea, and afterwards *Andronicus* and *Nicias* also; to the end, that no person should remaine alive that was privie to that forthitt commaundement of his.

Amids these affaires, *C. Martius* having losed to sea from Heraclea, and with his fleet sailed to Thessalonica, landed his armed souldiours in divers places of the shore, and made wast in the territorie al about: and when they made sallies out of the citie & charged upon him, after some fortunar skirmishes he chased them backe and beat them within the walls. So as at length he terrified the towne it selfe: but not onely they, who raunging up and downe here and there, unadvisedly approached the walls, were wounded with shot discharged out of instruments of all sorts, planted upon the walls; but those also who were in the ships, were hurt with stones; weighed and levelled from engines a farre off. Upon which occasion hee commaunded his souldiours to retire a shipboure, and leaving the siege of Thessalonica, they passed from thence to Aenia, a cittie fiftene miles off, situate in a fertile soile just over against Pydna. When they had spoiled the territorie lying to that citie, they coasted along the shore, and arrived at Antigonion. Where, being set a land, first they spoiled the countrey in every quarter, and brought good store of prizes to their ships: but afterwards, as they stragled out of order and disbanded, the Macedonians, as well footmen as horse, ran upon them, and chased them as they fled apace to the sea-side; in which rout they slew upon a five hundred, and tooke as many prisoners. And nothing els provoked the courages of the Romanes (in regard as well of utter despaire otherwise to save themselves, as of the indignitie it selfe, so to hazard their honour) but onely the extreame necessitie wherein they stood, having no meanes to recover their ships in safetie. Whereupon they turned head, and renewed the fight upon the very sea strand. They also who were a shipboure, succoured and helped them. In which conflict, two hundred Macedonians lost their lives, and as many were taken prisoners. From Antigonion the fleet weighed anker, and made head toward the territorie of Pallene, where the souldiours were set on shore to spoile the countrey. This territorie appertained to the confines of the Cassandreans, the most fruitfull tract of all those parts which they had coasted and sailed by. There, king *Eumenes* being departed from Elea with twentie warre ships met with them, and likewise five other covert ships were sent from king *Prusias*. The Pretour seeing this good encrease and addition of his forces, took a better heart unto him, even to besiege *Cassandrea*. This citie was built by king *Cassander*, in the very straight and gullet which joineth the territorie of Pallene with the rest of the Macedonian countrey, enclosed of the one side with the Toronian sea, and on the other with the Macedonian: For there lyeth out a banke or shelve like a tongue into the sea, upon which the citie standeth, and beareth into the deepe, no lesse in compasse and quantitie than is the mountaine Athos. It butteth full against Magnesia, with two promontories of unequall bignes; of which the greater is called Posideum; the lesse Canastrium. This towne they began to assaile in two divers parts. The Roman (Pretor) drew his fortification to a place called Clitæ, opposing certaine strong forked stakes for to debar and shut up the way from the Macedonian sea to the Toronian. On the other side there is an Euripe or arm of the sea, from which quarter *Eumenes* gave the assault. The most trouble & toile that the Romans found, was in damming & filling up the trench, which *Perseus* had cast against them a little before. And as the Pretor enquired where the earth was bestowed which was throwne out of the trench aforesaid, because he could see no heapes thereof any where, there were shewed unto him certaine vaults and arches within, which bewraied a new wall, not built to the thicknesse of the old, but with perpend worke, laid with one course of bricke and no more. Whereupon hee resolved to pierce through the said wall, and so to make way into the citie. The which hee thought to execute and performe without beeing discovered, in case hee skaled the wall in another quarter, and by making a shout and alarme there, withdrew all the defendants of the citie to the guard of that one place. There lay in garrison at *Cassandrea* (besides a sufficient number of serviceable yong men of the citie) eight hundred Agrianes, and two thousand Penestians of Sclavonie, sent from thence by *Pleuratus*; and both these nations are hardie warriours. Whiles these defended the walls manfully, & the Romans endeavoured with all their might to mount over, the thin walls of the vaults and arches aforesaid were wrought and digged through in the turning of an hand, and gave entrance into the citie. Now if they who brake in, had ben armed (as they were but pions) the towne had been taken at that instant. But when as the souldiours heard news, that the said worke was finished, they suddainely set up a cheerefull shout for joy, being readie, some in one

one place and some in another to rush into the citie. The enemies at the first wondred what the meaning should be of that suddain crie: but the captains of the garison, *Pytho* & *Philippus Præco*, being once advertised that the towne lay open, supposing that herein consisted the vantage, who could first prevent the other and give the charge, sallied forth with a strong band of Agrians and Illyrians: and whiles the Romans rallied themselves some from this place, & others from that, and were called together for to enter the citie with banner displayed, they set upon them unready as they were, and not ranged in any good order, put them to flight and chased them as farre as to the trench, where they overthrew them, and laid them one upon another by heapes. Sixe hundred or very neere were there killed: and all in manner whome they could reach betwene the wall and the trench were sore hurt. The Pretour thus overtaken in his own enterprise, was not so hastie as to project any new designes; neither sped *Eumenes* any better, albeit at one time he assaulted the citie both by land and sea. Whereupon they accorded both, to set good strong guards, for to impeach the passage of all garisons out of Macedonie thither; and (since a part force tooke no better effect) to assaile the walls with fabrickes and engines. As they were busie in preparation thereof, there arived ten frigors of the kings, sent from Macedonie with certaine select auxiliarie Gaules. These when they perceived their enemies ships riding at anchor, sailed in single raunge one after another, as close as possible they could to the shore in the darke night, and so entered the citie. The bruit that went of this new succour and garison, forced as well the Romanes as the king to give over the siege; so fetching a compasse about the promontorie, they arrived before Torone. And when they began to lie against it, after they perceived once that there was a valiant companie there to defend it, they abandoned their enterprise without effect, and sailed to Demetrias. Being approached thither, and seeing the walls full of armed men, they passed by and anchored at Iolcos: intending after they had spoiled the territorie, to set upon Demetrias. Meanwhile, the Consull also because he would not sit still doing nothing in the enemies countrie, sent *M. Popilius* with five thousand souldiours to give the assault to the citie Melibæa. Seated it is at the foot of the mountain Ossa, on that side which looketh to Thessalie, and very fitly for the purpose commandeth Demetrias. The first arrivall of the enemies put the inhabitants of the place in great affright; but after they had recovered their spirits daunted with unexpected fear, they ran in arms to the gates, & up to the walls, where they doubted and suspected any place like to give entrance; & inconspicuously cut off all hope from the enemies, that it could possibly be forced at the first assault. Whereupon they prepared to lay siege unto it, and began to make fabrickes and engines to batter the walls. *Petseus*, having intelligence, that in one instant both Melibæa was beleaguered by the Consull, and also that the fleet anchored before Iolcos, to the intent that from thence he might go in hand to assaile Demetrias: sent *Euphranor* one of his captaines, with a chosen regiment of two thousand souldiours to Melibæa; with this charge and direction, That if hee could raise the siege from Melibæa: and force the Romans to depart, he should march secretly to Demetrias, and put himselfe within the towne, before the Romanes could remooove from Iolcos and advance before the citie. The assailants of Melibæa discovering him with his forces all at once upon the higher places, quit their fabrickes and engines in fearefull hast, and set them all on fire; and thus they departed from before Melibæa. *Euphranor* having levied the siege from this one citie, forthwith led his armie to Demetrias. And then the citizens assured themselves, that they should be able not only to defend the citie against the siege, but also to save their territorie from wast and spoile: and so they made sallies upon the foragers dispersed loosely here and there, not without drawing blood of their enemies. Howbeit the Pretour and the king rode about the walls, and viewed the situation of the towne, if peradventure they could espie any one place which they were like to force, either with batterie of engines or force of armes. The voice went, that by the means of *Cydus* the Cretensian, and *Antiochus* governour of Demetrias, there was a treatie of peace and amitie betwene *Philip* and *Eumenes*. But howsoever it was, this is certaine, both *Eumenes* and the Pretour departed from Demetrias. As for *Eumenes*, he failed to the Consull, and testified unto him the joy that he conceived for his safe and prosperous entrance into Macedonie; and from thence returned to Pergamus into his owne realme. But *Martius Figulus* the Pretour, when hee had sent part of his fleet into the harbor of Sciathus there to winter, with the rest of his ships went to Orecum in Boeotia: supposing it a most commodious citie, from whence victuals and all provisions might be sent to the armies that abode either in Macedonie or Thessalie. As touching *Eumenes*, sundrie authors have

have written diversly. If a man should goe by *Valerius Antias* and beleve him, hee reporteth, that neither the Pretour had any helpe from him by his navie, notwithstanding that oftentimes he had sent for him by his letters; nor tooke his leave of the Consull in good tearmes with favour, at what time as hee was to depart into Asia, as beeing highly displeased, that hee was not permitted to quarter with him in one and the same campe; in so much as he could not possibly be entreated by him, to leave behind that Cavallerie of Gaules which he had brought thither with him. As for *Attalus* his brother, hee remained still with the Consull (as *Valerius* saith) and continued sincere, fast, and faithfull unto him without any change and alteration; yea and performed right good service in all that warre.

During these warres in Macedonie, there came embassadours from beyond the Alpes to Rome, sent from a petie king of the Gaules (*Balanos* he had to name, but of what lineage hee was defended it is not recorded) promising aid to the Macedonian warre. Thanked they were from the Senat, & presents were sent unto them: to wit, a chaine of gold weighing two pound; certain golden cups of foure pound weight, a brave courser barbd and trapped, and an horsmans armour. After these Gaules were gone out of place, the embassadours of *Pamphylia* brought with them into the Senate a golden crowne, valed at 20000 *Philip*-peecees of gold: their request was, that they might be permitted to set up the said present and oblation in the chappell of *Jup. Opt. Max.* and likewise to sacrifice within the Capitoll. Their petition was graunted: & when these embassadours were desirous to renew the amitie betwene them and the Romanes, they received a gracious answer, & had of them a reward sent of two thousand Asses. Then the embassadours Colking *Prusias*, and anone after, others from the Rhodians had audience; who of one and the same argument discoursed diversly; for both tended to one thing, namely a treatie for reconciliation of peace betwene the Romanes and king *Persius*. *Prusias* seemed to intreat rather than to demand: protesting that he had ever to that day stood with the Romans in that war; & willingly would friend them still to the very end thereof: but since that, there came embassadours unto him from *Persius*, and dealt with him to make an end of the warre betwene him and the Romanes; and for that he promised them to be a mediator and intercessor for him to the Romanes; therefore his request was unto them (if they could so find in their hearts) to stint their anger, and so they should use him in any service, as one that would acknowledge himself beholden unto them for a favor; in effecting this attonement & reconciliation. In this manner (I say) spake the king his embassadours. But the Rhodians contrariwise, in a proud humor of theirs, reckoned up a beadrill of their demerits toward the people of Rome, attributing the greater part (beleeve mee) of the victory of king *Antiochus* to themselves: moreover they added and said, that when the Macedonians and Romanes were at peace, they began to enter into league and amitie with king *Persius*; which they had interrupted and discontinued against their will; not upon any desert or occasion given of his part, but onely because it pleased the Romanes to draw them into the association of the war. Three yeeres now alreadie (say they) have we felt the smart of this war & lived by the losse; by reason that the seas are shut up from us, and our Iland is decayed and distressed for need and want, having lost our tollage & customes yssuing from the seas: which we not able to endure any longer, have addressed other embassadours to *Persius* into Macedonie to intimate unto him, that the Rhodians will and pleasure was, that he should grow to a composition and bee at peace with the Romanes. Our selves also are sent to Rome to declare the same: and likewise to denounce, That whosoever shall impeach and hinder this course tending to pacification, the Rhodians will consider of them accordingly, and bethinke how they are to proceed against them. I am verily perswaded, that there is no man at this day, who can heare or read this, but his stomacke will rise thereat with indignation; guesse then thereby how the LL. of the Senate of Rome were affected and touched as then, at the hearing thereof. *Claudius* mine author saith, That there was no answer at all given unto them. Onely an arrest or decree of the Senate was read before them, importing thus much, That by order from the people of Rome, the Carians and Lycians were made free: and presently were letters dispatched to both nations to signifie so much unto them. Which when the principall person of the embassage once heard, even hee, whose big and brave words a little before, the whole Senate-houfe was hardly able to containe, fell downe flat before them in a swoone and extasie. Other Historians write, that this answer was returned, That the people of Rome at the verie beginning of this warre, knew assuredly (by intelligence given from persons of right good credite) how the Rhodians had secretly

cretly complotted with *Persus* against the state of Rome: and if there had ben some doubt thereof before, yet the words of the embassadors erewhile delivered, made all cleere & put it past peradventure: and no mervaille, since that for the most part it falleth out, that such cautelous practises howsoever at the first they are covertly and cleanly caried, yet one time or other are bewraied and discovered. Let the Rhodians send their messengers over the world and spare not; let them make themselves judges to determine of war & peace at their pleasure: as for the Romans, they will take armes in hand, and lay them downe againe at the will and appointment of the gods in heaven. We are well holpen up now in deed, it wee must have the gods no more to be witnesses of our accords, but the Rhodians forsooth. And must the Romans (I would not else) be ruled by them, and withdraw their forces out of Macedonie? They will consider and advise themselves how to proceed against us! How shall wee doe then? What the Rhodians will see to, well may they perhaps themselves know: but the people of Rome (that is certaine) will consider indeed and resolve, after that *Persus* is vanquished (which they hope will not be long first) to recompence and requite every citie and state according as they have deserved in the service of this war. As shalpe as this answer was, yet they sent a reward to these embassadors, to every one of them 2000 asses; but none would they receive.

After this, were the letters read of *Q. Martius* the Consull, containing thus much, namely, How he had passed over the streights of the forest, and was come into Macedonie; where he had provision of victuals which the Pretour had given order for out of other places to serve for winter: and besides, had taken up of the Epirotes twentie thousand Modij of wheat and ten thousand of barley, for which corn they should make money readie at Rome to content their embassadors. Also that they must send from Rome souldiours liveries and other apparell: and need hee had besides of two hundred horse or thereabout, especially of Numidia; for that in those parts hee had no plentie of any thing. Hereupon an act was granted out of the Senat, That all these things should be done according to the tenor of the Consull his letters. So *C. Sulpitius* the Pretor bargained for the transporting over into Macedonie of six hundred side cassocks and thirtie thousand short coats or jackets, together with horses; for to be disposed and distributed at the discretion of the Consull: and besides paid the embassadours of the Epirotes good money for their graine. He brought also into the Senate, *Onesimus* the son of *Pytho* a noble personage of Macedonie. This man was evermore of counsel with the K. perswading him to peace; and admonished him, that like as his father *Philip* before him, observed an order even to the time of death to read over twise a day from point to point the instrument of the accord and covenants betweene him and the Romans; so he also would take up that good custome & practise the same, if not so continually, yet at leastwise many a time and often. But when he could by no meanes skare him nor avert his mind from warre, hee began at first to withdraw and absent himselfe, alledging for his excuse one while this occasion and other whiles that, because hee would not be present at the debating of those matters which he approoved not: & in the end perceiving that he was had in some jealousie, and otherwhiles charged to be a traitor, he changed his allegiance, revolted to the Romans, and served the Consull in right good stead. This *Onesimus* beeing (as is before said) brought into the Senat-house, related all these premisses: whereupon the Senat ordained, That he should be enrolled formally in the number of allies: also, that he should bee provided of a lodging, and his ordinarie expences for the time allowed at the cities charge. Moreover, that two hundred acres of land in the territorie of Tarentum, which was confiscate unto the people of Rome, should be set out for him; and a messuage in Tarentum bought for his habitation. To see all this performed, *C. Decimus* the Pretor had in charge.

The Censors upon the * thirteenth of December, tooke a survey of the number of citizens and an estimate of their goods, more straightly than aforesaid. Many were unknighted and had their horses taken from them; and *P. Rutilius* among the rest, who when hee was Tribune of the commons, had been their accuser and called them to violently to reckoning: degraded hee was besides and displaced out of his owne tribe, and made no better than a verie labourer in the cities workes. Whereas the one moitie of the cities revenues and profits for that yeere, was set by M * *Tib. Sempronius* out of the money assigned unto him, purchased the house of *P. Africanus*, on the * back side of the old Curie nere the image of *Fortunus*: the shops also wherein they sold wooll and the other adjoining thereto, all to the use of the city. He caused likewise the stately pallace or hal to be built,

* *Tib. Sempronius*
br. 2.

* *pone Veteris*.

A built, which afterwards was called *Sempronia Basilica*.

Now was the yeere come about and well-neere at an end, when by reason of the great care principally about the Macedonian war, men began to talke, whom they were to create for Consuls against the next yeere, to achieve and end the said warre: Whereupon there passed a decree of the Senate, That *Cn. Servilius* with all speed possible, should make hast to Rome for to hold the generall assembly of election. This decree *Sulpitius* the Pretor within few daies after read to the Consull, to the end that hee should repaire home into the citie before the day prefixed. Whereupon both the Consull hastened; and the said election also was finished by the day appointed. Consuls these were created, *L. Aemilius Paulus* the second time (even fourteene yeeres after his former Consulship) with *C. Licinius Crassus*. The day following were the Pretours also chosen, to wit, *Cn. Baebius Tamphilus*, *L. Anicius Gallus*, *Cn. Octavius*, *P. Fonteius Balbus*, *Mar. Eburus Helus*, and *C. Papyrius Carbo*. The careful regard of the Macedonian warre caused everie thing to be done with greater expedition. And therefore it was thought meet, that these new elect magistrates should cast lots out of hand for their provinces, that it might be knowne to whether Consull Macedonie, and to which Pretour the conduct of the navie should fall; that thereupon they might presently consider and provide for all things requisite to the warre, and require the advice of the Senat as need required. Ordained it was, when the Consuls were entered into their office, to solemnise the Larine festivall holidays as soone as they might conveniently, without offence of the gods and breach of any religious order: that the Consull whose lot fell to goe into Macedonie, were not detained behind upon any occasion. After these ordinances, Italie and Macedonie were nominated for the provinces of the two Consuls; and for the Pretours, the two civill jurisdictions within the citie of Rome, the navie, Spaine, Sicilie, and Sardinia. In fine, Macedonie fell to *Aemilius* the Consull, and Italie to *Licinius*. Of Pretours, *Cn. Baebius* was lord chiefe justice of the pleas of citizens, and *L. Anicius* of aliens. And if the Senate thought good to send the navie any whither, *Cn. Octavius* had the charge thereof as L. admiral, *P. Fonteius* was appointed by lot L. deputie of Spaine, *M. Eburus* of Sicilie, and *C. Papyrius* of Sardinia.

All men soone saw, that *L. Aemilius* intended not to goe coldly about the managing of that warre; both for that he was not an ordinarie man, but singular above all other; and also because that night and day hee mused and studied upon nothing else, but that which was requisite and pertinent thereunto. The first thing of all wherewith he went in hand was this; a request to the Senat for to dispatch certaine delegat commissioners into Macedonie, to visit the armies there and the armada; to make true report upon their certaine knowledge, what was needfull to be done for the supply of the forces as well by land as sea; also to lie in espiall and estimate as much as possibly they could, the kings power; moreover, what quarter of the province was taken up by our men, and which the enemies kept; whether the Romanes lay encamped still within the forests and pases, or if they were passed beyond the streights and come into the plaine and even ground; who continued trustie allies, who were suspected, who hung in doubtfull tearmes, (as whose faith depended upon fortune;) who seemed to be undoubted and professed enemies; how great the provisions were of victuals; from whence they were conveyed by land; from what places transported by water; and lastly, what exploits had ben performed the sommer past both by land and sea: supposing, that by a light given and certain intelligence delivered of these things, he might be surely directed in the casting and laying of future plots and designments. So the Senat granted out a commission to *Cn. Servilius* the Consull, for to send as delegats into Macedonie; such as *L. Aemilius* thought good of. Whereupon within two daies after, *Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus* and *A. Licinius Nerva*, took their journey as legats and commissioners. Newes came in the latter end of this yeere, that it rained stones twise, namely, in the territorie of Rome, and likewise about Veij: and therefore a novendiall sacrifice was celebrated. This yeere there died certaine priests, namely, *Pub. Quintilius Varus*, a flamine of Mars, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* a Decemvir: in whose rume was substituted *Cneus Octavius*. And now noted it was, that the magnificence and port of the people of Rome encreased, for that in the plaies and games called Circenses exhibited by *Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica* and *Publius Lentulus*, Ediles Curule, threescore and three wild beasts out of Affricke, with fortie beares, and certain elephants, were baited to make sport unto the people.

When *L. Aemilius Paulus* and *P. Licinius* entered their Consulship upon the * fifteenth of March,

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cretly plotted with *Perseus* against the state of Rome: and if there had ben some doubt thereof before, yet the words of the embassadors erewhile delivered, made all cleere & put it past peradventure: and no meruaile, since that for the most part it falleth out, that such cautelous practices howsoever at the first they are covertly and cleanly caried, yet one time or other are bewraied and discovered. Let the Rhodians send their messengers over the world and spare not; let them make themselves judges to determine of war & peace at their pleasure: as for the Romans, they will take armes in hand, and lay them downe againe at the will and appointment of the gods in heaven. We are well holpen up now in deed, if wee must have the gods no more to be witnesses of our accords, but the Rhodians forsooth. And must the Romans (I would not else) be ruled by them, and withdraw their forces out of Macedonie? They will consider and advise themselves how to proceede against us! How shall wee doe then? What the Rhodians will see to, well may they perhaps themselves know: but the people of Rome (that is certaine) will consider indeed, and resolve, after that *Perseus* is vanquished (which they hope will not be long first) to recompence and requite every citie and state according as they have deserved in the service of this war. As sharpe as this answer was, yet they sent a reward to these embassadors, to every one of them 2000 asses; but none would they receive.

After this, were the letters read of *Q. Martius* the Consull, containing thus much, namely, How he had passed over the streights of the foret, and was come into Macedonie; where he had provision of victuals which the Pretour had given order for out of other places to serve for winter: and besides, had taken up of the Epirotes twentie thousand Modij of wheat and ten thousand of barley, for which corn they should make mony readie at Rome to content their embassadors. Also that they must send from Rome souldiours liveries and other apparell: and need hee had besides of two hundred horse or thereabout, especially of Numidia; for that in those parts hee had no plentie of any thing. Hereupon an act was granted out of the Senat, That all these things should be done according to the tenor of the Consull his letters. So *C. Sulpitius* the Pretor bargained for the transporting over into Macedonie of six hundred side cassocks and thirtie thousand short coats or jackets, together with horses; for to be disposed and distributed at the discretion of the Consull: and besides paid the embassadours of the Epirotes good money for their graine. He brought also into the Senate, *Onesimus* the son of *Pytho* a noble personage of Macedonie. This man was evermore of counsel with the King, persuading him to peace; and admonished him, that like as his father *Philip* before him, observed an order even to the time of death to read over twice a day from point to point the instrument of the accord and covenants betwene him and the Romans; so he also would take up that good custome & practise the same, if not so continually, yet at leastwise many a time and often. But when he could by no meanes skare him not avert his mind from warre, hee began at first to withdraw and absent himselfe, alledging for his excuse one while this occasion and other whiles that, because hee would not be present at the debating of those matters which hee approoved not: & in the end perceiving that he was had in some jealousie, and otherwhiles charged to be a traitor, he changed his allegiance, revolted to the Romans, and served the Consull in right good stead. This *Onesimus* being (as is before said) brought into the Senat-house, related all these premisses: whereupon the Senat ordained, That he should be enrolled formally in the number of allies: also, that he should bee provided of a lodging, and his ordinarie expences for the time allowed at the cities charge. Moreover, that two hundred acres of land in the territorie of Tarentum, which was confiscate unto the people of Rome, should be set out for him; and a messuage in Tarentum bought for his habitation. To see all this performed, *C. Decimus* the Pretor had in charge.

The Censors upon the *thirteenth of December, tooke a survey of the number of citizens and an estimate of their goods, more straightly than aforetime. Many were unknighted and had their horses taken from them; and *P. Rutilius* among the rest, who when hee was Tribune of the commons, had ben their accuser and called them to violently to reckoning: degraded hee was besides and displaced out of his owne tribe, and made no better than a verie labourer in the cities workes. Whereas the one moitie of the cities revenues and profits for that yeere, was set by and allowed unto them by the treasurers (according to an ordinance of the Senat) *Tib. Sempronius* out of the mony assigned unto him, purchased the house of *P. Africanus*, on the *back side of the old Curia neere the image of *Fortunus*: the shops also wherein they sold wooll and the other adjoining thereto, all to the use of the city. He caused likewise the stately pallace or hal to be built,

* 1. dibus Decembris.

* pone Veteres.

A built, which afterwards was called *Sempronia Basilica*.

Now was the yeere come about and well-neere at an end, when by reason of the great care principally about the Macedonian war, men began to talke, whom they were to create for Consuls against the next yeere, to achieve and end the said warre. Whereupon there passed a decree of the Senate, That *Cn. Servilius* with all speed possible, should make hast to Rome for to hold the generall assembly of election. This decree *Sulpitius* the Pretor within few daies after read to the Consull, to the end that hee should repaire home into the citie before the day prefixed. Whereupon both the Consull hastened; and the said election also was finished by the day appointed. Consuls these were created, *L. Aemilius Paulus* the second time (even fourteene yeeres after his former Consulship) with *C. Licinius Crassus*. The day following were the Pretours also chosen, to wit, *Cn. Baebius Tamphilus*, *L. Anicius Gallus*, *Cn. Octavius*, *P. Fonteius Balbus*, *M. Ebutius Helva*, and *C. Papyrius Carbo*. The carefull regard of the Macedonian warre caused everie thing to be done with greater expedition. And therefore it was thought meet, that these new elect magistrates should cast lots out of hand for their provinces, that it might be knowne to whether Consull Macedonie, and to which Pretour the conduct of the navie should fall; that thereupon they might presently consider and provide for all things requisite to the warre, and require the advice of the Senat as need required. Ordained it was, when the Consuls were entred into their office, to solemnise the Latine festivall holidays as soone as they might conveniently, without offence of the gods and breach of any religious order: that the Consull whose lot fell to goe into Macedonie, were not detained behind upon any occasion. After these ordinances, Italie and Macedonie were nominated for the provinces of the two Consuls; and for the Pretours, the two civill jurisdictions within the citie of Rome, the navie, Spaine, Sicilie, and Sardinia. In fine, Macedonie fell to *Aemilius* the Consull, and Italie to *Licinius*. Of Pretours, *Cn. Baebius* was lord chiefe justice of the pleas of citizens, and *L. Anicius* of aliens. And if the Senate thought good to send the navie any whither, *Cn. Octavius* had the charge thereof as L. admiral, *P. Fonteius* was appointed by lot L. deputie of Spaine, *M. Ebutius* of Sicilie, and *C. Papyrius* of Sardinia.

All men soone saw, that *L. Aemilius* intended not to goe coldly about the managing of that warre; both for that he was not an ordinarie man, but singular above all other, and also because that night and day hee mused and studied upon nothing else, but that which was requisite and pertainent thereunto. The first thing of all wherewith he went in hand was this; a request to the Senat for to dispatch certaine delegat commissioners into Macedonie, to visit the armies there and the armada; to make true report upon their certaine knowledge, what was needfull to be done for the supply of the forces as well by land as sea; also to lie in espiall and estimate as much as possibly they could, the kings power; moreover, what quarter of the province was taken up by our men, and which the enemies kept; whether the Romanes lay encamped still within the forests and pases, or if they were passed beyond the streights and come into the plaine and even ground; who continued trustie allies, who were suspected, who hung in doubtfull tearmes, (as whose faith depended upon fortune;) who seemed to be undoubted and professed enemies; how great the provisions were of victuals; from whence they were conveyed by land; from what places transported by water; and lastly, what exploits had ben performed the sommer past both by land and sea: supposing, that by a light given and certein intelligence delivered of these things, he might be surely directed in the calling and laying of future plots and designments. So the Senat granted out a commission to *Cn. Servilius* the Cos. for to send as delegats into Macedonie; such as *L. Aemilius* thought good of. Whereupon within two daies after, *Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus* and *A. Licinius Nerva*, took their journey as legats and commissioners. Newes came in the latter end of this yeere, that it rained stones twice, namely, in the territorie of Rome, and likewise about Veij: and therefore a novendiall sacrifice was celebrated. This yeere there died certaine priests, namely, *Pub. Quintilius Varus*, a flamine of *Mars*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* a Decemvir: in whose rounge was substituted *Cn. Octavius*. And now noted it was, that the magnificence and port of the people of Rome encreased, for that in the plaies and games called *Circenses* exhibited by *Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica* and *Publius Lentulus*, *Aediles Curule*, threescore and three wild beasts out of Affricke, with fortie beares, and certain elephants, were baited to make sport unto the people.

When *L. Aemilius Paulus* and *P. Licinius* entered their Consulship upon the *fifteenth of March,

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March,

March, which was the beginning of the yeere following, the LL. of the Senate were in great expectation, and especially what the Consull would propose unto them as touching the Macedonian warre, which was his proper province. But *Paulus* said that he had nothing to propound and put to counsell, seeing that the Delegates aforesaid were not yet returned. And at Brundisium (quoth he) they now are, having twice in their voiage upon the sea been driven backe by tempest and cast upon Dyrhachium. But so soone as I am once advertised and have perfect knowledge of those things that first are to bee knowne, I will then consult; and that will bee within very few daies. Now to the end that nothing might stay & hinder his journey, he told them, that the even before the Ides of Aprill, was appointed for the solemnitie of the Latine festiual hollydaies. And after sacrifice duly performed [upon the Albane hill] the Senate should no sooner ordaine, but he and *Cn. Octavius* would set forth and put themselves on their way. As for *C. Licinius* his Colleague, his charge should bee in his absence to provide and send all things requisite and needfull for this warre. Meane while (quoth hee) the embassies of forraigne nations may have audience given. So when hee had sacrificed as the manner was, before they tooke in hand the great affaires of State, the embassadours of Alexandria, from king *Ptolomeus* and queene *Cleopatra*, were called in. Clad they were in poore array, the haire of their head long, their beards side and overgrown; and carrying in their hands branches of the Olive tree, they entred into the Senate, and fell grovelling and prostrate upon the floore. Their habite and apparrell was not so simple and mournfull, their looke and countenance not so heave and sorrowful, but their speech was more piteous & lamentable. *Antiochus* now king of Syria, & who had sometime ben hostage at Rome under a colourable pretence of honestie and equitie to restore *Ptolomeus* the elder to his kingdom, made hot war upon his younger brother, who then held Alexandria; and after a victorie obtained in sea-fight neere Pelusium, he made a bridge of haste work upon the river Nilus, over which he transported his armie, & now laid siege to Alexandria: so as by all likelihood he would shortly by way of conquest be lord of a most rich and wealthe kingdom. In which regard, these embassadours made pittifull mone and greevous complaint, beseeching withall the Senate, of their aid and succour to that realme and those kings, who were such friends to their siegnorie and dominion. For perswaded they were that the people of Rome had done so much for *Antiochus* in particular, and were of that account and authoritie with all other kings and nations, that if they would but send their embassadours to intimate thus much, That the Senat was not well pleased with waging warre upon confederate kings, he would presently raise his siege, depart from before the walls of Alexandria, and withdraw his armie cleane away into Syria. But if they protracted the time long and delayed thus to doe, then should *Ptolomeus* and *Cleopatra* within a while bee driven out of their realme, and forced to come to Rome with some shamefull spot of dishonour to the people of Rome, in that they had not set to their helping hand in that extreme danger of all their fortunes. The LL. of the Senate moved with compassion at the praiers of these Alexandrines, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenas*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hostilius* as embassadours to determine and make an end of the warre betweene those two princes. In commission they had first to goe unto king *Ptolomeus*, and then to *Antiochus*, and to let them both understand, that unlesse they surceased and gave over armes, they would take him neither for friend nor foe, whom it was long of that the warre was not given over. So these three together with the Alexandrine embassadours, tooke their leave within three daies and departed. Then the foresaid Delegates returned from out of Macedonie, the last day of the festiual games to *Minerva* called *Quinquartus*, and not before they were welcome; for so long looked for they were, that had it not bene eventide when they came, the Consuls would immediately have called the Senat together. But the morrow after, the Senate sat, and those commissioners had audience given. Report they made first, That with more daunger than profite ensuing, the armie entred into Macedonie over those pases and streights, where was no way and passage at all. Item, That the king kept the countrey of Pieria, into which the Roman armie was now advanced, and were so neere encamped one to the other, that nothing but the river Enipeus between kept them asunder; that neither the king made offer of battell, nor the Romans were of sufficient strength to challenge and force him to fight; moreover, that the winter had overtaken them (a time unseasonable for warlike exploits) that the soldiors were nuzzled and nourished in idleness, notwithstanding they had victuals to serve no longer than fixe daies; also, that by report the Macedonians were thirtie thousand strong. Were it so that *Ap. Claudius* had a good and sufficient power about *Lychnidum*, hee might bee able to trouble

A trouble the king, and put him to his trumpe in a battell; but now both *Appius* and the garrison with him, are themselves in extreme jeopardie, unlesse with speed either a complete armie bee sent thither, or els they drawne from thence where they are, into Macedonie. Over and besides they related, how from the campe they went toward the fleet, where they heard say, that some of the sea-faring men and mariners were dead of sickness, others, & namely those of Sicilie above the rest, were gone home againe to their owne houses, inso much as there were not men ynow to serve the ships; and those that remained, had neither their wages paid and money to put in their purses, nor liveries and apparell to hang on their backs. As for *Eumenes* and his fleet, they (like ships driven to a coast by force of wind and weather, without any other cause els) were come and gone againe; and it seemed that the mind of that king was not well settled and resolved. But as they reported all of *Eumenes* suspiciously, and in doubtfull termes, so they assured them of the singular fidelitie and constancie of *Attalus* his brother. When these Legates had spoke, then said *L. Aemilius*, Let us debate now in counsell what is to be done as concerning the said warre. So the Senate ordained, that for eight legions, the Consuls and the people should elect an equall number of martiall Tribunes or Colonels, the one as many as the other; & that none should be created and advanced to that place for that yeare, but such as had borne some honourable dignitie: then, out of all those Tribunes thus elected, that *L. Aemilius* should make choise for those two legions which were to goe into Macedonie, of whom he would himselfe: also, that after the solemnitie of the Latine feasts performed, *L. Aemilius* the Consull, and *C. Octavius* the Pretour and admirall of the fleet, should depart into their province. A third was joined in commission with them, to wit, *L. Anicius* the Pretor and lord cheefe justice for strangers. And ordained it was, that he should passe into Illyricum about *Lichnidum*, for to succeed *Ap. Claudius*. The charge of taking musters was put upon *C. Licinius* the Consull. Hee had commaundement to enroll seven thousand foot citizens of Rome, and two hundred horsemen, and to charge the Latine allies with a levie of seven thousand footmen and foure hundred horse. Also to send letters unto *Cn. Servilius*, who governed the province of Gaule, to enroll six hundred men of arms. This armie he had commaundement to send with all convenient speed to his colleague into Macedonie, so as in that province there should not be above two legions, and the same full and complete, containing six thousand foot & three hundred horse apeece. As for the surcease, as well of the Cavallerie as Infanterie, they should be disposed and bestowed in sundrie garrisons. And all such as were unmeet for service, were to be cassed and sent away. Moreover, the allies were put to set out and find ten thousand foot and eight hundred horse. And those were to serve in garrison under *Anicius*, over and above the two legions (which hee was commaunded to lead into Macedonie) consisting of five thousand and two hundred foot, and three hundred horsemen either of them. Also for the navie were enrolled five thousand mariners and rowers. *Licinius* the Consull was appointed to defend and keepe in obedience his province with two legions, and to take besides of allies ten thousand foot and fixe hundred horse.

After these ordinances of the Senate were accomplished, *L. Aemilius* the Consull went forth of the Senate house into the common place before the assembly of the people, where hee made a speech unto them in this wise following: Me thinkes I perceive and see, my good friends and citizens of Rome, that yee have shewed more apparent tokens of joy and gratulation in my behalfe, for that the province of Macedonie is fallen to my lor; than either at the time that I was declared and saluted Consull, or that day whereupon I first entred into government: and for no other reason in the world, but upon the opinion which you have conceived, that the Macedonie an warre, which hath so long continued, may be brought by my meanes to such an end as becometh the greatieffe and majestie of the people of Rome. And for mine owne selfe I have good hope, that as the gods in favour have directed this sortilege, so they will bee present and propitious unto mee in performing the service. In these matters, I say, I am but carried partly with conceit and partly with hope. But this one thing I am assured of; yea and I dare affirme and promise on my owne head, that I will endeavour my selfe and employ all that is in me, that this your good opinion of mee may not bee in vaine conceived. As for all things necessarie and requisite to this warre, both the Senat hath ordained; and also, for that they have thought good I should depart immediately (for which my selfe am well pleased and contented, neither in me there shall be any delay) my colleague *C. Licinius*, a singular man and of great valour, will provide with as great care and diligence, as if himselfe had the full conduct of this warre. For the effecting whereof

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The Oration of
L. Aemilius to
the people of
Rome.

see, that whatsoever I shall write either to the Senate or to you, yee beleefe for true: as for running rumours which have no certaine author, give no care and beleefe thereto; neither feed them with your foolish credulitie. For now adaies verily, (a thing that I have observed to fall out ordinarily in this warre) there is no man setteth so little by the common brutes that are blazed abroad, but his spirit and courage may be thereby quailed and daunted. In all meetings now, yea and at every board (I would not else) yee shall have them; that in their table talk will lead your armies into Macedonie: that know where they are to lodge and encampe; what commodious places are to be seized and kept with garriſons at what time and through which passages the chury must be made into Macedonie; where the garnets and storehouses for corn should be build and set; which way by land and sea both, the provisions of victuals ought to be brought; when the time serveth to encounter and fight with the enemy, and when to sit still and rest. Neither are they content to set downe and pronounce, what is to be done for the better: but if ought happen to be managed otherwise than they have thought and judged expedient, they are so bold as to controll the Consull; yea and readie to commenſe processe against him judicially. These are throwd hinderances, I may tell you, to warriors and men of action. For all men have not the gift of resolution and constancie to neglect the speech and talke of men, as sometimes Fabius had, who chose rather to have his authoritie and commaund diminished and impaired by the follie and vanitie of fewd people, than with their favorable applause and good opinion to manage his affaires but untowardly. Yet take me not so, as if I were a man that would have no captaines to be admonished and advised by others; nay contrariwise, of this judgement I am, That hee who worketh all by his selfe-wit and followeth onely his owne head, is selfe-willed and proud, and nothing sage and wise. What is then to be done? First in mine opinion, Generals and commanders of armies; are to be instructed by discreet and prudent men; by such as are skilfull by profession in feats of armes and militarie science; by those also that by long practise are thoroughly experienced: nay more than that, they are to be taught and counsailed by them, that are usually present and conversant in the execution of affaires, who daily see the vantage of places, marke the proceeding of the enemies, and observe the opportunities of times: those (I say) who as passengers in one ship, are partakers of the same daunger. If there be any man therefore, who is verily perswaded of himselfe, that he is able to direct me and give me any counsell (in the conduct of this warre which I have in charge) for the good of the common weale, let him come forth, and not denie his helping hand to the weale publick, and go along with mee into Macedonie. Furnish him I shall, with ship, with horse, with tent-roume, with conduct money, and all things necessary for his voiage. If any be loth so to do, & had rather sit warm at home, preferring the ease and repose of the cittie before the travaile and paine of warfare, let him not here on the land take upon him to play the pilot and steersman at sea. Matter hee shall find enough within the cittie to talke of, & seeke no farther; let him hold him there and keep his babble & prattle to himselfe: know he (whosoever he is) that we will content our selves with our own counsell about us in the camp. After this oration ended, & the Latine festivals solemnized the day before the calends of March, together with the sacrifice duly celebrated upon the Albane mount; the Consull and the Pretour *Cn. Octavius* departed incontinently into Macedonie. It is recorded in the Chronicles, that the Consull was honoured with a greater frequentie that accompanied him, than usually had beene knowne: and that men presaged in manner assuredly, the end of the Macedonian warre: how the Consull should have a speedie returne, and obtaine a brave and glorious triumph.

* The last of February.

During these occurrents in Italie, *Perſeus* who (because he was to be at the charges of disbursing money) never thought of it, to goe through with that which before he had begun, namely to adjoine unto him *Gentius* king of the Illyrians: so soone as hee perceived that the Romanes were entered the streights, and the warre come now to this extremitie of hazard; thought good now to make that sure and put it off no longer. Whereas therefore he had covenanted and promised by his embassadour *Hippas* three hundred talents of silver, with condition also, that for security hostages should be put in of both parties interchaungeably; hee sent *Pantaucus* one of his most trustie friends, to dispatch and make an end of this affaire. This *Pantaucus* met the Illyrian king at Medeon in the countrie of Labeatia: where hee both tooke an oath of the king, and also received his hostages. *Gentius* likewise sent his embassadour named *Olympio*, to demand the semblable oath of *Perſeus*; & require hostages accordingly: with him were certain persons sent of purpose

A purpose to receive the money, who also by the advise of the said *Pantaucus* were to goe in embassie with the Macedonians to Rhodes: and the men hereto appointed were *Parmenio* & *Morſus*. But they had in charge and commission, after the oath taken, after hostages & money received, to go to Rhodes, and not before. Good hope they conceived that the Rhodians might be solicited and iuduced to take armes against the Romanes, by using the name of these two kings at once: and this accompt they made, that if this state which carried the renowne and honour above all others for sea-service, would once combine and band with them; they should leave the Romanes no hope at all, either on land or sea. When these Illyrians arrived, *Perſeus* departed with all his cavallerie from before the river Enipeus where hee was encamped, and encountered them neere Dium. There, were all the accomplements performed according to the covenants, in the sight and mids of the cavallerie, whom the king of purpose would needs have to be present at this accord of association made betweene him and king *Gentius*, supposing that it would comfort and encourage them the more. So the hostages were given and taken in the presence of them all. They also who were to receive the money were sent to Pella where the king his treasure lay: and those that should goe to Rhodes with the Illyrian embassadours, had commaundement to imbarke at Thessalonica. Now was *Metrodorus* there, lately come from Rhodes: who assured them by the meanes of *Dion* and *Polyaratus*, two principall personages of that cittie, that the Rhodians were prest and readie to warre. Whereupon the said *Metrodorus* was appointed the chiefe in this embassage of Macedonians and Illyrians together. At the same time likewise was addressed and imparted both unto *Eumenes* and also unto *Antiochus*, such advise and counsell in common, as the present condition wherein their affairs stood, might minister & affoord argument. Namely, that a free citie and a king were two by nature, enemies that possibly could not sort together: That the people of Rome went in hand with them severally one after another: & (that which was a greater indignitie & unsupportable) used the force of kings to overthrow the state of kings. For so, by the aid of *Attalus* they had brought his father *Philip* to ruin: by the help likewise of *Eumenes*, and partly also of his father *Philip*, *Antiochus* was defeated; and even now against himselfe both *Eumenes* and *Prusias* were put in arms. If the kingdome of Macedonie were once subverted, have at Asia next; which the Romanes have in some part seized already for their owne; under a colour of enfranchising cities and setting them free: and then they will not leave untill they have Syria too. For now is *Prusias* preferred in honour before *Eumenes*; and *Antiochus* for all his conquest is chased and debarred out of Egypt, which ought to have bene the recompence for the war by him enterprised & achieved. In these regards *Perſeus* advertised each of them to consider and provide therefore either to force the Romanes to make peace with him, or else to hold them for the common enemies of all kings, in case they persisted still in so unjust a war. The commission that the embassadours had to *Antiochus* was avert & open: but unto *Eumenes* an embassadour was sent under a pretence of ransoming certain captives; but practised there were under hand more secret complots; which caused *Eumenes* even then to be suspected & odious unto the Romanes, yea, & charged afterward with more grievous matters, although untruly. For he was reputed little better than a traitor and a professed enemy to their state; whereas indeed both he & *Perſeus* strove who could compass, surprise, and overtake one another better in fraud and avarice. Now there was one *Cydas* a Cretensian, an inward and most secret friend to *Eumenes*: this man had communed first at Amphipolis with one *Chimarus* a countie man of his, who served under *Perſeus* in the wars; and afterwards at Demetrias conferred with another named *Menecrates*; also with a certaine third person called *Antiochus*, all captaines to king *Perſeus*, even under the very wals of the foresaid cittie. Over and besides, *Eropon* who at this time was sent, had beforetime ben employed in two severall embassies to the same *Eumenes*. These secret communications and embassages were badly spoken of; but no man knew what was concluded between the two kings. Howbeit thus the case stood; *Eumenes* as he had no mind nor intention to war upon *Perſeus*, so he was not desirous in his hart that he should have the victory of the Romanes; not so much for the old enmitie which had ben between both their fathers, as for the hateful quarrels kindled among themselves. For this concurrence and emulation there was between these two princes, that *Eumenes* could never abide to see *Perſeus* for to purchase so great welch, & so much honor, as he must needs acquire by the conquest of the Romanes: he saw moreover, that *Perſeus* from the first beginning of this war, fought by all meanes possible for peace, & the neerer he was to daunger & damage, aimed thereat every day more than other; employing his whole studie and care about nothing els.

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He perceived also that among the Romanes, because the warre grew to be longer than they hoped and looked for, as well their captains as the Senat were well enough content and very desirous to see an end once of so troublesome, hurtfull, and difficult a warre. Knowing thus as he did, the mind and will of both parties, he inclined and framed to that which of it selfe as he thought might fall out, where the stronger was wearie and the weaker in feare: and therein desired he to shew his double diligence, thereby to win a thicke and purchase favour of both parts. For he entred into bargain with *Perseus* for a summe of money, one while not to aid the Romanes either by land or sea; another whiles to be a ritans for peace and to treat with the Romanes thereabout, and not to intermeddle at all in the warre; but to sit still: he capitulated (I say) for a thousand and five hundred talents; making semblance and shew, that for the assurance both of the one and the other, ready he was not only to sweare, but also to put in good and sufficient hostages. *Perseus* was the willingest man in the world to set in hand with this, as being driven thereto by the exigent of feare: and presently without delay dealt with him as touching the hostages which were to be received: and in fine concluded it was, that they should upon their deliverie and receipt be sent into Creete. But when they came once to talke of the money aforesaid, hee hasted and stucke at that: and to say a truth, either of these two summes (between princes of so great name and honour) was but a base and dishonest consideration; a thing much unfitting (ywis) the giver, and more the receiver. *Perseus* verily for his part, in hope to purchase peace with the Romanes, was willing enough to be at the expence of so much money: many, hee said that he would make payment thereof when the thing was done and accomplished: and in the meane time lay it up safe for that purpose within the temple of Samothracia. *Eumenes* againe, considering that the said Island was an appertenance to the dominion of *Perseus*, could not see but it was all one for it to lie there and in Pella: and therefore was earnest to have part therof in hand. Thus betwene them there was nothing but lying in the wind for the vantage, who could overreach the other: and what was gained in the end but infamie and discredit? As for *Perseus*, hee not onely let fall this design and lost his opportunitie, (and that by his niggardie only) when by the means of *Eumenes* he might have had either his money sure enough, or peace for it, (which indeed he should have bought, if it had cost him the one halfe of his kingdom,) and being once received into grace and favour [of the people of Rome] hee might have defamed and brought into obloquie and daunger his concurrent, by charging him to have received a peece of money for a bribe, and so justly have set the Romans upon his top: but also the association with king *Gentius* which now was at the point of a contract, was neglected; yea and a mightie army of Gauls spread at that time all over Illyricum and presented unto him, was even then refused and discharged by this pinching and saving of his mony. For there came and offered their service ten thousand horsemen and as many foot, and those so well practised and so good of footmanship, that they were able to hold out and keepe pace with horses, yea and run by their sides: such (I say) as when the riders were unhorsed and fallen, could vault and mount on the empty horse backs ready to fight in their turnes. These had bargained to have for pay every horseman ten *Philip peeces [of gold] paid down aforehand, and a footman five, and their captaine a thousand. *Perseus* departed from his leaguer lying neere the river Enipeus, and with the one halfe of his own forces met these comming upon the way, and caused proclamation to be made in all townes and villages neere the high waies, To make ready and bring abroad their provision of victuals, and see that there were plentie of corne, of wine, and cattails. Himselfe brought with him horses and trappings, and fine souldiours cassocks, to bestow as presents upon the chiefe of them, with some litle sprinkling of gold to deale among a few of them; supposing that all the rest besides of common souldiours, might be drawne on and retained with bare hope. Thus he came to the citie of Alamana, and encamped upon the banke of the river Axius. But the armie of these Galatians were lodged about Desudaba in the countrey of Macedonia, and rested there expecting the payment of the money aforesaid; according to covenant. But *Perseus* sent unto them *Antigonus* one of his gallants and courriers, to will and command the multitude of the armie to dislodge and remove to Bylazora, a place so called in Paronia, and a good sort of their chiefe to repaire unto him. Now were they threescore and fiftene miles from the river Axius and the kings campe. And when *Antigonus* had delivered unto them this mandate as hee had in charge, and added besides, with what care and diligence the king had laid his provisions by the way of all things in great plentie for the armie, and with what gifts of apparrell, silver, and horses, hee purposed to receive

* Philippeus nummus, was somewhat lesse than our six pence of 20 sh. or 3 denari.

A receive and entertaine their captains at their first comming unto him: As for that (say they) we shall take knowledge thereof when we are in presence personally: but now for this time, wee demand, Whether yee have brought with you in readie coine according to bargain, that gold which is to be paid to the souldiours, as well horse as foot? And when he could make no answer thereto, but was set *non plus*; then said *Clondicus* their prince, Goe your waies then (quoth hee) and tell your king and master, that the Gauls unless they may receive the gold, and hostages besides for their securitie, will not stirre one foot forward. Relation beeing made hereof unto the king, hee called his counsell: and when it was soone seene what they all would advise him to doe; himselfe, who could skill better to keepe his money together, than hold the roiall estate of his kingdome, began to enter into a discourse of the disloyaltie and savage nature of these Gauls; making remonstrance, how he had experience by the calamities and losses of many before him, that dangerous it was to receive so great a multitude of them within Macedonia, for feare the Gauls would be found worse neighbors, than the Romans were enemies. Five thousand horsemen are sufficient (quod he) and so many well we may have good use of in wars, and need not be afraid of them for their number. But every man saw well enough, that it was the waging of such a number that he feared, and nothing els: but when no man durst give him counsell, albeit he seemed to aske their advise, *Antigonus* was sent again with a message unto the Gauls, That the king stood in need of five thousand horsemen and no more, as for all the rest, he weighed them not. When these Barbarians heard that, all the rest began to mutter and grumble, yea, and to take great scorne and indignation, that they were levied and departed out of their native country for nothing: but *Clondicus* redemanded, Whether he would make present pay to those five thousand, according to covenant, yea or nay? but seeing that he was to seek, and made shifts to avoid a direct answer, he let this deceitfull messenger goe his waies, and did no harme unto his person (a thing that *Antigonus* himselfe would scarcely have thought could possibly have been:) And so after they had given the waite unto those parts of Thracia which lay neere to their way, they returned backe againe to the river Ister, Which power of men, if it had passed the streights of Perrebaia into Thessalie against the Romanes (although *Perseus* had not stirred at all, but sitten still at Enipeus) might not only have spoiled and laid bare the territorie all about, & empeached the Romanes for expecting any victuals there, but also destroyed the townes utterly, whiles *Perseus* held the Romanes play at Enipeus that they could not relieve and succour the cities of their allies and confederates. Nay the very Romanes should have had ynough to doe to looke unto themselves, considering that there was no tarrying for them, after that Thessalie was lost, which nourished and maintained their army: and passe forward they could not possibly, having the Macedonian campe to affront them. But *Perseus* by that deed, as he confirmed the hearts of the Romanes, so he quailed not a little the courages of the Macedonians, who depended upon the hope and expectancie of their aid. By the same miserable pinching of his, hee estranged also the heart of king *Gentius* from him. For when as at Pella he had paid three hundred talents unto those that were sent of purpose from *Gentius* to receive the same, wel content he was that they should seale up that mony. Afterwards he sent unto *Pantaenus* ten talents, and commanded him to deliver the same to the king in person: as for the rest signed up with the seale of the Illyrians, he commanded his owne men who had the convoy thereof, in going with it to take small journeys, and when they were come to the utmost frontiers of Macedonia, there to rest and attend the messengers from him. *Gentius*, after he had received as earnest that small portion of the whole sum aforesaid, being called upon continually by *Pantaenus* and set on to provoke the Romans by some hostilitie or other, made no more adoe, but committed to prison *M. Perpetua* and *L. Petilius*, who chanced at that time to come unto him in embassage. Which when *Perseus* once heard, he had enough and thought verily that *Gentius* had done that, whereby of necessitie hee must be forced to wage warre with the Romans: and thereupon sent out presently to call those backe who had the carriage of the foresaid talents; as if he had studied and sought for nothing more, than to reserve as great a bootie as possibly hee could, for the Romanes to enjoy, after that they had vanquished and subdued him. *Eropon* returned likewise from *Eumenes*, and wist not what had ben contrived secretly betwene them. That their treatie was about certaine captives, they themselves had given forth abroad, and likewise *Eumenes* advertised the Consul so much, for avoiding of all suspicion.

Perseus after the returne of *Eropon* from *Eumenes*, was much dismaied and cast downe. Whereupon

upon, he sent *Antenor* and *Callippus* (admirals of his navie) to Tenedos, with fortie pinnaces, unto which number five Gallions were adjoined; who from that coast dispersing themselves all about the Ilands Cyclades, might waite and guard the lighters and hoies charged with corne, as they failed to Macedonie. These ships were put to sea at Cassandrea, and first they fell within the havens that lie under the foot of the mountaine Athos, and from thence passed to Tenedos with pleasure in calme sea: where finding certaine Rhodian open ships riding in the harbour, they spake courteously to *Eudamus* their admirall, & let them alone without any hurt at all done unto them. But afterwards upon knowledge, that fittie hulkes of theirs on another side were shut up & pent in by the warre-ships of king *Eumenes* (which rid in the mouth of the haven and were commaunded by *Darius*) hee turned about in all hast, and disperfed the enemies ships with a suddaine terror that hee put them in, and sent the said hulkes and vessels of burden into Macedonie, with a convoy of tenne brigantines to waite them over, with this charge, That after they had conducted them past all daunger into place of safetie, they should returne againe to Tenedos. After nine daies they retired toward the fleet ankering then in the rode of Sigæum. From thence they crossed over to Subota, an Iland lying betwene Elea and Athos. It fortuned, that the morrow after the fleet was arrived at Subota, five and thirtie ships which they call Hippagogæ [serving for the transporting of horses] which came from Elea, having aboard certaine horsemen of Gaule and their horses, made head toward Phanæ, a cape or promontorie of the Chians, from whence they might cut over into Macedonie. And these were sent from *Eumenes* to *Attalus*. *Antenor* being advertised by a signall given him from a watch-tower, that those ships were discovered under saile in the open sea, loosed from Subota; and betwene the cape of Erythræa and Chios, where the sea is most narrow, hee encountered them. The admirals of king *Eumenes* thought nothing lesse, than that any fleet of Macedonians were abroad in those seas; but imagined one while they were Romanes, otherwhiles, that it was *Attalus* or some sent backe from *Attalus*, who from out of the Romane campe were sailing toward Pergamus. But as they approached neerer, they tooke knowledge by the forme and fashion of their pinnaces who they were, by their hastie rowing also and making head full against them, they were out of all doubt that their enemies were at hand. Then were they mightily afraid, as having no hope to resist and withstand them, considering the ships were unweldie and unhandsome, and the Gauls besides could hardly brooke the very sea without any other trouble. Some of them therefore, who were neerer to the firme land, saved themselves by swimming to Erythræa; others set up their sailes, and being cast upon the Iland Chios, forsooke their horses, and ran as fast as they could for refuge to the citie. But the barks discharged their armed souldiours neerer to the citie in a more commodious place for landing, where the Macedonians overtook the Gauls and slew them; some in the way as they fled, others before the very gate of the citie, being kept out and excluded from thence: for the Chians not knowing either who fled or who pursued, had shut their gates upon them. Nine hundred *Gallio-greeces or very neere lost their lives and were hewen in peeces, and two hundred taken alive. As for the horses, part perished in the sea after the ships were split and broken, and the Macedonians hought and cut the strings of their gambrels of as many of them as they found upon the shore. Twentie of the best & fairest horses together with the prisoners, *Antenor* commanded that those ten barks which he had sent before, should transport to Thessalonica, and return againe with all speed to the fleet, for that hee would expect their comming at Phanæ. The fleet staid about three daies under the citie side, but afterwards went forward to Phanæ; and when the tenne pinnaces aforesaid were returned sooner than they looked for, they set up saile in the Ægean sea for Delos.

In this while the Roman embassadors, *C. Popilius*, *C. Decimius*, and *C. Hostilius*, departed from Chalcis, and arrived with three Quinquereme galeaces at Delos, where they found fortie Macedonian pinnaces, and five roiall Quinquereme galeaces of king *Eumenes*. The holinesse of the temple and island wherein it stood afforded securitie to them all, so as there was no hurt done nor violence offered from one to another. And therefore, as well Romanes as Macedonians, and besides, the sailers and mariners of king *Eumenes* conversed together, entermingled one with another in the temple, and the religious devotion of the place yielded them truce and surcease of hostilitie.

Antenor the admirall of king *Persus*, when hee was advertised from the watch and sentinell, that certaine ships of burden were seene a farre off in the sea, set saile and made after them him-

A selfe with part of his pinnaces, and part of them hee bestowed in awaite among the Cyclades, and saving those that directed their course toward Macedonie, he either drowned or spoiled them all; *Popilius* did the best he could, and *Eumenes* with his ships likewise, to save some; but the Macedonians, who sailed by night with two or three pinnaces at the most, deceived them, and were not discovered.

Much about this time the Macedonian and Illyrian embassadors came together to Rhodes; who carried the greater authoritie & credit with the Rhodians, by reason not only of the comming of their brigantines, which failed to and fro raunging over the Ægean sea, and among the Cyclades, but also by the conjunction and association of the two kings, *Persus* and *Gentius*, together with a rumour that ran of the Gauls, who were comming with a great number, as well of horse as foot. And now both *Dion* and *Polyarchus*, who tooke part with *Persus*, tooke more courage and heart unto them: by whose meanes there was not onely a gracious answer returned to the kings, but also pronounced openly it was, that by their authoritie they would make an end of the warre: in regard whereof, the kings also for their parts were to bee disposed and well willing to accept of peace.

Now was it the prime of the spring, when as the new generals were arrived into their provinces: *Æmylius* the Consull into Macedonie; *Ocellianus* to the navie at Oream; and *Anicius* into Illyricum, whose commission was to levie warre against *Gentius*. This *Gentius* was the sonne of *Plauratus* king of the Illyrians, and *Eurydica* was his mother: two brethen he had, to wit, *Plator* of the whole blood by father and mother both, and *Caravantius* onely by the mothers side. This C halfe brother he lesse suspected, by reason of his base parentage from the father; but as for *Plator* he murdered, together with two especiall friends of his: *Ettrius* and *Epicadus* (brave men of action) to the end that he might reigne in more safetie and securitie. The voice goeth, that hee carried an envious eye to that brother of his, for that hee had espoused *Etuta* the daughter of *Hannus* the prince of the Dardaniens; as if by this marriage he meant to make himselfe strong and combine with the Dardanian nation: and the more likelihood this carried with it after hee married the dauidess indeed. When he had made away *Plator*, and rid himselfe of the feare that he might have of his brother, he began to molest and oppresse his owne naturall subjects: and as hee was by nature given to violence, so that indisposition of his hee set on fire with untemperate drinking of wine. But as we said before, being mooved and incited to warre against the Romanes, hee assembled all his forces together unto Lissus, to the number of fifteen thousand armed men, and sent his brother from thence with a thousand foot and 50 horse against the Cavians, for to subdue that nation either by force or feare, whiles himselfe led his armie five miles against the citie Bassania from Lissus. Now were the Bassanians confederat allies of the Romans: and therefore when they were first solicited by messengers to yeeld, they resolved rather to endure a siege than doe so. As for *Caravantius* hee was peaceably and friendly received at his first comming into Durium, a town of the Cavians: but *Caravantis* another citie, made the gates fast against him: and as he gave the waite to the territorie about it, certaine of his souldiours straggling here and there, were by the peafants and villagers killed, who came forth and made head against them.

E And now by this time *Appius Claudius* having taken with him, over and above his own armie, the auxiliaries of the Bullians, Appolloniates, and Dyrrhachians, dislodged out of the place where he had wintered, & encamped neer the river Genusius. For hearing of the alliance made betwene *Persus* and *Gentius*, and incensed besides with the outrage committed upon the Romane embassadors, whom *Gentius* put in prison, he resolved certainly to war upon him. *Anicius* the Pretour being at that time at Apollonia, and advertised in what manner the affairs stood in Illyricum, dispatched letters beforehand to *Appius*: willing him to attend at Genusius for his comming: and so within three daies after came himselfe to the campe there; and to those aids which he had of his own, he took with him two thousand foot & two hundred horse, drawn out of the youth and flower of the Partines. Of the Infanterie *Eppidas* had the conduct, and *Agathus* F commaunded the Cavallerie. With this power hee prepared to goe into Illyricum, principally for to levie the siege before Bassania: but this designe projected by him, was unperched by a bruit that was blowne of certaine pinnaces which waisted and spoiled the sea-coasts. A fleet they were together of eightie saile, sent from *Gentius* by the instigation of *Pantakeus*, to fortay the territories of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium. Then the fleet

which

* Note that
Gauls, Galati-
ans, and Gallo-
greeces be all
one in this book;
although Livie
seeme them on-
ly, Gallos.

Which beeing surrendered, they submitted also and yielded themselves. And so consequently, G other cities of that countrie one after another did the semblable: and the inclination and disposition of mens minds that way, was much set forward by the clemencie and justice of the Romane Pretour which he used toward all. Then they marched to Scodra, the capitall place and seat-towne of the warre: not onely for that *Gentius* had seized upon it for his owne selfe, as the chiefe strength and fortresse of all his realme, but also because it was the strongest peece of all the Labeates nation, and very difficult for access. Enclosed it is with two rivers: to wit, *Glausa* which runneth along the East side of the citie, & *Barbana* on the West, arising out of the mountaine *Labeatis*. These two rivers joine in one, and are discharged together into the great river *Oridus*: which springing from the mountaine *Scodrus*, and encreased still with the confluence of many other waters and rivers, falleth at length into the Adriaticke sea. This *Scodrus* is the highest hill by odds of all other in those quarters: on the East it hath *Dardania* under it, on the South *Macedonie*, and *Illyricum* on the West. Albeit this towne was strongly situate, by the naturall site of the place, and defended by the whole nation of the *Illyrians* and the king himselfe in person: yet the Romane Pretour (encouraged with the good successe he had at the first, & supposing the fortune of the totall warre would be answerable to so happie beginnings, and that a suddaine terrour also would serve him in much stead and prevaile) approached the walles of the towne with his armie readie embattailed, and displayed his banners against it. Now if they had shut their gates, and defended their wals and towers over the gates, with armed guards bestowed accordingly, surely they had repulsed the Romanes from the wals, and defeated them of their enterprize cleane: but they yielded forth of the gate, and in the plaine and even ground gave battle with more animositie and courage, than they maintained it with persistence. For being discomfited and driven backe, and in the chase huddled by heaps together as they fled, after 200 and above were slaine in the very streight entrance of the gate, they put the rest within in such a fright, that *Gentius* incontinently sent unto the Pretours as oratours, *Tenticus* & *Bellus* the principall persons of that nation, to treat and intreate for a surcease of armes, that in the meane while he might debate in counsell and be advised as touching the main estate of his affaires. And when for this purpose he had obtained a graunt for three daies, and the Romanes lay encamped from the citie halfe a mile, *Gentius* took a barge, and sailing along the river *Bartana*, passed into the lake or meere of the *Labeates*, as if he had sought some secret by-place to consult in. But as it appeared afterwards, he was mooved upon a certain vain hope of his brother *Caravaninus* his coming, who was said to bee neere at hand accompanied with many thousands of fighting men, whom he had levied and brought out of that quarter into which he was sent. But when this rumour was over-blown and vanished to nothing, down the river he went again with the stream the third day after in the same vessel to *Scodra*, & sent couriers before him to the Pretor, requiring leave to parley and commune with him; which being granted, he entered into the camp. First he began his speech with accusing and condemning his own follie: in the end his last refuge was to poure out praies and shed teares: and so humbling himselfe at the Pretour his feet, he submitted to his devotion. The Pretour at the first bad him take a good heart unto him and be of good cheere, and invited him to supper: and so he returned to his owne people into the citie, where he was honourably feasted that day by the Pretour. But afterwards he was delivered to the guard and keeping of *C. Cassius* a martiall colonell: and thus received he of *K. Perseus* onely ten talents (a mean reward & hardly sufficient to content a simple sword-plaier) to engage himselfe into a world of daunger; and being a king as he was, to fall into this extreme calamitie and miserie. *Anicius* having entred upon *Scodra*, first before all other things, tooke order that the two embassadors aforesaid, *Petilius* and *Perpenna* should be sought out and brought unto him: whom after he had restored to their pristine estate and reputation, he sent *Perpenna* presently to apprehend the friends and kinsfolke of the king: who took his way directly to *Medeo* a citie of the *Labeates*, and brought with him into the campe at *Scodra* *Elleva* the kings wife, with her two tonnes *Scerdiletus* and *Plecuratus*, together with *Cleaxantius* the king his brother. Thus *Anicius* having ended the *Illyrian* war within the space of thirtie daies, sent *Perpenna* to Rome with tidings of this victorie; and within few daies *Gentius* himselfe after him, together with his mother, his wife and children, his brother and other L.L. of the *Illyrians*. This was the onely warre atchieved and brought to an end before they heard at Rome that it was begun.

During the managment of these affaires, *Perseus* also was in great feare and affliction, by reason

A son of the comming of *L. Amylius* a new Consul (who as the voice went, marched against him with great menaces) together with *O. Flavius* the Pretour. Neither was he lesse terrified with the Romane navie and the daunger of the sea coasts. *Eumenes* and *Athenagoras* had the keeping and commaund of *Theffalonica* with a small garrison of two thousand targatiers. Thither hee sent capitaine *Androcles* also, with commaundement to encampe close to the very harbour where the ships lay in rode. Unto *Aenia* he sent one thousand horsemen under the leading of *Antigonus*, to guard the sea-coast, to the end that in what part soever they heard the enemies ships were arrived, they might incontinently advaunce to the succour of the paissants and countrie people. Five thousand *Macedonians* were likewise sent to lie in garrison at *Pythoum* and *Petra*, under the conduct of *Histiatus*, *T. heagenes* and *Midon*. After these were departed, he went in hand to fortifie the banke of the river *Enipeus*: because it was passable over the very chanel on drie foot. And to the end that all the multitude should be employed hereabout, the very women were compelled out of the townes adjoining, to bring victuals into the campe. The souldiours were commaunded from out of the woods neere by

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Finally the waterbearers in leather bits or bottels, were commaunded to follow him to the sea, which was a quarter of a mile off: and thereupon they stood to dig pits, some in one place, and some in another, a pretie distance asunder. The exceeding high hills all about put him in good hope (and the rather because they sent out from them no rivers to be seen in open view) that they contained within them some hidden springs, the veins whereof draining into the sea, were intermingled with the sea water. They had scarcely sunke thogh the uppermost course of sand above, when they might see small sources to boile up, at the first troubled, but afterward they began to yeeld sheere and cleere water in great abundance; by a speciall gift (as it were) of the gods above. And even this occurrent also encreased the name and reputation of the capitaine with his souldiours. Then after hee had commaunded his men to make readie their armour, himselfe with the martiall Tribunes and the principall formost ranks, marched to recognise: and view the passages; and to see where the armed men might descend with ease, and where they might with least trouble mount up the banke on the farther side. When hee had taken a sufficient survey hereof, hee forecast and gave direction aforehand, for all things to be done in the armie in good order without trouble & tumultuous noise, even at the very beck and commaundement of their leaders. For when a thing to be effected is pronounced to all at once, it falleth out that every man is not within the hearing; and so receiving an uncertaine signall and commaundement, some put more of their owne head to that which was commaunded, and others doe lesse againe for it: and so there arise from all parts dissonant cries; and by this meanes the enemies know sooner whereabout they goe, than many of themselves. Therefore to avoid this confusion, he obtained that every martiall Colonell should give a secret watch-word to the principall Centurion of the legion, and round him in his eare what he would have done; then he and so forth every one should deliver unto ech centurion as he is next in range & place, what was to be executed; whether it were that the commaundement was to be carried from the front of the armie to the taile, or from the reterguard behind to the vaward before. He broght up a new order & custome, forbidding the watchmen to carrie with them any targuets to their sentinels: for that the watchman went not out to fight, whereby he needed any armor, but to keep watch; that when he descried the enemies comming, he might retire himself, & raise others to take armes. Item, he ordeined that the helmettiers or morioners should stand upon their feet, having their shields upright before them: & when they were wearie, to leane & bear upon their javelins; & resting their head upon the edge of their shields, so to take a nap & sleep; to the end that their glittering armour might be discovered as farre off by the enemy, whereas himselfe could not see farre before him. The manner also of warding in the day-time and of the *corps de guard* hee altered cleane. For whereas they were wont to stand all the day long armed, and the horsemen holding their horses bridled in fell out so, that in summer daies when ordinarily the sunne is extreme and scorching hot; both horse and man became wearie and languished againe with abiding so many houres in the heat, and oftentimes the enemies being fresh, although they were but fewe in number, set upon them and put them to trouble and hazard enough. Hereupon he commaunded that the morning guard should break up at noone, and others succeed in their places for to ward in the afternoon. By this meanes the enemy fresh and in heart could never take them weak and so charge upon them. When he had pronounced in a publicke assembly gathered together,

He speaks of
L. Pan. Army.
LIII.

ther, that his will was, that these orders should be observed accordingly, he delivered unto them a speech, much resembling the former Oration which hee used before to the people within the citie of Rome. Namely, that the Generall of an armie ought onely to foresee and provide for all that is meet to be done, sometime by himselfe, otherwhiles with those whom hee hath joined assistants unto him: as for such as are not called to be of his counsell, they ought neither in publick nor in privat to shoot their bolts, and give their advice. Three things in deed the souldior was to care & provide for: namely, to have a body most strong and nimble withall, his armor & weapons decent and fit; and thirdly, a spirit prompt & ready at all assaies to execute any commandment on a sodain. For all things else he ought to know, that the gods immortal and his Generall will take care: forasmuch as, in that armie wherein the souldiors, the Confull, and chiefe commander, suffer themselves to be caried away with rumors & brutes of the common sort, it is not possible for any thing to go well forward and come to good effect. For his own part (according to the dutie and devoir of a captain Generall) he would endeavor & provide to give them the occasion and opportunitie of brave exploits: as for them, they were not to enquire after any future thing; but so soon as the signall is given, then every man to performe the service of a doubtie souldior and valiant warrior. After these good precepts and instructions, he dismissed the assembly: and the old souldiors themselves confessed commonly in plaine tearmes, that they had taken forth a lesson that day as yong and raw novices, yea and learned in militarie profession, that which they never knew before: neither shewed they only by these and such like words, with what content and generall liking they heard the Confull his speech, but also testified the same by present deed and visible effect. For immediatly, you should not have seene over all the campe, one man idle and doing nothing: some fell to whet and sharpen their swords; others furbished their headpeeces, buffes, and beavers: some skoured their shields and bucklers; others their cuirasses and corslets; some fitted and buckled their harness to their bodies, and tried how they could bestime their limmes and rule their joints under it: some shooke their pikes and couched their javelins; others brandished their swords and lookt that they were sharpe at point: So as a man might easily perceive by them, that upon the first occasion presented of encounter with the enemy, they would enter into conflict, either to achieve a brave victorie, or to die an honourable death.

Perseus also on the other side, perceiving that upon the arrivall of the Confull and the beginning of the spring together, the Romane camp refounded and rung again with their stirring and ruttling of armour, as if there had beene some new warre toward: that they were dilodged from Phylla and encamped upon the banke just over against him: and that now their leader and commander rode up and downe to view and behold his fortifications and workes, to spie (no doubt) some way or other for passage.

This encouraged the Romans hearts, and daunted not a litle the Macedonians and their king. At the first, *Perseus* endeavoured to suppress secretly and stop the bruit and fame thereof, by sending out certein of purpose to *Pantaneus* (as he came from thence) to forbid him in any wise to approach the campe. But by this time were certein children seen brought by their owne parents among the Illyrian hostages: and spoke how much more carefull order was taken to conceale, so much the sooner was every thing set abroad and blurted out by the prattle and babble of the kings servitours attending about his person.

About the same time the Rhodian embassadours came into the Romane campe, with the very same charge and commission as touching peace; which at Rome had set the L.L. of the Senat in exceeding heat and choller; but farre worse audience had they in the councill of the campe, and with greater discontentment. And therefore when some advised, that they should be thrust out by head and shoulders without any answer at all; the Confull pronounced, That he would shape them an answer after fiftene daies, and not before. Meane while (that it might appear what a goodly reckoning was made of these Rhodian peace-makers who came about a pacification) he began in steed thereof to debate in councill as concerning the means and manner of making war. Some were of opinion (and principally the elders and auncients) to give the assault, and force the munitions and defences planted upon the bank of the river *Enipeus*; for that the Macedonians were never able to resist, if they came upon them lustily and charged them by thicke troops: for why? no longer ago (say they) than the year before, dislized they had ben of so many holds both higher and better fortified, and the same holden with strong garisons. Others were of mind, that *Octavius* the admirall should with the fleet sail to *The Salonica*, and by laying wast the maritime

coasts, to cut off and weaken the kings forces; to the end, that upon another warre shewed from behind at their backs, the K. might be withdrawn and trained about to defend the heart of his realme, and thereby forced in some sort to open and lay naked the passage over the river *Enipeus*. And *Octavius* himselfe was of this judgement, that the banke as well by the naturall site thereof, as for the sconces made upon it by mans hand, was unsuperable and not to be gained: and besides the engins planted every where thereupon, hee heard say, that the enemies had the slight and skill to discharge all kind of shot farre better and shoot more dead sure: but the intention of the Generall *Emilius* was wholly bent another way: and after he had dissolved the assembly of his councill, he called unto him two merchants of the Perthabians, namely, *Schenus* and *Menophilus* (men of approved fidelitie and wisdom) and of them in great secret enquired,

What kind of passages there were over into *Perthabia*? when they answered, That the wayes were nothing difficult and dangerous, but onely that they were kept and beset by the kings guards; he conceived some hope, that if he assailed them by night with a valiant companie, and tooke them sodainly at unawares before they looked for him, hee might chase those garisons from their holds: for darts, arrowes, and all other shot, served to little or no purpose in the darke, when a man cannot see his marke a farre off before him; but close sword-fight, hand to hand pell mell, was it that must doe the deed: wherein the Romane souldior had no fellow. Minding therefore to use those two as guides, he sent for *Octavius* the Pretour: and when he had declared unto him the effect of his designment, he commaunded him to saile with his fleet to *Heraclea*, and to have with him victuals baked and dressed to serve a thousand souldiours ten daies.

Himselfe sent out *P. Scipio Nasica* and *Q. Fabius Maximus* his owne sonne, with five thousand select souldiors to *Heraclea* (as if they were to be embarked) for to wait the maritime coast of *Macedonie*, lying farre within the countrey, according as it had been before debated in councill; and secretly under-hand they were given to wit, that there were viands and victuals in the fleet prepared for them, to the end that nothing should stay their expedition. Then the guides who were to conduct them in their way had commaundement, so to cast their gifts and journeis, that by three of the clocke in the morning the third day, they might assaile *Pythoum*. Himselfe in his owne person the next morrow, with intent to amuse the king and keepe him from all regard of other enterprises, early by the breake of day began to skirmish with the enemies guards in the very mids of the channell and place of the current. The light armour and forlorne hopes as well of the one side as the other, mainteined the fight: for it was not possible for souldiors heavily armed at all peeces, to skirmish in the channell, so uneven as it was. The descent from the bankes on either hand to the foresaid channell, contained somewhat lesse than three hundred paces, or litle better than a quarter of a mile: the middle space of the stream betweene (hollowed and eaten with the current, in some place more, in others lesse) tooke up litle

above a mile. In this middle plot was the medley mainteined within the view and eye of the king of one side, who looked upon them from the rampier of the camp; and of the Confull of the other, who beheld them standing with his legions. The kings auxiliaries lightly armed, fought better a farre off by the meanes of their darts and other shot. The Romans were more firme and steadie, yea and better defended with their round bucklers or *Ligurian* shields. About noontide the Confull commaunded to found the retreat unto his men; and so for that day the fray was parted, not without much bloodshed on both sides. The next morrow by sun-rising they fell to it againe, and fought more eagerly by reason that their bloud was up and their stomaches sharpened the day before: but the Romans received hurt not only by them with whom they entred into fight, but much more also from a number of those who stood in turrets and petie sconces erected here and there; who discharged at them all kind of darts and shot, but hurled stones especially. And when they approached ones neere to the banke where the enemies were, their bullets levelled out of engins, commaunded and reached even them that were utmost and farthest off. The Confull having lost that day more men by many than before, caused them to retire somewhat later than the former day. The third day hee forbore to fight, but turned aside toward the nether quarter of the campe, as if he minded to assay passage by an arme of the river that bended to the sea. *Perseus* having before his eyes

Now was it the season of the yeer past sun-stead in summer, and neere unto the houre of noon-
saith, i. the fault of blasting with heat in the dog-daves. Livie also in the speech of *Quintus* to the Embassador of *K. Antiochus*, by *Solstitialis dies*, meaneth the hottest time of summer, as by *Brumalis dies* elsewhere, the mid-winter. Finally, *Plutarch* expresseth this place thus: *Ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἔσθινον*
for the hottest season of the summer one-ly. Thus *Plinius* in *Pseudolo* useth *Solstitialis herba*, for an one-dry-herb, withering away with heat of the sunne: and in *Ternummo*, *Solstitialis morbus*, for *Sinaxis*, i. cum carbuncular arboris nimis ardoribus solis sub Sirio, as *Plinie*

*Namely, the newest that king *Genetius* was vanquished, and that he and his kingdom was at the devotion of the Romans.

*Solstitialis dies, i. the hottest season of the summer one-ly. Thus *Plinius* in *Pseudolo* useth *Solstitialis herba*, for an one-dry-herb, withering away with heat of the sunne: and in *Ternummo*, *Solstitialis morbus*, for *Sinaxis*, i. cum carbuncular arboris nimis ardoribus solis sub Sirio, as *Plinie*

stead in the day, so as they journeyed in a way full of dust, when the sun was exceeding hot; and even now they began to feeble thirst and weariness alreadie: but it seemed evidently, that when high noon was come indeed, they would be more troubled with the one and the other. Whereupon *Æmylius* resolved, not to prevent his men thus tormented and afflicted, unto the enemies all fresh and in heart: howbeit so sharpe set they were on both sides, and so eager upon fight, that the Consull had as much need by some cunning cast or other to deceive and beguile his owne men, as to delude his enemies. Before they were all embattailed and set in array, hee was earnest with the martiall Tribunes, and called upon them to make hast and put them in ordnance: himselfe rode about from ranke to ranke, and by his comfortable words encouraged and incensed the hearts of his souldiours to fight. At the first they were all very lustie and called for the signall of battaile; but afterwards, as the heat of the weather encreased, so their visages seemed lesse vigorous, and their voices more heave and dull; nay some of them stood leaning H on their targuets, and rested themselves bearing upon their javelins. Then he made open shew of his meaning, and in plaine termes commaunded the formost companies in the vaward, to measure out the forefront of a campe, and to lay downe their baggage: which when the souldiours perceived, some of them there were who rejoyced openly, for that he had not forced them to fight, so wearie as they were with travailing, and during that most scorching and burning heat. About the Generall stood his lieutenants with the captains of strangers, and *Attalus* himselfe among the rest. All of them allowed and thought well of the matter, all the while they thought no other but that the Consull would verily fight: for he had not so much as made them acquainted with this delay and lingering of his. But then seeing the case altered and the purpose changed, all the rest held their peace: onely *Nassus* of them all was so hardie and bold as to tell the Consull his mind and admonish him to take heed, that hee suffered not the enemy by avoiding fight, to slip and escape out of their hands, like as he had mocked and beguiled other Generals before him: for he feared much, least he would dislodge and depart in the night, and so they should be driven to pursue him with exceeding great travaile and daunger into the inland middle parts of Macedonie: so as the armie should bee put to wander up and downe all about through the blind lanes and over the narrow streights of the Macedonian mountains, like as it happened to other captains before him. And therefore he counsellled him in good sadness, while he had the enemy within the open plain field, to charge upon him and not to loose the opportunitee of a goodly victorie now presented. The Consull, nothing at all offended with this franke advertisement of so noble a young gentleman, said no more but thus unto him: The day hath been (*Nassus*) when I carried that spirit with me which you doe at this present: and the time will come when you will be of that mind, of which I am now. Taught I am by experience of many adventures and casualties in warre, to know, when it is good time to fight, and when it is better to forbear and sit still. For this present needlesse it is and bootlesse (standing as we doe now arraunged in order of battell) to tell you what motives they be, that induce me to thinke it better to be quiet and not to stir this day: another time demaund the reasons thereof; and rest contented I advise you, with the authoritie and credite of an old warrior and experienced captain. The young man was blanke and said not a word: persuaded he was doubtlesse, that the Consull saw some impediments to stay the battell, which to himselfe appeared not. *Paulus*, when hee perceived that the camp was set and quartered out, and the cariages bestowed accordingly, drew first out of the reregard the Triarii; then afterwards the Principes, whiles the Hastati or pikes kept their standing still in the vaward (if haply the enemies should offer battell); at the last hee withdrew them also, beginning first at the right point, taking by little and little the souldiours from every ensigne one after another. By this meanes were the footmen had away without any trouble and tumult, and the horsemen together with the light armour opposed against the enemy in the front and head of the maine battell before the enemies: neither was the Cavallerie called backe from these stations wherein they were placed, untill the forefront of the rampier & trench was fully finished. The king likewise, who without any refusal of battell had stood readie that day to fight, contenting himselfe with this, that he knew the stay thereof was occasioned by the enemy, led his companies backe into his campe. After the Romanes were encamped and well fortified, *C. Sulpitius Gallus*, a martiall Colonell of the second legion, who had bene Pretour the yeare before, by permission of the Consull called the souldiours to a generall audience, and before them all declared and pronounced, that the next night following there would bee seene an eclipse

A eclipse of the moone, from the second hower of the night untill the fourth: and this hee did because no man should wonder thereat, as if it were a prodigious token. Also hee made demonstration unto them, that it might bee well fore-knownne and fore-told, because it is a thing comming at certaine times by the ordinarie course of nature. For like as they nothing marvelled at the rising and going downe both of sunne and moone at set houres, nor to see the moone sometime shine bright out at the full, otherwhiles in the waine, giving light onely with the small tips of her horns: even so they ought not to make a wonder & miraculous matter of it, that she should be dark, when as her bodie is hidden by the shaddow of the earth. Thus the moon was eclipsed at the hour before prognosticated, overnight before the *even of the Nones of September: by occasion wherof, the Roman souldiours held *Gallus* for a deeply learned Sage, & a divine *4 Septemb. Philosopher: but contrariwise the Macedonians were troubled with the sight thereof, as an heaveie prodigie, portending and presaging the ruine of that realme and the utter destruction of the whole nation. And surely the howling and yelling which they made in their campe all the while, untill the moone recovered her full light againe, was a very prognostication and prediction of no lesse. The morrow after both the armies were so hore set and greedie of fight, that both king and Consull were blamed by some of their owne souldiours, for that they went out of the field the day before, and stricke not a battell. As for the king, he had his excuse and defence readie, not onely because the enemy refused the fight first, in open view of all men, and so retired his forces into his campe, but also in that he had pight and raunged his ensignes in such a place, unto which the Macedonian battell called Phalanx could not advance, considering that with the smallest disadvantage of the ground, there is no use at all thereof. The Consull for his part, as the day before he seemed to have pretermitted & lost the opportunitee of a combat, yea, and to have given the enemy advantage to depart in the night season (if he had so list) so now also hee trifled out the time, making semblance of sacrifice, whereas the signall of battell at the point of day was put forth for the souldiours to enter into the field. Well, at the last when the sacrifice was duly performed, about the third houre of the day, he assembled his counsell about him; where, some there were that thought he prolonged the time for the nonce, with his discourses and unseasonable consultations, and spent that opportunitee so, which should bee employed better in fight and execution of some worthie exploit. Howbeit, after some speeches passed, the Consull made an Oration unto his souldiours in this wise. *Pub. Nassus* (quoth he) a right valiant yong gentleman, D of all those that advised to give battell yesterday, was the onely man that uttered his mind, and acquainted me with his counsell, yet afterwards, even hee held his peace and kept silence, in such sort, as he seemed to change his opinion, and to be of my mind in the end. Some others there be that have taken a severall course by themselves, and thought it better to carpe at their Generall behind his backe, than to admonish him to his face. As for me, I will not thinke much nor make it daintie, to render a reason both to you, *Pub. Nassus*, and to them also who have thought the same that you did (although they caried it more secretly) why I made such stay and deferred battell. For, so far off am I of repenting for our yesterdaies repose, that I am of this beleefe rather, how by that meanes and policie alone I saved the whole armie. And because none of you may thinke that I have taken such a pitch, and hold that opinion of mine without just cause, let him E consider and discourse together with mee (if hee thinke so good) what advantages the enemies had, and how many things made against us. First and formost, how farre they surpasse us in number, assured I am that none of you either was ignorant before, or could chuse but observe and marke yesterday, seeing their armie how it was thrust and thronged together. And of that small number which we are, the fourth part of our fighting men was left behind to guard the carriage; and well ye wot, that we set not the most cowards to the keeping of our baggage. But suppose we had been all there together. How then? thinke wee, I pray you, that wee have not ynough of it, even out of this very campe wherein we have rested one whole night, to goe either this day or to morrow at the furthest, with the leave and power of the gods into the field, if you shall so thinke good? Skilleth it not indeed, and is it all one, to bid a souldiour take armes, whome neither the F travell of this daies journey, nor toile of labourious worke, hath tainted and wearied, but is at ease and quiet, yea, and fresh within his tent, and so to bring him forth into the field for a battell lustie and strong, full of bodily vigour and courage of heart, or to offer and expose unto the enemy who is heartie and fresh, who hath taken his rest and ease, and hath brought with him to a fight his strength entire and whole, not foiled or spent upon any occasion; to present, I say, unto such

The Oration of
Pub. Nassus unto
his armie.

such an enemy, a souldiour tired out with long journey upon the way, wearied with carrying his lode and burden, all molten to sweat and dropping therewith, his throat burnt and scorched for drought & thirst, his face and eyes full of dust, and all his bodie roasted against the noone sunne? Now tell mee, by the faith yee owe to the gods, what is hee that beeing in this so good a light, (were he the veriest beast and coward otherwise in a countrey) could not foile and beat out of the field the hardiest and most valiant man that is? Moreover, what should I say how materiall and important this also was, that our enemies had marshalled their battailons with great leisure after long time of rest; that they had repaired & refreshed their own strength, and stood ranged every man orderly in his owne ranke; whereas we were at one instant both hastily to embattle and set our men in array, yea and also to fall to a medley pell mell without all order? But, may some man say, True it is, our battaile in deed wee should have had much out of square and shuffled in great confusion: yet our campe was well fortified; we had forecalt and provided for good watering, the passage thereto was good and safe by reason of strong guards placed every way; and all coasts were cleared about us by our espials. Nay ywis: but contrariwise, nothing (to say truly) was ours, but the bare and naked plaine field where we were to fight. Youraunces in times past, esteemed a campe fortified with rampiers and trenches, as good as a port and harbour of sure refuge, for an armie against all chaunces and misfortunes whatsoever: from thence to issue forth, and thither to retire for safetie, after they had bin tossed and beaten with the tempest of a battaile. And therefore when it was empaled round about with good defences, they had a care also to reinforce and strengthen it with strong guards; for as much as he that hath lost his camp and is turned out of it, is ever holden for vanquished, notwithstanding he woon the day and had the better in the field. The hold of a campe serveth for a place of retreat to the conqueror; and of refuge to the conquered. How many armies could I reckon, which having sped but badly in the battaile, were driven to take their leaguer; yet afterwards seeing their time and spying their vantage, otherwhiles sallied forth, and in the turning of an hand repulled and discomfited the enemy, for all his former victorie? This feat and retreat of souldiours in time of warre, resembleth as a man would say, another native countrey of theirs; the rampier serveth in stead of walls, the tent and pavilion is to every souldiour his house & home. And should we have fought in deed like vagabonds without any place of mansion whereunto we might betake our selves after victorie? But against these difficulties and impeachments of giving battaile, this one thing is objected: How and if the enemy (say some) had gone his waies last night between; what a foule deale of trouble and sorrow should we have endured againe in pursuing him as far as to the heart, nay to the very farthest frontiers of Macedonie? But for my part verily, hold this for certaine, that if he had ever ment and resolved to have started from hence, he would never have staid thus heere as he hath done, nor brought his forces out into the field. For how much more easie was it for him to depart and be gone when we were farther off, than now when we are readie to tread upon his heeles, and goe over his backe? Surely he could not possibly have given us the slip, but wee should have bene ware of his dislodging, either by day or night. But, say he had gone his waies, what could we have wished more at the gods hands, than to set upon the taile & back part of the enemies in the open plaine ground, departing in disarray disbanded one from another, as they abandoning their fort & strong hold, & whose camp situate most sure upon an exceeding high and steepe banke of a river, fortified also with a rampier, & many a sconce and turret beside, wee gave the venture to assault? Lo, what the causes were, why the battaile was put off from yesterday to this present. For I must tell you, I am as willing my selfe to trie the fortune of a field as any other: and to that end (because the adventures to the enemy over the river Enipeus were stopped up against us) I have found a new way through another pafe & streight, by dissembling the guards of the enemies there left; and never will I give over untill I have defeated him quit and brought this war to an end. After this oration all kept silence, partly for that many of them were woon to his opinion; and partly because they feared to find fault to no purpose & so to give offence, when a thing howsoever once past and forlipt, cannot be recalled and amended. But that day neither was there battaile fought, for any great desire that the Cos. or king had thereto. The king wished it not; because he was now to charge his enemies, not weary of their way as the day before, nor troubled about their embattailing in such sort, & hardly at the last brought into ordinance: The Consull againe had no great stomacke thereto, for that his campe newly pitched, was provided neither of fewell nor forrage brought in and laid up already: and for the purveiance thereof,

out of the villages and fields neere at hand, many of the souldiours were gone abroad forth of the campe. And thus when neither of the Generals were willing thereto, mere chaunce and fortune (which is more powerfull than all the counsell and pollicie of man) made means and gave occasion of a battaile. There was a river not very great, neere to the enemies campe, whereat both Romanes and Macedonians watered: and on either banke side certain guards kept their stations, for the safetie and securitie as well of the one part as the other. Two cohorts there were for the Romanes of Marrucines and Pelignians, footmen; two troupes or cornes besides of Samnite horsemen; all commaunded by *M. Sergius Sylus* a lieutenant. Over and besides, another standing corps of guard quartered before the camp, containing three cohorts, namely of Firmian, Vestine, and Cremonian footmen, together with two troupes of Placentine and Effermian horsemen, all conducted by lieutenant *Cluvius*. Now when all was well and quiet about the river, and no side provoked or challenged other; it fortuned that a sumpter horse [of the Romanes] about the fourth houre of the day brake from the hands of those that had the tending and keeping of such, tooke the river & made toward the banke of the farther side: and when three souldiours followed after crosse the water almost knee-deepe to catch him, the Thracians began to traine the jade from the mids of the river to their banke side: but after one of them was slaine, the Romanes recovered the beast againe and retired to their owne guard. Now there was a strong corps of guard of eight hundred Thracians upon the banke which the enemies kept, from whence some fewe at first, taking it to the heart that a countymen of theirs should thus be killed before their face, travelled over the river in pursuit of those that had slaine him; afterwards more and more, and in the end all followed after, and together with that guard leaderth to the battaile. Men were moved with a reverence of the majestie of his place, as he was *L. General*, also with respect of the honour & glorie of the man otherwise; & above all, with the regard of his age: for that being about threecore yeers old he did undergo the offices and parts of young men in the adventures of greatest travell and daunger. That void space which was between the light targuettiers called Cetrati and the thicke battailons named Phalanges, the legion tooke up cleane, and broke within the battaile of the enemies. Behind the Cetrati was this legion, and had affront them the Pavoisers called *Aglaespides*, with resplendent or shining shields. *L. Attilius* who had bene Consull before time was commaunded to lead against the battaillon of other Pavoisers called *Leucaspides* with white shields. And that was the maine battaile of the enemies. Against the right flanke, from which quarter the skirmish first began about the river, the Elephants were conducted together with a wing of confederate horsemen, and from thence began the Macedonians to flie. For like as many new devises & inventions of men, carrie some shew in apparance of words when they are first spoken of; but come to practise & trie them once, and not to argue and dispute how they should be put in execution, they vanish away without effect and prove just nothing: even so at that time, the Elephants bare a name only in the battaile, without any use and service at all. That violence of the Elephants (such as it was) the Latin allies seconded immediately, and forced the left flanke to recule. Then the second legion was put forth, and in the mids entred upon the Phalanx and put it to flight; neither was there any cause of victorie more evident than this, namely, that many skirmishes there were in divers places, which at the first troubled the Phalanx, and afterwards discomfited it. True it is, that to abide the force thereof it is impossible, so long as it keepeth close united together, and putteth forth their sharp pointed pikes bent thicke couched together breast-high: but if a man by charging the same here and there, force them once to turne about those pikes, which for their length and heave weight are unwieldie & hard to guide, they soone are intangled & catch one within another untowardly: but in case it fall out so, that there be any tumult made either a flanke or behind, then there ensueth a generall trouble and confusion of all, as if they all at once came tumbling downe: like as it happened then, when as against the Romanes, who assailed them by troupes in sundrie parts, they were driven to break their battaillon into many peeces as it were, & so to make head & affront the enemy. But the Romanes espied where there was a breach made & lane left between, and there they would insinuate and wind in with their ranks and files: who, if they had run upon the front of the Phalanx close ranged altogether with their whole battaillon, they had enwrapped and entangled themselves within their pikes: (which in the beginning of the conflict happened to the Peligni as they unadvisedly dealt with the targuettiers called Cetrati) and had never been able to sustaine that battaillon united thicke and couched together. But as there was a cruell carnage

committed upon the companies of the infanterie in every place, save only those that flung away their weapons and fled; so the souldiours of the Cavallerie departed in manner safe and sound out of the medley. The K. himselfe was the first man that fled: and now by this time was escaped beyond Pydna, and with his cornets of horsemen which they call, Sacred, made hast to Pella. Anon after followed *Cassius* and the Cavallerie of the Odrysians: consequently, other troupes and companies of Macedonian horsemen departed and kept their arraies unbroken: for that the Phalanx or battaillon of the footmen between, which kept the conquerors occupied in execution, put them quite out of remembrance to pursue the men of arms. A long time continued the massacre of this Phalanx afront, asanke, and behind. In the end, they who escaped the hands of the enemies, & fled without weapons to the sea; some took the water, & stretching forth their hands to them that were about in the ships, most humbly besought them for to save their lives: and when they saw the small pinnaces and cockbotes making apace on all hands toward them from the ships, they imagining that their comming was to catch them for their prisoners rather than to kill them outright, waded farther into the water, yea and some swummed forward: but when they saw they were by them of the boates slaine in all hostile manner like enemies, as many as could, swam backe againe to land: where they met with a fouler mischiefe, and were worse plagued than before: for the elephants (driven by their governours to the shore) trode them under foot and crushed their guts out. All men generally agreed in this point, That never at any one field, were so many Macedonians defeated and killed by the Romanes: for twentie thousand men were there slaine, and to the number of six thousand (who fled to Pydna out of the battaile) came alive into the enemies hands: five thousand besides were taken prisoners, as they fled scattering and disbanded here and there. Of the victors, there died not above an hundred, and the more part by farre of Pelignians; but a greater number somewhat, were hurt and wounded. And if the battaile had begun sooner, that the winners might have had day enough to follow the chase upon their enemies, all their forces had been utterly defeated and devoured by the sword: but now the night comming upon them, as it covered and shadowed the enemies that fled, so it caused the Romanes not to be so hastie and forward in pursuit; considering they were not acquainted with the coasts of the countrey. *Perseus* fled to the forrest Pieria by the port rode way, with a great number of horsemen and his roiall traine about him. So soone as he was entred the forest where the way divided into sundrie and divers parts, seeing that the night approached, hee turned out of the high beaten way with very few of his most loyall and faithfull friends. The horsemen being thus abandoned and left destitute of their leader, slipt some one way and some another home into their own cities: certain of them (but very few) recovered Pella before *Perseus* himselfe, because they rode a direct and readie way. The K. was much troubled and vexed untill midnight almost, what with feare and what with difficultie to find out the way. When he was come to Pella, *Enellus* the governour thereof, and the kings pages, were ready attendant at the court to wait upon him and doe him service: but contrariwise, of all those friends who escaped safe out of the battaile and chaunced by variable adventures to come into Pella, there would not one come at him, notwithstanding they were oftentimes sent for. Three onely bare him companie in that flight of his, to wit, *Evander* of Crete, *Neon* a Boeotian, and *Archidamus* the Aetolian. Fearing therefore least they who refused to come unto him, would soone after enterprise some greater matter against him; with those three he fled still forward, about the fourth watch of the night. After him there followed upon five hundred Cretensians. Toward Amphipolis he went; but he departed in the night from Pella, making all the hast hee could to passe over the river Axius before day-light, supposing that the Romanes would give over the chase there, by reason of the difficult and dangerous iour.

The Consull being returned into the camp with victorie, (because he should not have the fruition of sincere and perfect joy) was greatly disquieted and troubled about his younger sonne, and that was *P. Scipio*, surnamed also afterwards *Africanus*, because hee raised the citie of Carthage: the naturall sonne he was of the Consull *Paulus*, and the adopted nephew or grandchild of *Africanus*: he was at that time seventene yeeres of age, and (which augmented the sorrow of the father) whiles he followed in chase the enemies upon the spur, was carried by the prease a contrarie way, in such sort, as it was late ere he returned: and then the Consull having recovered him againe safe and sound, felt the joy of so great a victorie, and not before.

When the bruit and newes of this battaile was arrived at Amphipolis, and that the dames and

A and wives of the citie ran flocking into the temple of *Diana*, whom they call *Tauropolos*, to beseech and call for her aid, *Diodorus* the chiefe governour of the citie, fearing the Thracians (who were two thousand in garrison) least in that tumult and garboile they would spoile and rife the citie; craftily suborned a fellow for the nones in guise and shew of a letter-carrier, and received from him letters in the mids of the market place: wherein it was written, That the Romane fleet was arrived in Emathia, and that the territories all about were pitifully wasted by them; and therefore the rulers and captains of Emathia requested him to send a garison to succor them against these foraiers. When he had read these counterfeited letters, he exhorted the Thracians to undertake this expedition and to go into Emathia for to guard the coasts thereof: giving them to understand, that considering the Romans were loosely straggling & scattered about the fields and villages, they might make a foule havocke and carnage of them, and besides raise and bring away with them a great bootie: withall, he forgot not to elevate as much as he could, the fame of the foresaid unhappie field fought, saying, That if all had ben true, there would have ben messengers comming thick one after another upon their flight, to bring fresh tidings still therof. Under this pretence he sent away the Thracians; and so soone as hee saw they were passed over the river Strymon, incontinently he shut the gates. The third day after the battaile fought, came *Perseus* to Amphipolis, and from thence hee sent Orators to *Paulus* with an herald of peace. Meane while *Hippias*, *Midon*, and *Pantancus*, the kings principall friends, went themselves to the Consull, and surrendered unto the Romanes Berhæa, whither they had retired and fled immediately out of the field. Other cities also stricken with feare one after another, prepared to doe the like.

C The Consull, after he had sent to Rome with tidings and letters of this victorie, *Q. Fabius* his owne sonne, together with *L. Lentulus* and *Q. Metellus*, gave the spoile of the enemies armie thus lying defeated, unto his footmen: but the horsemen hee allowed the bootie of all the territories round about, with condition, that they should not be absent from the camp more than two nights. Then, he removed nerer unto the sea, & lodged about Pydna. First Berhæa (as is before said) yeelded, then Thessalonica and Pella; and consequently, all Macedonie well-neere within two daies was surrendered. But the Pydneans who were next unto him, as yet were behind with sending their embassadours: the reason was, for that the confused confluence thither of many nations, and the disordered multitude of those that fled out of the field, and were all met together, hindered the counsell and consent of the whole cittie: so as the gates were not only shut, but also mured up. Now were *Midon* and *Pantancus* sent to parle under the wals with *Salon*, who lay there with a garison: by whose means the whole troupe and multitude of armed men was sent away, the citie rendred up, and the pillage given to the souldiours.

Perseus, whose onely hope was in the aid of the Bisaltes whom hee had assaied and solicited, and for which purpose he had sent his embassadours (although in vaine) held a publicke assembly, and bringing his sonne *Philip* with him came forth before the people; to the end that hee might by some exhortation confirme and strengthen the hearts, as well of the Amphipolitans as the companies of foot and horse, who either at all times continually had followed him, or were retired thither by flight for refuge. But ever as he was about to make a speech unto the audience (which he oft began to doe) he could not proceed for tears. Now for that himselfe was not able to speake, he came down from the pulpit, and imparted unto *Evander* the Cretensian those points, which his will was to be delivered and proposed unto the congregation there assembled. The multitude, as they lamented and wept againe to see the king so piteously shed tears; so they regarded not the speech of *Evander*: nay some of them were so bold as to crie out aloud from the midst of the assembly, Away, away, and get yee gone from hence, that the small remnant of us here, perish not for your sakes. The stout resolution of these men stopped *Evander* his mouth, that hee could not say a word and reprie againe. The king by this time was gotten to his lodging, and having conveyed into certaine bottomes upon the river Strymon all his money, gold, and silver, went also in person downe to the water side. The Thracians durst not goe aboard and commit to sea, but slunk every man away to his own home; and so did all the sort of soldiours besides. The Cretensians only (for greedie hope of gain) accompanied the king, who because in sharing and dealing money among them, he should incurre more offence than win thanks, laid out fiftie talents among them upon the river side to skamble for. When they had made quick riddance and a cleane hand with it, they went aboard in a great hurrey so as one barge overcharged

ged with a multitude of passengers was cast away and sunk in the mouth of the river. That very day they arrived at Galipfus, and the morrow after at Samothrace, the very place that they intended; and thither (by report) were conveyed two thousand talents. *Paulus* after he had sent presidents to govern every citie surrendered, to the end that no injurie should be offered in this new peace to the conquered, and detaining with him still the kings heralds and Oratours, not knowing any thing of the kings flight and departure, sent *P. Nasica* to Amphipolis with a mean regiment of foot and horse, to ruinate and destroy at once *Simica*, and also to empeach all the desfignements and enterprises of the Romanes.

In this time *Melibæa* was forced and ransacked by *Cn. Octavius*; but at *Æginium* (to the siege whereof *Cn. Anicius* the Lieutenant was sent) two hundred men were lost by a fallie made out of the towne, for that the *Æginians* heard not the newes of the late defeature.

The Consull departed from *Pydna* with his whole armie, and the morrow after came before *Pella*. Where having encamped within a mile of the citie, he made abode there for certain daies, to view on all sides the situation of the citie, which he perceived and marked full well, to have been chosen not without good cause, for the imperiall seat of the Macedonian kings. Situate it is upon an hill that lieth to the Southwest, enclosed round with meeres, so deepe as they cannot possibly be waded and passed through: and these marshes are bred and fed both winter and summer by waters overflowing out of certaine lakes. Within the very marsh next unto the citie side, there standeth a strong tower by it selfe, bearing up above the rest, as it were an Island raised upon a terrace, made with exceeding labour of mans hand, which terrace both sustaineth a wall, and is not hurt with the moisture of the marsh round about it; and a far off seemeth close joined to the citie wall. Howbeit, divided it is by a river betweene it and the wall, and yet united to the citie by a bridge over it: so as, whosoever assaileth the same without, can have no access any way to it, neither, if the king be disposed to shut and enclose any man within, can hee possibly make an escape and get forth but over the said bridge; which a few men may keep & guard with ease. In this place the kings treasure used to lie, but at that time there was no more found but the 300 talents which were sent to king *Gentius* first, and afterwards staid and detained. During the time that the Consull remained about *Pella* in his standing camp, many embassages had audience given them, who repaired thither out of *Thessalie*, especially to congratulate with him, testifying their owne joy and wishing his. But the Consull after that he had intelligence that *Perseus* had crossed over to *Samothrace*, departed from *Pella*, and at the fourth gift and journey that he made, came to *Amphipolis*. The whole multitude went forth of the citie in great numbers to meet him, which gave testimonie to every man, that neither a good nor just



THE

THE XLV. BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF T. LIVIUS

of Padoa, from the foundation of the
Cittie of Rome.

The Breviarie of L. Florus upon the five and fortieth Booke.

Perseus was taken prisoner by *Emilius Paulus* in *Samothracia*. When *Antiochus* king of *Syria* besieged *Ptolomæus* and *Cleopatra*, king and queene of *Egypt*, embassadours were sent from the Senate of Rome, willing *Antiochus* to give over, and beseege no more an associate king unto them: but when he made answer to this their message delivered, that hee would consider better what he had to doe, *Popilius* one of the said embassadours, with his rod that he had in his hand drew a circle about the king, and charged him to give him another answer before he went out of that circle: by which rude, rough, and blunt behavior, he forced *Antiochus* to lay away armes and sword, and so was. Divers embassies of States and kings came with congratulation, and were admitted into the Senat. As for that of the *Rhodians*, because in the late war they stood out and tooke part against the Romanes, it was excluded. The morrow after, when it was debated in counsell, about making war upon the *Rhodians*, the embassadours pleaded the cause of their countrey in the Senate: So, they neither had a friendly dispatch and farewell, as allied associates, ne yet were sent away as professed enemies. *Macedonie* was now reduced into the forme of a province. *Emilius Paulus* triumphed, notwithstanding the contradiction of his owne souldiours, discontented for that they were pinched and cut short in the pillage, and although *Servius Sulpitius Galba* interposed himselfe and gainsaid it. Hee led before his chariot *Perseus* with his three sonnes. And that the joy of this triumph of his should not be entire and accomplished, blisshed sorely it was with the death of his two sonnes: the one died before, the other after the triumph of the father. The Consors tooke a review of the citie, in which were assessed and enrolled in their subsidie bookes 312805 citizens. *Prusias* king of *Bithynia* repaired to Rome, to receive with the Senat in their behalfe for the victorie and conquest of *Macedonie*, where he recommended unto the Senat his sonne *Nicomedes*. This base minded king, made all of flatterie, named himselfe the enfranchised vassale of the people of Rome.

Virtus *Fabius*, *L. Lentulus*, and *Q. Metellus*, the messengers of the late victorie, albeit they made all the hast that possibly they could, & came speedily to Rome, yet found the joy thereof so have prevented them: for the fourth day after the battaile fought with the king, even as the playes and games were exhibited in the shew-place, there was heard suddenly at first, a confused humming noise, which spread over all the companies of the spectators, That a field was fought in *Macedonie* and *Perseus* vanquished: afterwards arose a more cleere and evident voice, which grew at length to an open shout and clapping of hands, as if certaine newes had beene brought of the said victorie. The magistrats wondred hereat, and made search after the author of this so sodaine gladnesse, but none would be found: and then verily it passed away, as the momentanie joy of some vaine and uncertein occurrence: howbeit a joyfull preface of some good luck settled in mens hearts and remained behind. But after that this was confirmed by the true report and relation of *Fabius*, *Lentulus*, and *Metellus*, which they made at their coming, all men rejoiced as well at the fore-giving of their minds, as for the victorie itselfe. This joyous conceit of this assembly in the shew-place, is reported otherwise, and carrieth with it no lesse probabilitie and likelihood of truth, in this manner: Vpon the two and twentieth of September (which was the second day of the solemnitie of Roman games) as the Consull was going

ad decimum
Calendas Octo-
bris.

up to the lists for to set out the running of the chariots, a post, by report, (who said hee was come out of Macedonie) presented letters unto him decked with lawrell. The Consull then, so soone as he had set on foot the race, presently mounted up into his owne chariot: and as he rode through the shew-place toward the common scaffolds, he shewed unto the people the said laureat letters: which being once seene, the people presently (forgetting all their sports & fights) ran out into the mids of the cirque, and thither the Consull assembled the Senat; unto whom when he had read the letters, by the advise and allowance of the LL. even before the publicke stages and scaffolds, he published the contents thereof to all the people in this manner, That *L. Amylius* his colleague had fought a set field with king *Perseus*. That the armie of the Macedonians was discomfited and put to flight, That the king himselfe was fled with some few of his traine, and that all the cities of Macedonie were subdued and brought under the subjection of the people of Rome. These tidings were no sooner heard, but there arose a shout with exceeding great applause, in so much as many men there, left the sight of these disports, and carried these joyfull newes home to their wives and children. This was the thirteenth day after the battaile given in Macedonie. The morrow after the Senate assembled in Curia (Hostilia) and ordeined it was, that publicke processions should be solemnized; an Act also passed, that the Consull *Amylius* should dismiss all those that had taken the militarie oth, excepting onely the sea-fouldiours and mariners; and as for the discharging of those fouldiours, agreed it was, that it should be moved in the Counsell-chamber, when the lieutenants were arrived and come from *L. Amylius* the Consull, for they had dispatched a courier with letters before them. Now these messengers aforesaid entred the citie the *five and twentieth of September about the second houre of the day, and drew after them a mightie train of those who encountering them upon the way wherefoever they went, accompanied them to Rome, and so directly went to the market-place and tribunall seat. It fortuned that the Senatours sat then in the ordinarie Curia or Counsel-house, and thither the Consull brought the embassadours. Where they were reteined and held so long onely as they might declare these points, How great the kings forces were, as well in foot as horie; how many thousand were slaine, how many taken prisoners; what small losse of Romane fouldiours that great disseaturation of enemies cost; how few they were in number that the king fled with; that it was supposed he would passe into Samothracia; that the fleet was in readines to make way after them in chase; and that it was not possible for him to escape either by land or sea. And then anon they were brought forth before the generall assembly of the people, wherethey made relation of the same. And then the joy was renewed upon proclamation made by the Consull, That all the sacred temples and churches should be set open: & that every man should depart out of the assembly to render thanks unto the gods; in such sort, that all the temples of the gods throughout the whole citie were replenished with mightie multitudes and congregations not of men onely, but also of women. Then the Senate met againe in the ordinarie Curia: and ordeined that publicke processions and thankes should be made for five daies together in all churches and chappels and at every altar, for the happie and fortunate successe of *L. Amylius*, and that greater head of beasts should be killed for sacrifice. Also that the ships which had readie rigged and well appointed in the river Tyberis to be sent into Macedonie, (in case it had so fallen out, that the king had bene able to have resisted) should be retired and drawne to land, and so laid up drie in their dockes and arsenals: also that the mariners should be called, after the receipt of a whole yeeres pay, and together with all those who had sworn to serve the Consull, should have their conge and pasport to be gone. Item, that all the fouldiours in Corcyra, Brundisium, about the Adriaticke sea, or in the territorie of the Lariates (for in all these there was an armie set in readinesse, wherewith *C. Licinius* if need required should have succoured his colleague) should have their discharge. Also processions were published in the full assembly of the people, to begin *from the tenth day of October, and so to hold on five daies after.

*ex a. d. quint.
Idus Octob.

Out of Illyricum also two lieutenants or messengers, to wit, *L. Licinius Nerva* and *P. Decius*, brought word that the armie of the Illyrians was defeated; that king *Gentius* was taken prisoner, and that all Illyricum was reduced under the obedience of the people of Rome. For which exploits achieved by the leading and conduct of *L. Anicius* the Pretour, the Senate decreed a solemn procession to be holden for three daies, like as also the Latine feast and holidays were proclaimed by the Consull, for to be holden the *ninth, tenth, and eleventh daies of November.

*in a. d. quatuordec.
Idus Novemb.

Some

A Some have recorded that the Rhodian embassadours had not yet their dispatch nor were sent away, but after the newes of this victorie, were called into the Senate in mockerie and scorne of that sortish insolence and pride of their owne. And then *Agepolis* the principall person of them spake in this manner, That the Rhodians had sent them in deed as embassadours to treat about an accord and to make peace betweene the Romanes and king *Perseus*, for that this warre as it was greivous and prejudiciall to all Greece, so it could not chuse but bee chargeable and hurtfull to the Romanes themselves. But fallen out it is passing well through the goodnesse of fortune, that the warre is ended otherwise: and hath given them so good an occasion and opportunitie, to rejoyce and testifie their joy in the behalfe of the Romanes, for the achievement of so brave and notable a victorie. Thus much spake the Rhodian. And then the Senat made aunswere againe, That the Rhodians had sent that embassie not regarding the good and profit of Greece, ne yet for any care they had of the expenses defraied by the Romanes, but onely in love and favour of king *Perseus*. For if they had bene respective unto them (as they would make semblance & have the world to thinke) they should have addressed their embassadours when as *Perseus* invaded Thessalie with an armie, and for two yeeres space persecuted & plagued the cities of Greece, besieging some, and fighting others with menaces of warre: yet all that while, not a word with the Rhodians as touching peace. But after that they heard once that the Romanes were mounted over the streights and passed through into Macedonie; that king *Perseus* was shut up and enclosed sure enough for starting any way, then and not before, they could send an embassage, for no other reason in the world, but to rid and deliver *Perseus* out of that imminent daunger which threatned him so neere hand. With which answer the embassadours were sent away.

About the verie same time *M. Marcellus* being departed out of his governement in the province of Spaine, after he had forced and woon Marcolica a renowned and famous citie in those parts, brought home with him and bestowed in the publicke treasure ten pound weight of gold, and *about a million of Sesterces in silver coine.

*Ad summam
sestertium de-
citi.

Paulus Amylius the Consull lying encamped (as is aforesaid) neere Syrae in the Odontian territorie, when hee saw the letters from king *Perseus* brought unto him by three embassadours of base condition, wept (by report) himselfe, to consider the frailtie of this world, and the sickle state of mans life; to see (I say) that hee who erewhile could not rest content with the roialtie of Macedonie, but would needs warre upon the Dardanians and Illyrians, and levie the aid of the Bastarnians, was now after the losse of his armie, as one exiled out of his owne kingdom, driven into a small Island, where, like a poore suppliant hee remained in suretie, not by means of his owne forces, but through the religious protection of a sanctuarie and priviledged place. But when he red the superscription of the letter with this stile. KING PERSEUS TO THE CONSUL PAULUS, GREETING, he could no more pittie him, for thinking of his blockish follie, in that he had no sence and feeling of the calamitie and miserie wherein he stood. And therefore albeit the contents of the letter otherwise were prayers so demisse and abject, as little favoured of a princely mind, yet was that embassage dismissed without aunswere and without letters. *Perseus* soone perceived what title it was that hee must lay downe and forget now that hee was vanquished: whereupon he addressed other letters in qualitie of a private person without any other addition at all: and by those as he craved so obtained he likewise, that certain agents should be sent unto him, with whom hee might parley and commune as touching the state and condition of his present fortune. So three delegat embassadours were sent unto him, namely *P. Lentulus*, *A. Posthumius Albinus* and *A. Antonius*. But nothing was effected in this agencie or embassage; whiles *Perseus* stucke hard and laboured all he could to hold still and keepe the roial name of kings, and *Paulus* endeavoured contrariwise, that he should submit himselfe and all that he had to the protection & clemencie of the people of Rome. During these debates and affairs betweene them, the fleet of *Cn. Octavius* was arrived at Samothrace, who also presenting before their eyes fearefull objects of terrour, went about to force him as well by threatnes and menaces, as to win him by hope of faire intreatie & good usage to yeeld & submit; and herein he found some help by means of an occurrent, either hapning by chaunce & meer adventure, or contrived by mans devise of set purpose. *L. Atilius* a noble young gentleman, perceiving that the people of the Samothracians were met in a generall assembly, requested of the magistrates that he might be permitted to make a short speech unto the people. Good leave he had, and then hee began in this wise.

wise; My masters and friends of Samothracia, I would gladly know, whether it be a false fable or a true tale which we have heard, That this is a sacred lland, and the soile thereof holy and altogether inviolable? When they all accorded in one consent, that the lland was as holy and sacred as it was reported: How is it then (quoth he) that a murder hath violated and polluted it with the blood of king *Eumenes*? And considering that in all preambles and prefaces of sacred and divine service premised, they are commaunded precisely to avault from the ministerie thereof, who have not pure and innocent hands; will you suffer in deed your most secret sanctuaries and devout tabernacles to be stained with the bloodie bodie of a thiefe and fellow? Now was it a true report & common bruit in every citie of Greece, That *K. Eumenes* had like to have ben murdered at Delphos by *Evander*. The Samothracians, besides that they saw their whole lland & the said temple to be in the power and puissance of the Romans, tooke these reproofs and reproches to touch them neer, and not without just cause: wherupon they sent *Theondas*, the soveraign magistrate (whom they call their *K.*) unto king *Perseus*, giving him to understand, That *Evander* the Cretensian was charged with murder: also that by custom and tradition from their auncestors, they had full power & authoritie to proceed by order of law, against all those that were presented and endited for entering within the liberties and sacred precincts of the temple, with unclean and unpure hands. Now if *Evander* stand upon his innocencie, and knoweth himselfe cleere and unguiltie of the capitall crime laid to his charge, let him come to his answer and plead his cause for his owne defence, and he shall be heard: but if he dare not hazard the judiciall triall of the issue, retire he and depart, that hee pollute not the temple; let him shift for himselfe and escape away. *Perseus* called forth *Evander* unto him, willing him in no case to trie the processe of justice; for neither would his cause justifie him, nor any favour beare him out. Hee much feared withall, least being cast and condemned, he would bewray *Perseus* himselfe and appeach him for the setter and author of that so horrible a fact: and no way then but one, even with patience and resolution to take his death. *Evander* gainsaid nought in outward appearance, but pretending in words, that hee had rather die by a cup of poison than upon the sword's point, sought secret meanes to flee and be gone. The king upon advertisement hereof, fearing least the Samothracians would discharge their anger upon him, as if he had wrought his evasion to avoid due punishment, commaunded *Evander* to be made away and killed. After which murder committed thus rashly without all advisement, hee bethought himselfe and considered, that he should be touched deeply with the same spot of guilt that *Evander* was noted with: namely, that as *Eumenes* was by *Evander* wounded at Delphos, so *Evander* by him was murdered in Samothracia; and so the two most holy and religious temples in the world were stained and polluted with mans blood; and who but he the cause and contriver thereof? But the blame of this foule fact of his, was by the corruption of *Theondas* quite averted another way; and he for a summe of money bare the people in hand, that *Evander* was his owne hangman. But *Perseus* by this lewd and detestable act, committed upon the person of the onely friend whome hee had alive, (so well approved and tried by him in so many adventures, and now betrayed for his labour by him, unto whome he refused to be a traitour) estranged cleane the hearts and affections of all men from him: so as now every man raunged with the Romanes. Thus abandoned as hee was and left to himselfe, they forced him to cast about and devise how to escape and be gone. Whereupon he called unto him *Orosandes* the Cretensian, a man that knew well the coasts of Thrace, (because he had negotiated and traded in those parts;) and with him hee dealt to embarke him in some small foist, and so to conduct him unto Corys. Now there was a certain bay under a promontorie of Thrace, wherein a pinnace stood in readinesse: thither, after sun-setting were all things brought for necessarie use; and money withall, as much as closely could be conveyed. The king himselfe at midnight accompanied with three persons (for no more were privie to this his flight) went out at a posierne or backe dore of the house, into a garden neere his bed-chamber, and so with much ado having clambred over a mud wall, passed to the water side. Now was *Orosandes* already loosed from the foresaid creeke; for so soone as the money was once brought thither into the vessell, hee launched into the deepe and set his course for Candie. *Perseus* after that the barke was not to be found in the bay, walked and wandered a good while along the strand: and fearing at last the day-light approaching (yet not so hardie as to adventure backe againe to his lodging) lurked behind in one side of the temple close unto a blind corner & coign thereof. Among the Macedonians, they called those the kings pages, who were the princes and noble

A noble mens sonnes, chosen to serve and wait upon the person of the king. That companie yet followed after the *K.* in his flight, and as hard as the world went, departed not from him until such time as by the commaundement of *Cn. Octavius*, the publicke cryer pronounced with a loud voice; That the kings pages and all other Macedonians besides in Samothracia, if they would turne to the Romanes, should enjoy with safetie of life their estate entire, their libertie free, and all that ever they either had about them, or was left in Macedonie. At which proclamation once published, they all immediately revolted to the Romanes, and entred their names with *C. P. J. Iulius*, a martiall colonell. Likewise *Ion* of Thessalonica, delivered into the hands of *Octavius* the young infants of the king, and not one of them all was left with *Perseus*, but *Philip* his eldest son; and then hee yielded both himselfe and that sonne into the hands of *Octavius*, crying out upon fortune, and blaming the gods in whose temple they were, for that he received no aid and succour from them, notwithstanding he humbly craved and besought the same. Then commaundement was given, that he should be embarked in the admirals ship: & thither also was brought aboard all the money that remained, and then forthwith the fleet retired to Amphipolis: from whence *Octavius* sent the king to the campe unto the Consull, but first hee had dispatched his letters to give him knowledge, that he was sure enough under his hand, and that hee was at the point to be brought unto him. *Paulus*, reputed this for a second victorie, (as it was no lesse indeed to be esteemed) presently upon the receipt of the message, killed beasts for sacrifice: and when he had called his counsell about him, & read the letters of the Pretor before them, he sent *Quintus Tubera* to meet the *K.* upon the way, and commaunded the rest in good frequence to remaine in his capitall pavillion, and give attendance upon him. Never was there seene before, so great a multitude to runne out for to see any solemne sight or pageant. In their fathers daies king *Syphax* was taken prisoner and brought into the Romane campe; who besides that there was no comparison betwene him and *Perseus*, either in regard of his owne name or the renowne of his nation, was then also but an accessarie as it were to the Punick war, like as *Gentius* now to the Macedonian. *Perseus* was the very head of this war, neither was it the fame of his father and grandfere onely (whom he neerely touched in birth and blood) that made him renowned, but the resplendent glorie of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great, who brought the soveraigne empire and monarchie of the whole world to the Macedonian nation. Well, *Perseus* entred the campe arrayed in a blacke cloake, without any one of his owne traine to accompanie him, who partaking his miserie, might cause more compassion to be had of him. The affluence of the people was so great who went out to see him, that for the verie prease hee could not march forward, untill such time as the Consull sent his sergeants and huithers to void the thronging of the multitude and make way for him to goe to the Consull his pavillion. The Consull arose, and (giving commaundement to the rest for to sit still) advanced forward a litle, and laught out his hand to the king as hee entred into the pavillion; and when hee bowed and debased himselfe to his verie feet, hee tooke him up againe and would not suffer him ones to touch his knees, but led him into the tent and caused him to sit downe right over-against those whome he called thither to counsell. The first question that hee demaunded of him was this; What wrong hee had sustained at the hands of the people of Rome, that hee should be constrained to enterprise and begin the warre against them with so malicious a mind as hee did, and so to hazard himselfe, his whole state and kingdom, in such extremitie of daunger? And when everie man attended what answer hee would make, hee staid a good while without utterance of one word, casting his eyes wistly upon the ground, and shedding teares withall. Then spake the Consull againe: If you had bene but young (quoth he) when you came to the crowne, I would weily for my part marvaile the lesse, that you should be so ignorant as not to know how important it was, to have the people of Rome either for a friend or an enemy: but now, since you both had your hand in that warre which your father waged against us, and also could not chuse but remember the peace afterwards made with him, and which wee observed most faithfull, What policie was it for you to entertaine warre rather than peace, with them, whose force you had tried in warre and whose fidelitie you had found in peace? When as hee would yet make no answer at all either to question or accusation, the Consull went on and said: Well, howsoever these things are thus fallen out and come to passe, be it through the error and frailtie of man by adventure of fortune and hard happe, or fatall necessitie of the destinies, be it of good cheare yet, and take a mans heart unto you: the gracious clemencie and mercie of

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the people of Rome, well knowne and proved in the misfortunes of many princes and States, G
afford unto you not onely hope, but certaine assurance of safetie. Thus much spake hee to
Perseus in the Greeke tongue: then, turning to his owne assistance and companie about him,
hee directed his speech to them in Latine as followeth. A notable example and rare mirrour
you see (quoth he) of the changeable varietie of this world: to you I speake especially, my mai-
sters here that are fresh and youthfull gallants in the heat of your young blood. And therefore
let no man in time of his prosperitie, carrie himselfe proud and violent against another, nor yet
confidently to trust upon the present state wherein hee is, for who knoweth what may happen
once yet before midnight? But him alone will I hold for a man of valour indeed, whose heart
neither the gentle gale of this fawning and flattering world is able to lift aloft, ne yet the blu-
sting blasts of frowning fortune cast downe or dash upon the rocks. After the Consull was
risen and departed, he committed the charge and custodie of keeping the king to Quintus Ae- H
lius. But for that day Perseus was not onely invited courteously to sup with the Consull, but
respected also in all kind of honour, as possibly might be done unto him in that state and con-
dition of his.

After this the armie was divided here and there into garrisons for the winter time. The great-
est part thereof was received into Amphipolis, and the other cities neere adjoining entertained
the rest. This was the end of the warre betweene Perseus and the Romanes, which had endured
four yeeres one after another continually: and here an end withall of the most flourishing king-
dome of the greatest part of Europe and of all Asia. Perseus was counted the twentieth king
after Caranus, who was the first that reigned there. This Perseus began his reigne that yeere when
in Q. Fulvius and L. Manlius were Consuls. In the time of M. Junius and A. Manlius Consuls of I
Rome, the Senate entituled and honoured him with the name of king, and eleven yeeres his
raigne continued. The name of these Macedonians was very obscure and base, untill the daies of
Philip the sonne of Amyntas. From that time and by his meanes it began to grow and wax great:
howbeit, contained it was within the compasse and precincts of Europe, comprehending all
Greece, and part of Thrace and Illyricum. Afterwards it spread into Asia, and in thirteene yeeres
space, during the raigne of Alexander, it subdued and brought under subjection, first all those
parts whereunto the empire of the Persians extended, which was an infinite dominion in circuit:
afterwards it reached to Arabia & India, even to the end of the earth, bounding & confining all K
about upon the red sea. At that time was the monarchie & name of the Macedonians the great-
est in the whole world, but upon the death of Alexander, distracted it was and divided into many
and sundrie kingdoms. And while each one endeavoured and strove by force to draw unto him
more and more puissance, they dismembred and rent the whole: and so from the highest tip and
pitch of prosperitie, brought it downe to a most base and low condition, after it had continued in
good estate a hundred and fiftie yeeres.

When the bruit of the Romanes victorie was blased and blowne as farre as to Asia, Antenor
who with a fleet of barks and pinnaces rid in the harbour of Phanae, sailed from thence to Cas-
sandrea. C. Popilius, who was in Delos to guard and waite those ships which were bound for Ma-
cedonie, after he heard say that the warre in Macedonie was brought to an end, and the enemies
vessels removed out of their roade, dismissed also for his part the Athenian ships, intending to go L
forward in his voiage for Ægypt, to accomplish that embassage which he had taken in hand; to
the end that he might encounter Antiochus, before he approached the walls of Alexandria. As
these embassadours coasted along the river of Asia, and were arrived at Loryma (a port somewhat
more than twentie miles distant from Rhodes, and situate just over against the citie) the principal
States of Rhodes, met him in the way (for now by this time was the fame of this victorie flown so
far) requesting him to set saile thither & there to land: for that it concerned their citie much in
fame & reputation, yea, & was expedient for their good and safetie, that they should be made ac-
quainted with all that either had beene done or was now in hand at Rhodes, & so to make report
therof at Rome upon their own knowledge, and not as things were voiced by the common bruit.
They refused a long time, but in the end they were so importuned, that content they were to saile M
a little farther, and spend some small time for to gratifie and benefite a citie associate unto them.
When they were come to Rhodes, the same principall citizens aforesaid urged them instantly
with much praier and entreatie to come into their generall assembly of the people. The arrivall
of these embassadours rather augmented than empaired the feare of the citie. For Popilius made
rehearsall

rehearsall there in open audience, of all which had beene done or spoken (founding any way to
hostilitie) either in particular or in generall by them, during the late warre. And being as he was,
a grim sir, rough and fierce by nature, hee aggravated all that he spake, with his soure visage and
sharpe language, like an accuser at the barre: insomuch as they might well conjecture & guesse,
how the whole bodie of the Senate stood affected unto them, by the bitterneffe of one only Sen-
atour, who otherwise for himselfe had no occasion of particular ill will and malice against the
citie. But the speech of Decimius was more temperate, who said, that the blame of those imputa-
tions for the most part which were objected by Popilius, was not to be laid upon the people, but
upon a few persons, who had solicited and stirred the multitude: for those having their tongue
at hire, and using to speak for gaine, had made decrees full of flatterie to please the king, and sent
such embassages, as the Rhodians at all times were no lesse ashamed than repented of: All which
practises of theirs no doubt would fall upon their heads who were faultie, in case the people had
the government and rule in their owne hands. Audience he had with great assent and applause;
not more for elevating the fault and trespasse of the common people, than for laying the weight
upon those that were the authours culpable. And therefore when the cheefe men among them
made answer to the Romanes, their words, who went about to excuse and save in some sort as
well as they could the articles objected by Popilius, were not so wel taken, as their speech who ac-
cording to Decimius, in delivering the guiltie persons and offenders to bee punished according
to their demerites. Whereupon there passed presently a decree, That all those who might bee
convicted of any deed done or word spoken in favour of Perseus against the Romanes, should be
condemned and have sentence to loose their heads. Some of these persons were departed out of
the citie upon the coming of the Romanes, others laid violent hands upon themselves. These
embassadours or delegates having sojourned no longer than five daies at Rhodes, departed and
made saile for Alexandria. And notwithstanding their absence, the execution of judiciall proceed-
ing was no lesse holily followed at Rhodes, according to the decree made in their presence. For
the moderation and gentle cariage of Decimius was the very cause that they persisted resolute,
and gave not over untill they had gone through with it, and dispatched all.

Whiles these affaires were thus managed, Antiochus after he had assaied in vaine to force the
walls of Alexandria, was departed from before the citie, and having possessed himselfe of all Æ-
gypt besides, & left the elder Ptolomeus at Memphis, (for whose behoofe he pretended by his own
forces to reconquer the kingdom, to the end that soone after the conquest obtained, he might
set upon him likewise) withdrew his armie away into Syria. Ptolomeus for his part was nothing
ignorant of his designment and intention, making full account, that whiles he kept his younger
brother affrighted with the feare of siege, by the helpe of his sister hee might bee received into
Alexandria: considering withall, that his brothers friends were not opposed against him, first hee
sent unto his sister, afterwards to his brother and his friends, and never gave over to write and
send, before hee had concluded and established a peace with them. The thing that made him to
suspect Antiochus was this, for that when he had made over all the rest of Ægypt unto him, hee
left yet a strong garison behind at Pelusium: and well he knew, that he held still the frontier towns
as the very keies of Ægypt, to the end that he might with an armie enter & invade again, when so-
ever he would. And thus he conceived of it, that this would be the issue of the civile and domesti-
call warre betweene brethren. That the victour wearied with warre, should not bee able to make
head against Antiochus. These things wisely forecast and scene by the elder brother, were recei-
ved with assent of the younger and those that were assistant about him: and the sister betweene
stood in very good stead, not by her good advise and counsell onely, but also by her effectuall
praers. And therefore by a generall accord of all, a peace was concluded, and the elder Pto-
lomeus received into Alexandria, without any gainesaying or resistance at all so much as of the
very multitude; notwithstanding that during the warre they were much decayed and weakened
(not only by the siege, but also after it was raised & the armie gone from Alexandria) for want of
all things, by reason that no provisions were brought thither from out of Ægypt. Now, where as
Antiochus should have taken great contentment & rejoiced much for this, in case he had brought
his forces into Ægypt for to restore Ptolomeus into his own estate (which was the goodly pretence
and colourable shew that he made to all the States of Asia and Greece, when hee received their
embassages, or sent forth his letters into all parts) so it fell out, that he was so highly offended and
displeased hereat, that hee went in hand and prepared to make war now against them both much
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* For Pelusium
is called Clavis
Ægyptiæ. Or-
telius noteth out
of Suidas.

more eagerly and with greater malice than before against one alone. Presently he rigged & sent out his navie at sea to Cyprus; himselfe in person at the beginning of the spring minding to invade Egypt, marched forward with his armie as farre as into C^ele-Syria. The embassadours of *Ptolomeus* encountered him in his journey about *Rhincolura, and gave him thanks in behalfe of their K. and maister, for that by his means he had recovered the inheritance of his fathers kingdom: requesting withall to mainteine that benefit & good deed of his, to declare rather by word of mouth what he would have done, than deale by sword in hand and force of armes, and not of a friend and allie to become a mortall enemy. His answer was, that he would neither call backe his fleet nor withdraw his army upon any condition, unlesse he quit unto his use as wel the whole Isle of Cyprus, as the citie *Pelusium, together with the territorie about the mouth of Nilus, called *Pelusiacum Ostium. And therewith he set him downe a day, before which he expected to receive his answer as touching the accomplishment of the said conditions. After the day prefixed for the truce was past, as they failed in the mouth of Nilus neere Pelusium, the states along the deserts of Arabia yielded. Then, being received of them that inhabite about Memphis, & the rest of the Egyptians, partly with favor & good wil, & partly for feare & constraint, by small journeyes hee descended toward Alexandria. When hee was passed over the river at Leusine (a place about 4 miles distant from Alexandria) the Romane embassadors met him upon the way. After greetings and salutations at their first comming, he put forth his right hand to *Popilius*; but hee delivered unto him a scroll written, and willed him before hee did any thing else to read that script. After he had red the writing through, he answered that he would devise with his friends & consider what was best to be done. But *Popilius* according to his ordinarie blunt manner of speech which he had by nature, made a circle about the king with the rod that hee had in his hand, and withall, Make me an answer (quoth he) I advise you, such as I may report to the Senate, before you passe the compassse of this circle. The king astonied at this so rude & violent a commandement, after he had staied & paused a while: I will be content (qd. he) to doe whatsoever the Sena shall ordeine. Then and not before, *Popilius* gave the king his hand as to a friend and allie. Afterwards when *Antiochus* was departed out of Egypt by the day prefixed, the said Embassadours or delegats having by their authoritie established concord also between the two brethren (who as yet were not thoroughly agreed) some of them failed to Cyprus, and from thence they sent away the fleet of *Antiochus*, which already had given an overthrow in battaile to the Egyptian ships. This was a noble embassage and much renowned among those nations, for that thereby Egypt was undoubtedly taken from *Antiochus*, who was as good as possessed thereof already, and the inheritance of the kingdom restored againe to the race of *Ptolomeus*.

Of the two Consuls that yeece, like as the one was famous in his place by this notable victorie, so the other was little or nothing spoken of, by reason he had not matter of any great exploit to be employed in. And first of all when he was assigned a certain day for the legions to meet, he entered into the temple without the luckie approbation of the auspices. And when the Augurs were moved & their advise required therein, they declared, that there was an error committed in the appointment of the said day. In his voiage for France he kept his standing leaguer for the summer time about the mountains Sicimina and Papinus nere the plains called *Macri. And afterwards he wintered about the same places with the allies of the Latine nation. For, the Romane legions because the day was not rightly appointed for the assembly of the forces at the *Rendus-vant*, remained behind at Rome. Also the Pretors, save only *C. Pappus Carbo*, unto whose lot Sardinia was fallen, went forth into their provinces: & him the LL. of the Senat had ordained to attend upon his civill jurisdiction at Rome between citizens & forreiners (for by lot that charge also hee had.) *Popilius* likewise, & that embassage which was sent to *Antiochus* returned to Rome: where he made relation that the controversies betwene the two kings were decided, & the armie of *Antiochus* retired out of Egypt into Syria. After this came the embassadors also of the kings themselves. Those of *Antiochus* made report that the king their maister esteemed more of the peace approved by the Senate, than of any victorie whatsoever, and obeyed the orders set downe by the Romane embassadors, no lesse than the very messengers comming with commandements directly from the gods: and finally they testified their owne contentment, and wished them great joy of their victorie obtained, saying that the king himselfe would have bin with all his power at the achieving thereof, in case he had bene enjoined to performe any service. The embassadors of *Ptolomeus* in the name jointly of their king & of *Cleopatra*, rendred thanks unto them, acknowledging

A knowing themselves more bounden and beholden to the Senate and people of Rome, than to their owne parents, yea and more than to the immortall gods; for by their good means they were first delivered from the most lamentable miseries of a siege, and had recovered their fathers kingdom, which they were at the point to have lost for ever. The Senate returned this answer againe, That whereas *Antiochus* had bene ruled and ordered by the embassadours, therein hee did well and as it becomed him, and in so doing he highly contented and pleased the Senat and people of Rome. Againe, if *Ptolomeus* and *Cleopatra* the king and queene of Egypt, had found any goodnesse and commoditie by them, the Senate was very glad therfore and rejoiced therat, and would endeavour and worke it so, that they might bee perswaded that the greatest assistance and safeguard of their realme rested at all times most in the faithfull protection of the people of Rome. This said, the Pretour *C. Pappus* had in charge to see that presents and gifts were sent to these embassadours according to the auncient custome. Then were letters brought out of Macedonie to redouble the joy of the victorie, importing that *Perseus* was sure ynough in the hands of the Consull.

When those embassadours were dismissed and gone, much debate and argument there was betwene the Embassadours of the Pisanes and Lunenses. They of Pisa complained that they were disleized and driven out of their territorie by the Romane coloners: contrariwise those of Luna plainly averred, that the land in controversie had bene set out & assigned for them by the Triumvirs. The Senate hereupon sent five men as commissioners to make inquisition into the limits of the said territorie and to determine accordingly, and those were *Q. Fabius Buteo*, *P. Cornelius Blasio*, *T. Sempronius Musa*, *L. Nevius Balbus*, & *C. Apuleius Saturninus*. There came likewise a solemne embassage sent in common from *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and *Athenaus*, all three brethren, to notify the joy and contentment which they tooke for the Romanes victorie. Moreover *L. Manlius* the treasurer was readie at Puteoli to receive and welcome *Masaniassa* the son of king *Masaniassa*, as hee should disbarke and set a land: for sent hee was of purpose with money to meet him upon the way, to conduct him also and bring him to Rome at the cities charges. He was no sooner come, but immediately audience was given him in the Senate. This young prince spake in such sort, as the things which of themselves were acceptable enough indeed, he graced & made more worthe of acceptance by his good words. He rehearsed what forces of foot & horse both, how many elephants, what quantitie of corn for that four yeeres space (during the warre) his father had sent over into Macedonie. But two things there were for which hee was discomfited & could not chuse but blush: the one, that the Senat by their embassadors had made request unto him, & not commanded rather to furnish them with necessities for the war: the other, that they had sent them money to pay for their come. For *Masaniassa* was not forgetfull, but bare well in mind, that he held his kingdom as first conquered for him, afterwards augmented and amplified many waies unto him by the people of Rome: and for his owne part, he could content himselfe with the use and occupation thereof, as a tenant in fee-firme; acknowledging the proprietie and possession thereof to bee in them who as lords of the fee feoffed him therein. Good reason therefore and meet it was that they also should bee bold with their owne, to take and not to aske, to have and not to crave, much lesse then to buy the commodities and fruites yssuing out of the lands by them demised given and graunted. As for *Masaniassa*, sufficed hee was, and evermore would rest contented with that overplus which the people of Rome might leave & spare for him. Thus much (quoth he) I had in charge and commission from my fathers owne mouth, when I departed and took my leave of him: but afterwards certain horsemen riding post over-tooke me, to let me understand that Macedonie was subdued; and to charge me, that after I had signified our joy in your behalfe, I should shew unto the Senate, that my father tooke such contentment therein, that he would gladly come to Rome, to offer sacrifice and render thanks to *Jup. opt. Max.* in the capitoll: which to doe hee requested leave of the Senate, so it might stand with their good liking, and be no trouble unto them. The prince received this answer from the Senat, That his father *Masaniassa* did as becomed a good man and thankfull person so to doe, in giving such a grace & honor over & above, to benefit of dutie required. Moreover, that the people of Rome acknowledged how they had received great helpe at his hands in the Punick warre by his valiant and loiall service, as well as he obtained his kingdom through the favour of the people of Rome, yea and afterwards according to equitie and justice, had borne himselfe right worthily in all sort of devoirs and duties during the warres of three kings one after another.

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Neither was it any marvell at all, that he rejoyced at the victorie of the people of Rome, beeing
 a king who had engaged, hazarded, and entangled all his owne fortunes and the whole estate of
 his kingdome with the Romane affaires. As for rending thanks to the gods for the victorie of
 the people of Rome, let him doe that himselfe in his owne house at home; for it should suffice;
 that his sonne for him performed that dutie at Rome. That hee and his father both had suffici-
 ently for their parts testified their joy. As for *Masaniissa*, in proper person to leave his realme
 and depart out of Africke, over and besides that it was in no wise profitable to himselfe, the Se-
 nat deemed it not expedient for the weale-publique of the people of Rome. *Masgaba* further-
 more requested, that *Hanno* the sonne of *Amilcar* should be sent hostage in place of another
 Carthaginian (whose name is not knowne;) but the Senate answered, That they thought it not
 meet to demand hostages at the pleasure of *Masaniissa*. The treasurer was commaunded by order
 from the Senat, to buy certaine presents for to bestow upon this young prince, namely, as much
 plate as might arise out of an hundred pound weight of silver: also to accompanie him as faite
 as Puteoli; to defray all his charges during his abode within Italie; and to hire two ships for to
 transport and conduct him and his princely traine into Africk. To all his retinue as well bondas
 free, there was allowance made of apparell.

Not long after, were letters brought as concerning *Misagethes* the second sonne of *Masaniissa*,
 who after that *Paulus* had vanquished *Perseus*, was sent home by the said *Paulus* into Africk with
 his Cavallerie: but as he failed, was driven (sicke as he was) upon Brundisium with three ships
 onely, for that the rest of the fleet was disappeared in the Adriaticke sea. *Sextinius* the treasurer
 was sent to him at Brundisium, with the like gifts as were bestowed upon his brother at Rome,
 and a charge to see to his lodging.

By vertue of an act granted out of the Senat, the Libertines [i.e. the sonnes of freed men] were en-
 rolled into the foure tribes of the citie, all save those who had a sonne above five yeeres old;
 with expresse commaundement, That when they were to be enrolled at the review next ensuing,
 their goods also should be valued, and they accordingly entred into the subsidie bookes; name-
 ly, That as many of them as possessed any manour or manours in the countrey, esteemed better
 worth than thirtie thousand Sesterces, should be enrolled and assessed. This ordinance being
 thus observed, *Claudius* denied flatly, that the Censor had authoritie to take from any particu-
 lar person, and much lesse from a whole state and degree of men, the right and libertie of suffra-
 ges, without the warrant and ordinance of the people: for say, that he have power to caste a man
 out of his tribe, (which is nothing else but to commaund him to change his tribe) it followeth
 not then, that he may dispossesse and displace him out of all the five and thirtie tribes, which is
 much as to strike him out of the number of citizens, and deprive him quite of his freedom and
 burgesie: and is not (I say) to limit and set down in what raunge he shall be enrolled, but to ex-
 clude him full and wholly out of all enrolment. This dispute and debate passed between them;
 untill at last they grew to this point, that of the foure citie tribes, they should cast lots openly in
 the hall and cloister of *Libertas* for one tribe, in which all they should be registred and compri-
 sed, who had been villaines sometimes and were enfranchised. Now this lot fell to the tribe Ex-
 quilunæ. Then *Tib. Gracchus* pronounced, That ordained it was to enroll in it all the Libertins.
 Great honour and reputation with the Senat gained the Censors by this act: *Sextonius* like-
 wise wan much thanks therefore, because hee had persisted constantly in that good enterprise
 so well commended: and *Claudius* went not without his due thank, for that he was no hinderance
 to this proceeding. In this review and survey taken by the Censors, more Senators were remoov-
 ed and put out of the counceill, yea and more gentlemen commaunded to sell their horses of
 service, than by other Censors in former time. And all those by both of them joyntly were not
 only displaced out of their tribes, & made no better than *Aerarij* (to loose their voice) but also to
 pay all taxes whatsoever to the utmost. And looke who was noted and disgraced by the one, had
 no reliefe nor hope to recover his credit and place by the other. Now when these Censors de-
 manded, That according to a custome and order, they might be allowed a yeeres space and two
 moneths, to looke into the reparations of the publick edifices, that they were maintained wind-
 tight and water-tight; as also to see whether they who had undertaken to finish certaine works
 at a price, had performed their bargain accordingly: *Cn. Tremellius* a Tribune interpoled him-
 selfe and denied this demand, for anger that he was not chosen and taken into the Senat. The
 same yeere *C. Cicerinus* dedicated a chappell in the Albane mount, which he had vowed five yeeres
 before.

* This hath re-
 sp. it is not
 either a tribune
 or not a tribune.

A before. Also that yeere was *L. Posthumius Albinus* enstalled a Flamine of *Mars*. The Consuls
Q. Ælius and *M. Junius* propounded in the Senat, as touching the government of their provin-
 ces: and the LL. ordained, That Spaine should be divided againe into two provinces, which
 had been united in one during the Macedonian warre: also that the same *L. Paulus* and *L. An-
 ticus* should defend and keep in obedience as before, Macedonie and Illyricum, untill such time
 as they by the advife of certaine depured commissioners, had both composed all matters and
 affaires disordered and troubled by the warres; and also reformed the estate of that realme, by
 inducing it into a new forme. The provinces assigned unto the Consuls were Pise and Gaule,
 and they had the commaund of two legions of footmen, and four hundred horsemen apeece.
 The Pretours had their lots for government as followeth: The civill jurisdiction over citizens
 fell to *Q. Cassius*, and over strangers to *M. Juvencius Talla*: *Tib. Claudius Nero* was L. depute
 of Sicilie, *Cn. Fulvius* of the hither Spaine, and *C. Licinius Nerva* of the farther: last of all,
A. Manlius Torquatus was appointed to the government of Sardinia; but into his province he
 could not goe, by occasion that hee was detained at home by vertue of an act of the Senat, to
 make inquisition into certaine felonious and capitall crimes. After this, consultation there was
 in the Senat as touching the prodigies which were reported. The chappell of the Penates (pro-
 tectors of the citie) in Velia was smitten with thunder and lightning. Also in the towne Miner-
 vium, two gates and a good part of the wall felt the like harme. At Anagnia it had rained earth,
 and in Lanuvium there appeared in the skie a burning flame. Moreover, *M. Valerius* a citizen of
 Rome gave knowledge, that in Calatia within the publicke territorie of that citie, for the space
 of three dayes and two nights together, bloud gushed out in his chimney hearth where he kept
 fire: and for this strange sight above all the rest, the Decenvirs were commaunded to have re-
 course unto the bookes of *Sibylla*: who proclaimed a publicke supplication of the people for
 one day, and sacrificed fiftie goats in the common market place of the citie. Also in regard of the
 other prodigies, a supplication was holden another day, and men did their devotions at everie
 altar of the gods; greater beasts were killed for sacrifices, and the citie was solemnly cleansed and
 purged. This done, as touching the honor of the immortall gods, the Senat ordained, that foras-
 much as the two kings *Perseus* and *Gentius* their enemies were overcome, & now at the devotion
 of the people of Rome, together with Macedonie and Illyricum, *Q. Cassius* and *M. Juvencius* the
 Pretours should give order for as great oblations to be offered unto the gods at every shrine and
 altar, as had been heretofore (when *App. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* were Consuls) for the de-
 feat of king *Antiochus*. Then they ordained certaine delegates, by whose advife *L. Paulus* and
L. Anticus the two Generals, might set all affaires in order, namely, ten into Macedonie, and five
 into Illyricum. For Macedonie were nominated *A. Posthumius Lufus* and *C. Claudius* (who both
 had been Censors) *C. Licinius Crassus*, late companion to *Paulus* in the Consulship, and who at
 that present had the government of Gaule continued unto him. To these delegates above-na-
 med, men of Consular dignitie all by their calling, were adjoined in commission *Cn. Domitius
 Aenobarbus*, *Ser. Cornelius Sylla*, *L. Junius*, *C. Antistius Labeo*, *T. Numisius Tarchinensis*, and *Au-
 lus Terentius Varro*. For Illyricum were these named, *P. Aelius Ligus*, one that had been Consul,
C. Cicerinus and *Cn. Babius Tamphilus* (this *Babius* had beene Pretour but the former yeere, and
 E *Cicerinus* many yeeres past) *P. Terentius Tuscovicanus*, and *P. Manilius*. Then the Consuls being
 advertised by the LL. of the Senat, that (for as much as one of them must succeed *C. Licinius* in
 Gaule, who was nominated one of the delegates) they should part their provinces between them
 either by accord and agreement, or by lot make choice of the fortune of lotterie. So Pise fell to
M. Junius (but before he went into his province, he had in charge to bring into the Senat, those
 embassies which from all parts were come to Rome for to declare their joy in the behalfe of the
 people of Rome) and Gaule to *Q. Aelius*.

Albeit such personages were sent, as by whose sage counsell good hope there was, that the
 cheefe commanders of the Romane armies would passe no decree unbefitting either the clem-
 encie or majestie of the people of Rome, yet debated it was in the Senat about the summe and
 F principall points of all their counsels and designes; to the end that the said Legates might carie
 unto the Generals all things plotted already and begun to their hands at home in the citie. In
 the first place ordained it was, That the Macedonians and Illyrians remaine free and enjoy their
 liberties, that all nations of the earth might see, that the drift of the Romane armies and forces
 was not to bring free states into servitude, but contrariwise to reduce those that were in bondage
 to

to libertie, to the end that those nations which now enioied freedome, might bee secured under their safeguard and protection both of suretie & of perpetuities, & such as lived in subjection under the kings, might both for the present time find their government more mild and righteous, for that respect which the kings have of the people of Rome; and also, if it fortuneth hereafter that there should be warre betweene the people of Rome and their kings, they might be assured that the issue of those warres would bring victorie to the Romanes, and procure libertie to themselves. Also agreed it was that there should be no more ferming out of the mettall mines in Macedonie, albeit they yeelded a great revenue; nor yet of publick lands & possessions in the country: for possible it was not that these matters should bee practised and followed without publick canes; and where those intermeddle and have ought to doe, then it must needs follow, that either the publicke right and prerogative of the State be annulled, or the libertie of allies come to nothing. Neither were the Macedonians themselves able to exercise the same: for looke where the ministers and managers of any thing see a bootie presented before their eyes, there, occasions of sedition and contention will never be wanting. Moreover, concluded it was, that there should be no common and generall counsell of the whole nation, for teare least at any time the leawd vulgar people having by the Senate libertie graunted unto them tending unto a good and holisome moderation and equalitie of the State, should abuse the same and draw it to a mischievous and pestilent licentiousness. But they thought it good policie to devide Macedonie into four quarters and counties, that each one might have their severall counsell: likewise it was supposed to stand with good reason and equitie, that they should pay the one moitie of that tribute which they were wont to yeeld unto their KK. Semblable commission and like directions they had for Illyricum. As for all other matters, referred they were to the discretion of the Generals and the Delegate commissioners, who might bee better able to devise more certeinly of particulars, according to the occurrents presented unto them in the managing of their affaires.

Among many and fundrie embassadours of kings, nations, and states, *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes* most of all others amused mens minds, and drew their eyes upon him: for by them who had born arms together with him in that war, welcommed he was much more heartily, and received with greater courtesie than if *Eumenes* the K. himselfe had come. Two occasions there were outwardly pretended, and those carrying a good shew of honestie & credit, which brought him to Rome: the one, a gratulation or testimonie of joy (as meet it was) for that victory, wherein himselfe lent his helping hand; the other, a complaint of French tumultuous warres and the bloudie hostilitie of *Adversus* their king, by which meanes his brothers kingdome was in great jeopardie. But there lay another thing hidden underneath, namely, an inward and secret hope that he conceived of honours and rewards from the Senat, which hardly he could seeme to aime and reach unto, without some unkindnesse and violence offered to brotherly duty and affection. For some there were even of the Romanes also, who did him no good but gave him bad counsell, drew on his appetite with faire hopes, and set him a longing, feeding him with these and such like conceits. That in Rome this was the opinion entertained of *Attalus* and *Eumenes*, as if the one of them were a friend fast and sure to the Romanes; the other an allie, sound and faithful neither to the Romans nor yet to *Persus*: and therefore hard it were to set downe and say, Whether of the twaine would be more easily obtained at the Senates hands, namely, a suit made in his own name for his preferment, or a demand of some hard course against his brother: so bent were all men in general to grant any thing to *Attalus*, & to denie every thing to *Eumenes*. *Attalus* (as the sequell and prooff sheweth) was sib to those persons whose desires reach at all that hope promise, had not the sage admonition of one friend come between to bridle his affections, ravished and transported so as they were with the amiable aspect and fawning flatterie of his own good fortune. He had about him at that time one *Stratius* a physician, sent by *Eumenes* (who rested not secure of his brothers loialtie) to Rome, of purpose for to lie in cuspial & observe all that *Attalus* did: and to advise him faithfully, if he saw him tread awrie and practise ought against his dutie and allegiance. When hee came unto him, hee found his cares already possessed, and his spirit tempted and solicited beforehand: howbeit taking his times and waiting opportunities, he went roundly to worke and flucke to it close, untill hee had set all up againe which was at the point to run on end, and fall to the ground. Hee alleadged and laid these remonstrances before his eyes, saying, That kingdomes have growne mightie, some by one meanes, some by others: but as for theirs, being but newly erected, and grounded upon no strength of auncient foundations, it stood

A stood upright only by the mutuall concord of him & his brethren, in that one of them beareth the name and title of king, wearing the diademe & crowne alone upon his head, but in effect all three brethren be KK. As for you *Attalus* (qd. he) who are the eldest brother save one, who is it that reputeth you for lesse than a king, not only for that he seeth you so mightie at this present, but also for the next heir apparant, & without al doubt like shortly to reign indeed? considering the feeble bodie & crasse age of *Eumenes*, who hath besides, no issue of children to succeed him in the roiall throne? (for as yet hee tooke no knowledge of him that reigned afterwards.) What need then is there to use violence, & to force that which of the one accord will shortly be devolved upon you and fall into your hands? Moreover a new tempest & storm is risen of French wars, threatening peril unto the realm, which it will be hard for you princes to withstand, agree as well as you can in all brotherly love unitie and concord. But if to forraigne war abroad, there should arise a domesticall and civile dissention betweene you at home, what remedie then, but utter ruine and destruction? Neither shall you (*Attalus*) purchase any good but this, first to prevent that your brother be not king; & then to disable & disappoint your selfe of that neer & assured hope you have to be K. But say, that to preserve a kingdome for a brother, & to wrest a kingdome from a brother, were honorable and glorious deeds both the one and the other, yet surely, of the twain, to have saved a kingdome deserveth greater commendation and praise, in that it sorteth so well with pietie and kindnesse. And certes, seeing the other is a cursed and detestable part, even next neighbor to parricide; what scruple and doubt remaineth now which needeth any farther deliberation? For tell me, I beseech you, is it one parcell of the kingdome that you reach at, or shoot you at the whole? If you aime at a part onely, then upon the dismembred and distraction of your puissance, you shall bee both twaine much weakened and exposed to the daunger of all injuries: if you would have all, what shall become of your brother? Would you wish him being your elder, to live a private person? or so far stept in yeers as he is, a banished man; and namely with those infirmities of bodie which hee carrieth about him? or would you commaund to take his life away and rid him out this world at once? Now truly to say nothing of the unhappie & miserable issue of such gracelesse and wicked brethren, delivered unto us in fained fables, you see what a goodly fair end *Persus* is come unto, who being in the temple of Samothracia, was constrained lying prostrate upon the ground; to bafe at the feet of the enimie his conquerour, the crowne and diademe which hee came unjustly by, even with the unnaturall murder of his owne brother: as if the gods in heaven had been there present, to require due punishment for his horrible fact. To conclude, they also themselves, who in no friendly love & affection to you, but in rancour & hatred to your brother *Eumenes*, have put these designs into your head, & pricke you on to execute the same; even they, I say, will praise your kindnesse, your pietie and constancie, in case you persevere true & trustie to your brother, to the very end. These and such like important persuasions prevailed with *Attalus* and settled deeply in his mind. Therefore being admitted into the Senate, after hee had wished joy unto them, and protested his own for the late victorie, hee laid abroad and declared his owne demerites and good service in that war, the favors also (such as they were) done by his brother, and last of all, the revolt of the Gaules, lately broken out with great troubles and commotions. His petition to the Senate was, for to send their embassadours unto them, by whose countenance and authoritie they might be reclaimed, and so lay armes aside. Having declared this message which concerned the profit in generall of the realme; hee made a speciall suite for himselfe, and demanded to have *Aenus* and *Maronea* given unto him. And thus, when hee had put them besides their hope, who thought verily, that after hee had accused his brother, he would have required the kingdome to be devided peccemcale and dismembred, he departed out of the Counsell house. Seldome had been known at any time before any man whatsoever, king or subiect, to have had the like audience with so great favour and applause of all men, as he: received and entertained he was right honourably with gifts and presents of all sorts whiles he was at Rome, and with the like they accompanied him at his departure.

Among many embassies of Asia and Greece, the Rhodian embassadours were most marked and looked upon throughout all the cite: for whereas at first they were all trim & goodly to be seen in their white & bright apparell, as decent it was for them that would seeme to congratulate for the victorie (for if they had wome black or been poorly arraid, it might have ben construed, that they mourned for the misfortune and calamitie of *Persus*) after that *M. Junius* the Consull brake with the LL. of the Senate (and all that while the said embassadours stood without in the common

common place Comitium) to consider and advise, whether they would allow lodging, presents, G and give audience in the Senat unto them: they resolved & were of opinion to observe no rights nor customes of hospitalitie with them. Then went the Consull out of the Senate: unto whom when the Rhodians said that they were come to rejoice in their behalfe for the late victorie, and withall, to aunswere in the name of their cittie to certeine crimes wherewith they were charged, requesting that they might speake before the Senate and be heard with indifference: the Consull pronounced aloud unto them, That the custome indeed of the Romanes was, to entreat their allies & friends graciously, & among other matters of courtesie & hospitalitie which they afforded unto them, to graunt them also a day of hearing in the Senate; but the Rhodians had not demeaned themselves during the war, in such sort, as to be reckoned in the number of lovers & associates. At the hearing of these words they cast themselves all prostrate on the ground, beseeching H the Consull and all those that were present, not to suffer that false imputations of late furnished should against all reason prejudice the Rhodians more, than their good deserts of old (whereof themselves were sufficient witnesses) stand them in stead. And presently after they had put on simple apparrell and mourning weeds, they went about from house to house visiting the principal persons of the cittie, humbly beseeching them with teares, to heare their cause before they were condemned. *M. Iuvenius Taurus* the Pretour or L. chiefe justice for the pleas between citizens and straungers, was the onely agent that provoked and incited the people against the Rhodians: nay he had promulged and published a bill to this effect, That warre might bee denounced against the Rhodians; also, that out of the magistrates for that yeere they would make choise of some one to bee sent as Admirall with a fleet for the manning of that warre: hoping that I himselfe should be the man. But this action and proceeding of his was crossed by *M. Antonius* and *M. Pomponius*, two Tribunes of the commons. Over and besides, the Pretour, to say a truth, had broached this matter after a new and strange fashion, & to the evill example of future times, in that he preferred a bill unto the people of his owne head alone, without asking the advise of the Senate, or making the Consuls acquainted therewith: and that in this manner and forme, Pleaseth it you, and is it your will, that warre be proclaimed against the Rhodians? whereas alwaies before-time, in question of warre, the Senats advise was first taken, and then the thing was proposed unto the people. Likewise the Tribunes of the commons for their part, did more than they might, and a thing not warrantable by any precedent. For it was a custome & tradition observed ever of old, that no person should interpose his negative to crosse any bill, before that K private men in particular had their course and turne graunted, both to perswade or dissuade the same: by which meanes many a time it fell out, that even they who never professed nor meant to oppose themselves, being mooved and induced by the reasons of those that stood up to dissuade, and perceiving also by them the inconveniences of such a bill, would step betwene and dashall: yea and contrariwise such as came of purpose to crosse and nip the same, being convinced by the L authority and borne downe by the important arguments alleadged by those that enforced the said bill, would desist and surcease. Thus the Pretours and Tribunes strove a vie who should doe every thing more unreasonably than others. The Tribunes impeached and staid the hastines of the Pretour, interposing their negative before the time, and deferring the matter untill the coming of the L. Generall.

* The beginning of this Oration of the Rhodians to the LL. of the Senate is lost.

Whither we have transgressed and offended yea or no, that yet remaineth doubtfull: but sure we are of this, that we suffer all punishments and shamefull ignominies already that can be devised. Heretofore, when the Carthaginians were vanquished, when *Philip*, when *Antiochus* was overthrowne, wee came to Rome: from our publicke lodging provided for us at the charges of the "cittie, wee presented our selves (my LL.) into your Counsel-house, to testifie our great contentment for your conquests: from the Counsel-house we went directly to the capitoll, carrying with "us presents and oblations to the honour of your gods. But now we the same Rhodians are come "unto your Senat clothed in this poor habit and array, as you see, from out of a base hostellie and "common inne, where hardly we could have lodging for our money; being commanded in man- "ner of enemies to make our abode without the citie walls; we Rhodians (I say) whom but lately ye "feasted with the graunt of two provinces, Lycia and Cyria, & whom ye graced with all kind of ho- "nours, and enriched with all manner of gifts and rewards. You ordaine as wee here say, that the "Macedonians and Illyrians should live free, notwithstanding they were in servitude before they "levied warre against you. Neither speake wee this in envie and repine for any mans welfare and good

A good estate; nay wee acknowledge therein the rare clemencie of the people of Rome:) and "will yee then make the Rhodians of friends, enemies, who during this warre did no more but sit "and meddle with neither part? Now surely yee Romanes are the men that pretend and give out "ordinarily, that your warres have good successe and speed well, because they be just and righte- "ous: neither do you glorie so much in the event and yssue thereof, whereby ye are revengers and "conquerours, as for the beginning and first enterprises, in that yee undertake them not without "good cause. The besieging of Messana in Sicilie by the Carthaginians, was the cause that the "people of Rome reputed them enemies. The assailing of Athens by *Philip*, his intent and pur- "pose to bring Greece into servitude, his relieving of *Anniball* with men and money, caused him "likewise to be holden for their enemy. Thus *Antiochus* brought upon his owne head the Roman "warre, for that he being sollicit by the Aetolians your enemies came willingly out of Asia, and "with a fleet sailed over to Greece: and when hee had seized upon Demetrias, Chalcis, and the "streights of Thermopylae, went about to dispossesse you of the empire. And last of all, *Perseus* "by levying armes against your allies, by killing some of their petickings and princes, by mur- "dering other chiefe personages of sundrie nations and citties, gave you just occasion to make "warre upon him. But what colourable cause can there be pretended of our calamitie, if needs we "must miscarrie and perish? All this while I make no difference between our citties case and that "of *Polyaratus* and *Dion* our citizens, even those persons whom we have brought to deliver into "your hand. For suppose that the cause were all one; and that wee Rhodians were all faultie and "culpable alike, what might that crime be for which we are touched in this warre? We favoured "C *Perseus* and that side (you will say) and like as in the warre of *Antiochus* and *Philip*, wee stood with "you against those things, so now we tooke part with the K. against you. Was that all? well. In what "sort we are wont to aid our associates, and how lustily to enterprise warres, do but aske of *C. Livius* "and *L. Aemilius Regillus*, the Admirals of your fleets in Asia. Your ships never fought at sea "without us; yet we with our own Armada alone fought a battaile once before Samos, & a second "time in Pamphylia against Generall *Anniball*: which victorie they shieved was unto us by so "much more honourable and glorious, for that after we had in an unfortunate fight nere Samos "lost many of our ships and the very choise and floure of our youth, we nothing terrified and dis- "maied with so great an overthrow, durst turne againe to make head, yea and were so hardie as to "encounter the kinges roiall navie coming out of Syria. And all this have I related not by way "D of boast and to glorifie our selves (for we are not now in case to stand upon those rearmes) but to "give you a ~~rest~~ by the way and put you in mind, in what maner the Rhodians have used evermore "to succour their confederats. And for the better prooffe therof, after the defeaure, of *Philip* and "Antiochus we received at your hands right great rewards & recompence for our service. In case "the fortune of *Perseus* had bene so happie as yours is at this present (praised be the gods for their "grace and goodnes, and thanked be your owne valour withall) & we had come into Macedonie "to the king upon his victorie to require and demaund rewards, what could we alleadge therfore? "Might we say that he had bin maintained by our mony, or relieved with our cornes with land for- "ces, or strength at sea? Was there any place by us kept and held with a garison for his use? were we "able to tell where we fought, either under the conduct of his captaines or upon our own leading "E and direction? If haply he should demand in what quarters our souldiours kept? in what coast our "ships lay in guard for his defence, what could we answer? Peradventure we might plead our cause "and excuse our selves in the presence of him, supposed conquerour, like as we now do before you "here in place. For by sending our embassadors to & fro unto you as well as to him about a treatie "of peace, this is all the good we have gotten, that in stead of winning the love and favour of both "parts, we incur the heave displeasure of the one; being thus charged with crimes and wrapped "in dangers. And yet my good LL. and honourable Senatours of Rome, *Perseus* might truly ob- "ject that to us, which you in no wise can, namely, that wee in the beginning of the warre sent em- "bassadours to you making promise in our name of whatsoever was needfull therunto also that "we would be readie at all assaies to furnish you with ships strongly rigged, and with our youth wel "F appointed, like as in the wars aforetime. That we performed not these promises of ours, you only "were the let & hinderance, who (whatsoever the cause was) refused our offered service, & rejected "all our succours. Well then, neither have we attempted ought as enemies, nor failed in the dutie "of good friends & allies: but impeached have we bin by you for effecting that which we intended. "How now? may some man say: Hath there been nothing done or said in your cittie (O yee Rhodians)

dians) that you wish unsaid or undone, and whereat the people of Rome may justly take exceptions and be offended with you for it? Vndertake to iustifie and make good whatsoever hath ben done, I will not, neither have I so little wit I trow; but fever I will the publick cause of the whole state, from the privar offences committed by particular persons: for no citie is there under the sunne, but may otherwhiles have lewd and naughtie citizens some or other, and evermore a rude and forthin multitude. I have heard say, that even amongst you here at Rome, some have sought to advance and set themselves aloft by currying favor and flattering the common people; and that the time was, when the commons rose and departed from among you, so as the rule of the common-weale and people of Rome was out of your hands, as in a verie Anarchie. If such a thing as this might chaunce in this your citie (so well qualified and ordered as it is) how can any man make a wonder, that among us there have been some, who (affecting and seeking for the amitie and friendship of the king) might haply corrupt and seduce our commons with their naughtie counsell? And yet when all is said, they prevailed no more than thus; that we fate still and failed in doing our devoir to you: for I will not over-passe in this place the greatest and most grievous crime of all other wherewith our citie is charged during this war, and that is this, At one and the same time wee sent embassadours both to you and *Perseus* about a peace. This designment so untoward and unluckie as it was, a furious and brainicke oratour and flagent of ours (as afterwards wee understood) handled as foolishly: who (as it is for certain knowne) framed his language in that manner, as if he had ben *C. Popilius* the Romane embassadour, whom yee sent to the two KK. *Antiochus* and *Ptolameus*, to warne them both to lay downe armes and forswear war. But that behaviour of his, (call it what you will, either pride or follie) was no worse before you than it was to *K. Perseus*. Every citie hath their conditions and qualities by themselves, like as particular and severall persons: and semblably it is in whole nations; some are te- tie and chollericke, bold and audacious; others againe be fearfull and timorous: some are given to wine and drunkenness, others to women and wantonness. The people of Athens (by report) are too hasty, hore, and forward to enterprise any thing even beyond their power. The Lacedaemonians againe, be as slow and backward, casting many doubts and difficulties to enter upon the very things which they are assured of. I cannot denie, but that all the country of Asia in general breedeth many a mad braine and vaine spirit: and I will not say, but that our people are jolly fellows of their tongue and can speake bigge, for that wee seeme (among other cities and states bordering upon us) to excell and surpasse; and that not so much in the confidence wee have of our owne forces, as for the honourable regard ye have had of us, and the great testimonies and judgements yee have given out, of us. But that foolish embassage of ours even then at the very time had punishment sufficient, being sent away (as it was) with so heave an answer of yours: and if we were not then disgraced and shamed enough, now surely this present embassage so humble and pitifull, were able to make full satisfaction for a more insolent embassage than it was. All pride (and arrogancie of words especially) chollericke persons indeed hate, wise men deride, and namely from an inferior to his better; but no man ever judged it a mortall sinne and worthe of death: mary here was all the daunger, least haply the Rhodians might seeme thereby to despise the Romans. How then? be there not some also that cannot rule their tongue, but will be railing and uttering blasphemous words against the gods; yet we never heard of any that have been therfore smitten dead with a thunderbolt. What remaineth then for us wherein we should charge and cleere our selves, if we neither can be charged in fact with hostilitie; and if our embassadour hath used some proud and presumptuous words more than became him, which deserve not the totall ruine of our citie, but some sharpe checkes and hard rebukes on both sides of our eares? But I heare (my good LL.) that in your ordinarie talke among your selves when yee are together, we are censured for our inward affection only, and secret thoughts, and condemned no lesse than for some deed, namely, That in heart we favoured the king, and wished him rather than you to obtaine the victorie; and therefore they deeme us worthy to be persecuted with fire and sword. Some there be againe of you, who thinke verily that thus indeed we stood affected, howbeit they would not have us for it to be warred upon as enemies; for that it standeth not with the custome or law of any citie in the world, That if a man with a mischief to his enemy, hee should be straightwaies condemned therefore to die, so long as he hath not entred into any action tending thereto. And verily these men wee have to thanke, who free and quit us yet from punishment, although they cleere us not of guilt: howbeit this sentence we passe against our own selves,

A selves, That if it can be proved, that we were all of us so minded and disposed in affection as we are burdened, (for content we are that all goe under one, heart and hand, will and deed, without distinction) then let us all be punished for it and feele the smart. But if of the great men and chiefe among us, some affected you, and others the king; wee require not, that for the love of us who sided with you, the kings supports should fare the better and escape cleere; but we request and beseech rather, that for their sakes we perish not and be quite undone. And certes, your own selves are not worse affected and more set against them, than our very citie is: which they knowing wel enough, most of them either fled away, or els killed themselves: others of them (such as we have condemned and passed judgement against) shall bee at your pleasure (my LL.) to doe with them what you will. All the rest of us Rhodians, as thanks wee have merited none in this warre, so we have deserved as little punishment. Lay the over-deale and surplussage of our former good deeds and demerits to this want of dutie now, and let the heape of the one make up the scant measure of the other. With three kings of late yeeres yee have maintained warre; let not our slackness and sitting still in this one, endamage and hurt us more, than our devoir and employment in the other twaine may seeme to satisfie and countervail. Set *Philip*, *Antiochus*, and *Perseus*, for three verdicts and sentences as it were passed upon us: two of them acquit us cleere; the third is doubtfull whether it will goe against us or no. In deed if they themselves were to sit upon us, we should no doubt be cast and condemned: but you (my good LL.) that are our competent judges, determine now at once, Whether there shall be a citie of Rhodes remaining upon the face of the earth, or be rased utterly and destroyed from the very foundation for ever: for you are not to debate in counsell about making warre upon us: which well you may begin and goe in hand with at your pleasure; but follow and manage you never shall, because there is not a Rhodian that will take armes and come into the field against you. Will you not be pacified but persist still in your choller and anger? then will wee crave at your hands some respite of time, whiles we may go home & report there how we have sped in this lamentable embassage of ours. And then, all of us in Rhodes franke-borne and of free condition, every one, I say, man and woman, with all our havoir and substance will embarke our selves: forsake wee will our privat houses and publicke edifices; and to Rome straight will we all come: and when we have laid on heaps here in your common hall, and at the porch and entrie of your counsell-house, whatsoever gold and silver we have either in privat purse or common chist: commit we will to your devotion and mercie our owne persons, together with the bodies of our wives and children; and never will we goe further, but even here in this place will we suffer and abide that, which wee have to undergoe and endure. Let our citie then be sacked, rifled and burned, so it be farre enough out of our eye that wee see it not. The Romans may (if it please them) judge the Rhodians enemies; yet you will give us leave to passe in some sort a doome of our owne, That we in our consciences never condemned our selves for such, nor ever will enter in any hostile action against you, come what will, even the utmost extremitie that can bee suffered. After their oration in this manner uttered, they fell downe againe all prostrate, and as humble suppliants cistoones put soorth and shook their branches of the olive, untill at length they were raised up on their feet, and so departed out of the Senat. Then began the LL. within, to give their opinions and passe their sentences of them. The heaviest enemies and most maliciously bent against the Rhodians, were those, who had conducted the warre of Macedonie, as Consuls, Pretours, or lieutenants: but *M. Porcius Cato* was their only patron that stood to them and supported their cause right earnestly; a man otherwise by nature sower and severe, but as then hee shewed himselfe a mild and gracious Senator. I will not insert here the lively portraiture and resemblance of that edipious and eloquent person, by relating the flowing speech which hee then delivered: his very oration is extant in writing, and contained in the fifth booke of his *Origines*. In fine, the Rhodians received such an answer, as they neither were concluded enemies, nor yet remained in the nature and qualitie of friends. The principall persons of this their embassage, were *Philocrates* and *Asymedes*. Ordered it was and agreed betweene them, That *Philocrates* (with some of his fellows) should report this answer at Rhodes; and that *Asymedes* (with the rest) should stay behind at Rome, to know what was practised and done there, and give intelligence thereof accordingly to their citizens at home. For that present, the LL. of the Senate gave them in charge, to remoove their captaines and governours by a certaine day out of Lycia and Caria. These news related at Rhodes, importing matter (in it selfe considered) of greeke and heaviness,

turned into joy, in regard that they were eased from the fear of a greater mischief, for they doubted fore that they should have had more warre. And therefore presently they ordained for the Romanes a crowne amounting to the value of twentie thousand peeces of gold, and with this present they sent *Theodorus* the Admirall of their navie in embassage. A will and desire they had to make suit unto the Romans for association: but so, as no act and ordinance of the people should be entred thereof, nor any instrument engrossed as touching it. And this they did, to avoid the greater shame and ignominie of repulse, if haply they missed of their purpose, and could not obtaine. The Admirall alone had this priviledge, and was permitted to treat of that matter, without any bill at all either published or enacted by the people. For in so many yeeres before they had continued in amitie with the Romanes in such sort, as they never linked and tied themselves unto them by any formall deed and covenant upon record, and that for no other reason in the world, but because they would neither cut the kings off from all hope of their aid, if haply any of them might stand in such need, nor disable themselves of the possibilitie they had to reape some fruit, and receive good of their bountie and prosperitie. But surely at this time (mee thinkes) they ought to have fought sadly and in good earnest for their societie, not so much for safetie and securitie against others (for none they feared at all but only the Romans) as to be rid of the suspition and jealousie which the Romanes had of them. About the same time the Caunians also revolted from them, and they of Mylasia tooke certaine townes of the Euromestians. Now were the hearts of these Rhodians within the citie not so much broken or abated, but they saw wel ynough that if the Romanes tooke from them Lycia and Caria, all the rest would either by way of revolt put themselves in libertie and shake off the yoke of their subjection, or els bee surprisid and seized by the neighbour nations bordering upon them: and that then they should bee pent up and shut within the compasse of a small Isle and the stronds of a barren soile, not able to nourish and maintaine the inhabitants of so great and populous a citie. Therefore with all speed they dispatched and sent forth their youth, & not onely forced the Caunians (notwithstanding they had joined unto them the aid of the Cybirates) to their obeisance, but also in battell neere Onhosia overcome, the Mylasseans and Alabandians, who having disfeized the Euronensians of their province, advanced jointly with their united armies against them.

Whiles these affaires thus passed there, whiles some occurrents fell out in Macedonie, and others likewise at Rome, *L. Anicius* having subdued king *Gentius* (as is before said) and brought him under his owne hand, placed a garrison in Scodra, the kings roiall seat, and appointed *Gabinus* the captaine thereof: but in Rhizon and Olcinia, two commodious cities of good importance, he ordained *C. Licinius* the governour. Having thus made over the rule of Illyricum unto these twaine, himselfe with the rest of the armie went into Epirus. Where the towne Phanota was the first that yeelded unto him, and the whole multitude of the people came forth to meet him with their insules in token of submission. After he had put a garrison in this peece also, he passed over into the countrey of Molossis, where he received the surrender of all the townes thereof, excepting Passaron, Tegmon, Phylacum, and Horreum. And then hee led his armie first against Passacon. The principall men and rulers of that citie were *Antinous* and *Theodorus*, men of marke and name, as well for the favour they bare to *Perseus*, as the hatred they caried to the Romanes: the onely persons who had counsellid and perswaded the whole nation to revolt from the Romanes. These two having guiltie consciences within them for their private trespasses, and being past all hope of finding any grace and pardon, shut the gates of the citie, to the end that they might perish with the overthrow of all, and bee overwhelmed with the totall ruine of their owne countrey: and therewith they exhorted the multitude to preferre present death before servitude and slavery. No man durst once open his mouth to contradict these so great and mightie persons. At length a certaine noble young gentleman, named also *Theodorus*, with whom the greater dread from the Romans abroad prevailed more, and overcame the lesse feare of the rulers at home. What aile yee my maisters (quoth he) and fellow citizens, what rage and madnesse haun-
 33 teth you, to enwrap and interesse the whole citie in the fault and follie of these two persons? Cer-
 33 tes, I have often heard of men that for their countrey have willingly lost their lives, but to thinke
 33 it meet, that their countrey should perish for them, these are the first that ever were known. Why
 33 rather open wee not our gates and submit our selves to that empire, into which the whole world
 33 besides is subject. As he spake these words, the multitude followed him toward the gates: which
 when *Antinous* and *Theodorus* saw, they made no more adoe, but brake upon the first corps de
 guard

A guard of the enemies which they came unto, & exposing their bodies to the swords point, were soone killed, and the towne was yeelded into the hands of the Romanes. Tegmon also, upon the like wilfull obstinacie of prince *Cephalo*, had shut their gates, but after that he was slain, the town was taken by surrender. And neither Phylace nor Horreum would abide the assault. Having thus quieted Epirus, and bestowed his forces by garrisons in diverse commodious townes for the winter time, he returned into Illyricum: where hee held a generall assembly at Scodra, to which hee had summoned the principall States of the whole nation, and whether also there were arrived five delegates from Rome. And there in this frequent and solemne session, he pronounced from the Tribunall seat, by the advise of the counsell assistant unto him, That the Senat and people of Rome ordained the Illyrians to live free and enjoy libertie, and that himselfe would withdraw the garrisons out of their towns, fortresses, and castles. As for the Iffceans, Taulantians, Tirustians in the Dalfaretians countrey, Rhizonites and Olcianates (for that whiles *Gentius* his fortune stood upright, they had raunged with the Romanes) hee declared them not onely free, but also exempt and priviledged from all tributes. The Doarsians also, for leaving *Caravantius*, and passing with their armies to side with the Romans, he endowed with the like immunitie. They of Scodra, Dafsara, and Selepita, with the rest of the Illyrians, were to pay the one moiety of the tribute which they had yeelded to the king. After this he divided Illyricum into three cantons: the one of them he made of those before named: the second, all the Labeates: and the third, of the Agravonites, Rhezonites, Olcinates, and those that bound and border upon them. Having set downe this order in Illyricum, hee returned to Passaro a citie in Epirus, there to lie for the winter time.

C Whiles these things happened in Illyricum, *Paulus* before the coming of the ten Legates, sent *Q. Maximus* his sonne (who was now lately returned from Rome) to the laccage of *Aegium* and Agassae. The quarrell against Agassae, was, for that they having delivered the towne once to *Marius* the Consul, and therewith of their owne accord craved the alliance of the people of Rome, revolted notwithstanding afterwards to *Perseus*. As for the *Aeginians*, they had committed a late and fresh trespass: for giving no credite to the same that was voiced of the Romans victorie, they cruelly handled certaine Romane souldiours, who were entred into their citie. Moreover, hee sent *L. Posthumus* likewise to ranfacke in hostile manner the citie of the *Aenians*, for that they had persisted in armes more lustily than the other neighbour cities. Now was it about that season of the yeere which men call Autumne: in the beginning whereof, so soone as he had determined to ride a circuite and visite all Greece round, and to see those places whereof there went to great a name, and which were more renowned by hearesay than known by sight of eie; hee left *C. Sulpitius Gallus* for the commaund and guard of the campe, and set forward in his progresse, accompanied with no great traine. And being guarded of the one hand with his owne son *Scipio*, and on the other, with *Athenaus* the brother of king *Eumenes*, hee passed through Thessalie, toward the famous Oracle at Delphos. Vher, after he had sacrificed to *Apollo*, hee destined and appointed those Columnes and pillars (which were begun in the porch of that temple, and whereupon the statues of king *Perseus* should have ben erected) for to sustain and bear the statues of himselfe with the title Victorious. Hee visited also the temple of *Iupiter Trophon* in Lebadaia: where, after hee had seene the mouth of that peakish cave into which they use to descend that would have the benefit of the Oracle, & know the wil of the gods; after sacrifice also done to *Iupiter* & *Hercinna*, whose temple there is to be seen, he went down to Chalcis, to behold the frith of Euripus, and that Island which in times past was united and joined to the firme continent by a bridge. From Chalcis hee crossed over to Aulis three miles distant from thence, a port enabled for the rode sometime there of *Agamemmons* fleet, consisting of a thousand saile. Being there, hee went to the temple of *Diana*, where that king of kings (*Agamemnon*) offered his owne daughter in sacrifice upon her altar, to have a prosperous voiage for his fleet extending to saile to Troy. After this he came to Oropus, a towne in Attica, where as *Amphilochus* the Prophet is worshipped as a god. There, was to be seene an auncient temple, most pleasant to behold for the goodly fountaines and rivers round about it. Then went hee forward to Athens, a citie likewise for antiquitie of fame much spoken of, and highly renowned time out of mind: wherein were many monuments also worth the seeing: namely the citadell, the havens, the wals that reach from the citie to Pyreum, the arsenals made by great captaines and commaunders, the images of the gods, and of men likewise, so rare and excellent, as well for the artificiall workmanship, as the matter
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whereof they were made. When he had sacrificed within the citie to *Minerva* the goddesse & patronesse of the said citadell, he kept on his journey, & the next day following arrived at Corinth. A faire and beautifull citie this was in those daies, before it was destroyed, the fortress there and the Isthmus were things of especiall marke and worth the sight for the said fortress notwithstanding it be mounted up to an exceeding height above all, yet is it full of fountaines; and the Isthmus by a narrow ridge of land divideth two seas neere together, the one lying East and the other West. From thence he went to Sicyon and Argos, two noble cities, and so forward to Epidaurus, nothing in wealth comparable to the rest, yet of great name for the famous temple of *Aesculapius*, which standeth five miles from the citie, where at this day are to be seen the marks and tokens of the emptie places from whence the oblations have bene plucked away: but then a rich place it was and full of those offerings and gifts, which diseased persons had consecrated to that god in recompence & reward for those soveraigne salves & wholesom remedies which they there found. From thence he came to Lacedæmon, a citie memorable not for any magnificence of stately workes and buildings, but for good discipline and orders there observed. From whence passing through Megalopolis, hee ascended up to Olympia: where among other things there to be seene, he beheld *Iupiter* as it were represented even before his eyes, whereat hee was much moved in spirit. And therefore as if he had bene to sacrifice in the capitol, he commaunded a sacrifice to be prepared with more state and magnificence than ordinarie. Thus having visited all Greece over without any searce and enquire made, how men either in generall or particular stood affected in the warre against *Perseus*, (because he would not trouble and disquiet the minds of the allies with any fearfull occurrence) as he returned toward Demetrius, he was encountered by the way with a number of Ætolians all clad in dolefull and mourning array. And when he wondered and asked what the matter might be, he was given to understand that five hundred and fiftie of their principall men of name, were by *Lyciscus* and *Tisippus* massacred, who with the helpe of certaine Romane souldiours sent from *Babius* the governour, had beset their Senate: that the rest were driven into exile; and the goods as well of those who were murdered, as also of the banished persons were now possessed by their accusers. He commaunded them to attend upon him at Amphipolis, and when himselfe had communed and conferred at Demetrius with *Cn. Octavius*, after he once heard that the ten legates had passed the seas, he laid aside all other affaires, and went directly to Apollonia there to meet with them. To which place when *Perseus* came to meet him, for he having over-large libertie of prison, was come from Amphipolis, & that was a daies journey off; unto the K. he shewed good countenance & gave him good & gracious words, but after he was returned to the camp at Amphipolis, he sharply checked and rebuked, as men say, *C. Sulpicius*, first for suffering *Perseus* to range so loosely and so far off from him, all over the province: secondly, for giving his souldiours so much libertie as to plucke the tiles from off the wals [and houses] of the citie, to cover the places of their winter harbour: and therewith he commaunded that the tiles should be carried thither againe where they had them, and the houses to be repaired as sufficiently as before. As for *Perseus* & his elder sonne *Philip*, he delivered unto *A. Posthumius* to be kept in safe custodie: but his daughter and younger sonne, he sent for to Amphipolis from Samothrace, and used them with all courtesie and kind intertainment as possibly hee could. When the day was come, on which hee appointed that ten principall burgeoises out of every citie should repaire to Amphipolis, and that all the kings letters & writings in what place soever to be found, should be fought up and represented there together with all his money; hee sat him down upon the tribunal seat, together with the ten legats from Rome, & the whole multitude of the Macedonians were gathered round about him. Albeit they had bene used to subjection under the king, yet this new Tribunall carried with it a forme and shew of a terrible government, namely when they saw the tipstaves and huishers to keepe the doores and places of entrie, the publicke crier and the sergeant: straunge matters all unto their eyes and eares, and whereto they had not bene accustomed, able to strike a terror to allies, much more then, to conquered enemies. After silence made by the crier, *Paulus* pronounced in the Latine tongue, what the Senates pleasure was to be done, and what himselfe with the advise of his Councell assistant about him had thought upon and set downe: all which points *Cn. Octavius* the Pretour (for hee also was in place) interpreted and related againe in the Greeke language. *Imprimis*, they ordeined the Lacedæmonians to be free, to have and enjoy the same cities and territories, to use and exercise their owne lawes, to create yeerely magistrats, and to pay halfe of that tribute to the people

A people of Rome, which they used to pay unto their kings. *Item*, to divide Macedonie into 4 quarters; The one, & that the principall, for to containe all the countrie between the two rivers Strymon & Nessus; to which part there should be laid the tract on the farther side of the river Nessus Eastward (where *Perseus* held townes, castles and cities) excepting Ænus, Maronea, and Abdera: also beyond Strymon Westward, all the Bisaltique territory, together with Heraclea, which they call Syntice. For the second, all those parts which on the East side the river Strymon encloseth, except Syntice, Heraclea, & the Bisaltæ: also on the West, whatsoever is bounded with the river Axios, together with the Pæonians lying to it, who inhabite upon the river Axios Eastward. The third quarter was that, which Axios from the east & Peneus the river from the west do compass; and to the North side is limited with the mountaine Bora, and to this portion was adjoined the tract of Pæonia, which coasteth along the river Axios toward the West: Edeffa also & Berthæa were annexed thereto. The fourth was beyond the mountain Bora, confining on the one side upon Illyricum, & on the other upon Epirus. The head cities of every quarter where they should hold their sessions and counsailes he appointed these: For the first, Amphypolis; Thessalonica for the second; In the third Pella; & Pelagonia in the fourth. To these places hee ordeined that by summons they should repaire, & hold the assemblies of ech quarter; thither the mony to be brought, and there the magistrats to be created. *Item*, he declared and pronounced that it should not be lawful for any person to contract marriage, neither to have commerce & traffick together in buying or selling of lands or tenements without the limits of their owne division. *Item*, that in their mines they should no more dig for silver and gold: but for Iron and brasse they had permission. And those that had the profit thereof, were to pay the one half of the old rent, which they were wont to yeeld and grant unto the king. *Item*, he forbade them to use any more forrein salt brought from out of other parts. When the Dardanians put in their claime for Pæonia, for that it had sometime bin their appertenance, & also confined upon their countrie; he pronounced freedome to all those who had bene subjects to king *Perseus*. But afterwards, when they could not obtain Pæonia, he graunted unto them the commoditie of the trafficke for salt; and he charged the inhabitants of the said countrie to carie it to Stobi in Pæonia, & he set them down a certain price. *Item*, he debarred them from selling any ship-timbre themselves, & from suffering any others, unto those countries which bordered upon the Barbarians (and except the third quarter all the rest confined upon them) he graunted that they might keepe armed garrisons upon their frontiers and marches. These Acts and ordinances thus published the first day of the session, wrought diversly in the minds of men. Freedome graunted beyond their expectation, and the easement in the yerely tribute, comforted their spirits & made them looke up. But by the interruption of the commerce & traffick one region with another, they seemed like creatures dismembred & plucked asunder joint-meale, so as having need one of another, yet they had no mutuall & reciprocall use & intercourse. In so much as the Macedonians themselves knew full litle how big & large Macedonie was, & how commodiously it was divided, so as ech part was sufficient in it self without the help of others. The first region containeth the Bisaltæ who inhabit beyond the river Nessus & about Strymon, the most valiant men of all the rest: besides, it hath many proper commodities by it self as well fruits of the earth as mines of mettals, together with the opportunitie & commodious situation of Amphipolis, which as a frontier-bar stoppeth all avenues on the East side into Macedonie. The second quarter hath in it two most famous & frequented cities, Thessalonica & Cassandria: also Pallene, a fertile & fruitfull land. Besides, the maritime commodities which the havens at Torone and the head of Athos (and it they call the port or rode of *Æneis*) do yeeld; to say nothing of other bayes lying handsomely, some toward the Iland Eubœa, others toward Hellepont. The third countrey containeth the famous cities Edeffa, Berthæa, and Pella; the warlike nation of the Veteij, and many Gaules and Illyrians besides who there inhabite, notable men all of action and execution. The fourth region is peopled with the Eordians, Lincestians, & Pelagonians: unto whom, the provinces Atintania, Strymphalis, and Elimiotis are adjoynd. All this quarter is cold rough & hard to dwell in. The nature of the inhabitants is likewise futable to the soile: & the fiercer they are by reason of the barbarous nations their neighbors, who one while find them occupied with war, & otherwhiles mingle their rites & fashions with theirs in time of peace. When Macedonie was thus divided and each part distinguished by their severall uses and commodities, hee appointed a generall review to be made and enrolment of all the Macedonians; having declared unto them before, that he purposed to give laws unto them.

This done, the Ætolians were cited and called next; and in the whole course of the commission as touching them and their affaires, more inquisition there was, who favoured the Romans, and who affected the king, than of any that either had done or suffered wrong. The murderers were found unguiltie and absolved, & the banishment of the exiled was as much avowed, as their death justified who were massacred: *An. Babius* onely was convicted and condemned, for that he had sent Romane souldiours to execute the said butcherie. This issue of the Ætolians cause, puffed up the spirits of all those who had sided with the Romans, throughout all the nations and cities of Greece, in such sort as they grew to a pride intolletable: but contrariwise put down and abased under their feet, as many as were suspected any waies to have cast a favour and born good will to the king. The principall states-men of their cities were of three sorts; two of them were skillfull in the art of soothing, and either by submitting and subjecting under the Romane empire, or winding within the favour and friendship of the KK. grew infinitely rich and mightie themselves in privat, with the publicke oppression and undoing of their countrey: the third betweene, sung a meane, and was crosse to the one and the other; men that stood for the defence of their liberties and maintenance of laws, who as they were more dearly beloved of their neighbours at home, so they were lesse gracious and of credit with strangers abroad. The favorites and supposts onely of the Romanes, were advanced by their prosperitie; they alone fate in place of government, they were employed in all embassages, and none but they. These beeing there present in great number coming out of Peloponnesus, Bæotia, and from other frequent assemblies of Greece, filled the heads of the ten delegates and high commissioners; buzzing into their eares, that not they alone who openly were leene in their braverie and vanitie of spirit, vanishing themselves for the hostes and friends of *K. Perseus*, but many more besides under-hand took part with him and favoured his proceedings: as for the rest (under a colour of maintaining libertie) practised in all their counsels and complotted against the Romans what they could: and never would the Greeke nations abide long in their alleageaunce, unlesse the hearts of that side were taken down and broken; and their authoritie onely cherished, confirmed, and strengthened, who regarded nothing else but the empire and soveraigntie of the Romanes. Vhen these had informed and presented divers by names sent for they were by the letters missive of the General, out of Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bæotia, to give their attendance and follow him to Rome, there to answer the cause. But into Achæa two of the high commissioners were sent, namely, *C. Claudius* and *Cn. Domitius*, who personally should summon them by vertue of their edict. And this was done for two considerations: the one, because they thought verily that the Achæans were more confident and couragious, and therefore would not obey the summons by letters, and peradventure also, *Callicrates* and other the informers and accusers who made presentment of their names, should be in some daunger of their lives: the other cause why they would be present to give them summons was this, that amongst the kings records and rols they had found the letters of the principall Statesmen of other nations; but of the Achæans there appeared no writing at all under their hands, and therefore the imputations charged upon them, were nothing evident.

After the Ætolians were dismissed, the nation of the Acarnanians was cited and called into place: as for them, there was no change nor alteration; onely *Leucas* was exempt from doing service to the high court and generall assembly of the Acarnanians. As they followed the inquisition still farther and farther, making enquire who either in publicke or privat had taken part with the king, they extended their commission as farre as into Asia; and sent *Labæus* to demolish and raze Antissa a citie in the Isle Lesbos, and to translate the inhabitants thereof to Methymna: the pretence was, for that they had given harbour in their haven to the provisions of *Antenor* the kings admirall, at what time as he hovered and raunged about Lesbos with his pinnaces. Two there were that lost their heads, men of qualitie and great worth, to wit, *Andronicus* the Ætolian, sonne of *Andronicus*, for that he followed his father and bare armes against the people of Rome; and *Neon* a Thebane, by whose advise and persuation they had contracted a societie with *Perseus*.

After this enquest of forrein causes interposed and coming betweene, the assembly of the Macedonians was called againe; wherein as touching the state of Macedonie, pronounced and published it was, That there should be certaine Senators chosen, whome they call *Synedræ*, by whose counsell the common-weale should be managed and governed. After this, were the names read

A read of the principall Macedonians, whome hee appointed (together with their children as many as were above fiftene yeeres of age) to goe before into Italie. This at first was thought to be an hard and cruell course, but anon it appeared to the multitude of the Macedonians, that it was all done for their libertie. For nominated there were, the kings friends and gallants of his court, the commanders of armies, the admirals of the fleets, & the captains of the garisons, who were wont to serve the king basely, but to overrule others proudly and imperiously: some exceeding rich and wealthie, others spending above the proportion of their revenues and living: all faring at their table, and arraid in apparell like KK. not one carying with him the civill mind of a good citizen, not one that could abide to heare of lawes, or of equall libertie. All these theretore, who had been employed in any ministerie or service about the king, even they also who had been used in the least embassages that were, had commaundement to depart out of Macedonie and to goe into Italie: and looke who obeyed not this edict, were threatened with death. Vnto Macedonie hee gave lawes, with such diligent care and good regard, as if hee had reckoned them not for enemies vanquished, but for allies of good desert: such lawes (I say) as the verie practise and triall of long time (the onely corrector of all statutes) was not able upon that experience, to checke and controll.

After these serious affaires were finished, he exhibited with great furniture and preparation, a solemnitie of game and disport at Amphipolis, which long before he had intended, and for the intimation whereof he had both sent out his messengers to the States of Asia and to the KK. and also himselfe in his circuit and visitation of the Grecian cities, had given warning to the great men and principall citizens. And thither repaired out of all parts of the world, a number of cunning, feat, and artificiall actors, that made profession of such plaies and pastimes; besides a sort of wrestlers, champions, and brave horses of the best kind and breed. Also divers embassages with their beasts for sacrifices, and whatsoever els was usually done of custome, at the great and solempne gamings in Greece. Thus it came to passe, that men admired not onely his magnificence, but his wisdom also in exhibiting these shewes and sights, wherein the Romanes at that time were altogether rude and ignorant. Moreover he feasted and banquetted the embassadours, in the same sumptuous manner and respective consideration. And this (by report) was an apophthegme and common saying of his, That none could make feasts and set forth plaies better than he who had the skill to win a field. Having represented these solemnities of all sorts, and bestowed all the brasen shields a shipboard; all other armour and weapons of sundrie kinds, he piled upon a mightie heape, and after his praiers made to *Mars*, *Minerva*, dame *Lus*, and other gods and goddesses, unto whom of right and dutie appertained to consecrate and dedicate the spoiles of enemies; himselfe the Generall with his owne hands put under a burning torch, and kindled the fire, and after him all the marshall-colonels standing round about, cast every man his fire-brand, and set all a burning. This was a thing noted in that great assembly of Europe and Asia, where there was such a confluence of people from all parts, as well to testifie their joy in his behalfe, as to see the shewes and disports: in that meeting, I say, of so great armies of sea-servitours and land-souldiours, there was that plentie of all things and cheapenesse of victuals, that *Emylus* the Generall, of that exceeding store and abundance, gave much away freely to private persons, to cities and nations, not onely for their present use, but also to carie home with them into their countries. And this multitude there assembled, took not more pleasure either in beholding the stage-plaies acted, or seeing men practise feates of bodily strength and activitie, or the running of horses in the race, as in viewing the Macedonian bootie and pillage laid all abroad to be seen; namely of Statues, and painted tables, of rich cloth of tyssue, of vessels in gold, in silver, in copper, and yvorie, most curiously wrought in that roiall seat and citie of Pella, not onely to serve for a present shew & no more (like those that the kings pallace of * Alexandria was replenished with) but also for continuall and everlasting use. These were all embarked, and committed to the charge of *Cn. Octavius* to be transported to Rome. *Paulus* after he had given the embassadours a gracious and courteous farwell, passed over the river Strymon, and lodged within a mile of Amphipolis. From thence he dislodged and journeyed untill he came on the fift day as far as Pella. And passing by the citie, he abode two daies at a place which they call Spelæum, & then he sent *P. Nasica*, and *Q. Maximus* his owne sonne with part of the forces in an expedition, to give the waile unto those Illyrians, who had succoured *Perseus* in his warres, but he commaunded them to meet him at Oricum. Himselfe marching toward Epirus, at the fiftenth remove arrived

18 cities there
be of that name.

ved at Passaron. Not farre from thence lay *Anicius* encamped: unto whome hee dispatched his letters, to the end that he should not be troubled at those designs which were to be put in execution; signifying therein, that the Senate graunted to the armie the pillage of all the cities of Epirus, which had revolted unto *Perseus*: which done, hee suborned certaine Centurions, and sent them into all the townes with instructions, to give out that his comming was to withdraw all the garisons from thence, with an intent that the Epirotes should enjoy their freedome as well as the Macedonians; and so he summoned out of every citie ten of the cheefe to repair unto him. And when hee had charged and commaunded them to bring abroad into the market place all the gold and silver which they had, he sent out certaine cohorts and companies of souldiours to every of the said cities: they who were assigned for the places farther remote went before them which were appointed to the neerer; & this was ordered so, that upon the same day they should enter into them all at once. Now the Colonels and Centurions had their errand delivered them what to doe. In the morning betimes all the gold and silver was brought forth together accordingly, and at the fourth hower of the day a signall was given to the souldiours to fall to ransacke and rife the cities. Wherein they found so great store of pillage, that every horseman had for his part * foure hundred Denarij, and the footmen two hundred apiece, and a hundred and fiftie thousand pois were led away into captivitie. Then the wals were rased of the said cities thus spoiled, and those were to the number of seventie. All the bootie and prizes were sold, and out of that masse of money were the souldiours paid. From thence *Paulus* went downe to the sea side, unto Oricum. But the souldiours minds were nothing so well satisfied, as he supposed they had ben, for discontented mightily they were & angrie, that they had no share at all in the kings pillage & treasure, as if they had made no warre in Macedonie. At Oricum he found those forces which he had sent under the conduct of *Scipio Nasica* and *Maximus* his sonne; there he shipped his whole armie, and sailed over into Italie. In like manner a few daies after, *Anicius*, when the session and generall meeting of the other Epirotes and Acarnanians was ended, having given commaundement, that their principall persons should follow him into Italie (the knowledge and deciding of whole causes hee reserved and referred thither) himselfe attended the ships which the armie had used in Macedonie, and passed over likewise into Italie.

At what time as these affaires were thus managed in Macedonie and Epirus, the embassadours who had been sent with *Attalus* to end the warre betweene the Gaules and king *Eumenes*, arrived in Asia. A surcease of armes for the winter time, was agreed upon betweene both parties, during which cessation the Gaules departed home, and *Eumenes* was retired to Pergamus there to winter, where also he lay grievously sick. The spring was no sooner come, but the Gauls began to stir and looke abroad: but by that time they were come as farre as to Synnada, *Eumenes* had assembled his forces from all parts to Sardeis. There at Synnada, the Romans parled with *Solovetius* the Generall of the Gaules; *Attalus* also went with them: but thought good it was not, that hee should enter within the Gaules campe, for feare of stirring coales in heat of argument, and raising choler of the one side or other. So *P. Licinius* communed with the duke of the Gauls aforesaid: and when he had done, he brought word backe, that the more hee was entreated and spoken faire, the worse hee was and lesse tractable; insomuch as it might seeme a wonder, that the words of the Romane embassadours were so powerfull and effectually with *Antiochus* and *Ptolemeus* (two mightie and puissant kings) as to make peace so presently between them, since they prevailed so little or nothing at all among the Gaules.

To returne againe to Rome. First, the two captive kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius* were sent thither, and committed there to ward they and their children: after them, the multitude besides of prisoners, then consequently those Macedonians, as also the other cheefe peeres of Greece, who were warned to repaire unto Rome. For not they only were summoned to make apparence there, who had been scene present in place; but also all those were sent for by letters missive peremptorily, who were but reported to have bene with the kings. Then *Paulus* himselfe a few daies after, embarked in a ship of the kings, a galeace of a mightie bignesse, making way with fixtene bankes and rewes of oares to a side, and the same set out and adorned with the Macedonian M spoiles, not onely of brave gorgeous armour, but also of rich hangings, tyssue, and cloth of gold out of the kings wardrobe, came up the Tyber against the stream: where great numbers of people went forth to meet him, and filled the banks on both sides of the river. Some few daies after *Anicius* and *Octavius* arrived also with their fleet. And to all three, by an act of the Senat was triumph granted.

A graunted. *Octavius* the Pretour had commaundement to deal with the Tribunes of the Commons by warrant from the Senate, that they should preferre a bill unto the common people, that those three should be in full commission of commaund and governement, that day when they were to ride triumphant into the citie. See, how meane things escape the touch of envie, but the highest commonly are met with. No doubt was made at all of the triumph of *Anicius*, ne yet of *Octavius*. But *Paulus*, with whom even they themselves would have been abashed to compare, could not avoid the backbiting of slanderous and malicious tongues. His souldiours according to the auncient discipline of warre, he had held hard to their service. And to them had he given a donative indeed out of the bootie, but more niggardly and with a lighter hand than they hoped for, from out of so great wealth and riches of the kings: & yet in good faith to say a truth, full well he knew that if he had satisfied their greedie desire, and dealt still amongst them till they had cried Ho, he should have left himselfe just nothing to have brought into the common treasure. So that all this Macedonian armie gave a shew by this time, as if they had but cold devotion to their Generall, either to appeare, or to give their voices for the setting forward of the bill aforesaid, as touching his triumph & plenarie power of commaund, when the day of assembly should come. Over and besides, *Ser. Sulpitius Galba*, who had been a martiall Colonell in the second legion, in Macedonie, and in private enmitie with the Generall; both himselfe in person was in hand with them, and by the souldiours also of his owne legion sollicit and spurred on the rest to appeare in sufficient number, there for to give their suffrages against him, and checke the bill: saying, That as he was an imperious and lordly commaunder, so hee was as miserable a pinch-pennie withall, and a good deed it were to denie his grace and to crosse the law propofed for his triumph, & so to be revenged of him throughly: for no doubt the commons of the citie would goe that way that they should see the souldiours to lead before. He could not forsooth (say they) give money among his souldiours liberally: well, he shall surely know, that his souldiours yet can give him honour; but never let him looke for the fruit of favor and grace, where he hath deserved none. These words set them agog; and when *Tib. Sempronius* a Tribune of the Commons read out and published the foresaid bill in the Capitoll, and that by permission of law any privat person might have spoken thereto, and no man came forth, as beeing a matter whereof no doubt and question was to be made: then *Servius Galba* sodainly slept forth, and required of the Tribune, That (forasmuch as it was so far forth dayes, as being the eight houre therof, so that D he had not time enough to declare and shew at large, what allegations he had why they should not graunt *L. Emilius* a triumph) they would adjourne the assembly to the next day, and betimes in the morning set the matter on foot againe; for that he had need of a whole day and no lesse, to plead that cause to the full as he should doe. But when the Tribune willed him againe to speake his mind that day, if he had ought to say; he made a speech, and with his long oration held the court untill it was within night: putting them in mind and alleading, How precisely and rigorously he had exacted at their hands all militarie duties; how he had imposed upon the souldiours more painfull and dangerous labour than need was: but contrariwise in dealing rewards and bestowing honourable recompences for good service, hee was over-straight laced and too short in every point: and verily souldierie and warfare, if it continued still under such captaines, E will be more hard, travellsome, and rough to souldiours and warriours: but when all is done and victory obtained, rewarded it shall be with bare povertie and neglect of honour. Certes the Macedonians are in better case yet than the Romane souldiours. But if they would be present in great frequency the next morrow for to denie and revoke this bill, then these rich and mightie men shall know full wel, That all lieth not in the hands of the captaine and commaunder, but that the souldiours also can doe somewhat. The souldiours animated and induced with these perillous words, resorted the day following in so great multitudes, and pestered the whole Capitoll so full, as none but they could come in to give their voice. The first tribes that were called in, clearly casted the grace: which when the principall and cheefe men of the citie saw, they ran all into the Capitoll, with open mouth crying out upon this indignitie offered, That *L. Paulus* a conqueror F in so great and daungerous a war, should be deprived of his due triumph; and the grand Commanders and Generals of the field were now subjected and enthralled to the looke licentiousnesse and greedie avarice of their souldiours. In this one thing (say they) have we too too much faulted, such hath been our favour and partialitie, and so loth have we been to displease any: but what will become of us in the end, if souldiours once may come to be lords and maisters, & thus to crow over

The Oration of
M. Servilius
the Tribune of
the Plebs.

* In this oration
M. Servilius
does charge the
Gauls with
being too hard
and too curious
about the
watch.

over their Generals? And every man railed and cried out upon *Galba*. In the end after this garboile was appeased, *M. Servilius* who sometime had bene Confull and great maister of the horse under the Dictatour, requested the tribunes that they would begin all again, annulling that which was past, & give him leave withall to make a speech before the people. The Tribunes went aside to consult of this matter; and in fine, over-ruled with the authoritie and countenance of the nobles and peeres of the citie, began to treat afresh and goe in hand with all matters anew, making it known openly that they would recall back those first tribes, in case *M. Servilius* and other private men who were willing to utter their mind to the cause had once spoken. Then said *Servilius* as followeth, Maisters and friends, citizens here of Rome, if and by nothing else it might bee judged, how singular and how excellent a commander *Lucius Aemilius* was in the field, this onely (if there were no more) may suffice, that having in his campe such seditious and light headed persons for his souldiours, and an adversarie of his owne among them, so noble of birth, so rash of action, and withall so arrogant and selfe-conceited, readie to incite and stirre up a multitude to commotion, yet troubled he never was with any mutinie at all in his whole armie. The same severitie it was in government and conduct, that held them in awe and good order, which now at this present they hate and detest. And so long as they were mannaged by auncient discipline, they durst not quetch nor give offence. As for *Sergius Galba*, if (like a new barrister who is to shew the first prooffe, and to give the assaye and hanfell of his eloquence) he would have made choise of *Lucius Paulus* to begin withall and accuse him at the barre, he should not yet have hindered his triumph, which (if there were nothing else to dissuade and draw him backe) the Senate had judged to be just & due: but the morrow after his triumph (when he had seene him a private man againe) he might have given presentment of his name, and by order of law ministred interrogatories unto him & so entred proceffe: or rather he might have staid a little longer, namely untill himselfe had bene a magistrat in place, & then have gone roundly to worke, arrested him upon an action to answer at aday, and so accused him judicially before the people. Thus should *L. Aemilius* have had his triumph for reward and recompence of his well doing, in that so nobly and valiantly he had conducted this warre: thus likewise should hee have suffered condigne punishment, if he had committed ought unworthie either of his auncient glorie or this new honour. But will you have the truth? when he could find no matter of crime to reproach him with, he sought by waies and indirect meanes to detract his well deserved praises. Hee demanded yesterday, one full day to accuse *L. Paulus*: and foure houres, even all the day time that was left he spent in making an invective against him. What prisoner was there ever brought to the barre culpable & sinful, but all the faults of his whole life might be ripped up, deciphered, and painted forth in so many houres space? But what objected he all that while, that *L. Paulus* if hee were to frame his defence, would wish to denie? O that some man would procure me here for the while, two assemblies & courts, the one of Romane souldiours employed lately in Macedonia; the other more pure & uncorrupt of the twain, namely of citizens sounder in judgement, void of all favor, & cleere from hatred. And the people of Rome I would have to be the judge. First let *Paulus* be accused in the graund assembly and court of these citizens. Tell mee, *O Sergius Galba*, what would you say against him before those Quirites of Rome. For there you should have bene cut off and lost all this discourse & special part of your oration, carrying these terms, You looked too straightly & precisely to the *corps de garde* in their stations; you held the souldiours too hard to their watch and ward; the sentinels were needrely and narrowly looked unto; and you were over curious about going the rounds and relieving the watch in the night season; about the works and fabbricks you put the souldiours to more toiling and moiling than heerebefore; whiles you, my lord Generall, their surveieur, overseer, and taske-maister, rode all about to exact the utmost with all extremities in one and the same day when you had the armie on foot, presently from a jounie you led them forth to battaile; when the victorie was gotten, you would not suffer the souldiour to breath and take repose, but caused him to march immediately and to follow the enemy in chase; also, whereas the bootie to be parted & shared out, might have enriched your self, yet will you carrie the kings treasure in shew of triumph, and then lay it up in the chamber of the citie. As these be shrewd matters, like sharpe goads to pricke those souldiours and set them on, who thinke they have not scope enough to serve their dissolute loosenes, or too small allowance to content their covetous appetites: so, with the people of Rome they would have nothing at all prevailed: who if they should not call to mind examples and stories of old, which they have heard their fathers

talke

talke of; namely, what overthrowes have bene received through the indulgence and popularitie of Generals; and contrariwise what victories have bene achieved by their severe discipline and government: yet at leastwise they cannot chuse but remember what odds & difference there was in the late Punicke warre, betweene *M. Minutius* Generall of the horse, and *Q. Fabius* *Atax*, his Dictatour. And therefore since the accuser might know all this, the defence of *Paulus* in this behalfe was altogether needlesse and unnecessary. Let us go now to the other audience & assembly of the Macedonie souldiours. But now me thinks I must not call you Quirites any more, but souldiours: if haply there be so much grace in you, as that this name yet may cause you to blush, & be abashed for very shame of the world, to offer abuse unto your General. And verily for mine owne part, I find a great change in my selfe, and am otherwise affected in my mind, now that I see me to speake unto an armie of souldiours, than ere-whiles I was, when my Oration was accomodate and framed to the commons of a cittie. Now souldiours, what say you to the matter? Is there any one at Rome (but *Perperus* againe) that would not have a triumph over the Macedonians? and are you not readie to pull such a one in peeces with those very hands, wherewith you vanquished the Macedonians? He, whosoever he is, that impeacheth you for entering into the citie in triumph, trust me truly, would have debarred you of victorie, if it had bin in his power. Lo, how foully are yee deceived (souldiours) and farre out of the way, if yee thinke that the triumph is the honour only of the Generall, and not of the souldiours likewise, & consequently of the whole people of Rome. This is not *Paulus* his case alone. Many others likewise there have bene, who when they could not obtaine triumph at the hands of the Senat, triumphed nevertheless upon the Albane mountaine. As impossible it is for any man to bereave *L. Paulus* of the honour due for the finishing of the Macedonian war, as it was to disappoint *C. Lucatius* of his glorie for ending the first Punicke war; *P. Cornelius* for the second; or others besides who after them triumphed. It is not a triumph that can make *Lucius Paulus* better or worse, either the greater capitaine or the lesse. Herein consisteth the credit, renowne, and reputation of the souldiours and of all the people of Rome more than his: for feare least they be reputed and noted either for envious and malicious, or else unthankfull for their best members and noblest citizens; and therein seem to imitate the people of Athens, who evermore persecute and plague with envie their best men that live amongst them. Your aunceltours and forefathers when time was, faulted this waies enough (ywis) in the person of *Camillus*, whom they offered abuse unto, before the citie by his means was recovered out of the Gaules hands. Much you were to blame your selves here, and ever much too (I may tell you) in *P. Africanus*, That in Liternum, his mansion house and place of habitation (who was the conquerour of Africke) should bee shewed: that in Liternum (I say) the sepulchre of *P. Africanus* should be seene. Let us blush for very shame, that *L. Paulus*, as hee is equall to them in glory and honour, should likewise go with them and have his part of your hard and wrongfull dealing. The first thing that yee doe then, let bee this: Our with this spot and staine of infamie which yee have caught; so reprochfull in regard of other nations, so hurtfull to your selves. For, who will ever hereafter wish to be like *Africanus*? who will endeavour to resemble *L. Paulus*, in a citie so unthankfull, nay so spitefull and malicious to all good men? Say there were no question at all of infamie and obloquie, but of honour only and reputation, tell me (I beseech you) is there any triumph that compriseth not the glory also of the Romane name? So many triumphes over the Gaules, so many againe over the Spaniards, and so many over the Carthaginians, are they reputed and called the triumphs of the capitaine alone, and not likewise of the people of Rome? And like as we say, that we triumphed not over *Pyrhus* onely, nor over *Anniball*, but over the Epirots likewise and the Carthaginians: even so neither *Mar. Curius* alone, nor *P. Cornelius*, but the Romans also have triumphed. True it is, and I must needs say, that the souldiours have a proper interest and part by themselves, in that they alone (dight with branches and chaplets of laurell, and every one bravely to be seene & adorned with the gifts that have been given them) resound *to Triumphe, to Triumphe*, and as they passe along the city sing and chaunt the praises of themselves and of their capitaine-Generals. And if it fortune at any time that the souldiours be not brought home out of the province to the triumph, they grumble and are discontented: and yet notwithstanding, absent though they be, they thinke it is their due: and so long as their Generall and leader triumpheth, they triumph also, because the victory was achieved by the strength of their armes. Good souldiours, if a man should aske you, for what intent you were reconducted into Italie? and wherefore so soone as the service was performed

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and the warre brought to an end, yee had not presently your congie of discharge? moreover, to what purpose yee came by companies and squadrons under your ensignes and colours? for what cause yee stay and remaine here, and goe not every man his waies to his owne home? what answer would ye make els, but, That yee would be seene in triumph? And to say a truth, since yee have woon the victorie and are conquerours, I cannot blame you; nay, yee ought to desite for to be seene and seene againe. It is not long since we triumphed over *Philip* (this mans father) and over *Antiochus* likewise: and reigned both they did as KK. when the triumph was: and shal there be no solemnitie of triumph over *Perseus*, taken prisoner and brought captive with his children, into the citie? If *L. Paulus*, standing beneath as a privat person (one amongst the meinie of good ned citizens) seeing *L. Anticus* and *Gn. Octavius* attired sumptuously in cloth of gold, and in their rich purple robes and mantels of estate, mounting up the Capitoll in their triumphant charriots, should aske them the question and say in this manner: Tell me, *o Lucius Anticus* and you *Gn. Octavius*, judge yee in your owne conceit that you are more worthy of a triumph than I? They would no doubt come downe each one out of his chariot and yeeld him their place, yea and for very shame deliver up all their ensignes and ornaments unto him. And you *Quirites*, had you rather see *Gentius* than *Perseus* led in triumph? would you wish indeed to triumph for an accidentall appendant only of the war, rather than for the maine substance of the war? Shall the legions coming out of Sclavonia, and the mariners at sea, enter the citie crowned with laurell garlands; and the legions out of Macedonie, beeing denied their owne triumph, stand still and behold others to triumph? Moreover, what shall become of that rich bootie? what shall be done with the spoiles of that great and wealthie victorie? where shall be bestowed and laid up so many thousand corslets and armours plucked from the bodies of enemies slaine? Shall they be sent backe againe into Macedonie? Those costly images of gold, of marble, of yvorie; those goodly faire pictures; those pretious clothes and hangings of purple, scarlet, and tyssue; that mightie quantitie of gold and silver wrought into vessels chased and engraven; that huge masse of the kings money and coine, what shall we do with it? What? shall it be carried all by night as stollen goods into the publicke treasure and citie chamber? The goodliest sight of all the rest, what say you to it? A most noble and puissant king is taken prisoner; where shall hee be shewed to the people of Rome his conquerour? What running, what concourse there was of people to see *K. Syphax* captive (and yet he was but an accessarie to the Punick war) most of us do well remember. Shall *K. Perseus* then, a prisoner and captive; shall *Philip* and *Alexander* his sonnes, (persons of so great name) be hidden and kept from the sight and eyes of the citie? And there were no more but *L. Aemilius* himselfe, twice Consul, the conqueror and subduer of Greece, all men would desire to see him enter the citie in his triumphant chariot. We created him Consul for this intent, that he should finish & determine this war, which to your dishonor and great shame had hung for the space of foure yeeres. To him then, who (at what time as the lot of that province fell unto him, and when he departed on his voiage from Rome) had all our hearts to presage victorie & triumph, shal we now deny triumph when he hath the victorie? And verily in so doing, we shall not only defraud men, but rob the gods also of their honor; for due it is to the very gods also, and not to men alone. Have not your ancestors ever used to enterprise all great affairs in the name of the gods first, and therein also to end last? The Cos. or Pretor, when he is to take his journey into his province, or to levie war, with his Licitors before him clad in their cotes of armes, is ever wont to make his solemn vows in the Capitoll: after he hath acquit himselfe of his charge & obtained victorie, when as he triumpheth, he transferreth in pompe the rich presents of the people of Rome so well deserved, and offereth them to the same gods in the said Capitoll, unto whom there first he pronounced his vows. And the beasts for sacrifice going before the pompe of triumph, are not the least part of this solemnitie: that it may appear, how the General in his returne is mindfull of the gods, & rendereth thanks unto them for the happie managing of the affairs of the Commonweale. As for all those beasts for sacrifice which he hath appointed & referred to be thewed in the pompe of triumph, slay them; neither makes it matter whose hand doth it: some kill one and some another, but those sacred viands of the Senat, which are not to be eaten in any private house, nor in publick place prophane and unhallowed, but only in the Capitoll; and there not for the pleasure of men, but of gods and men together, will yee trouble and impeach at the suggestion of *Servius Galba*? Shall the gates be shut against the triumph of *L. Paulus*? Shall *Perseus*, king of the Macedonians, with his children and the multitude besides of captives, with the spoils

of the Macedonians, bee left behind at the river side? shall *L. Paulus* goe directly from the citie to gate home to his house as a private person, like one that hath bene abroad in the country to see his ferme, and is newly returned? But thou Centurion and thou souldiour, give care, I advise thee, to the ordinance which the Senate hath decreed as touching the General *Paulus*, rather than to the bibble babble of *Serv. Galba*: hearken to this, that I say the word, rather than hee. As for him, he hath learned nought els but to prate and talke, and that to the depraving of others full maliciously. I tell thee, fought have I with mine enemies even upon defiance given twentie times and three; done I have my devoir, and from them all that were in combat with me, I never failed but carried away their spoiles; I bear the marks about me of many a wound, & the honorable skars therof are to be seene, all of them in the breast and forepart of my bodie. At which word, they say, hee bared his naked skin, and related withall in what battell he had received this or that wound: Now as he shewed these skars, and chaunced to discover some parts that better ywis and more honestly had bene unseen, and therewith, a bunch or swelling of a rupture that hee had in his groin, wherat some of them that stood next unto him took up a laughter, then (qd. he) even as this that you have espied here and make such game at, I caught with a strain, riding continually as I did, and never from my horseback day nor night: and no more ashamed I am and displeased with my selfe for that infirmite, than for these skarres which you here see; since that it never was any impediment unto me in performing my service to the Commonweale, either in civile affairs of citie, or in warfare abroad. Well, I an old servitor, have been content here to shew unto young men and warfildours, my bodie, many a time and often hacked, perced and slashed with the sword. Let *Galba* now lay bare that whole skin of his owne so flicke and smooth. Now my maisters, you that are Tribunes, call the tribes againe to the scrutinie, and take their voices. As for me, downe I will, and goe after the souldiours hard at heeles. Know I will which be those lewd and unthankfull companions that had rather be soothed up and flattered in the warres by mutinous persons, than serve under the martiall discipline of their General.]

Valerius Antias reporteth, That the summe of all the gold and silver taken in pillage and carried in the pompe of this triumph, amounted to the worth of 120 millions of Sesterces. Which masse, no doubt, ariseth much greater by the proportion of the number of waines, and the poises both of gold and silver by the same authour set downe in generall sums. And as some have recorded, he either spent in the warre next before, or els scattered and lost in his flight when he made hast to Samothrace, as much againe as that came to. And the more wonder it was, that so mightie a masse of money had bene gathered and heaped up within thirtie yeeres after the warre betweene *Philip* and the Romanes, raised part out of the issue and advenues of his metall mines, and part out of other profites and tributes. Thus *Philip* very bare of money, and *Perseus* contrariwise exceeding rich, began to make warre with the Romanes. Last of all, *Paulus* himselfe rode in his chariot, carrying a great port and majestie with him, both for his comely and personable bodie, and also for his reverent old age. After his chariot, among other honourable personages rode his two sonnes, *Q. Maximus* and *P. Scipio*. Then followed the horsemen by troupes, and the footmen by their cohorts and companies, every one keeping their ranks full decently. The footmen had given them a hundred Sesterces apeece, the Centurions double, and the horsemen triple so much. And it is thought, that hee meant to have given the footmen as much as the most, and to the rest in proportion, in case they either had not denied his honour by their voices, or if in token of thankfulness and joy, they had but willingly and cheerefully shouted, when this summe which they received was pronounced & related unto them. And not *Perseus* alone (led as hee was through the enemies citie in chaines before the triumphant chariot of the conqueror) but also *Paulus* himselfe the victor, glittering so gloriously in his cloth of gold and costlly purple, was a mirrour to the word in those few daies, of the transitorie and mutable state of mans life. For of those two sonnes, whome (after hee had given the other two by way of adoption from himselfe) hee kept alone at home as heires to beare his name, to maintain the sacred rites and sacrifices of his familie, and to uphold the house it selfe, the younger, a stripling under twelve yeares of age, five daies before his triumph died; and the elder full foureteen yeares old and more, departed within three daies after the triumph. Which two youths indeed ought to have bene attired in their embrodered robes of purple, and

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so to have ridden in the chariot with their father, predestining and aiming to themselves the like G triumphs another day.

The Oration of
L. Aemilius Pa-
ullus to the people of
Rome.

Some few daies after, *M. Antonius* a Tribune of the Commons assembled a solemne audience of the people for his sake, wherein when after the maner & custome of other Generals he should discourse of his owne exploits and worthie acts, he made unto them a memorable Oration and well beseeching a noble Romane prince, to this effect. Albeit I suppose (quoth he) my neighbors and friends, the citizens of this noble citie, you be not ignorant, both how happily I have admittred the weale publick, & also how unfortunately within these few daies, two thunderbolts have shaken my private house, as having one while beheld the goodly shew and pomp of my triumph testifying the one, and seene another while the wofull funerals and obsequies of my two sonnes declaring the other; yet I beseech you suffer mee with that singlenesse of heart and affection, as I H ought, to make a breefe comparison between mine own particular private fortune, and the publicke felicitie of the citie. At my departure from Italie, I loosed from Brundisium, and set up saile at the sunne rising by the ninth hour of the same day I arrived safe with all my ships at Corphu. The first day after I came to Delphi, where I sacrificed unto *Apollo*, for my selfe, for your armies and your navie. From Delphi I departed, and within five daies was in the leaguer. Where, after I had received the charge of the armie, and altered some things which might greatly have hindered the victorie, I marched forward, for that the enemies campe was inexpugnable, and the king could not be forced by any meanes to fight: and piercing through his guards that kept the passage, I went as farre as Petra: so as by this meanes having perforce drawne the king to fight, I vanquished him in plaine field and raunged battell. Macedonie I subdued, and brought it in subjection to the people of Rome. Finally, that warre which for foure yeeres together other Con- suls beforome so managed, as each one left it ever to his successeur worse than hee found it, I achieved and brought to a finall end in fifteene daies. I followed then in this traine other prosperous affaires, as the fruits ensuing of that victorie. For all the cities of Macedonie yielded unto me. The kings treasure I seized upon: the king in person (as if the very gods themselves had delivered and put him into my hands) I tooke prisoner, with his sonnes in the temple of the Samothracians. But then my heart misgave me, and even then I suspected the surpassing and excessive favour of my good fortune: then cast I doubts, and began to feare the daungers at sea, having so mightie a masse of the kings treasure to transport, and my victorious armie to reconduct backe into Italie. But seeing all things fall out to hearts desire, a prosperous voiage, a safe ar- rivall, and whatsoever I could pray for at the gods hands; this I wished in my heart, (as knowing full well the wonted manner of fortune, when she is at the highest pitch, to tume backe againe and come as fast downe) that mine owne house, rather than the Commonweale, might feele that change and alteration whensoever it came. And therefore I hope that this so notable calamitie of mine owne, shall excuse the citie for having any other misfortune, since that my triumph (as it were to checke and mocke the chaunges of this world) hath fallen so just between the funerals of my two sons. See how I and *Perseus* are represented above all others for two notable examples of the fraile and unstable condition of man. Lo how he, who being a prisoner himself, saw his sonnes likewise led captives before his face, hath them yet living sound and safe: and I, who have triumphed over him, came from the buriall of one of my sonnes to ride in my chariot up to the Capitoll, & from thence descended againe to find the other lying at point of death: neither is there of all that fair issue that I had, one left to bear the name of *L. Paulus Aemilius*. For two of them the house of the *Cornelii* and the *Fabij* have, unto whom I gave them in adoption, as out of a great race and breed of children: so as now, in the familie of *Paulus* there is not one left but him selfe. Howbeit for this calamitie and ruine of my house, your felicitie and the happy estate of the citie is a great comfort and consolation againe. These words delivered with such a magnanimitie, troubled the spirits of the auditors, and astonished them more, than if hee had lamentably moned himselfe unto them with pittorous teares, for his childlesse estate and desolate condition.

C. Octavius solemnised his navall triumph over king *Perseus* the first day of December: in which solemnitie, he neither had prisoners led in shew, nor spoiles carried in pompe. He gave to his mariners and sailers sevenie and five Denarij apeece; to every pilot double, and to the ship-maisters four times as much. After this the Senat assembled, and the LL. ordained, That *Q. C.* *Ca-*

A. S. should lead king *Perseus* with his sonne *Alexander*, together with his traine that accompanied him, as also bring all his money and goods, silver, or what moveables and furniture soever he had to Alba, there to be kept in safe custodie. *Bitis* the kings son of Thrace, with the hostages was sent to Carseoli, there to lie in safe ward. As for the rest of the captives who had ben led in triumph, thought good it was they should be clapt up fast in prison.

Some few daies after these things, there arrived embassadours from *Corys* king of the Thracians, bringing with them money for the raunfome of his sonne and the other hostages. Into the Senat they were brought; where, by way of preamble they laid this for the ground of their speech, That *Corys* had not sided to king *Perseus* in the warre, upon his owne motive and accord, but was compelled to give hostages: then they besought the LL. of the Senate to suffer them to bee redeemed at what price soever they would set downe, were it never so high. Unto whom this answer was returned by authoritie of the Senate, That the people of Rome bare well in mind the amitie which they had with *Corys*, with his progenitors, and the whole nation of the Thracians. As for the giving of the hostages, it was rather an evidence to proove, than an argument to excuse their trespass and fault: considering that when *Perseus* was quiet, the Thracian nation stood in no feare and aw of him, much lesse then, when as he was troubled and occupied in war with the Romanes. Howbeit although *Corys* preferred the favour of *Perseus* before the friendship of the people of Rome, yet they would consider of the matter, and respect more his qualitie and what was meet for his estate, than his desert and what he was worthe to have; and therefore they would release his sonne and the hostages, and send them home againe. As for the people of Rome, their manner is to bestow their favours and benefits freely without regard of recompence: the worth and estimation whereof they had rather leave to the consideration and minds of the receivers, than require & demand the same presently. So there were embassadours nominated to reconduct the hostages into Thrace, to wit, *T. Quintius Flaminius*, *C. Licinius Nerdas*, & *M. Cavinus Rebilus*. And to those Thracian embassadours were given by way of presents 2000 asses apeece. So *Bitis* with the rest of the hostages was sent for from Carseoli, and with the forenamed embassadours returned againe to his father.

The kings ships taken from the Macedonians, of an extraordinarie and monstrous bignes before time, were landed upon *Mars* field and there laid up drie. Whiles the late remembrance of the Macedonian triumph remained still not in the minds onely; but as it were in the very eyes of men, *L. Anicius* triumphed over king *Gentius* and the Illyrians upon the very day of the feast ** Quirinalis*. It was generally thought that all things therein rather resembled some likeness in shew, than otherwise countervailed in substance the former triumph. The General himself *Anicius* was inferiour to *Aemilius* both in nobilitie and also in qualitie of person: and setting together their places of commaund, the one being but Pretour, and the other Consull; neither was *Gentius* equal to *Perseus*, nor the Illyrians to the Macedonians. Spoile for spoile, money for money, gifts for gifts, there was no proportion nor comparison betweene them. And therefore as that freest late triumph was more resplendent & glorious than this, so considered in it selfe without other respect, it was not to be found fault withal & despised. *Anicius* within few daies had vanquished and thoroughly tamed the nation of the Illyrians; both by sea and land, ptowd and mightie, bearing themselves stout and bold for their strong and fenced forts. The king hee tooke prisoner, and those of the kings race and roiall blood. He shewed in triumph many field-ensights, besides other spoiles and moveable goods of the king. Likewise of gold seven and twentie pound weight, and of silver nine score; besides 3000 Denarij, and a hundred and twentie thousand peeces of Illyrian silver in coine. Before his chariot were led king *Gentius* with his wife & children; *Caracantus* also the kings brother, and certaine noblemen of Illyricum. Out of the pillage hee gave unto his footmen five and fortie Denarij apeece, to every Centurion a double proportion; and unto the horsemen a triple. To the allies of the Latine nation he allowed as much as to citizens: the sailers and mariners he made equal with the footmen. Herein he surmounted the triumph of *Aemilius*, for that his souldiours followed after his triumphant chariot more jocound and merry, and the Generall was praised and extolled in many a dittie and ballad. *Antias* writeth, That of his bootie there was raised as much money as came to twentie millions of Sestertij, over and above the gold & silver that went into the common treasurie. But because I could not see how possibly such a summe should be made, I have set downe mine author for the thing, now, chuse you whether

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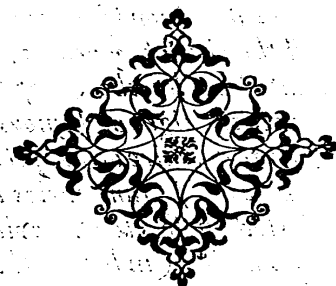
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ther you will beleeve him. King *Gentius* with his wife, children, and brother, was by order from the Senate led to Spoletium, there to be kept in ward: all the captives besides were at Rome cast into prison, and there lay. But when the Spoletines refused to take the charge and custodie of him & the rest, these princes were translated from thence to Igiturium. There remained besides of the Illyrian prizes two hundred and twentie barks, which being taken from king *Gentius*, *Q. Cassius* by the ordinance of the Senate gave and distributed among the citizens of Corphu, Apollonia, and Dyrrhachium.

The Consuls that yeere after they had onely wasted the territories of the Ligutians, because they could never traine the enemies forth to fight, having done no memorable service returned to Rome for the choise of new magistrates in the roome of the old. And so the first comitiall or court day that came, they created Consuls *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Sulpitius Gallus*. The morrow after were elected for Pretors *L. Linus*, *L. Apuleius Saturninus*, *A. Licinius Nerva*, *P. Rubilius Calvus*, *P. Quinctilius Varus*, and *Marcus Fonteus*. These Pretours had their governement in this manner: two for the jurisdiction within the cittie, two for Spaine, the other for Sicilie and Sardinia. This yeere leapt, and the leap day was the morrow after the feast *Terminalia*. That yeere died *C. Claudius* the Augur, and in his place the colledge of the Augurs chose *T. Quintius Flaminius*. Also *M. Fabius* Pretor the Flamin of *Quirinus* the same yeere departed this life. This yeere also came king *Prusias* to Rome with his sonne *Nicomedes*. He entred into the cittie with a great traine attending upon him: from the gate he went directly to the common place and the tribunall of *Q. Cassius* the Pretour. And when there was a great concourse of people about him from all parts; he said that his comming was to worship the gods which are the presidents of the cittie of Rome, as also to salure the people of Rome, and withall to shew his own joy and to with theirs for their happie victorie over the two kings *Perseus* and *Gentius*, and for that by subduing the Macedonians and Illyrians, they had enlarged their seignorie and dominion. And when the Pretour made an offer to call a Senate for him even that present day, if he would to himselfe he desired two daies respite, to see the temples of the gods, to view the cittie, and to visite his good friends and acquaintance. *L. Cornelius Scipio* the treasurer was appointed to goe about with him and shew him all: who also had bene sent as farre as to Capua for to meet him upon the way; also for him and his traine about him, there was a sufficient house taken up; where he was kindly and liberally intertained. The third day after he came into the Senate, where after he had congratulated in their behalfe for their late victorie, he recounted his owne demerites and good defenses during the warre: and then requested, that he might have leave to pay his vowes: and namely to sacrifice at Rome in the capitoll, ten head of greater beasts, and one at Preneste to Fortune. For that he said those vowes were made for the victorie of the people of Rome. Also, that the league and alliance with him might be renewed. Item, that the land woon by conquest from king *Antiochus*, which beeing not by the people of Rome given unto any, the Gauls notwithstanding held in possession, might be conveyed unto him by a deed of gift. Last of all, hee recommended his sonne *Nicomedes* to the Senate. He found much favour among all them who had bene Generals of annies in Macedonie. And therefore he obtained directly all other suits that he made: onely as touching the said lands, this aunswere he had, That they would send certein commissioners to see and view the thing. And if it appeared & fell out, that the foresaid land appertained to the people of Rome, and was not passed away by gift to any already, they would repute king *Prusias* the worthiest man of all other, to receive that donation at their hands. But if it never belonged to king *Antiochus*, and so was plaine and evident that the people of Rome had no right unto it, or if the Gauls had a graunt thereof already, *Prusias* then must bee content and pardon them, if they were unwilling to gratify him with any gifts prejudiciall & injurious to another. Neither could a thing being never so freely given, be an acceptable gift, which he knew the donor may take away from the donee at his pleasure. As for *Nicomedes* his son, they would willingly receive him into their protection at his hands so recommended. And how carefull and tender the people of Rome was over kings children committed unto them to keep, may appear by *Ptolemaeus* the K. of Egypt. With this answer was *Prusias* dismissed. Order was given that he should be presented with a certaine summe of sesterces, and with silver plate to the quantitie of 50 pound weight. Also they ordained that his sonne *Nicomedes* should have gifts proportionable to that summe which was given *Masgaba* the sonne of *Masanissas*; also that beasts and all other things appertaining

Appertaining to sacrifices, should be allowed unto the king out of the cittie-chamber, like as to the magistrates of Rome, chuse whither he would stay and offer them at Rome or Preneste. Also that out of that fleet which rid in the harbour of Brundisium, there should be twentie gallies assigned him to use, untill such time as the king were arrived at the fleet which was given him. Finally that *L. Cornelius Scipio* should accompanie him & never depart from him, but bear the charges both of him & his retinue about him untill they were embarked & ashipbourn. It is said that the king joied wonderously at this courtesie and kindnes offered him by the people of Rome, & that he would needs pay for those presents which were given him: onely hee commaunded his son to take a gift at the hands of the people of Rome. Thus much have our historians written as touching *K. Prusias*. But *Polybius* reporteth, that this *K.* was unwoorthe the majesty of so honorable a name, for that he was wont to meet the embassadours of Rome with his head shaven and a cap upon it; also to acknowledge & cal himselfe the freed villaine and vassalle of the people of Rome, and to testifie so much, he ware the badge and token of that degree and condition. At Rome likewise when he entred the Counsel-house, hee stouped downe and kissed the very doore sill, calling the Senatours gods, his saviours, yea and to have used other speeches not so honourable to the hearers, as bese and unfitting his own person.

When hee had sejournd in and about the cittie not above thirte daies, hee tooke his leave and departed into his owne Realme.



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To



To the Reader.

From the five and fortith booke forward, all the rest of Livie (to the great maim & blemish of the Latin tongue, and no small grieve of learned men) is lost, even 100 bookes wanting five, like as those ten betweene the tenth and one & twentieth bookes, commonly called the second Decade. For as it appeareth by L. Florus the Epitomist, there were in all 140: and the arguments of so many remaine at this day, by him collected. But if it be true that Frauncis Petrarch saith, Livie wrote in all 142: and as Charles Sigonius probably coniectureth, the 36 and 37 Breviaries of L. Florus be wanting of this latter number. How all these complete bookes of T. Livius should miscarrie, it is not certainly knowne. Some hope there is, that they are but mis-cast and laid out of the way. For like as within these hundred yeeres some fragments of the storie were discovered in Magunce: and the last five bookes now extant, found by Simon Grinaeus in the Librarie of a monasterie over-against the citie of Wormbs, and dedicated by Erasmus of Rotterdam unto Charles, the son of William lord Montjoy, in the reigne of Henrie the eight of famous memorie K. of England, &c. so wee are not to despaire of the rest. In the meane time, we must make much of these brieve summaries left unto us. Even as therefore I have inserted those ten Breviaries in stead of the bookes: so I thought it not amisse (in hope that one day the verie bookes themselves will come to light) to proceed in the rest following: and the rather, for that neither hee that translated Livie into the Tuscan language, nor they who have done him into French (as farre as I could ever see) have taken that paines.



THE BREVIARIES OF L. FLORVS
V P O N THE REST OF T. LIVIVS HIS
BOOKES, WHICH ARE NOT EXTANT.

Of the six and fortith Booke.

Eumenes came towards Rome. Now because in the Macedonian warre he had carried himselfe indifferent betweene Persus and the Romanes, there passed a law in generall tearmes, That no King might repaire to Rome; to the end, that if he were excluded, he should not be reputed an enemy: nor if he were admitted, acquit and cleared of all fault. Cl. Marcellus the Consull subdued the Gaules inhabiting the Alpes, and C. Sulpitius Gallus the Ligurians. The Embassadors of K. Prusias complained of Eumenes, for that hee invaded and wasted their borders; and they enformed besides, that hee had conspired with Antiochus against the people of Rome. At the earnest suit and entreatie of the Rhodians, a league was contracted with them. The Censors tooke a review and survey of the city, wherein were enrolled and sised 327022 citizens of Rome. M. Aemilius Lepidus was elected president of the Senat. Ptolomeus the king of the Egyptians, was by his younger brother expelled out of his realme, but by the meanes of Embassadors (sent from Rome) he was restored to his kingdom. Upon the death of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, his sonne Ariarathes came to the crowne, and by entercourse and mediation of Embassadors renewed amitie with the people of Rome. This booke containeth besides the warres against the Ligurians, Corsians, and Lusitanians, fought with variable fortune: the troubles also in Syria after the death of Antiochus, who left behind him Antiochus his sonne, a very child. This young prince (together with his guardian Lysias) Demetrius the sonne of Seleucus (who had been sent in hostage to Rome) murdered privily, because he was not set at large and dismissed by the Romanes: and so himselfe entred upon the kingdom. L. Aemilius Paulus who had conquered Persus, departed this life; whose incorruption and abstinence from the publicke treasure was such, that notwithstanding he had brought both out of Spaine and Macedonie so great store of wealth and riches, yet when his goods were prized and sold, there would be hardly raised thereof sufficient to repay his wife her dowrie. The Pomptine marshes were drawn drie by Cor. Cethegus the Consull (unto whom that charge was by lot fallen) and the same turned into firme ground.

Of the XLVII. booke.

Cneus Tremellius a Tribune of the Commons had a fine set on his head, for that he had contended in a wrongfull cause with M. Aemilius Lepidus the soweraigne Pontiffe. The power and authoritie of the cleargie magistrates, was greater and mightier than before. A law was enacted as touching inordinate suit for offices. In the survey of the citie, there were taxed in the subsidie booke 328314 Romane citizens. L. Aemilius Lepidus was chosen againe president of the Senat. Betweene the two breethren Ptolomees, who were at variance, there passed this accord and agreement, That the one should reigne in Egypt and the other in Cyrene. Ariarathus king of Cappadocia, by the politick plot & forcible power of Demetrius king of Syria dispossessed of his kingdom, was by the Senat set into it againe. Certain embassadors were sent as delegates from the Senat to determine of the litigious ground betweene Masaniissa and the Carthaginians. C. Martius the Consull fought against the Dalmatians, at the first unfortunatly, but afterwards atchieved the victorie. The occasion of the war with them was this; for that they had madewast upon the Illyrians, who were allies of the people of Rome. The same nation Cornelius Nasica the Consull brought in subiection. Q. Opimius the Consull subdued the Ligurians beyond the Alpes, who had spoiled Antipolis and Nicæa, two townes belonging

to the seignorie of the Masilians. Moreover here are contained the adventures of many capitaines in Spaine, with no good successe. In the 98 yeere from the foundation of the cittie, the Consuls so soone as the assembly for election was past, & other Consuls chosen for the yeere following, began their office. The cause of this alteration was, because the Spaniards were entred into rebellion. The ambassadors aforesaid who had bene sent to take up and decide the controversie between Masanissa and the Carthaginians, made report, That they had found great store of ship-timber and other matter for a navie at Carthage. Certaine Pretours accused by the provinces for avarice, were condemned.

Of the XLVIII. booke.



He Censours tooke a review and taxe of the cittie, wherein were reckoned three hundred foure and twentie thousand polls of citizens. The causes of a third Punike war bee here recorded. Upon a report that there was a right puissant armie of Numidians upon the borders of the Carthaginians, conducted by Archobazanes the nephew of Syphax, Marcus Porcius Cato persuaded in an oration to proclaime warre against the Carthaginians, for that they intertained such a power within their frontiers under a colour against Masanissa, but in truth raised against the Romanes: howbeit Publius Cornelius Nasica gauesaid him and dissuaded the matter. Whereupon ordeined it was, that Embassadors should bee sent to Carthage in especiall, to observe what they did, and where-about they went. Who after they had given the Carthaginian Senate a checke and rebuke, for that against the covenants of the league, they mainteined forces, and were provided of timber and other stoffe for a navie, they were willing to conclude a peace betweene Masanissa and them; so as Masanissa should forgoe and part with the land in question. But Gizzo the sonne of Amilcar, a busie and seditious man, who then was souveraigne magistrate (notwithstanding their Senate promised to be ruled by the award of the said embassadors) incited them so by his perswasive remonstrances to warre upon the Romanes, that the embassadors made shift to flee & save themselves, or else they had come to a mischief. When they related these newes at Rome, the Senate already set and bent against the Carthaginians, were now by his words provoked much more. M. Porcius Cato performed the funerals of his sonne, deceased in his Pretourship, with exceeding small charges, according to his abilitie, for he was put poore. One Andronicus, who stoutly made the world believe, that he was the sonne of Pericles the king of Macedonie, was sent to Rome. M. Aemilius Lepidus, now sixe times chosen President of the Senate by the Censours, gave his sonnes in streight charge before he died, to carrie him forth to buriall in a couch without linnen clothes and the purple pall, and not to bestow in either obsequies above one denier, saying that the funerals of the greatest and best personages are wont to be ennobled and honoured with the shewes of images and titles, and not with sumptuous expenses. An inquisition there was about the practise of poisoning and sorcerie. Publilia and Licinia, who were indicted for making away their husbands, put in sureties before the Pretour, to be bound in goods, lands, and bodie for them, and after iudiciall processe passed, and their cause heard, by a decree of their kinsfolke suffered death. Gulusa the sonne of Masanissa gave intelligence, that at Carthage there was mustering and levying of souldiours, rigging and providing of a fleet, all preparations no doubt for warre; and Publius Cornelius Nasica replied againe, that nothing was to bee done inconsiderately, without advise. Thought good it was to send ten embassadors, for to see the truth of all, and upon their knowledge to certifie. L. Licinius Lucullus and Aulus Posthumius Albinus the Consuls, when they tooke musters with severitie and rigour, and would not for favour spare any one, but prest all, were committed by the Tribunes of the commons, who for their friends could obtaine at their hands no release and immunity of souldierie. By occasion of the warres in Spaine, which many times had bene untowardly and unfortunately managed, when the cittie of Rome was so dismayed and daunted, that there could not be found any one who would so much as accept of a martiall Tribuneship, or was willing to goe in quality of lieutenant; Publius Cornelius Aemilianus stepped forth, made offer and professed, that hee would undertake any kind of militarie service whatsoever should bee laid upon him: and by his owne example stirred up all the rest to the love of warfare. L. Lucullus the Consul, when Claudius Marcellus (after whom hee succeeded) was thought to have quieted all the states & nations of Celtiberia, subdued the Vacceans, Cantabrians, and other regions and nations as yet

unknowne

unknowne in Spaine. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus, the son of L. Paulus, and the nephew of Africanus by adoption, being there a martiall Colonell, slew a Barbarian challenger that desired him. But in the winning of the cittie Intercatia, hee adventured a more dangerous enterprise: For hee was the first of all other that scaled and mounted over the wall. Servius Sulpitius Galba the Pretour sped but badly in a battaile against the Portugales. When as the embassadors were returned out of Africke, together with the Carthaginian Oratours, and Gulusa the sonne of Masanissa, bringing word, That they found at Carthage both an armie and also an armada; thought good it was, to put to question and debate the matter in the Senate: where Cato and other principall Senatours were of opinion and gave advise, to transport an armie presently into Africke: but because Cornelius Nasica opined and said, That hee saw as yet no iust and sufficient cause of warre, agreed it was to forbear all hostilitie and force of armes, in case the Carthaginians would burne their navie and discharge their armie: if not, then agreed it was, that the Consuls next following in place of government, should propose as touching the Punicke warre. When the Theatre was built, which by the Censours had bene put forth to workemen to frame and set up at a price, through the meanes of Pub. Cornelius Nasica, who inferred, that it was a peece of worke unprofitable yea, and hurtfull to the manners generally of the cittizens; by vertue of an act of Senate demolished it was and pulled downe; so as the people for a long time stood on their feet, to behold the publicke plaies. The Carthaginians at that time tooke armes contrary to the league, and warred upon Masanissa. But waggish they were in field by him (who notwithstanding he now was fourescore yeere old & twelve, yet hee used to tast his meat simply without any deintie sauce, yea, and to chew his bare bread still:) and over and besides they deserved to draw upon their head the Romane warre.

Of the XLIX. booke.



He beginning of the third Punick war, in the six hundredth and one yeere from the cities foundation, which within 5 yeeres after it began, came to a full & final end. Much diversitie there was in opinion between M. Porcius Cato whom they reputed for the wisest, and Scipio Nasica, who by the Senat was iudged the best & honestest man in the city. Cato was altogether for the war, & advised to destroy Carthage quite: Nasica contrariwise dissuaded what he could. Neverthelesse, in the end ordained it was, That because against covenant & accord they kept a navie at sea, & had led forth an armie out of their borders: also for that they entred into armes and levied war upon Masanissa, a friend and confederat to the people of Rome, and received not into their town Gulusa his sonne, who was in the companie of the Romane embassadors; warre should be proclaimed against them. But before that any forces were embarked and had taken the sea, the embassadors of Utica repaired to Rome, yielding themselves and all that they had. That embassage, as a speciall preface to the issue and event of the war, was acceptable and pleasing to the lords of the Senate, but heavie and grievous to the Carthaginians. In Terentium a place it was in Campius Martius, whereupon the pastimes Terentini tooke their name, were plaies exhibited to Father Dis the infernall god, according to the direction of the bookes of Sibylla. These had been set out one hundred yeeres before in the first Punicke war and in the five hundredth yeere and one, after the cittie was founded. Thirtie embassadors came to Rome, by whom the Carthaginians presented their submission. But the sentence of Cato imported and prevailed, to hold still their former determination, and that the Consuls with all speed should set forward their journey to the warre. Who having passed the seas and arrived in Affricke, received of them three hundred hostages, whome they had required and demanded; and also tooke into their hands all their armours and weapons, and what furniture of warre soever they found at Carthage. They proceeded moreover after all this, to commaund them by warrant and authoritie from the L.L. of the Senate to build them a new towne for to inhabite in some other place, so that it were tenne miles at least remote from the sea: by which indignitie offered, they provoked the Carthaginians to rife and take armes againe. L. Martius and M. Manilius the Consuls, began to besiege and assault Carthage: during which siege and assault, it fortuneed that two Colonels unadvisedly adventured to breake into the cittie with their cohorts, at one part thereof where the wals were neglected, & when by the townsmen they were fore beaten and killed, by the meanes of Scipio Africanus they were rescued: by whome also a certein sence and sort of the Romanes, which the enemies by night assailed, with the helpe of a few horsemen was delivered. Moreover hee saved the campe, against which the Carthaginians sallied forth of their

their citie to give the assault at once upon it with all their forces; by which service hee above the rest won great honor. Over & besides, when as the Consull for the other was gone to Rome to hold the election of magistrates, seeing the siege and assault of Carthage took no better effect, minded to lead the armie against Asdruball, who with another power of men kept the narrow streights of a certeine passage, he counselled the said Consull first not to give battell in a place of such disadvantage, but afterwards overweighed and borne downe by the opinions of the greater number (who carried as well his wisdom as vertue) hee also entered into the same streights. And when the Roman armie according as he foretold, was discomfited and put to flight, and two cohorts beset round and invested by the enemies, hee with certeine small cornets of horse returned into those streights, rescued them, and brought them away in safetie. Which valour of his, even Cato, (a man otherwise more readie of his tongue to find faults) so recommended in the Senate, that in these terms he gave out and said, * That all the rest who were employed in the warres of Affricke, served as shaddowes and dead men, but Cato had true vigour and spirit indeed. The people of Rome besides cast such a favour and good liking to him, that at the next election, most of the tribes pricked him for to bee Consull, notwithstanding he was by law under age. When L. Scribonius a Tribune of the Commons had promulged a law, That all the Portugals (who according to covenant and composition, yielded to the people of Rome, and yet by Sergius Galba were sold in Fraunce) should be restored to their freedom; M. Cato most earnestly pleaded in the behalfe of that law, and maintained it. His Oration is extant to be scene, included within his Annales. Q. Fulvius Nobilior, albeis he was by him shaken up and well checked in the Senate, answered in the behalfe of Galba. Yea, and Galba also, seeing himselfe at the point to bee condemned, tooke in his armes and embraced his owne two sonnes; being * Prætextati, and a sonne of Caius Sulpitius whose Guardian hee was, and made such pitteous and rusfull mone, all the while hee spake in his owne cause, that the foresaid law was revoked and cancelled. Three Orations of his there are to be scene; two against Libo a Tribune of the Commons and his proposed lawes, as touching the Portugals; and one against Lucius Cornelius Cethegus, in which hee confesteth and avoweth the killing of the Portugals, encamped neere unto him: for that hee knew certeinly that they after their manner had sacrificed an hundred a man, and under a colour of peace, intended to set upon and charge his armie. Andrisicus one of base birth and the most abject lowest condition, who made the world believe that hee was king Perseus his son, and thereupon changed his name and was called Philip, having made an escape and fled secretly from Rome (whither Demetrius king of Syria had sent him in regard of this his notorious lie) had many men come flocking unto him, embracing a forged & counterfet fable of his, as if it had bene a true fame and report: by which means hee gathered an armie together, and either with the good will of the inhabitants, or by force of armes, seized all Macedonie and held it in his hands. Now had he devised & framed the pageant in this wise, That Perseus the king had begotten him (forsooth) of a concubine: that he was committed to one Cyrtthesa to bee fostered and brought up: to the end that if ought should fall out but well unto the King in that war which he waged with the Romanes, there might be yet some seed as it were and yssue remaining of the kings blood and royall race. When Perseus was deceased, he had his education at Adamantium until he was 12 yeres old, supposing him to be his naturall father who fostered & kept him, & will not at all from what stocke he was descended. Now it fell out (saith he) that the said foster father of mine lay very sicke; & being at the point of death, bewraied at length my birth & parentage. Moreover, that there was a little book given to my supposed mother, sealed with the signe manuell of king Perseus, which shee was to deliver unto me when I came once to ripe age, and to be 14 yeres old: charging her most straightly of all loves, to conceale the whole matter, untill that time were come: & when I was grown to that age aforesaid, then the book was given mee; wherein mention was made of two chests of treasure left for mee by my father. Then the woman, who knew full well that I was no child of hers, but onely so reputed, bewraied my birth unto me, who was of ore time ignorant of mine own descent: also the woman laid great wait upon me to depart out of those quarters before that Eumenes, a professed enemy to Perseus, came to the knowledge thereof, for feare to bee murdered. In which respect I being affrighted, and hoping withall to find some aid at the hands of Demetrius, went into Syria; and there first I tooke heart unto mee, and dared openly to professe who I was and never before. [Thus much of Andrisicus this counterfet kings sonne.]

Of

Of the L. booke.

Heslie at what time as the foresaid counterfet Philip would have invaded and kept it by force of armes, was by the means of the Roman embassadors, together with the aid of the Achæans defended. Prusias king of Bithynia, a favourer of the best persons and lowdest vices, was by his owne sonne Nicomedes murdered, with the helpe of Attalus King of Pergamus. Another son he had, who in stead of the upper row and course of distinct teeth, is reported to have had one entier bone for all growing out at his gums. When the Romans had sent their embassadours to conclude a peace betwene Nicomedes and Prusias; of which embassadours, the one had his head full of many skarres, the other was troubled with the gout in the feet, and the third reputed but blockish of spirit by nature, and none of the wisest; Cato said, That there was an embassage head-lesse, foot-lesse, and hart-lesse. In Syria which at that time had for their king, one indeed of the line & race of Perseus King of Macedonie, but another Prusias up and downe, for cowardise, idleness, and base mind; it so fell out, that whiles he haunted taverns, stewes, and brothelhouses, and lay there altogether, Ammonius swaid the scepter and reigned as King: by whose practise the kings friends, also Loodice the Queene, and Antigonus the sonne of Demetrius came to their end and were killed. Masanissa king of Numidia, a man above fourescore and ten yeeres old, a famous prince and every way excellent, yielded to nature and died. Among other youthfull parts which hee performed to his dying day, this is one, That in this old age of his he was so lastie, that after the fourescore and sixt yeere of his life he got a boy. Among his three sonnes, Mycipsa (the eldest) Gulussa, and Manastabal, who also had good knowledge in the Greeke tongue, Publius Scipio Emilianus divided the administration of the kingdome: for their father had left it in common for them all, and had given order to part it at the discretion of the same Scipio. Likewise he perswaded Phamias the commaunder under Himilco of the Carthaginian Cavallerie, (a valiant warrior and whom the Carthaginians emploied most of all others in service) to revolt with his men of armes and to turne Romane. Of those three embassadors aforesaid, who were sent to Masanissa, Claudius Marcellus was cast away in a tempest upon the sea, and swallowed up of the waves in a ghusl. The Carthaginians murdered in their Counsel-chamber Asdruball nephew of Masanissa, and their Pretour for the time being, upon suspicion of treason. This tealousie of theirs arose hereupon, for that hee was neere in kindred and blood to Gulussa, who friended and succoured the Romanes. Publius Scipio Emilianus when hee sued to be Aedile, was by the people propounded and nominated for Consul: and when as by law he might not for his young yeres be created Consul, hard bold there was about him: whiles the commons laboured with might and maine for him, and the nobles and lords of the Senate gaine said it a good while: but in fine, he was dispensed with, notwithstanding the * law in that behalfe, & created Consul. Marcus Manilius (Pro-consull) forced certaine citties situate about Carthage. * Counterfet Philip, after he had slaine M. Iuventius the Pretor and Q. Cælius, & together with them defeated the armie, was in Macedonie vanquished himselfe and taken prisoner, and so Macedonie was recovered againe which had bene lost before.

Of the L. I. booke.

Carthage, which tooke up in circuite the compasse of foure and twentie miles, was with exceeding paine and travail besieged and won by peece-meale: first under the conduct of At. Metellus the lieutenant; afterwards of Scipio the Consull, unto whom without los the province of Affricke was extraordinarily granted. The Carthaginians having made a new peece (for that the old haven was choked and stopped up by Scipio) and gathered secretly in a small time a good fleet, sought a battaile at sea unfortunately. Moreover the campe of Asdruball their Generall pitched in a place of most difficult access neere the towne Neberis, was forced, and his armie defeated by Scipio: who also in the end won the very cittie of Carthage, in the seven hundred yere after it was first founded. The greatest part of the spoile and pillage there found, was restored to the Sicilians, from whome it had been taken. In the utmost extremitie and finall destruction of that citie, when Asdruball had yielded and submitted to Scipio; his wife (who some daies before could not obtain at her husbands hands to abandon the towne and flie to the conquerour) cast her selfe with her two children headlong from the castle into the mids of the flaming fire, wherewith the citie burned. Scipio, following the example of his father Emilianus Paulus who had conquered Macedonia, set forth certaine solemm plaies and pastimes wherin the

* Hee allured
Perseus the
sonne of
the King
of Syria.

* Andrisicus
was a
slave.

Or, * Cæte
condem. 123
one in Cæte.

* The law Anna-
lis made by Lu-
cius Villius An-
nalis, whereby no
man was capable
of a Consulship,
under 43 yeeres
of age, and this
Scipio was now
but 37.
* Pseudo-phi-
lippus.

the reſcates and fugitives be preſented and obiecte to ſavage beaſts. The cauſes of the Achæan warre bee here reported. The Romane embaiſadours who had bene beaten and ill intreated by the Achæans, were ſent unto Corinth, ſo ſever and diſſaine thoſe citties (which had bene under the ſeignorie of Philip) from the generall diet and parliament of the Achæans.

Of the LI I booke.

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus fought a battaile at Thermopyla with the Achæans, that had to ſaid them the Bæotians and Chalcidians: who being overcome, Critolaus their chiefe captain ſhortned his owne life by poiſon: and in his place * Drachus the firſt authour of the troubles in Achæa, was by the Achæans choſen Generall of the field, and by L. Mummius the Conſull vanquiſhed nere to Iſthmus: who having received all Achæa by ſurrender, raiſed and deſtroied utterly Corinth, by an Act and commiſſion directed out of the Senat; becauſe the Romane embaiſadours were there abuſed. Thebes alſo and Chalcis which had aided the Achæans, were overthrowen and pulled downe. Mummius for his owne part, bare himſelf moſt abſtinent and uncorrupt: for of all that wealth, & thoſe goods and ornaments wherewith Corinth was mightily enriched, there came not one parcell into his houſe. Quintus Cæcilius Metellus triumphed for the conqueſt of Andriſcus, and Publius Cornelius Scipio Affricanus Emilianus likewiſe over Carthage and Aſdruball. Viriatus in Spaine, firſt of an heard-man became an hunter, and of a hunter proved to bee a very theefe and robber: and within a while after, was choſen Generall of a complete and maine armie, and ſeiſed to his owne uſe all Portugall. He took priſoner M. Vitilius the Pretor, when he had firſt diſcomfited his hoſt in the field. After whom C. Plautius the Pretour ſped no better in fight. This enemy ſo terrified the Romanes, that to make head againſt him they found it neceſſarie to employ a full conſular armie, and a Conſull commander. Moreover in this booke be recorded the troubles of Syria and the warres between the kings. * Alexander an obſcure perſon and baſe borne, having ſtaine (as is before ſaid) Demetrius the king, reigned in Syria. Him Demetrius (the ſon of Demetrius) ſlew, by the help of Ptolomeus king of Egypt, whoſe daughter Cleopatra he had eſpouſed and married. This Demetrius in times paſt had bene ſent out of the way to Gordos by his father, fearing the doubtfull chaunces of the war: and he entred upon this action by occaſion of the contemptible ſloth and cowardiſe of the ſaid Alexander. Ptolomeus was grievouſly wounded in the head: and in the cure, whiles the Chirurgicalians went about to * trypanize the bones of his ſkull, died under their hand. And in his ſtead Ptolomeus his younger brother who reigned in Cyrena, ſucceeded and tooke upon him the crowne. Demetrius for his crueltie which he exerciſed upon his people by racking and other torments, was vanquiſhed in battaile by Diodorus, one of his owne ſubiects: who made claime to the kingdome in the right and title of Alexanders ſonne, a young child hardly two yeeres old: whereupon he fled to Seleucia. Lucius Mummius triumphed over the Achæans, in which ſolemnitie he carried in pompeous ſhew ſundrie images as well of braſſe as marble, beſides pictures and painted tables.

Of the LIII. booke.

Ppius Claudius the Conſull ſubdued the Salaſtans, a nation inhabiting the Alpes. A ſecond * Mock-Philip there was in Macedonie, who by L. Tremellius the treaſurer was with his army defeated and ſlaine. Q. Cæcilius Metellus the Pro-conſul gave the Celtiberians an overthrow. The moſt part of Portugal was regained by Q. Fabius the Pro-conſull, and many citties thereof by aſſault forced. C. Julius a Senator by calling, wrote the Romane hſtorie in the Greeke tongue.

Of the L IIII. booke.

Quintus Pompeius the Conſull ſubdued the Termeſtines in Spaine: with whome verily, as alſo with the Numantines, by occaſion of his infirmities and ſickneſſe, he concluded peace. A review and numbring of the citizens was taken by the Cenſors: wherein were enrolled ſoure hundred twentie eight thouſand, three hundred ſortie two polls. At what time as the Macedonian embaiſadours came to complaine of D. Iunius Syllanus, the lord deputie over them, for that hee tooke their money, and nevertheleſſe made an harooke of the province, and thereupon the Senat was willing to have the hearing of their complaints: T. Manlius Torquatus the father of Syllanus, exhibi-

ted a requeſt, and obtained, that the inquirie and deciſion of ſuch a matter as this might bee referred over and committed unto him. And after he had ſitten upon this commiſſion at home in his own houſe and found his ſonne guiltie, he both condemned him and put him away: nay, when afterwards hee had hanged himſelfe, for that was his end, he would not be ſo much as preſent at his funerall, but according to his ordinarie manner and cuſtome, ſat in his houſe, attending all clients and commers to him for counſell. Q. Fabius the Proconſull, after he had managed the warres in Spain right properly, ſmared all with this foule blot and ſpot of diſhonour, in that he contracted a peace with Viriatus, upon even and equal conditions. This Viriatus by a praſtiſe plotted by Servilius Cæpio, was treacherouſly murdered by traitors, and of his own armie was much bewailed. At his death he was rung out of this world with a notable peale of * ſarewell, and right honorably entred: an excellent man, and moſt brave captain for the ſpace of thirteene yeeres, during which time he warred with the Romanes, and ever for the moſt part went away with the winning hand.

Of the L V. booke.

Whiles P. Cornelius Neſica, who by way of mockerie was ſurnamed Serapio, by ſcoffing Curatius a Tribune of the Commons, & D. Iunius Brutus the Conſul took the miſters there happened in the very ſight of the new and raw ſouldior an occurrent of great conſequence, & for example ſake exceeding profitable. For C. Mancinus was iudicially accuſed before the Tribunes of the Commons, for that he had abandoned and forſaken his owne armie in Spaine, whereupon he being convicted, was condemned and ſcourged a long while with rods, carrying a forke or croſſe upon his ſhoulders, and in the end ſold as a ſlave for a ſmall peece of ſilver of * three halfepeece ſarthing due. The Tribunes of the Commons, becauſe they might be allowed to exempt from militarie ſervice tenne ſouldiors apeece, whom it pleaſed them to choſe, commaunded the Conſuls to priſon Iun. Brutus the Conſul, whiles he was in Spaine, ended thoſe ſoldiors who had ſerved under Viriatus with land and living, and gave them a towne to inhabit called Valentia. M. Popilius, together with his armie was ſoiled and put to the rout by the Numantines, with whom the peace that was concluded, the Senat had paſſed an act, that it ſhould not ſtand in force. The occaſion was this: As C. Mancinus the Conſul was devoutly ſacrificing, the ſacred chickens chaunced to flie away out of their cage or coupe. Afterwards, as he was about to take ſea and goe a ſhipboord for to paſſe over into Spain, there happened a voice to be heard, ſaying, Stay, stay. Mancinus. Theſe proved in the effect to be unfortunate and heavey preſages unto Mancinus, for he received an overthrow at the Numantines hands, and was turned cleane out of his camp. And ſeeing no hope els to ſave his armie, he entred into a diſhonorable peace with them, but the Senat expreſſly revoked and annulled the ſame. 30000 Romanes were defeated by 4000 Numantines & no more. D. Iunius made a generall conqueſt of all Portugall, even as far as to the Ocean, by forcing and ſacking their citties and ſtrong townes: and when his ſoldiors were loth to paſſe over the river * Obliſio, hee caught up a banner from the port-enſigne, and carried it over with him, and by this means perſuaded them to go through. Alexanders ſon, king of Syria, a child not above ten yeeres old at the moſt, was treacherouſly murdered by Diodorus his guardian or proteſtor ſurnamed Tryphon. There were phyſicians by corruption bribed & ſuborned to give it out and beare the people in hand moſt falſly, that the young prince pined away with the paine of the ſtone in the bladder, and whiles they would ſeeme to cut him for it, they killed him out of hand in the very ſection.

Of the L VI. booke.

Decius Iunius Brutus had good fortune in the farther province of Spaine, fighting with the Gullicians. But M. Emilius Lepidus pro-conſull ſped far otherwiſe in his wars againſt the Vaccei, and ſuffered the like overthrow to that other received from the Numantines. When Mancinus the authour and maker of the accord with the Numantines, was delivered up in perſon to the Numantines, for to aſſoile the people of Rome, & diſcharge them in conſcience for cancelling the ſaid covenant, they received him not, & would none of him. The people was numbred & taxed by the Cenſors: in which ſurvey & account taken, there were entred into their books 323000 Roman citizens. Fulvius Flaccus the Coſ. brought the Pardeans in Illyricum under ſubjection. M. Coſconius the Pretor fought in Thracia with the Scordiaſians, & won the better. When by the default and error of the captains and commanders, the Numantine war continued ſtill, not without the publick ſhame and diſhonor of the ſtate, the Senat and people of Rome conferred the Conſulſhip upon Scipio Affricanus, without any ſuit or ſeeking of his

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part.

1242
 ... when he was unwilling to accept thereof, by reason of a law forbidding expressly, * but any
 ... than it be created Cef. the second time hee had a disposition, and was freed from the law in that
 ... line as from the * other in his former Consulship. There was an insurrection of bondslaves arose
 ... in Sicilie and when it could not be suppressed by the Pretours and lord governours, C. Fulvius had the
 ... charge of that province and service. This war began by occasion of one Ennius a bondslave and a Syri-
 ... an borne, who having assembled together a power of rusticall peasants and countrey slaves broken pri-
 ... sons and horde of correction came to have a full and complete armie. Moreover, Cleon also another no-
 ... table slave, raised to the number of 70000 villaines like himselfe: and they both joining their forces to-
 ... gether waged war many times against the people of Rome and their armie in those parts.

Of the LVII. booke.

Scipio Africanus laid siege to Numantia: and whereas the armie was grown to be corrupted through
 ... and idleness, hee reclaimed the same, and reduced it unto a most streight and severe
 ... kind of discipline. For he cut off all the meanes and occasions of delishious pleasures: hee sent
 ... away two thousand whores and trulls that followed the campe: hee bid the souldiours hard to
 ... work every day: hee forced each one to carrie on his shoulders corne for thirtie daies, and seven good
 ... slaves besides for a pillage. If he spied one of them to go heavily under his load, he would say thus un-
 ... to him, Scipio, when you have the skill to empale your selfe with your sword's point, then cease to carrie
 ... but not before. When hee saw another practise to weeld very nimbly a little light buckler, hee com-
 ... manded him to have a targuier of a bigger size, and weightier than ordinarie, as finding fault that he
 ... knew better how to hold his shield for defence of his owne bodie, than to handle his sword for offence of
 ... the enemy. Yet he with a sold or out of his ranke and file? If he were a Roman, up he went and was well
 ... lodged & swaddled with vine-wrands as the centurions: if a stranger, swinged & jerked he was with bir-
 ... chens rods by the Lictors. And verily all the packherbes and other labouring beasts he caused to be sold,
 ... because they should not ease the souldiours of their carriage. Well, many a time he bare himselfe worthily in
 ... fight and had a fortunat hand against the enemies that sallied forth against him. The Vaeccans were
 ... roughly besieged: and after they had killed their wives and children, they slew their owne selves upon
 ... the wall. Scipio at what time as Antiochus king of Syria had sent unto him most rich and stately presents:
 ... whereas other Generals of the field were wont to conceale the gifts of KK, he avowed the accepting of
 ... them in open sight of all men, even at the very Tribunaill seat. And when he had so done, he commaun-
 ... ded the treasurer to receive all, and enter in his booke of receipts for the states promising out of that stock
 ... to reward the hardiest men & most valiant knights. When he had blockaded and invested Numantia on
 ... every side, and saw the enemies driven to great distresse for hunger, hee forbade expressly to kill any of
 ... them that went forth of the towne to forage and purvey victuals, saying, That the more they were in
 ... number, the sooner they would consume and spend up the corne which they had.

Of the LVIII. booke.

1243
 ... Therius Sempronius Gracchus a Tribune of the Commons, when hee promulged an Agra-
 ... rian law, that no man should hold and occupie above five hundred arpens or acres of the ci-
 ... vil lands, sowing the Senat and order of gentlemen to storme against it, grew into such an heat
 ... of choller and furious rage, that presently by an act made, hee deprived of Tribunitian power
 ... M. Octavius his Colleague, for maintaining the cause of the adverse part: and withall, created him-
 ... selfe his brother C. Gracchus, and App. Claudius his owne wives father, Triumvirs or commissaries for
 ... dividing of the said lands. He proposed also and published another Agrarian law, by vertue whereof
 ... if any man encroched farther, and went above that stint & proportion, the same Triumvirs and none
 ... but they should set down and determine, how far forth the common grounds & the private lands should
 ... reach. Afterwards, when there fell out to be lesse ground than could be divided, he protested that with-
 ... out the offence of the common people (because erewhile he had stirred up their appetite to hope for great
 ... matters) he would preferre a law, That amongst all them, who by vertue of the law Sempronius ought to
 ... receive lands, the money which belonged sometime to king Attalus should be divided. Now this Attalus
 ... the king of Pergamus and son of Eumenes, had left behind him, the people of Rome his full heire of all
 ... that he had. The Senat upon these so many indignities offered by Gracchus, was highly displeased, and
 ... Pub. Mucius the Consull above the rest: who after hee had inveighed in the Senate against him,
 ... was

was by him baled forth before the people, and accused unto the Commons, howbeit hee declaimed against
 ... him once againe openly from the Rostra. When Gracchus would have been chosen Tribune of the Com-
 ... mons a second time, by the advise and procurement of P. Cornelius Nasica, the chiefe peeres and nobles
 ... slew him in the Capitoll. He caught his first knocke with the broken peeces of the Tribunes purs. And he
 ... among others slaine in that seditious garboile, was never committed to the earth, but throwne into
 ... the river. Moreover, this booke containeth the battels in Sicilie, fought against the fugitive slaves
 ... with variable fortune and event.

Of the LIX. booke.


The Numantines forced by great extremities, and of famine especially, murdered themselves in
 ... course by turnes. After the citie was woon, Scipio Africanus rased and destroyed it utterly: & over
 ... it triumphed, in the fourteenth yeere after the ruine of Carthage. P. Atilius the Consull dispatched
 ... and ended the warre in Sicilie, with the foresaid fugitives. Aristonicus the sonne of king Eumenes, in-
 ... vaded Asia and held it to his owne use: whereas by the last will and testament of king Attalus, it was
 ... bequeathed as a legacie unto the people of Rome and ought to have ben freed. Against him, P. Lucinius
 ... Crassus the Consull & Archbishopp besides (a thing never done or seene before) took a iourney with an ar-
 ... mie out of Italic, and in a batell was overthrowne and lost his life. M. Perpenna the Consull overcame
 ... Aristonicus, and received him by surrender. Q. Pomponius and Q. Metellus were elected Censors the
 ... first Commoners that ever both together attained to that dignitie. A review was taken by the Censors,
 ... wherein were numbred 368823 citizens, besides orphans and widows. Q. Metellus the Censor gave his
 ... advise and opinion, that all men should be compelled to take wives, for the breeding of children. His O-
 ... ration to that purpose is extant: which Augustus Caesar at what time as he went in hand to joine in ma-
 ... riage all the three states and degrees of the citie, rehearsed in the Senate, as if it had bene penned to fit
 ... these times wherein we now live. C. Atinius Labeo, a Tribune of the Commons, commaunded Q. Metel-
 ... lus the Censor (who in the review and new choise of the Senators did him that disgrace as to have him
 ... out) to be pitched down headlong from the rock Tarpeia: but the rest of the Tribunes assisted the Censor
 ... all that ever they could, that this commaundement should not be executed. When Carbo, a Tribune of
 ... the Com. proposed a bill, that it might be lawfull to create the same man Trib. of the Commons so often
 ... as one would: P. Africanus dissuaded this law in a most grave and pithy Oration: wherein hee used these
 ... words especially, That hee iudged Tib. Gracchus to have ben unjustly slaine for his deserts. Gracchus on the
 ... other side maintained the law, and pleaded that it might passe: but Scipio imported and prevailed in the
 ... end. In this booke are related the wars betweene Antiochus king of Syria, & Phraates king of the Par-
 ... thians: as also the troubles of Egypt, which stood as then in no better terms. Ptolomaeus surnamed Ever-
 ... getes for his exceeding crueltie grew hatefull and odious to his owne subjects: and when the people had
 ... set on fire and burned his roiall pallace, he fled by stealth into Cyprus: & when the kingdome was by the
 ... people made over to his sister Cleopatra whom (after hee had deflowered by force her daughter, a virgin,
 ... and so taken her to wife) he had turned away in great displeasure and malice unto her, he killed that son
 ... whom he had by her in Cyprus, & sent unto the mother his head, hands and feet. Certain seditions were
 ... raised by the Triumvirs, Fulvius Flaccus, C. Gracchus, and L. Carbo, who were created for the decifi-
 ... on of land. Against whom P. Scipio Africanus made resistance: but being in perfect health strong and
 ... lustie, he went home to his house as it might bee to day, and was found dead in his bedchamber the next
 ... morning. His wife Sempronius was deeply suspected to have given him a cup of poison: & hereupon especi-
 ... ally, because she was sister to the Gracchi, between whom and Africanus there was grudge and enmitie.
 ... Howbeit, there was no question and streight enquire made how hee came to his death. When his head
 ... was once laid, the Triumvir all seditions foresaid, brake forth into a more light & hot fire. C. Sempro-
 ... nius the Consull fought against the Tarpide, first unfortunately, but soon after he made amends for that
 ... losse received, with a victorie achieved by the special valor of C. Iunius Brutus, the same man who be-
 ... fore had conquered Portugall.

Of the LX. booke.

A Prelius the Consull subdued the Sardians. Fulvius Flaccus was the first man that vanquished
 ... in fight the Ligurians beyond the Alpes, being sent to aid the Massilians against the French
 ... Sabes, who lay sore upon the borders of the Massilians, and spoiled them. Lucius Optimus the Pretour,
 ... received under his subiection the Fregellanes who had revolted, and destroyed the towne Fregella.
 ... N n n n n j Here

Here is reported a pestilence in Affric, by an exceeding multitude of locusts killed and lying dead afterwards upon the ground. A survey was taken of the citie by the Censors, wherein were numbered 39 or 36 citizens: C. Gracchus, brother of Tyberius, a Tribune of the Commons: but of the twain more eloquent, preferred certain dangerous and pernicious laws: & among the rest, one as touching grain, namely, that the Commons should be served in the market at the rate of one halfe, and a third part of * Ase, a Modd is; another, concerning division of lands, the same which his brother before him had published, and a third (whereby hee meant to corrupt the order of gentlemen, which then accorded with the degree of Senatus) namely, that from out of those gentlemen, 600 should be taken into the Senat: & for as much as in those daies there were but three hundred Senators, those six hundred gentlemen should be entering in: and with the said three hundred; that is to say, that the order of gentlemen should be double in number to the Senators, and twice as strong. This Gracchus having continued his Tribuneship another yeere, by proposing still the Agrarian lawes prevailed, that many Colonies more should bee planted in Italie, and one besides, upon the very plot of ground where Carthage lately destroyed, had stood: and there himselfe (chosen Triumvir therefore) erected a Colonie. Moreover, this booke containeth the exploits of Q. Ateilius against those Balear Islands, which the Greekes call Gyneresia, because the people go naked all the summer time. But Balears they be named either of *slinging darts, or of Bakus the companion of Hercules, whom he left behind there, at what time as he sailed to Geryon. Also, the troubles in Syria be here reported, wherein Cleopatra slew both her husband Demetrius and his sonne Seleucus, taking great indignation, than when his father was by her killed, hee without her warrant had taken the diademe upon him.

Of the LXI. booke.

 Aius Sextius the Proconsull, after he had conquered the nation of the Salves, built the Colonie Aque Sextie, so called of the plentiful abundance of waters, by reason of springs both hote and cold, and also of his owne name. C. Corn. the Proconsull fought fortunately against the Allobroges, neere the town: *Findalum. The cause why hee levied warre against them was, for that they had received and received by all meanes they could, Teutomalius the king of the *Saboy when he fled unto them, and had wrested a/so the territories of the *Heduns, who were the allies of the people of Rome. C. Gracchus, after he had borne his Tribuneship with much sedition, and kept the Aventine hill with a multitude of the Commons in armes, was by L. Opimius the Consull (who by vertue of an act of Senatus had put the people in armes) disarmed of his hold and slaine; and together with him Fulvius Flaccus a Consular man, his associate and companion in this furious outrage. Q. Fabius Maximus the Consull, and nephew of P. Aulus won a field of the Allobroges, and Bituitus king of the Arverni. Of Bituitus his sonne were slain a hundred and twentie thousand. And when himselfe in person was gone to Rome to satisfy the Senate, he was committed to ward in Alba, for that it seemed dangerous and hurtful to the peace, for to send him backe againe into France. Also there passed a decree, that Congentius his sonne should be apprehended and sent to Rome. The Allobroges submitted and were received. L. Opimius being accused before the bodie of the people by Q. Decius a Tribune of the Commons, for imprisoning certaine citizens uncondemned, was acquit.

Of the LXII. booke.


C. Aius Marius the Consull vanquished the Stonij, a people dwelling upon the Alpes. Micipsa, king of the Numidians died, and left the kingdome unto his three sonnes, Adherbal, Hyempsal, and Iugurtha his brother: sonne whom he had adopted for his owne child. L. Caelius Metellus subdued the Dalmatians, Iugurtha levied warre upon Hyempsal his brother, overcame him in fight, and slew him: Adherbal his third brother, hee drove out of the realme, but by the Senate of Rome restored he was againe. L. Caelius Metellus, and Cn. Demetrius Ahenobarbus the Censors, deprived two and thirtie Senators of their place and dignitie. Besides, this booke containeth the troubles of the Syrian kings.

Of the LXIII. booke.


C. Aius Porcius Cato the Coss, fought with the *Scordisci in Thracia, & lost the field. The Censors took a survey of the citie: in which were enrolled 394336 pols of Roman citizens. Aemylia, Licinia, & Marcia,

Marcia, three vesall virgines were convicted and condemned for incest. The manner how this their fornication was committed, detected, iudged, and punished, is here set down. The *Cimbrians, an huge and mightie nation, invaded Illyricum and put it to the wast: by whom Papirius Carbo the Consull was defeated, both he and his armie. L. Aius Drusus the Consull, warred in Thracia upon the Scordisci, (a people descended from the Gaules) and won much honour.


Of the LXIII. booke.

 Iugurtha warred upon by Iugurtha, was within the citie Cirta besieged, and by him slaine, notwithstanding the commaundment of the Senate to the contrary. For which cause warre was proclaimed against Iugurtha himselfe. Calpurnius Bestia had the commission & charge to manage this warre: who made peace with Iugurtha, without warrant from the people and Senate. Iugurtha being cited and called forth under safe-conduct, to appeach and bewray the authors of his plots & designs, for that the voice went that he had bribed and corrupted with summes of money many of the Senat, came to Rome: where he was in trouble and icopardie for a murder committed upon the person of a certaine prince called Masinissa (who seeing him to be hated of the Romans, sought for his kingdome) whom hee slew at Rome. Being commaunded to answer for his life in regard of this murder, he secretly fled, and as he departed from the citie, uttered (by report) these words, O corrupt citie and set to sale, how soone will it perish, if it may meet with a chapman? A. Posthumus a lieutenant Generall, after he had likewise fought an unfortunat battaile against Iugurtha, amended the matter full well, by making an ignominious and dishonourable peace with him, which the Senat iudged not meet to be observed and kept.


Of the LXV. booke.

 C. Aius Caelius Metellus the Consull in two battailes discomfited Iugurtha and over-ran all Numidia. M. Iun. Syllanus the Consull sped unluckily in a battaile fought against the Cimbrians: whose embassadours demanding of the Senate a place of habitation and lands to occupy, were denied. M. Minutius Pro-consull, had good successe in fight against the *Thracians. L. Cassius, the Consull together with his host, was defeated and cut in peeces in the borders of the Allobroians by the French Tigrines, a country of the *Helvetians, who had divided themselves & were departed from the rest of the State. Theouldiours remaining alive after that overthrow, capitulated with the enemies for safetie of their lives, to put in pledges for to part with the one moiety of all that ever they had, unto them.

Of the LXVI. booke.

 Iugurtha driven out of Numidia by C. Marius, had the helpe and aid of Bocchus king of the Moors: but when the power of Bocchus also was defeated in battaile, and himselfe unwilling to maintaine the warre any longer (so unfortunately begun) Iugurtha was overcome, and delivered up to C. Marius. In which exploit the service of L. Cornelius Sylla treasurer unto Marius, was singular above the rest.

Of the LXVII. booke.

 P. Scaurus lieutenant to the Consull, was with his armie overthrowne by the Cimbrians, and himselfe taken prisoner. When by them he was called forth to counsell (at what time as they intended a voiage into Italie) in which he seemed to fright them for passing over the Alpes, saying, That the Romanes might not possibly be overcome, he was by Bolus their king aproud and fierce prince, killed. At the same enemies hands Cn. Manlius Cef. and Q. Servilius Capio, Pro-consul, received an overthrow in the field and lost both their camps. Slaine there were fourescore thousandouldiours: of porters, scullians, landers, and such followers of the camp besides, fortie thousand. By the verdict and censure of the people of Rome, Capio (through whose rashnes this losse and overthrow hapned) was condemned: and he was the first after king Tarquine whose goods were confiscated and finally deprived he was of his government. In the triumph of C. Marius, Iugurtha with his two sonnes was led before his chariot: and afterwards murdered in prison. Marius entered into the Senat, with his triumphant mantell of estate, which never any man before him had done, & for feare of the Cimbrians war he continued in his magistracie many yeeres together. To his second and third Consulship hee was chosen *absent, and hee attained to be Consull the fourth time: which hee gaped for, albeit hee dissembled

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*Notwithstanding a law to the contrary.

The Dutch
Embassy.

the contrarie, C. Domitius was by the suffrages of the people created the chiefe Pontific. The Cimbri, ns having laid wast all the partes about the river Rhodanus and the mountaine Pyreneus, passed over into Spaine through the streights: where after they had spoiled many places, they were by the Celtiberians chused away: and being returned into France, they ioyned with the *Teutones, a warlike nation.

Of the LXVIII. booke.

* A new landers,
* the Pel.

Marcus Antonius the Pretour persecuted the rovers at sea, and chased them as far as into Cilicia. C. Manlius the Consul manfully defended the campe, assailed with all most forcible means by the Teutones and *Ambrones. Afterwards in two battailes one after another about *Aque Sextie, hee utterly defeated those enemies: where (by report) were slaine two hundred thousand, & nine thousand taken prisoners. Marius in his absence was created Consul now the first time: and when a triumph was offered unto him, he differed and put it off, untill he had made a full and finall conquest also of the Cimbrians. The Cimbrians repelled and drave from the Alpes Q. Catulus the Pro-consull, who had beset the narrow gullies of the Alpes, and kept a castle highly mounted over the river Athesis, which he now abandoned: and when by their valor they had cleared the passage, they pursued the Pro-consull with his armie and passed over into Italie, where in battaile they were overthrowne by the same Catulus and C. Marius, who had ioyned their forces together. In which (they say) one hundred and forty thousand men were slaine, and 60000 taken prisoners. Marius was honourably received at his returne with a generall accord of the whole cittie: and whereas two triumphes were offered unto him, hee was content with one. The principall peeres and nobles of the cittie, who a long time before had envied him as a man newly start up, risen, and advaunced to so great honours, confessed now that the common weale by him was preserved. Publius Metellus for murdering his owne mother, was the first man sowed up in a leather bag and so throwne into the sea. Here is recorded how the sacred shields Ancilia stirred of themselves with a great rustling noise before the Cimbrians warre was finished. Finally this booke comprehendeth the warres betwene the two kings of Syria.

Of the LXX. booke.

* Numinus.

Cneus Apuleius Saturninus, by the helpe of C. Marius, and by occasion that A. Nonius his competitor and concurrent was by his souldiours slaine, was by forcible meanes created Tribune of the commons, and bare the Tribuneship as violently as he gat it. And when he had proposed an Agrarie law and passed it by force, he arrested Metellus Numidicus to answer it at a day, for that he had not subscribed & sworn to the said law: who being maintained and defended by the citizens of the better sort, because he would give none occasion of unseemly debates and evill contentions, went in voluntarie exile to Rhodes: and there he employed his time in reading of bookes, and giving audience to great and famous men. After he was departed, C. Marius the chieftaine and authour of that sedition, who now had purchased a sixth Consulship by a largesse of money skambled amongst the tribes, proclaimed him as excommunicate and enterdicted from fire and water like an outlaw. The same Apuleius Saturninus Tribune of the commons, slew C. *Memmius in his white gowne standing to be Consul, for that he feared him above all others to crosse his proceedings: whereupon the Senat was exceedingly moved in the cause and behalf of C. Memmius: and when C. Marius a man by nature mutable, & in his counsaile variable, one who ever loved to be on the better side of the hedge and to band with the mightier, was not able to beare him out and protect him, the said Saturninus together with Glauca the Pretour & other his complices in that outrage, was slain by one Rabirius. Q. Cecilius Metellus was recalled out of banishment with exceeding great love and favour of the whole cittie. Manius Aquilius the Pro-consull dispatched and ended the slaves-warre raised in Sicilie.

Of the LXX. booke.

VVhen Manius Aquilius should plead his owne defence, or answer in case of extortion, hee would not himselfe intreat and crave the favour of the Iurie. But M. Antonius his advocate, who pleaded for him at the bar, sit his coat downe along his brest, to shew the honorable skarres received in the forefront of his bodie: which being by the Iudges seen, they made no doubt, but

but acquit him. Of this thing Cicero is the onely outbourn. Didius the Pro-consull mannaed his wars against the Celtiberians, happily. Ptolomeus K. of Cyrene surnamed Apion, when he died, left the people of Rome his heire: & the Senat ordained that the cities of his realme should be free. Ariobarzanes was restored to his kingdome of Cappadocia, by L. Cornelius Sylla. The Parthian embassadours sent from their R. Arsaces came unto Sylla, to treat and sue for amitie with the people of Rome. P. Rutilius a man of uncorrupt and innocent life, who (being lieutenant under L. Mucius the Pro-consull) had defended Asia from the wrongful dealings of the Publicans or common farmers (being odious to the order of knightbood or gentlemen of Rome, who now as Iudges had the iurisdiction in their hands) was condemned for extortion and banished. C. Geminus the Pretor fought untowardly against the Thracians. The Senat would no longer abide the unrulines and wilfull abuses committed by the gentlemen in exercising of their iurisdiction, and therefore began by all meanes possible to endeavour, for to reduce and translate that prerogative again to themselves: in which enterprise M. Livius Drusus a Tribune of the commons stood in their behalfe: who to gain more strength to the cause, raised the commons by proposing unto them a pernicious hope of a largesse. Moreover in this booke are comprised the sturres and troubles of the kings in Syria.

Of the LXXI. booke.

Marcus Livius Drusus a Tribune of the commons, for the better maintenance of the Senates cause, which he had undertaken, solicited the allies and the nations of Italie, upon hope to bee enfranchised citizens of Rome: by whose assistance having gone through by strong hand, with the Agrarian and Frumentarian lawes, hee obtained also the foresaid Law Iudicialis, in this manner, That all iudgements should passe indifferently and equally by Senat and gentlemen. After this, when the freedome of Rome promised to the allies could not bee compassed and performed, the Italians in a chafe and heat of choler began to complot how to revolt: whose conventicles, conspiracies, and orations delivered in the assemblies and diets of their princes, are in this booke reported: In regard whereof, Livius Drusus became hatefull even to the Senate, as the author of a sociall warre, and in his owne house was murdered, but by whom God knoweth.

Of the LXXII. booke.

The Italian states revolt, namely the Picents, Vestines, Marsians, Pelignians, Marrucines, Lucanes, and Samnites. The Picents first entred into armes and began the warre. Quintus Servilius the Pro-consull was slaine in Asculum, together with all the Romane citizens which were in that towne: whereupon the whole people of Rome put on armes and souldiours coats. Servius Galba being surprised by the Lucanes, escaped captivitee by the meanes of one woman, in whose house he toke up his lodging. Esernia and Alba two colonies, were by the Italians besieged. After this, heere are reported the aids of the Latines and other forreine nations sent unto the people of Rome: moreover the expeditions and alternative winning of citties, as well by the one side as the other.

Of the LXXIII. booke.

Lucius Caesar the Consul, in a battaile against the Samnites went downe and had the worse. Nola the colonie fel into the hands of the Samnites, together with L. Posthumus the Pretour, who there was slain. Many more nations revolted to the enemies for that P. Rutilius the Consul had fought with lose against the Marsians, and lost his life in the battaile. C. Marius his lieutenant had a better conflict with the enemies in the end and upshot. Servius Sulpitius vanquished the Pelignians. Q. Capio another lieutenant of Rutilius, who having bin by the enemies besieged, had sallied forth upon the enemies & gotten the upper hand: for this good successe he was made equall in government & command with C. Marius. But heereupon he grew to bee too rash, and being over-taken by an ambush of the enemies, was slaine, and the armie defeated. L. Caesar the Consul wooon a field of the Samnites: for which victorie the souldiours coats were laid off againe at Rome. Yet because the fortune of the field would shew her selfe variable, the colonie Esernia together with M. Marcellus, was taken by the Samnites. On the other side, Marius in a battaile vanquished the Marsians, and slew Hirminus Asinnius the Pretour of the Marrucines. C. Cecilius overcame the Salvij that rebelled in that province of Gaule beyond the Alpes.

Of the LXXIII. booke.

Neus Pompeius discomfited the Picents in battaile and he'd them besieged: for which victorie the embroidered purple robes, with other ornaments and badges of the magistrates were taken up againe and put on. C. Marius fought against the Marsians with doubtfull event. The libertines then and neuer before, began to serve in the warres. Aurelius Plotius the lieutenant in a battaile overcame the Umbrians: likewise L. Porcius the Pretor vanquished the Marsians, when as both these nations had rebelled. Nicomedes was placed againe in the kingdome of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia. Cn. Pompeius the Consull overthrew the Marsians in a fight field. When the cittie was deeply engaged and plunged in debt, A. Sempronius Asellus the Pretour, because he gave sentence respectiue in the fauour of the debtours, was slaine in the market place by their creditors the usurers. Moreover this booke relateth the inrodes & invasions of the Thracians into Macedonie, together with their wasting of those parts.

Of the LXXV. booke.

Aulus Posthumius Albinus a lieutenant generall, being the Admirall of a fleet, was upon an infamous imputation of betraying his soldiers massacred by his own army. L. Cornelius Sylla a lieutenant overthrew the Samnites in fight, and woon two campes of theirs. Cn. Pompeius received the Vestines upon their submission. L. Porcius the Consull, after fortunate successe in battaile, and that he had sundrie times discomfited the Samnites, as he assayed to force their campe lost his life: which accident gave away the victorie of that battaile to the enemy. Cosconius and Luccius overcame the Samnites in battaile, slew Marius Egnatius a most noble and renowned commander of the enemies, and had many of their townes surrendered up into their hands. L. Sylla tamed the Hirpines, and defeated the Samnites in many battailes: and certaine States submitted unto him: who having achieved so worthe and brave exploits before his Consulship (as seldome any other man besides, the like) repaired to Rome for to sue to be Consull.

Of the LXXVI. booke.

Aulus Gabinius a lieutenant, having fought fortunately against the Lucanes, and woon from them many townes: as he laid siege to the enemies leaguer was cut off and slaine. Sulpitius in qualitie of lieutenant had the execution of the Marrucines, and the surrender of that whole nation. Cn. Pompeius the Pro-consull tooke the submission of the Vestines and Pelignians. The Marsians likewise having bene in certaine battailes quelled by L. Murana & Caelius Pinna lieutenants, craved peace. Asculum was woon by Cn. Pompeius: and the Italian people by Mamercus Emylius the lieutenant were put to the sword. Silo Popedius, Generall of the Marsians, and the author of this villanie was slaine in battaile. Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, and Nicomedes of Bithynia were driven both out of their kingdomes, by Mithridates king of Pontus. Last of all, this booke discouerseth of the incursions and spoile that the Thracians made in Macedonie.

Of the LXXVII. booke.

When P. Sulpitius a Tribune of the commons, by the aduise and instigation of C. Marius had promulged certaine pernicious laws, that the banished should be restored, and new citizens together with Libertines be sorted into Tribes: also that Marius should be chosen Generall against Mithridates king of Pontus: and when he offered violence against Q. Pompeius and L. Sylla the Consuls, who contradicted his proceedings: and had slaine the sonne of Pompeius the Consull, who had married Syllaes daughter: then L. Sylla Consull, entred Rome with an army, and within the very cittie fought against the aduerser side of Sulpitius and Marius, and drave them forth: of which faction twelve were by the Senate iudged enemies, and amongst them C. Marius both father and sonne. As for P. Sulpitius, when he lurked in a certaine ferme-house of the countrie, was bewraied & betrayed by his own bond-servant: and so pulled forth from thence and killed. The slave, because he might seem to be rewarded for revealing his maister according to promise, was manumised and set free: but for his

Of the LXXVIII. booke.

his wicked treacherie in betraying his owne maister, he was throwne downe the rocke Tarpeia. C. Marius the sonne crossed the sea into Affricke. C. Marius the father lay hidden amongst the marshes of the Minturnians, and was plucked out from thence by the townesmen: and when a certaine bondslave and a Frenchman borne, was sent to kill him, he was so affrighted at the maiestic and countenance of so brave a man, that he went backe and would not doe the feat: whereupon Marius was embarked at the charges of the cittie, and carried into Affricke. L. Sylla reformed the State of the cittie, and drew out from thence inhabitants to people the colonies. Q. Pompeius the Consull, tooke his iourney to receive the armie of Cn. Pompeius the Cos. and by his counsell was slain. Mithridates king of Pontus setled upon Bithynia and Cappadocia: drave out Aquilius the lieutenant, and with a mightie armie invaded Phrygia the province of the people of Rome.

Mithridates held Asia with his garrisons: he cast into prison Q. Oppius the Pro-consull, and likewise Aquilius the lieutenant. Also by his commandement, all the Romane citizens to bee found in Asia, were in one day massacred. The cittie Rhodes, which onely continued true and kept allegiance, hee assailed: but being in certaine battailes at sea overcome, hee gave over and retired. Archelaus a chiefe governour and commander under the king, entred Greece with an army, seized upon Athens and held it. Moreover, this booke conteineth the fearefull troubles of certaine cities and lands: whiles the inhabitants endeouored to draw their states, some to side with the king, others, to take part with the Romanes.

Of the LXXIX. booke.


Lucius Cornelius Cinna, at what time as by force and armes hee published dangerous laws, was thereupon by his Colleague Cn. Octavius, driven out of the cittie with sixe Tribunes of the commons besides: and being thus deprived of his rule and authoritie, he became commander of Ap. Claudius his armie by corruption: and ioyning with C. Marius & other banished persons, out of Affricke hee marched in warlike manner against the cittie of Rome. In which war, it fortuneed that two brethren, the one of Pompeius his armie and the other of Cinnaes, encountered in fight and knew not one another. Now when the conquerour was in disarming and spoiling him whom he had slaine, he saw what he had done, and tooke knowledge that it was his brother: whereupon hee fell into an exceeding piteous fit of wailing and lamentation: made a funerals for his brothers corps, stabbed himselfe through thereupon, and in the same fire was burnt and consumed to ashes. Now whereas these civil warres might have bene suppressed in the beginning: such was the fraudulent dealing of Cn. Pompeius, who seeming to mainteine both parties, gave strength to Cinna, and set not to his helping hand, before that the Nobles side went down: such also was the faintnes and coldnes of the Consull, that Cinna and Marius tooke heart and grew strong: and so with foure armies, whereof two were committed to the conduct of Q. Sertorius and C. Carbo, they invested the cittie of Rome. Marius won by force the colonie Ostia, and most cruelly ransacked it.

Of the LXXX booke.

The Italian nations were by the Senat enfranchised, and obtained the freedome of Rome. The Samnites who onely continued in armes handed againe with Cinna and Marius. By them was Plancius slaine and his armie defeated. Cinna and Marius together with Carbo and Sertorius were possessed of Iaviculum, and being discomfited and repelled by Octavius the Consull, retired and departed. Marius spoiled and laid desolate Arimium, Aricia, & Lavinium three colonies. When as now the nobilitie and L. of the Senate had no hope at all left to withstand the contrary faction, by reason of the cowardise and treacherie as well of souldiours as leaders, who upon corruption either would not fight at all, or else went over to the aduerser part: Cinna and Marius were received into Rome: who as if it had bene an enemy-cittie forced by assault, made havocke of all with sacceage and massacres. In this garboile Cn. Octavius the Consull lost his life, and all the nobilitie of the other side were murdered: and among the rest, M. Antonius a most eloquent oratour, and C. Caesar: whose beads were set upon the pulpit Rostra. Tong Crassus the sonne was by the horsemen of Fimbria killed: and Crassus the father, because he would

not endure any indignitie unworthie his vertue, fell upon his owne sword. Without any assembly or election at all, L. Cinna and C. Marius declared themselves Consuls for the next yeere: and the same day whereon they entered into their magistracie, Marius caused Sex. Licinius a Senator, to bee throwne downe the rocke Tarpeia: and after many wicked and heinous outrages committed upon the Ides of Ianurie, he departed out of this world: a man whose vices (if they were weighed together with his vertues) hardly could it be determined, whether he were in warre a better souldiour, or in peace a more daungerous citizen. For the common weale which hee in his armour saved, the same in his long gowne hee overthrew, first, with all manner of censure and deceit; and last, by plaine hostilitie and force of armes.

Of the LXXXI. booke.

 Mithridates straightly beleaguered Athens, which Archelaus a governour under king Mithridates held with a garrison: and after much toile and labour wan it. To the citie hee granted their libertie againe and restored unto the citizens all that was their own. Magnesia the onely citie in Asia that remained true and loyal, was most valiantly defended against Mithridates. Over and besides, here yeshall read the exploits performed by the Thracians in Macedonia.

Of the LXXXII. booke.

Sylla vanquished in battaile the power of king Mithridates, which having kept Macedonia in obedience, was now come into Thracia. He slew one hundred thousand enemies, and was master of the campe. Afterwards, when the war was renewed, hee discomfited and defeated quite the kings whole armie. Archelaus together with the kings fleet yeelded to Sylla. L. Valerius Flaccus the Consull & companion in government with Cinna, being sent to succede Sylla, was (for his covetousnesse) so odious unto his armie, that he was slaine by C. Fimbria his owne lieutenant, a most audacious and desperate person: and so the conduct and command of the armie was translated to Fimbria. Moreover, here is recorded what cities in Asia Mithridates wan; how cruelly hee spoiled and vexed the province; and how the Thracians made rodes and invasions into Macedonia.

Of the LXXXIII. booke.

Caius Fimbria after hee had discomfited certaine forces of Mithridates, wan the citie Pergamus; besieged the king there, & missed but a little of taking him prisoner. The citie Ilion, which stood out & reserved it selfe to the behoufe & devotion of Sylla, he forced and destroyed, and the greater part of Asia he recovered. Sylla in many battailes defeated the Thracians. When L. Cinna and C. Papyrius Carbo (who for two yeeres together were Consuls of their own making) prepared war against Sylla; by the meanes of L. Valerius Flaccus the President of the Senate (who made an oration in the Counsell-house) and those who loved concord and sought for amitie, effected it was in the end, that embassadours should be sent unto Sylla, to treat about a peace. Cinna was murdered by his owne souldiours, whom hee forced against their wils to be embarked and to take a voiage against Sylla: by which occasion Carbo alone bare the Consulship. Sylla being passed over into Asia, made peace with Mithridates upon this capitulation, That the king should quit these provinces, namely, Asia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia. Fimbria being forsaken of his owne armie, which revolted unto Sylla, gave himselfe a sore wound, and yielding his neck unto his owne bondslave, obtained this favour at his hands, as to dispatch him outright.

Of the LXXXIII. booke.


Sylla returned this answere unto the embassadours sent unto him from the Senate, That he would bee ordered by them, in case those citizens who upon the hard usage of Cinna fled unto him, might be restored. The Senate thought this a reasonable condition & a iust demand: but by means of Carbo and that faction, who made reckoning that warre would bee more commodious unto them, there ensued no agreement and accord. The same Carbo when he was minded to exact hostages of all the

the towres and colonies of Italie, thereby to bind them upon their allegiance against Sylla, was by a general consent of the Senate crossed and inhibited. The new enfranchised citizens, by vertue of an act by the Senate granted, were allowed the priviledges of their suffrages and voices. Q. Metellus Pius, who had sided with the nobilitie, whiles he levied warre in Affricke was by C. Fabius the Pretour discomfited: and by the faction of Carbo and those that followed the part of Marius, an Act of Senat passed, That all armies and forces where(ever should be raised and discharged. The Libertines were distributed indifferently throughout the five and thirtie tribes. Besides all this, here is specified the preparation of warre which was raised against Sylla.

Of the LXXXV. booke.

Sylla crossed the seas with an armie over into Italie: and when those embassadours which hee sent to treat for peace, were by the Consull C. Norbanus evilly intreated, he overcame the said Norbanus in a battaile. And when he was about to assaile the campe of L. Scipio the other Consull, with whom hee had prevailed and assured all meanes to conclude peace, and could not compass it, the whole armie of the Consull in general, being solicited by souldiours whome Sylla had sent out under hand to that purpose, turned their ensignes unto him, and followed his slander. Scipio, when hee thought have bene killed was let go. Cn. Pompeius the sonne of that Cneus who wonne Asculum, enrolled an armie of voluntaries, and came unto Sylla with three legions: unto whom also the nobilitie all and whole ranged themselves, as abandoning the citie they repaired to the campe. Finally in this booke report is made of the expeditions performed by captaines of both sides, throughout all Italie.

Of the LXXXVI. booke.

 That yeere, wherein C. Marius (the sonne of C. Marius) was by forcible meanes and strong hand created Consull before he was twentie yeeres of age; C. Fabius in Affricke was burnt quicke in his owne pyre, for his bloudie crueltie and greedie avarice. L. Philippus lieutenant unto Sylla, seized Sardinia, after he had discomfited and slaine Q. Antonius the Pretour. Sylla contracted a league with the States of Italie, to put them out of feare that he would not bereave them of their freedome of Rome and libertie of suffrages, lately granted unto them. In like manner, upon assured confidence (that he had already of undoubted victorie, he commanded all those that were in suite and resorted unto him for iurisdiction, to adourn their apparance in court, and to appeare at Rome. Whiles the citie yet was divided and distracted with waies, L. Damasippus the Pretour, having according to the will and pleasure of C. Marius the Consull, gathered the Senate together, massacred all the nobilitie of the citie. Out of which number Q. Mutius Scaevola the Arch-Pontiffe, as hee fled, was in the very porch and entrie of Vestaes temple murdered. Besides, this booke concerneth the war renewed by L. Murena against Mithridates in Asia.

Of the LXXXVII. booke.

Sylla after he had discomfited and overthrowne the armie of C. Marius, neere a place called Sacripontius, besieged him within the towne Praeneste. The citie of Rome hee recovered out of the hands of his enemies: and when Marius made an offer to sallie forth, hee repelled him. Moreover this booke containeth the exploits atchieved by his lieutenants, with the like fortune of that side in all places.

Of the LXXXVIII. booke.

Sylla after that he had defeated and put to the sword the armie of Carbo at Clusium, Faventia and Eidentia, chased him forth of Italie. With the Samnites who alone of all the Italian nations had not yet laid down armes, he fought one small battaile, & vanquished them neere the citie of Rome, even before the gate Collina: & thus having recovered & gotten into his hand the absolute manning of the state, he polluted and stained this most goodly and beautifull victorie, with the foulest crueltie that ever man committed. He cut the throats of 8000 in this great hostilitie, called Villa Pubbia; even those that had yeelded themselves. He set up the table of proscription & outlawrie. The citie of Rome & all Italy throughout filled with massacres. Among the rest he caused at the Praenestines disarmed as they were, to be slaine.

Marius

Marius a Senatour by calling, he killed in this manner, by breaking his armes and legs, by cropping his eares, & digging out his eyes. C. Marius besieged within Preneſte, by Lucretius Afella and thus ſide with Sylla; when hee ſought meanes of euaſion by a mine under the ground, ſeeing how hee was environned by the armie, ſlew himſelfe within the ſaid mine: for perceiving that he could not eſcape, hee and Pontius Teſtinius that accompanied him in this flight, ran one at the other with their drawn naked ſwords: and when he had killed him, and was himſelfe hurt, he found ſo much kindnes at his ſlaves hand, as to make an end of him quiſe.

Of the L XXXIX. booke.

Pompeius Brutus ſent from Cn. Papyrius Carbo, who was arrived at Coreyra, in a fiſhers boate to Lilybaum, in eſſiall to ſee whether Pompeie were there: being compaſſed and hemmed in round about by thoſe veſſels which Pompeie had ſent out, turned his ſwords point to his boate, & ſet the pummell againſt a ſeat within the boat, & ſo bending forward with the poſſe of his bodie, was pierced through and died. Cn. Pompeius ſent by the Senate with full commiſſion of rule and command, took e Cn. Carbo priſoner, who was arrived in the Ilands Coſſura, and ſlew him, who kept a pining & weeping like a woman when he ſhould die. Sylla became Dictator, & that which never any man had done beſides him, kept his port abroad with foure and twentie Huſhers or liſtors going before him with their rods and axes. Hee altered the ſtate, & in that innovation eſtabliſhed it. The Tribunes of the commons hee abridged of their authoritie, and wholly deprived them of their power to preferre and publiſh lawes. The Colledge of the Pontifics and Augurs he amplified and augmented, to the number of 15. The bodie of the Senate he ſupplied out of the order of gentlemen. The children of thoſe whom hee had proſcribed and outlawed, hee diſabled for being eligible to any honourable office, and of their goods made port-sale, whereof at firſt hee ſeized much by violence and had it way. A mightie maſſe of money hee raiſed thereof, amounting to a hundred and fiſtie millions of Seſterces. He commanded Q. Lucretius Ofella to be killed in the very Forum of Rome, for that hee preſumed without his leave and licence to ſue for a Conſulſhip: and when the people of Rome were highly offended at this indignitie, he aſſembled them to a publicke audience, and before them avowed the fact and took it upon him. Cn. Pompeius in Affricke vanquiſhed and ſlew in baſtaile Cn. Domitius, one of the proſcript out-laves: and Hiarbas king of the Numidians, who prepared to levie warre, He being but foure & twenty yeeres of age, and no better as yet, than a gentleman of Rome (a thing that never any man attained unto) triumphed over Affricke. C. Norbanus, a man who had been Conſull, and now proſcript and outlawed, was apprehended in the citie of Rhodes, and thereupon ſlew himſelfe. Mutulus likewiſe one of them that were outlawed and out of protection, being come privily diſguiſed with his head covered to the backe doore of Baſtia his wives houſe, was not let in, for that ſhe ſaid he was an outlaw: whereupon he tooke the ſlab at his owne hands, and with his heart bloud beſpreint the doore of his wives houſe. Sylla recovered and woon againe Nola in Samnium. He brought ſeven and ſortie legions into the lands conquered from the enemies, planted them therein, and divided the grounds amongſt them. Hee beſieged the towne Velaterra, which yet ſtood out and bare armes, and at length upon ſurrender, got it. Mytilene alſo, the onely cittie in Aſia (which after that Mitbridates was ſubdued maintained war) was fired and raiſed downe to the ground.

Of the XC. booke.

Sylla departed this life, and this honour was done unto him by the Senate, that he was enterred in Mars field. M. Lepidus going about to cencile and abolſh the acts of Sylla, raiſed new warre: and by Q. Catulus (his companion in government) was driven out of Italie: and when he prepared to wage warre (but to no effect) in Sardinia, there he perished and came to his death. M. Brutus who held *Lumbardie, was by Cn. Pompeius ſlaine. Q. Sertorius another proſcript outlaw, levied a great war in the netherlands of Spaine. Lucius Manlius the Pro-conſul, and M. Domitius a lieutenant, were in fight overcome by Hercules the treaſurer. Moreover this booke containeth the acts performed by P. Servilius the Pro-conſull againſt the Cilicians.

OF

Of the XCI. booke.

Cneus Pompeius being as yet but a gentleman of Rome, was ſent with full commiſſion of Conſular command againſt Sertorius. Certain cities had Sertorius woon by aſſault, & brought under many States to be at his devotion. Ap. Claudius the Proconſull overcame the Thracians in divers and ſundry battels. Q. Metellus the Proconſull, defeated and ſlew L. Hirculeius the treaſurer of Sertorius, with all his armie.

Of the XCII. booke.

Cneus Pompeius hitherto fought with Sertorius in doubtfull event, ſo as of both parts, one of the wings and points of the battell had the better hand. Q. Sertorius overthrew in fight Metellus & Perpenna with their two armies. Pompeius deſirous to carie away his part in that victory, entred into the field, but made no ſaving game of it. Afterwards Sertorius was beſieged within Calagurium, but by daily and continuall ſallies forth, gave the enemies that lay in ſiege within as good as they brought. Over and beſides, herein are contained the deeds achieved by Curio the Pro-conſull in Thrace againſt thoſe Dardaniens, together with ſundry cruel and bloudie parts played by Q. Sertorius, even with thoſe of his owne ſide. For many of his owne friends, and ſuch as were with him outlawed, upon imputations of treaſon pretended againſt them, he put to death.

Of the XCIII. booke.

Publius Servilius the Proconſull in Cilicia, ſubdued the Iſaurians, and wan certaine townes of the pirates. Nicomedes king of Bithynia at his death made the people of Rome his full heire. & his kingdom was reduced into the forme of a province. Mitbridates contracted a league with Sertorius, and waged warre againſt the people of Rome. Herein is ſhewed the great preparation of warre that the king made as well by land as ſea, and how he ſeized upon Bithynia. M. Aurelius Cotta the Conſul was in battell vanquiſhed by the king at Chalcedon. Moreover, this booke containeth the exploits of Pompeius and Metellus againſt Sertorius, who in all warlike feats and martiall proweſſe was equall unto them, whom alſo he raiſed from the ſiege before the towne Calagurium, and compelled to goe into divers countries, Pompeius into the farther province of Spaine, and Pompeius into Gallia.

Plutarch other-
wiſe in Sertio-
rius.

Of the XCIII. booke.

Lucius Lucullus the Conſull fought againſt Mitbridates, and in horſe ſervice had the better hand of him. Certaine rodes he made with good ſucceſſe, and when his ſouldiers called hard upon him for battell, he ſlaid them from mutinie. Deiotarus a tetrarch of Gallogrecia, defeated the capitaines of king Mitbridates who levied warre in Phrygia. Moreover this booke containeth the fortunate achievements of Pompeius againſt Sertorius in Spaine.

Of the XCV. booke.

Caius Curio the Pro-conſull vanquiſhed and ſubdued the Dardaniens in Thrace. Threeſcore and ſeventeen ſword-plaiers of Capua fled out of the ſenſeſchoole of Lentulus at Capua: who having gathered together a number of ſlaves, and hired hines, raiſed warre under the leading of Chryſus & Spartacus, and vanquiſhed in plaine field, Cl. Pulcher a lieutenant, and P. Varinius the Pretour. L. Lucullus the Proconſull with the ſame and the ſword together tamed and ſubdued the hoſt of Mitbridates at the citie Cixicus: and when they had chaſed him out of Bithynia after many overthrowes in warre and miſfortunes of ſhipwracke at ſea, wherewith his heart was quailed, he compelled him to ſue into Pontus.

Of the XCVI. booke.

Vintus Arrius the Pretour defeated and ſlew Chryſus the captaine of the fugitives, and with him twenty thouſand men. Caius Lentulus the Conſull received a foile and overthrow at the hands of Spartacus. Hee alſo overcame in fight Lu. Gellius the Conſull and Quintus Arrius. Sertorius was at a banquet ſlaine by Manius Antonius and M. Perpenna with other conſpirators in the night.

O o o o

eight

eight year of his dukedome. A captain and brave warrior he was. He fought with Pompeius and Metellus, two famous Generals and commanders. Many a time he saved his owne, but more oftener he went away winner, howbeit, in the end he was abandoned and betrayed. The soveraigne command of that side was made over to Marcus Perperna, whom Cn. Pompeius vanquished take prisoner and slew: so about the tenth yeere after the warre began, he recovered Spaine. C. Cassius the Proconsull, and Cneus Manlius the Pretor, were foiled by Spartacus in the field, and that war was committed over to the managing and conduct of M. Crassus the Pretour.

Of the XC VII. booke.

Marcus Crassus the Pretour first fought with a power of the fugitives aforesaid, consisting of Frenchmen and Germanes, and won the better for he slew 350000 enemies and their chiefeain Granicus. After that, he warred against Spartacus, killed him also and 40000 with him. Manius Antonius the Pretour maintained war unfortunately against the Cretensians, and by his death tooke an end. M. Lucullus the Proconsull brought the Thracians under subjection. E. Lucullus had the upper hand in a battell of Mithridates in Pontus, and slew above sixtie thousand enemies. M. Crassus and Cn. Pompeius were created Cos. and as Crassus immediately out of his Pretorship stepped to that dignitie, so Pompey was of a gentleman of Rome and no better advanced thereunto, even before he had borne the office of Treasurer. They restored againe the Tribunes power and authoritie. By the meanes of Aurelius Cotta, the prebeminence of iudges also was translated unto the gentlemen of Rome. Mithridates, seeing his owne estate lying in despair, fled unto Tigranes king of Armenia for succour.

Of the XC VIII. booke.

Machares the son of Mithridates, king of Bosphorus, was by L. Lucullus received into amitie. Cn. Lentulus and L. Gellius the Censors administered their office with great severitie and rigor, and deposed threecore from Senators dignitie: they also held a review and purged the citie. Enrolled there were 450000 citizens of Rome. L. Metellus lord Pretor in Sicilie fought fortunatly against the pyrates and rovers. The temple of Iupiter in the Capitoll, which by fire had ben consumed, was redified by Qu. Catulus, and dedicated anew. L. Lucullus in Armenia discomfited in many battels Mithridates & Tigranes, with a mightie power of both kings. Qu. Metellus the Proconsull having the charge of the warre against the Candiotes, besieged the citie *Cydonia. C. Triarius a lieutenant under Lucullus received a foile of Mithridates in fight. Lucullus was impeached and staid for pursuing Mithridates & Tigranes that he could not accomplish his victorie, by occasion of a mutinie among his owne souldiers, who would not follow, because the Valerian legions forsooke Lucullus, alledging that they had served their time fully out.

Of the XC IX. booke.

Vintus Metellus the Proconsull forced by assault Gnos, Lyellus, Cydonia, and many other cities [in Crete] L. Roscius a Tribune of the Commons published a law, that the gentlemen of Rome should be allowed the fouretee next seats in the scaffold of the Theatre, to behold the games and plaies. Cn. Pompeius being commanded by a law promulged unto the people for to pursue the rovers aforesaid, who had debarred and cut off all commerce for corne and victuals, within 74 daies, rid the sea of them quite. & after the war with them finished in Cilicia, he received them upon submission, and gave them cities and lands to possesse. Moreover this booke containeth the worstie exploits of Qu. Metellus against the Cretensians. The letters also of Metellus and Cneus Pompeius, sent from the one to the other: in which Metellus complaineth that Pompeius by sending his own lieutenant into Crete, to receive the surrender and homage of the cities there, annulled and passed by the glorie of those acts which he had achieved. Pompeius againe rendereth a reason thereof, and alledgeth that so he ought to doe.

Of the C. booke.

Aius Manlius a Trib. of the Com. preferred a bill, to the exceeding displeasure & indignation of the nobles. That the war against Mithridates, should be assigned to Pompeie. His speech to the people imported and was effectfull. Qu. Metellus having subdued the Cretensians, gave laws

lawes unto that Island, which until that time enioied freedome of State. Cn. Pompeius went his journey for to levee war against Mithridates, and with Phraates king of the Parthians he renewed the league. In a battell performed by horse-service he overcame Mithridates. Also herein is contained the warre, first betwene Phraates king of the Parthians, and Tigranes king of the Armenians: afterwards between Tigranes the son and his father.

Of the CI. booke.

Cneus Pompeius vanquished Mithridates in a battell fought by night, and compelled him to fle ¹⁰ *Bosphorus. He received Tigranes upon his submission: & when he had taken from him Syria, Ph¹⁰ or Bosphoria, and Cilicia, he gave him againe the kingdome of Armenia. Their conspiracie, who having been condemned for the inordinate and ambitious suite of the Consulship, were confedered to kil the Consuls, was surprised and dashed. Cn. Pompeius following the chase after Mithridates, entred into farre remote countries and unknown nations. The *Berians and Albanes who would not grant him passage, he overcame in battell. Over and besides, this booke sheweth how Mithridates fled by Colchij and Heniochi, and what his acts were in Bosphorus. ¹⁰ Georgians at this day.

Of the CII. booke.

Cn. Pompeius reduced the realme of Pontus into the forme of a province. Pharnaces the son of Mithridates made war upon his own father, by whom Mithridates was besieged within his own royal court and palace. Whereupon he dranke poison, and seeing it was not effectuall and strong ynough to dispatch him, he was killed by a French soldiour, named Bitatus, whose helping hand he requested for to rid him out of the world. Cn. Pompeius subdued the Jews: their famous temple of Ierusalem, which until that day never had suffered abuse and violence, bee forced and woun. Catiline, by occasion that hee had twice suffered a repulse in suing to be Consul, conspired together with Lentulus the Pretor, Cethegus & many others, to massacre the Consuls & the Senat, to set the citie on fire, and to subvert and overthrow the State of the commonweale, and to this purpose had levied an armie in Tuscanie. This treason & conspiracie was by the industrie of M. Tullius Cicero, detected and found out. Catiline was banished the citie. The rest of his complices and adherents every one suffered death accordingly.

Of the CIII. booke.

Catiline together with his armie, was by C. Antonius the Proconsull deposed and slaine. P. Clodius was accused, for entring (in the habit and apparel of a woman) that *chappell which it was not lawfull for a man to go into, and notwithstanding he had committed adulterie with the archpontifes wife, yet he was acquit and went cleer away. Cn. Pompeius the Pretor vanquished at Salone the Allobroges, who had rebelled. P. Clodius left the nobilitie, and raunged himselfe with the Com. C. Caesar subdued the Portugals. At what time as he was in election to be Cos. and went about to invade and make havocke of the C. W. there arose a conspiracie among three of the most principal personages of the citie. Cn. Pompeius, M. Crassus and C. Caesar. The Agrarian lawes were by Caesar the Cos. published with great strife & contention: the Senat was unwilling therunto; but by the other Consull M. Bibulus they passed. C. Antonius Proconsull in Thracia sped but badly in his war affairs. M. Cicero was banished the citie by vertue of an act promulged by P. Clodius Trib. of the Com. for that he had put to death certain Romane citizens: uncondemned, Caesar made a voiage into the province of Gaule, where hee subdued the Helvetians, a vagrant and wandering nation in those daies, who seeking a place to inhabit, intended through the province of Caesar, to travell into *Narbo. Moreover it containeth the situation of France. Pompeius triumphed over the children of Mithridates, also over Tigranes and his sonne, and by one voice and general consent of the whole assembly, was saluted by the name of *Magnus. ¹⁰ Not bene. ¹⁰ Great.

Of the CIV. booke.

The forepart of this book compriseth the site & description, together with the maners of Germany, C. Caesar at what time as he led his armie against the Germans, at the request of the Hedunians and Sequanians, whose territorie by them was possessed, and who under the conduct of Ariovistus were

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come

come downe into France, by an Oracion to his armie staied the timorous disposition of the souldiours, which arose upon the feare they had of new and straunge enemies, vanquished the Germanes in plaine fight, and drave them cleane out of Fraunce. M. Cicero, by meanes of Pompeius (who among others made an Oracion in his behalf) and of T. Annius Milo, a Tribune of the Commons, who likewise pleaded his cause, with the exceeding ioy of the Senate and ail Italie, called home from exile. Cn. Pompeius had commission for five yeere space, to looke unto the provision of corne and victuals. Caesar overcame in fight the Ambians, Sucfiones, Viromandians, Atrebat (nations all of the Belga) of whom there was an exceeding multitude, and received them upon yeelding to his protection. Afterwards hee fought with pissing great hazard and icopardie against the Nervii, one of the foresaid States, and in fine utterly destroyed and extinguished their whole generation: for they had waged war so long, untill of sixtie thousand armed men, there remained but three hundred, and of ninetie five of their noblemen, three onely escaped and no more. There passed a law for to reduce Cyprus into the forme of a province, and to confiscate the kings treasure by vertue whereof, the managing of that affair was committed to C. Cato. Ptolomeus king of Egypt suffered many wrongs and iniuries at his owne subiects hands, and being by them expelled out of his kingdome came to Rome. C. Caesar in a battell at sea vanquished the Ptenetians, a State and citie seated in the very Ocean. Last of all, it reporteth the exploits by his lieutenants performed with like good fortune.

Of the CV. booke.

At what time as the assembly for election of magistrates might not bee holden, by reason of the negatives and inhibitions of C. Cato a Trib. of the Com. the Senate generally in token of sorrow put on mourning weed, M. Cato in his sute for a Pretorship, suffered a repulse, & Vatinius was preferred before him. The same Vatinius when he would have impeached the law, whereby were graunted to the Coss. the provinces for five yeers, unto Pompey the government of both Spaine, unto Crassus Syria & the Parthian war, & unto Caesar France and Germanie, was by C. Trebonius a Trib. of the Commons, & the first maker of the said law, committed to prison. A Gabinius the Proconsull established Ptolomeus againe in the kingdome of Egypt, and disseized Archelaus whom they had set up for their king. Caesar after he had vanquished and put to sword the Germanes in France, crossed over the Rhene, and subdued that part of Germanie which is next thereto: which done, hee sailed over into Brittain with much trouble and dammage, by reason of the crosse and contrary winds whiles he was at sea; and hee sped little better when he was there: but after he had slain a mightie great number of men, he brought into subiecti on the rest of the Island.

Of the CVI. booke.

Julia daughter to Caesar and wife to Pompeius departed this life, and had this surpassing honour done unto her by the people, as to be enterred in Mars field. Many of the States of France revolted by the leading of Ambiorix a duke of the Eburones, by whom Cotta & T. Aurunculeius the lieutenants of Caesar, were by an ambuscado surprised and environed, and by meanes thereof they and the armies whereof they had the conduct, were put to the sword. And at what time as the campe of the other legions also were besieged, assailed, and with difficultie defended, & among them Q. Cicero, who was lord president of the Trevires, the enemies were by Caesar himselfe in person overthrowne in fight. M. Crassus intending to warre upon the Parthians, passed over the river Euphrates, and being vanquished in battell, wherein his owne sonne was slaine, after hee had rallied the broken ends of his armie, and retired them to a little hill, he was trined forth by the enemies (whose capitaine was Suras) to a parley and treatie of peace, and then upon attached: but because he would not suffer any indignitie and villanie alive, he made resistance, and in that struggling of his was slaine, and there an end of him.

Of the CVII. booke.

Caesar having vanquished the Trevirs in Gaul, passed over the second time into Germany, but finding no enemy there to make head, returned into France, where the Eburones & other cities which had conspired, he overcame, put their King Ambiorix to flight, & followed him in chase. The bodie of P. Clodius slain in the high way Appia near Bovilla by T. Annius Milo a competitor of the Consulship,

Consulship, the Commons of Rome burnt in a funeral fire within the Curia [Hofilia]. By occasion of a sedition variance between two Candidates for a Consulship, namely Hypseus Scipio, and Mito, who with force and armes tried the issue by the ears; Cn. Pompeius was sent out of the Senate to suppress such enormous debates. Created Consul hee was the third time in his absence, and (which preiudiciall no man ever had) alone without Colleague. A commission was granted forth to sit upon the death of Pub. Clodius by vertue whereof Milo was iudicially condemned, and had his iudgement to bee banished. A bill was proposed, that C. Caesar notwithstanding he was absent, should bee accepted of in the election of Consuls, albeit M. Cato was unwilling thereto, and gaine said it. Moreover, this booke containeth the warlike acts atchieved by C. Caesar against the Gauls (who generally in manner revolted under the leading of Vercingetorix the Arvernian: also the painefull sieges of certaine cities, and namely of *Avaricum *Bitorige, and *Gergovia in Auvergne.

*Avaricse.
*in Bitor.
*Clement.

Of the CVIII. booke.

Caesar vanquished the Gauls at *Alexia, and received all the cities in France which had been in armes, into his protection upon their submission. C. Cassius the treasurer of M. Crassus, put the Parthians to the sword, who had passed over into Syria. M. Cato sued to be Consul, and had the repulse, and Ser. Sulpitius with M. Marcellus were created Consuls. C. Caesar subdued the Beltruci, with other States and cities in Fraunce. Also it containeth the strife and debate betweene the Consuls about sending of a successor to C. Caesar. For M. Marcellus the Consul was earnest in the Senate, that Caesar should come to stand for a Consulship, considering that hee by a law made in that behalfe was to govern his provinces unto that time of his Consulship. Last of all the martiall deeds of Mar. Bibulus in Syria are here reported.

*Alexia.
*Betrucis.

Of the CIX. booke.

He causes of the civile warre and their beginnings be here set downe. The contentions likewise about a successor to be sent in lieu of Caesar, who denied flatly to dismisse the armies, unlesse Pompey also discharged his forces. Moreover, this booke treateth of the actions preferred by C. Curio, a Tribune of the Commons, first against Caesar, and afterwards for him. When there passed an act of the Senate, that one or other without faile should bee employed to succeed Caesar, M. Antonius and Q. Cassius, two other Tribunes (for that by their negatives and inhibitions they seemed to crosse and stay that act) were expelled the citie and a commission was directed by the Senat to the Consuls, and to Cn. Pompeius, in this forme, To see that the Commonweale sustained no dammage. C. Caesar intending to persecute his adversarie, came with his armie into Italie. Corfinius together with L. Domitius and L. Lentulus he tooke prisoners, and let them goe again: but Cn. Pompeius and the rest of that side he utterly chased forth of Italie.

Of the CX. booke.

Caesar besieged Massiles, which had shut the gates against him: who leaving C. Trebonius and D. Brutus at the siege, tooke a iourney into Spaine, where hee received upon submission Luc. Afranius and C. Petreius, two lieutenants of Pompeius, together with seven legions at *Ilerda, & dismissed them all with no harme done unto them. Varro also a lieutenant of Pompeius, together with his armie came under his obedience. The Gaditanes he enfranchised & gave the citie unto. The Massilians after two overthrowes in sea fight, and a long siege which they had endured, submitted at last and were at the devotion of Caesar. C. Antonius a lieutenant of Caesar, fought an unfortunate battell against the Pompeians, and in Illyricum was taken prisoner: during which war, the inhabitants of *Opeturgum, beyond the river of Padus (who were the auxiliaries of Caesar) seeing their chained bridge of boats and lighters locked up and fast shut within the enemies ships, rather than they would fall into the hands of their enemies, ran one upon another, and died every one. C. Curio, a lieutenant of Caesar in Africk, after hee had fought against Varus a capitaine of the Pompeians, was together with his armie defeated and cut in peeces by Iuba king of *Mauritania. C. Caesar passed the seas over into Greece.

*Ilerda.
*Opeturgum.
*Barbaria.

Of the CXI. booke.

Caius Cæcilius Rufus the Pretour going about to raise commotions and seditions all that ever he could within the citie, and having solicited the commons upon the hope of cancelling all debtes, was first deposed from his magistracie, and after driven out of the citie. Then hee banded with Milo a banished person, who had levied a power of fugitive outlaws: but both of them in this preparation of warre came short of their purpose and were slaine. Cleopatra queen of Egypt was by her brother Ptolomeus expelled out of her kingdome. By reason of the avarice and crueltie of Q. Catulus the Pretour, the *Cordubians in Spaine together with two Varian legions, revolted from Cesar & his side. Cn. Pompeius was besieged by Cesar at Brundisium: but having won his sconces with the guards thereto belonging, and that with great losse of the adverse part, he was delivered from the siege. But after the warre was translated into Thessalie, he was at Pharsalia in a battaile overthrowne. There remained still within the campe, Cicero, a man by nature framed for nothing more unfit than war, Cesar pardoned all those of the adverse part, who after his victorie submitted themselves to his mercie.

Of the CXII. booke.

Herein is related the fearfull condition of that side which was vanquished, and how they fled in sundrie parts of the world. Cn. Pompeius being arrived in Egypt, by the commandement of Ptolomeus the king, as yet an infant under age; and perswasion of Theodorus his teacher and schoolmaster, who might of all other over-rule the King, also of one Photinus, was killed by the hands of Achilla, one who had a warrant to execute that feat, even in his very barge before hee was landed. But Cornelia his wife, and Sextus Pompeius his sonne, fled backe into Cyprus. Cesar three daies after the foresaid victorie, pursued Pompeius: and when Theodorus presented unto him his head and signet of his finger, he was displeased in his heart and wept withall. He entred Alexandria without any danger, notwithstanding the troubles and hurlyburly therein. Cesar was created Dictatour. Hee restored Cleopatra unto the kingdome of Egypt: and when Ptolomeus made warre by their advice and counsell who moved him to murder Pompeius, Cesar vanquished him, with great perill and hazard of himselfe. As Ptolomeus fled, his vessel wherein he was embarked ran a ground in Nilus, and there stucke fast. Besides, this booke sheweth the painfull and toilsome journey of Marcus Cato with his legions, in Affricke through the desert wilderness: and the war which Cn. Domitius fortunately managed against Phraates the Parthian king.

Of the CXIII. booke.

When the side of Pompeius had gathered heart and strength in Affricke, the soveraigne command thereof was committed to P. Scipio: for Milo who before had equal power & commission with him, gave place & yielded his right. Now when it was debated in counsell as touching the subversion and utter ruine of Vtica, for that the citie was so inclined and favourable to Cesar: whiles Marcus Cato stood stiff in this point, that it should not be destroyed; and Iuba the king was earnest to have it raised: the guard and keeping thereof was committed unto Cato. The sonne of Pompeius the great, having levied forces in Spaine (the conduct and leading whereof, neither Afranius nor Petreius were willing to undertake) made fresh warre upon Cesar. Pharnaces king of Pontus and sonne of Mithridates, endured no time of warre, but was soone overcome. At what time as P. Dolabella a Tribune of the commons, raised seditions in Rome, by meanes of a law by him published in the behalfe of bankrupts, that the old debts should be stricken off, and new order taken with the creditors: upon which occasion there ensued a commotion of the commons; M. Antonius, General of the Cavallerie, entred the citie with a strength of souldiours; and eight hundred of the commons lost their lives. Cesar discharged all his old souldiours, who in a mutinie demanded the same: and having sailed into Affricke, befought against the power of king Iuba with exceeding great iopardie.

Of the CX XIII. booke.

Cæcilius Bassus a gentleman of Rome and one of Pompeies side, levied warre in Syria. Sextus Cesar was both forsaken by the legion which revolted and went to Bassus, and also slaine.

Cesar

Cesar vanquished Scipio the Pretor, Afranius, and Iuba, near Tapos, and forced their campe. Cato bearing thereof, wound'd himselfe at Vtica: and when his sonne came betwene and staied his hand, his hurt was dressed, but in the very cure, as the wound was newly launced againe, hee yielded up his vital breath and died, in the nine and fortieth yeere of his age. Petreius killed Iuba and himselfe. P. Scipio in his ship was beset round, and at his death, which he tooke manfully, he uttered a brave speech: for when the enemies made furch and enquire what was become of the General, The Generall (quoth he) is well. Faustus and Afranius were slaine. Catos sonne had his pardon. Brutus, a lieutenant of Cesar vanquished the Bellovacii in France that rebelled.

Of the CXV. booke.

Cesar rode in foure triumphs over France, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. A solemne feast he made, and exhibited unto the people shewes of all sorts. Vnto M. Marcellus a man of Consular dignitie, at the request of the Senate he graunted leave to returne: which Marcellus, could not enjoy the benefit of this grace and favour, by reason that hee was murdered at Athens by Cn. Magius Chilo, his owne client and vassale. Cesar also held a review of the citie, wherein were enrolled a hundred and fiftie thousand citizens: whereas before there had been numbred foure hundred thousand. See the calamitie of civill warre. He tooke a voyage into Spaine against Sex. Pompeius: and after many roades and expeditions on both sides made, and some cities forced, in the end he attained one finall victorie for all before the citie Munda, but with exceeding perill and danger. Sex. Pompeius escaped and fled.

Of the CXVI. booke.

Caius Cesar triumphed a fift time over Spaine. When many honors and those right excellent, were by the Senate ordained for him, and namely among the rest, to be called Pater Patrie; to bee sacrosanct and inviolable; and withall to bee Dictator for ever; he gave occasion to bee envied and maliced: first in that, when the Senate bestowed upon him these honourable titles, at what time as hee sat before the temple of Venus Genetrix, he rose not up nor did reverence unto them; secondly, for that when Mar. Antonius the Consul and his colleague ran among the Luperci, he laid upon his yvorie chair of estate the wreath or diademe which was by him set upon his head; thirdly, because hee deprived from their authoritie Epidius Marullus and Cæcilius Flavius, two Tribunes of the Commons, who went about to bring him into hatred, as if hee affected and sought to bee king. Upon these causes, a conspiracie was contrived against him, whereof the principall heads, were M. Brutus, C. Trebonius, & C. Cassius, also one of his owne side D. Brutus, by whom he was massacred in the court of Pompeius, and received thre and twentie wounds: and by these murderers was the Capitoll seized and held. But after that the Senat had passed a decree to forget this murder, the conspirators asor-said, having received for their securitie the children of Antonius and Lepidus, as hostages, came downe from the Capitoll. By the last will and testament of Cesar, C. Octavius (his sisters sonne) was made his halfe heire, and adopted into his owne name. The bodie of Cesar being brought into Mars field, was by the Commons burnt in a funerall fire before the Rostra. The honor and dignitie of Dictatorship was for ever abolished. Chamaces a person of most vile and base condition, avowed himselfe to bee the sonne of C. Marius: and whiles hee raised a sedition among the credulous common people, was cut off and killed.

Of the CXVII.

Caius Octavius from out of Epirus repaired to Rome: for Cesar had sent him thither before, when he minded to make war in Macedonie, where hee was received with good tokens and fortunate preages, and withall took upon him the name of Cesar. In this confusion of state and tumultuous trouble of all things, Lepidus attained by stealth to the highest pontificall dignitie. But when M. Antonius the Consul demeaned himselfe most lordly and proudly in his place, and by force published a law as touching the exchange of the provinces, and withall offered much wrong and abuse to Cesar, when he made request that he would assist and stand with him in revenge of those that murdered his unckle: Cesar, to the end that he might make both himselfe and the Commonweale strong against him, raised & excited those old souldiours whom he had before placed in Colonies. The fourth legion also, & that called Martia, sel from Antonius and turned their ensignes to Cesar. After this, more besides (by occasion that

* For as he envied the citie, the circle of the sunne gathered about it an Halo round like a rainbow or quinqueland, even over his head.

that many through the crueltie of M. Antonius were murdered every where in their tents) because they were once suspected, revolted from him and raunged to Caesar. D. Brutus purposing to slep Antonius, as he should passe into Lumbardie, seized upon Mutina with an armie. Finally this booke declares the running too and fro of those on both parts, to be possessed first of the provinces, and the preparation for warre.

Of the CXVIII. booke.

Marcus Brutus in Greece (under a pretence of maintaining the state, and enterprising warre against Antonius) possessed himselfe of the armie whereof Vetus had the conduct, together with the province. Vnto Caesar who first tooke arms in defence of the C.W. the government and command of a Pro-pretour was graunted, with the Pretorian ornaments and ensignes thereto belonging, and withall, he had this addition to bee reputed Pro-prator. M. Antonius besieged D. Brutus in Mutina. Certaine embassadours were sent unto him from the Senat as concerning peace, but little availed they in the treatie and conclusion thereof. The people of Rome generally betooke them to arms and souldiours habite, Brutus in Epirus subdued C. Antonius the Pretour together with his armie.

Of the CXIX. booke.

Cneus Trebonius was by the guilefull practise of P. Dolabella, slaine in Asia: for which scil Dolabella was by the Senat iudged an enemy to the state. When Pansa the Cos. was at the point to loose the field against Antonius, A. Hirtius the other Cos. came with his armie to the rescue, discomfited the forces of M. Antonius, and so made the fortune of both parts alike and equall. Afterwards, Antonius being vanquished by Hirtius and Caesar, fled into France, and ioined unto him M. Lepidus with the legions which were under him. Both he and all they who were within his holds in garrison, were by the Senat attainted. Aulus Hirtius, who after his victorie was slaine within the campe of the enemies, and L. Pansa, who died of a wound received in an unfortunate fight, were both buried in Mars field. To C. Caesar the onely captaine of the three now remaining alive, the Senat was not so kind as they ought to have bene: for having ordained that D. Brutus (who by Caesar had bene delivered from the siege at Mutina) should triumph, they made no thankful remembrance of Caesar & his souldiours, as was meet and requisite. For which discourtesies, C. Caesar (being reconciled to M. Antonius by the means and meditation of M. Lepidus) came to Rome with an armie: and when they were sore dismaied at his coming, who had before intreated him so unkindly, created Consul he was [with Q. Pædus] being but nineteen yeeres of age, or not full twentie, for he wanted one day, as Velleius Paterculus saith.

Of the CXX. booke.

Cæsar now Consul, proposed a law for an inquisition to be made of them by whose means his father Caesar was killed: and by vertue of that law, M. Brutus, C. Cassius, and D. Brutus were endited, attainted and condemned in their absence. When together with M. Antonius, Asinius Pollio also and Munatius Plancus had ioined their armes, and therby much strengthened and augmented their forces, D. Brutus whom the Senat had sent with commission to pursue Antonius, being now forlorne of his owne legions and fled, was at the commandement of Antonius (into whose hands hee fell) killed by one Capenus a Burgonian. Caius Caesar contracted a peace with Antonius and Lepidus, wherein it was capitulated betwene them, that those three should for five yeeres have the soveraigntie over all, onely to set in order and establish the state of the commonweale: to wit himselfe, Lepidus, and Antonius, and ech of them proscrib and outlaw their own adversaries and enemies. In which proscription were contained the names of very many gentlemen of Rome, and one hundred and thirtie Senatours, and among the rest, were L. Paulus the brother of M. Lepidus, L. Caesar the uncle of Antonius by the mother, and M. Cicero, slaine by Popilius a legionario souldiour, in the 63 yeere of his age: whose head and hands was set up on the Rostra. Moreover this booke sheweth the deeds by M. Brutus atchieved in Greece.

Of

Of the CX XI. booke.

Cassius, who had in commission from the Senate, to pursue by force of armes Dolabella iudged an enemy to the commonweale, being borne out by the authoritie and warrant of the State, possessed himselfe of Syria, and became maister of three armies which were in that province. He besieged Dolabella within the citie of Laodicea, and did him to death. C. Antonius was likewise taken prisoner, and by commandement from M. Brutus, slaine.

Of the CXXII. booke.

Marcus Brutus had but bad successe in fight against the Thracians. After that all the provinces beyond-sea, and the armies, were under his hands and Caius Cassius, they complotted both together at Smyrna, what course to take for the future warre. Publicola the brother of M. Messala they vanquished, and yet by common consent they pardoned him.

Of the CXXIII. booke.

Sextus Pompeius the sonne of Magnus, assembled together out of Epirus a number of outlawes and banished persons, and having a long time with this armie robbed only by way of piracie, and settled as yet upon the possission of no peece upon the land, first seized Messana a towne in Sicilie, and afterwards the whole province. And after that A. Pompeius Bithynicus the Pretour there, was by Pompeie slaine; he the said Pompeie in a battaile at sea vanquished Q. Salvidienus a lieutenant of Caesar. Caesar and Antonie with their armies sailed over into Greece, with intent to wage warre against Brutus and Cassius. Quintus Cornificius in Africke overcame in plaine fight T. Sestius the captain of the Cassian faction.

Of the CXXIII. booke.

Caius Caesar together with Antonie fought at Philippi with variable fortune against Brutus and Cassius, in such sort, as the right points of both battailes had the better, & ech of them woun the others campe. But the death of Cassius was it that turned the ballance & made the difference: who being in that point that reculed and went downe, supposed that the whole armie and maine battaile was discomfited, and so killed himselfe. In another conflict afterwards, M. Brutus also was overcome, and there ended his life: for hee intreated Strato (that accompanied him in his flight) to set his sword's point toward him, and so hee ran upon it. The same did some sortie more of the principall Romanes: among whom was Q. Hortensius likewise slaine.

Of the CXXV. booke.

Caius Caesar left Antonie (for to his share fell the empire of some provinces beyond-sea) & returned into Italie. He divided lands among his old souldiours. The mutinies of his owne armie by occasion that the souldiours were seduced by Fulvia the wife of M. Antonius and rose against their Generall, be repressed with exceeding daunger and jeopardie. L. Antonius the Consul and brother to M. Antonius, by the ungracious counsell and perswasion of the said Fulvia, made warre upon Caesar: and having procured those nations to side and take part with him, whose lands had bene made over and assigned to the old souldiours aforesaid; and withall, discomfited M. Lepidus, who with an armie had the government and guard of the cittie, entred perforce by way of hostilitie into Rome.

Of the CXXVI. booke.

Caius Caesar when hee was but three and twentie yeeres of age, besieged L. Antonius in the towne Perusia: & when he made sundrie offers to sallie out & break forth, he repelled & chased him back, yea and for very hunger forced him to yeld and come under his obaysance. As for Antonie himselfe and all his souldiours, he pardoned, but Perusia he rased and destroyed. Finally after hee had brought all the armie

armies of the aduersē side to submit and to stand to his mercie, he finished the warre without effusion of any blood.

Of the CX XVII. booke.

THe Parthians under the conduct of Labienus, who had taken part with Pompeie and that side, invaded Syria; overcame Didius Saxa, the lieutenant of M. Antonius, and held all that province to their owne use. M. Antonius being solicited by the instigation of his wife Fulvia to make war against Caesar, put her away, because she should be no let nor hindrance to the accord and agreement of the three rulers in their Triumvirate. Then made hee a peace with Caesar, and tooke to wife his sister Octavia. Q. Salvidienus who complotted mischief against Caesar, he detected and beheaded: who being thereupon condemned, wrought his owne death. P. Ventidius lieutenant under Antonius overcame the Parthians in battaile, and chased them forth of Syria, having before slaine their leader Labienus. When as Sextus Pompeius held Sicilie, and being a neere enemy and neighbour to Italie, staied the transporting of corne and victuals by sea: upon request Caesar and Antonie made peace with him for this consideration, that he should governe Sicilie as his province. Also herein are set forth the troubles and warres of Africke.

Of the CXXVIII. booke.

WHen Sext. Pompeius infested the sea againe with roverie and piracie, and would not make good & mainteine that peace, which he had accepted of Caesar, he was forced upon necessity to undertake war against him, and in two navall battailes fought his doubtfull event. L. Ventidius a lieutenant of M. Antonius, vanquished the Parthians in Syria, and slew their king. The Iewes also were by Antonies lieutenant subdued. Herein besides, is set downe the preparation for the Sicilian warre.

Of the CXXIX. booke.

Sundry battailes were fought at sea against Sex. Pompeius with variable issue: so as, of Caesars two fleets, the one which was conducted by Agrippa, got the better hand: but the other, led by Caesar himselfe, had the overthrow: and the souldiours being set ashore, were in exceeding great danger. But afterwards Pompeius was defeated, and thereupon fled into Sicilie. Marcus Lepidus crossed the seas from out of Africke, pretending to take part with Caesar in his warres to bee made against Sex. Pompeius. But when Caesar warred upon him also, he was abandoned of his armie, and being content to resigne up the honour and dignitie of the Triumvirat, obtained life. M. Agrippa was by Caesar rewarded with a navall crowne, an honour to no man ever graunted before him.

Of the CXXX. booke.

Marcus Antonius, in his rioting time with Cleopatra, entred into the province of Media with eighteen legions, and sixteene thousand horsemen; levied warre upon the Parthians, and after he had lost two of his legions, seeing nothing chieve well on his side, he retired back. But espions the Parthians followed him in chase: whereupon in exceeding fearfull hast and great perill of the whole armie, he returned into Armenia: so as in 27 daies he fled three hundred miles. About 8000 men hee lost by tempestuous weather. But he was himselfe the occasion that he suffered these dangerous tempests, over and besides the Parthian warre which unfortunately he enterprised, because he would not winter in Armenia, for hast he made to his love Cleopatra.

Of the CXXXI. booke.

Sex. Pompeius having once submitted, whiles he was in the protection of M. Antonius, went about to levie warre against him in Asia: but by his lieutenant he was surprised and slain. Caesar staied the murmur of the old souldiours, which with great mischief was begun: he subdued the Iapides, the Dalmatians and Pannonians. Antonius having upon his word and promise of safetie & protection trained

trained unto him. Artaxides the king of Armenia, commaunded him to be laid up fast in Irons, and gave the kingdom of Armenia to his owne sonne, which he had by Cleopatra: for now by this time he began to avow her as his wife, upon whom long before he was enamoured and doted in love.

Of the CX XXII. booke.

Marcus Cesar subdued the Dalmatians in Illyricum. When M. Antonius for the love of Cleopatra (who bare him two sonnes, Philadelphus and Alexander) would neither returne to the cittie of Rome, nor after the time of the Triumvirat expired, resigne up that dignitie & government, but prepared for warre, which he went to levie against Rome and Italie: and thereto had raised a mightie power, as well of sea-forces as land; and with wall, had renounced the marriage with Octavia, Caesars sister, and sent her a letter of divorcement and so put her away: Caesar thereupon, with an armie sailed into Epirus. The battailes at sea afterwards, and the horse-fights, wherein Caesar had the upper hand, be here related.

Of the CXXXII. booke.

Marcus Antonius was with his fleet overcome at Actium, and thereupon fled to Alexandria: where being by Caesar besieged, and in utter dispaire of recovering his former state, but moved especially upon a false rumour that was spread, how Cleopatra was killed, hee slew himselfe. When Caesar was now master of Alexandria, Cleopatra likewise because she would not fall into the hands of the conquerour, willingly procured her owne death. Caesar upon his returne to the cittie of Rome, had the honour of three triumphs: the one over Illyricum, another for the victorie at Actium, & the third in regard of Cleopatra. Thus when he had finished all civill warres which had continued one & twentie yeeres, M. Lepidus, the sonne of Lepidus the Triumvir, conspired against Caesar: and whiles hee went about to make warre, was prevented and slaine.

Of the CXXXIII. booke.

Caius Cesar having set the state in good order, and reduced all provinces into one certaine forme, was surnamed also Augustus: and the moneth Sextilis to honour his name was likewise so called. Whiles he sat in vassation at Narbone, he tooke a review of the three provinces of Gaule, which his father (Caesar) had conquered. The war which M. Crassus made against the Bastarnians, Massians and other nations, is here reported.

Of the CXXXV. booke.

His warre which M. Crassus levied against the Thracians, as also which Caesar made upon the Spaniards is here set downe. Likewise how the Salasians, a people inhabiting the Alpes, were utterly subdued.

Of the CXXXVI. booke.

Retia was conquered by Tiberius Nero, and Drusus his wives sonne. Agrippa Caesars sonne in law died: and by Drusus was the generall review and tax taken.

Of the CXXXVII.

The cities of Germanie situate on either side the Rhene, are by Drusus besieged and assailed. The tumult and insurrection which arose in France, by reason of the foresaid review or tax, was appeased. An altar was erected unto Divus Caesar at the confluent of the two rivers, * Arar and * Rhodanus: and a priest was created to offer thereupon, one C. Julius Vercondaridubius an Heduan. * Saône. * Rhodane.

Of the CXXXVIII. booke.

Here is shewed how the Thracians were by L. Piso tamed. Likewise how the Thernsci, Temachateri, the Cauci, and other nations of Germanie beyond the Rhene, were subdued and brought under by

the KK. reigned not precisely so many yeeres just, but, for that some (and namely Romulus) went over some months and daies, Dionysius and Livius reckoned them for a full yeere, and laid it to Tarquinius Priscus: but the other abovenamed together with Eusebius, left out those odd months and daies (because they made not up a completer yeere) and assigned but onely seven and thirtie yeeres to the reign of king Priscus. To this may be added another reason of the like nature: namely that, as divers authours have doubtfully reported the yeere, so they are no more certain of the month and day on which the first Consuls began their government. For Plutarch in his problemes writeth, that they entred upon the first day of January: but Macrobius in the first book of his Saturnalia and seventh chapter, seemeth to imply that they tooke their Consuls place the first of June, saying (according to the opinion of others) That June tooke the name of Iunius Brutus: for that in this month, and namely upon the first day thereof (according to a vow where-to he was obliged by the banishment of Tarquine) hee solemnized a sacrifice to the goddesse Carnea upon mount Caelius. Others againe write, how this hapned the foure and twentieth of Februarie: grounding herein upon the old antiquities and records of stone, together with the testimony of Ovid, who in the second booke of his Kalender thus writeth:

*King Tarquine with his sonnes then fled: The Consuls yearly beare
The soveraigne rule at Rome: since that, no king ever reigned there.*

Some there are besides of opinion, that they entred the first day of Iulie: and of their mind seemeth Iochimus Perionius to be, in his third booke of the Greeke magistrates. In this repugnance therefore of opinions, very doubtfull it is which to follow. As for that of Plutarch, it hath long since bene clearly and learnedly confuted by two great and excellent clerkes, Onuphrius Panvinus, and Sigonius: since it is plaine that it was the sixe hundred yeere from the foundation of the citie, and not before, that the Consuls began their government the first of Januarie. But in setting downe the certaine day, they themselves are not well agreed. For Sigonius after Marlianus inclineth this way and saith, That the first day of the Consuls government was the sixe and twentieth day of May. But Panvinus thinketh that the first Consuls were created the 26 day of Februarie. And this diversitie is found not onely in the day when the first Consuls tooke their government, but also in the time after ensuing. What was the usuall day of any moneth wheron the Consuls were wont to begin their magistracie, a man can hardly find any certaintie before the sixe hundred yeere from the cities foundation. In the foure and fortieth yeere verily after the kings were exiled, the first day of Iuly, as Livie writeth, was the ordinarie day for yeerely magistrates to take their place: but how many yeeres following, that order continued, or at what time it was changed, hee sheweth not before he come to the three hundred and two yeere, and then he saith in his third booke, That the thirteenth of May was the ordinary day for magistrates to begin their government. Thus much at leastwise we may collect by him (when he saith that this time was solemne) that he meant not two or three yeeres onely, but many. For that is properly called solemne, which is by law usuall observed. Againe, wee read a little after the beginning of the fift booke, that this time also was altered: for whereas the fift day of December was the usuall time that magistrates began to execute their office hee saith, that it was changed, in these words, The principall nobles and lords of the Senat, were it upon the default or the infirmitie of their Generals (that so shamefull an overthrow was received) opined and advised, not to expect and stay for the ordinary time of the election, but presently to creat new militarie Tribunes in Consuls authoritie, who should enter into their government the first day of October, &c. Which opinion of theirs imported, and the whole house accorded to it: wherupon the other Tribunes gainesaid it. But Sergius and Virginius withstood this Act of the Senate, and denied flatly to resigne up their dignity before the eleventh of December, the ordinary day of taking their othe and beginning their magistracie. And a little after, within one page, hee sheweth that the usuall day of entrance into government was altered from the eleventh of December to the first of Sept. saying, When this speech was received with a general applause of all men, and that the nobles and lords of the Senat, &c. But this day was kept but a few yeeres. For about sixe yeeres after, he saith, by occasion that both Consuls lay sicke, it was ordained that the first of Iuly should be the ordinary day. And this also I find was chaunged to another, whatsoever it was, for named it is not: & therefore uncertain. But this hapned in the four hundred & thirteenth yeere after the cities foundation: as Livie about the beginning of the 8 booke sheweth in these words: And when the Consuls were commaunded to resigne up their magistracie before the time, to the

the end that new Consuls might the sooner be created, against so great troubles of war, &c. For in these words The sooner &c. he declareth that the usuall day of entrie into government was then chaunged. But as it is not certainly set downe what day this was; so the other was as well knowne: for soone after, and namely the eight yeere following it was appointed, to wit, the first day of Iuly. Immediately therefore (quoth he) the new Consuls, L. Aemilius Mamercus, and Cn. Plautius were enjoined that day (even the first of Iuly) on which they began their office, to agree and part betweene themselves their provinces. As for the month, wherein for the most part the assembly for election of magistrates was holden, we read it was Februarie; like as the thirteenth of March was ordinarie for them to begin their government. For this day held alwaies, during the second Punicke war and the Macedonian, and longer than so. Thus Livie testifieth in many places (which to quote is needlesse) as in the sixt booke of the second Punicke war, and in the beginning of the first booke as touching the Macedonian. By which, who seeth not that there is great varietie in the moneth and day both, whereupon the magistrates were wont to begin their rule? But whereas all the certaintie in computation and account of the time, dependeth upon a precise, exact, firme, and settled reckoning of yeeres, months, and daies; and seeing that in Livies storie it is neither expressly shewed, what yeere, month, or day, the magistrates began their government, nor precisely noted when the reckoning altered; considering also that nothing therein is more wavering and inconstantly delivered, than the very usuall day of entring into magistracie: what marvell is there, if authours dissent so much about the computation of the times? whiles one beginneth at this moneth, another at that: whiles some I say ascribe these magistrates created, to this yeere, others attribute the same to another?

Thirdly, there being great difference betweene Dionysius and Livie, as well about the reckoning of the times and yeeres, as the acts and affaires that therein passed; all seemeth to have risen hereupon, that the purpose of Livie was not to deliver exactly the acts & occurrents of greatest antiquitie which happened in the State of the people of Rome, and which by many writers aforetime had ben most diligently set down & penned to posteritie: but to record & write those things especially, which from the time a little before the second Punick war had been achieved by the people of Rome, unto the age wherein himselfe lived. But because (as Polybius most wisely and pithily writeth) a generall storie cannot be understood by particular registers; and for that an Historiographers studie and endeavour ought to be employed rather in an universall treatise, than in particular discourses: therefore, least so great a peece of work as his, wanting a beginning, should seeme maimed & imperfect; in the formost 20 books he slightly & breifely ran over the deeds of the people of Rome from the foundation of the citie, unto the beginning of the second Punick war. But Dionysius professing purposely to describe the auncient monuments of the Romanes, thought it his part to overpasse and omit nothing worthe of remembrance, but most curiously and exactly hath delivered all things pertinent, either to the calculation of the times or discourses of affaires; in so much as those things whereof Livie hath scanty made three bookes, hee hath declared at large in eleven. Hereupon, if a man read in Dionysius, the auncient beginning and originall of the Roman empire, and examine well the times how they are by him digested, and compare the same with the brevity in Livie, no doubt he will preferre the diligence of the former before the overhastinesse of the later. But if the indifferent reader consider the purpose and intent of them both, he will yeeld unto either of them their due praise; and whereas Livie making hast to other matters, hath either let passe or more slightly handled some things, he will judge him worthe rather to be excused than reproved for it.

To these three causes above rehearsed, others also may be adjoined; namely, the ordering of the yeeres by Romulus, and the varietie as touching that yeere wherein Rome was founded: but it may suffice only to touch these, & point unto them with the finger. Howbeit this we thinke good to advertise and admonish the reader by the way; that albeit in the digesting and reckoning of the Coss, we have set before our eyes to follow the marble tables & monuments of Verrius Flaccus, and according thereunto have framed & applied the computation of the yeeres; yet that yeere before the 250, as also the other, which Verrius rejected, we have inserted with the rest, that our account might fall out just with the sum of the yeeres, as they are collected by Varro. Which, before us, Onuphrius Panvinus a most learned man hath done in his Kalender, thinking that the yeere which Verrius and they that followed him rased out was the 423, and therefore he hath put it to the rest without Consuls, according to the Capitoline records.

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of

*Of the computation of times usually observed by the Romanes,
and of the yeere of the cities foundation.*



He calculation of yeeres was taken and observed by men in old time divers and sundrie wayes. The Achæans (as wee read) received it from the revolution of the starres: the Argives from their women priests; as for example, if Chrysis such a yeere were chiefe priest to offer sacrifices, they counted the number of yeeres from the said Chrysis. But many have derived & fetched the course and consequence of their acts and affaires, from the yeeres before Troy was built, or else after the winning thereof. Howbeit, from the 408 yeere after the captivity thereof, by occasion of the Olympian games, which Hercules first instituted in the honour of his great grandfere by the mothers side, and which by his sonne Iphiclus (or Iphitus, as some will have it) were renewed that yeere: from that time (I say) they began to number the yeeres by the Olympiads, especially among the Grecians, whose storie (as Eusebius affirmeth) is not of any credit but from the time of the first Olympias. The Hebrewes (like as other nations in the East) received the denomination and reckoning of the yeeres from their kings. The Atheniens, from their Eponymi (as they called them) but that in their Archæresæ, [that is, the elections of their magistrates] which were wont to hold for certain daies about the beginning of the yeere, they counted in this wise, *ἐπὶ πρῶτῃς πεντηκοντατῆς ἐτεῖς*, i. the tenth or eleventh of the first Prytania. And hereof it seemeth, that the name comineth *τῆς ἐκωνταμυρίας* as if from thence, their acts received both the time and also the name. After the example of the Atheniens and others, the Romanes reckoned their daies, made their calender, and registred their acts by such and such Consuls; noting thereto otherwhiles the yeere from the cities foundation. Many about it there is much more diversitie in authors, than about that wherein the first Consuls took their government. And seeing the clearing and declaration of that point is not impertinent to this place, briefly wee will rehearse the opinions of authors as touching the time when the citie of Rome was founded.

To begin therefore at them, who (according to the common received opinion of others) have written longer agoe and further off, Timæus Siculus (I know not upon what reason induced) hath recorded, how the citie was built by Romulus much about the time that Carthage in Atricke by the Tyrians, namely in the 38 yeere before the first Olympias.

L. Cincius (a Senatour of Rome by calling) saith it was in the fourth yeere of the twelfth Olympias. Q. Fabius Pictor (a most auncient writer of the Romane storie and of greatest credit) attributeth it to the first yeere of the eight Olympias.

Polybius Megapolitanus, and Diodorus Siculus, quote the second yeere of the 7 Olympias. Apollodorus, Q. Lutatius Catulus, C. Cornelius Nepos, Eratosthenes, M. Porcius Cato, Dionysius Halicarnasæus, & Theophilus Antiochenus, name the first yeere of the 7 Olympias.

M. Verrius Flaccus, (the avoucher of the Capitoline stone-records) T. Livius, C. Julius Solinus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and others, will have it to be the fourth yeere of the 6 Olympias.

L. Taruntius Firmanus, M. Terentius Varro, T. Pomponius Atticus, M. Tullius Cicero, Augustus Cæsar, C. Plinius Secundus, Plutarchus Chæronæus, Domitianus Cæsar Augustus, P. Cornel. Tacitus, Cassius Dio, A. Gellius, L. Septimius Severus Augustus, Censorinus, M. Julius Philippus Augustus, Eusebius Pamphil. Cæsariensis, Eutropius, Paulus Orosius, Paulus Diaconus Longibardus: and after the time of C. Cæsar Dictatour, the common opinion of the people of Rome (which wee also goe by) will have the citie to be founded the third yeere of the sixth Olympias.

But by what motives and reasons each one of these authours is induced, and whereby they would seeme to confirme their severall opinions, needlesse it is in this place for to declare: both because the speculation hereof pertaineth properly to another profession, and also for that (besides Plutarch in Romulus, Solinus in the 1 chapter of his Polyhistor, and Camers in his annotation thereupon) the question hath been so thoroughly handled by Onuphrius Panvinius in the first booke of his Calender, that the thing requireth no further examination.

Now for the day on which the foundation of the citie of Rome was laid by Romulus, it was the eleventh day before the calends of May, called Parilia or Palilia. Now was this a festivall day to Pales the goddesse of shepheards, celebrated by the said shepherds upon the eleventh calends

of

of Maie, in the fields and countrey villages, for the chafing away of wolves, for the preservation of their sheepe and cattell from diseases, or for the safe yeaning and bringing forth their young: whereupon they were called Parilia. Of this matter writeth Propertius in his 4. booke in this wise:

*A feast there was, Palilia, our fath:rs did it call,
And on that day they first began, for Rome to build a wall.*

Ovid also in the fourth booke of his Fasti:

*A time full meet they chose, with plough the plot to marke,
Dame Pales was at hand, and so began the warke.*

The same is avouched by M. Tullius, Plutarch, Solinus, and others. And that these Palilia were solemnized ordinarily the eleventh day before the calends of May, appeareth as well by the old marble Romane calenders, as also by the same authors before rehearsed.



Of the first soveraigne magistrates of the citie of Rome, namely, of the KK. who were in number seven.



LI sorts of policies and governments in a Common-weale which are set downe and named by auncient Writers, the citie of Rome (were it by the fatall course of destinie, or upon some troubles in the State) hath received and endured every one: so as no common-weale in manner there can be found, wherein they succeeded so one after another, as they did in the very citie of Rome. For in the beginning, the KK. ruled it; but when they for their excessive outrage and inordinate lust exercised upon their citizens and subjects, were deposed and expelled, the Consuls (and after them the Tribunes militarie in Consuls authoritie) held the soveraigntie. But in proceesse of time, when this frame and forme of Common-weale (simply the best) was by the outrage of the two Gracchi (Saturninus and Drusus Tribunes of the Commons) put out of joynt and troubled, untill such time as their power and authoritie was by Sylla rent in twain; & the Commons disleized of their lands and killed: then the administration of the common-weale was restored againe to the Nobles and principall persons of the citie. But at length when it was oppressed againe by the civill warre of Pompey and Cæsar, the soveraigne rule of the State was devolved upon the empire of Cæsar alone; wherein, being first shaken a few yeeres before, through the wicked insolencie and lust of the three Triumvirs, it continued untill the time that it fell to utter ruine. Wee therefore will briefly goe through all these sorts of government, in that successive order as they followed one after another, and first begin with the KK.

37

Romulus the first K. of the Romans, reigned 37 yeeres.



ROMULUS, the founder of the citie, reigned 37 yeeres: for so many Livie assigneth unto him. Likewise Dionysius in the first booke, which hee repeated also in the second: and Plutarch in Numa dissenteth not from them, howsoever in Romulus, hee writeth that hee departed this world in the 37 yeere

of his age. Solinus in like manner, relieving his worthie actes, attributeth unto his reigne 37 yeeres. Onely Eutropius (1. booke 4. chap.) alloweth unto him 39 yeeres; but Cuspinian thinketh verie well, that the copie is corrupt. This prince having reigned (according to the more common received opinion of authors) seven and thirtie yeeres; in which time, hee laid the first ground-woke of the Roman Empire,

Pppp iij

with

with excellent lawes and ordinances, and established both civile & also militarie discipline, departed this life upon the Nones of Iulie, which day was called afterwards, *None Caprotina*: by occasion that he in multering and reviewing his armie at the lake of Capra, was conveighed out of mens fight: whereupon the people fled as amafed at the suddaine death of their king, as Plutarch and Dionysius doe witness. This Romulus after his *deification was named Quirinus, of which surname Ovid in his *Kalendar giveth these reasons.

* *Apollonius*.* *Quirinus*.Some read this, *Sive quod hasta quiris; priscis est dicta *Sabinis:** *Latinus*. *Bellicus a telo, venit in *Astra Deus:** *Anna*.* *Romanus vi-* *Sive sui regni nomen p'suere Quirites,*certat, *huc et -* *Sen quis *Romanus iunxerat ille Cives.** *Quirinus*.

A speare, old Sabins Quiris cald, which Romulus us'd in fight: This martiall man a god became, & so Quirinus high. Quirites eke his subjects hege their K, this name might give: Or els the Cures, whō he broght with Romans for to live.

That hee was base borne, and could not avouch his owne father, beside other writers, Plutarch especially affirmeth in his Theseus. Howbeit the old opinion went currant, that he was by Mars begotten in stealth of a vestal virgin, Ilia, Rhea, or Sylvia, for so many names ther goe of her: and that first he was called Romus, of Ruma, which signifieth a teat or pap, and afterwards by way of flatterie, Romulus.

Interregents.

FOR one yeere after the death of Romulus, the nobles fell to variance, and strove who should be king: but by reason, that no one person excelled above the rest in that state so newly founded, there grew severall factions and debates in their head-corporations. They who wer descended from the Sabines (because after the death of Tatius none of them raigned with Romulus in equall societie) were desirous to have a king created out of their bodie, because they would not forgoe their hold and possession in the Empire. But the old Romanes could not away with a stranger-king. Howbeit, as different as they were in affections, al were willing to set up a king, as having not tasted yet the sweetnesse of libertie. The Peeres moreover mightily feared (by reason that the neighbour States bordering round about were provoked against them) least some forraigne force might assaile their cittie left thus without soveraign government, and the armie without a leader. Whereupon the two hundred nobles agreed among themselves to enter into an association of rule, and made ten Decuries: and in every

Decurie created one to have the soveraigntie over the rest. These Senatours were then 100 in number, as Livie saith, and according to Plutarch a hundred & fiftie. But Dionysius writeth, that there were two hundred of the Sabines, and as many Romanes. After this they cast lots, and their Decurie unto whom the lotterie first fell, ruled the citie: howbeit not all of them at once, but one alone had the regall ornaments, and the listours going before him. Five daies hee governed and no longer; and so by this order in course, the nobles of every Decurie governed the citie fiftie daies. For after five daies determined, hee whose lot was first to governe in that Decurie, delivered up unto the second the imperiall dignitie together with the ensignes thereof: and hee againe, when his five daies were expired, unto a third, and so to the tenth. Thus when the tenn first Interregents had passed one 50 daies, a second Decurie of Senatours in like manner ruled the citie other 50 daies; and thus they went round through all untill they had fulfilled a yeeres space in this regencie. This government was of the thing it selfe called *Interregnum*, which name it still retained afterwards, and the men likewise were named *Interreges*. In this yeare therefore was the magistracie of Interregents first devised among the Romanes. And not onely after the death of Romulus the State was ruled by Interregencie, but also after the decease of Numa, Tullius, & Ancus, kings. In like manner during the time of the free State & Commonweale, after the time of yeerly magistrates expired, the said government tooke place very often, before the creation of new: for they held the assembly for elections, wherein new governours were by the people created. Now the office and charge of this Interregent was, during the time of his regencie (which ordinarily passed not five daies) to execute all those functions in the citie, which belonged either to KK. or Consuls; namely, to minister justice, to rule the Commonweale, to hold a Senate, and there to propound the affairs of State, & lastly to summon the generall assembly for chusing new magistrates. As touching the beginning of Interregents, Dionysius in his second booke, Livie in his first, Plutarch in Numa, Sext. Rufus, Eusebius & other old writers, have written at large.

43

Numa Pompilius the second K. reigned 43 yeeres.

ONE yeere of Interregencie being thus accomplished, the people of Rome thought this

this a greevous and heave manner of government; and the Commons grumbled that their servitude was many-fold more than before, as having two hundred lords over them in stead of one. Which when the Senatours perceived, they agreed at last upon this point, That the old Senatours should create a king, whome they would, so hee were not one of their owne bodie and degree. Whereupon Numa Pompilius (for that in justice & wisdom he excelled all other) was called out of Cures a cittie of the Sabines, to bee their king. That hee reigned three and fortie yeeres, all accord, save Eutropius, Eusebius and Cassiodorus (late writers) who set downe but one and fortie, as Onuphrius and Sigonius have observed. Of this king, Dionysius in the second booke, Livie in his first, Solinus in his second chapter, Plutarch, Plinie, and Eutropius in his life; in like sort, Valerius Maximus have delivered much in record. Hee died not much above the age of eightie yeeres as Plutarch writeth; for born he was (as he testifieth) the same day whereon Romulus laid the first foundation of the citie, namely, the twelfth Calends of May. Now for the name of Numa, some say it was the fore-name of Pompilius. But out of Sextus Pompeius it appeareth, that neither Tullius nor Numa were fore-names, as also by this conjecture, for that the sonnes of Numa are by Dionysius called by other sundry names diverse from the familie. Some thought therefore that Numa, Ancus, Aruns, Volulus, Drusus, Faustus, Iulus, Mammurius, & certain other surnames, were at first forenames, as Marlianus in his Annales hath verie well noted.

32

Tullus Hostilius the third king of Rome, reigned 32 yeeres.

NUMA being deceased, the Interregencie tooke place again: during which time an act of Senat passed, wherein by the approbation of the Commons and advise of the nobles, Tullus Hostilius was created the third king of the Romans, in the fourescore and one yeere after the foundation of the citie. Who having rased Alba, commaunded the Albans to be translated to Rome. Their Commons hee made free denizens, and the principal nobles hee tooke into the order of Senators. After Numa he reigned 32 yeeres, as all writers most constantly affirm. He perished as Dionysius witnesseth, by occasion that his house was on fire, wherein his wife & children & all their

houhold besides were consumed and burnt. Some say, that his pallace tooke fire by lighting through the ire of the gods, for that hee had forlet some sacrifices and holy rites: others write, that it was occasioned by the treacherous practise of Ancus Martius, who reigned next after him. Of him Dionysius writeth in his 3 booke. That hee carried before him the name of Hostus it appeareth by this, that both his father and grandfire bare the said name. A prince hee was, not onely farre unlike to Numa, but also more fierce and stout than Romulus.

24

Ancus Martius the fourth K. of Romanes, reigned 24 yeeres.

King Tullius beeing departed this life, there was an Interregent by the Nobles declared, who held the assembly for Election in the 114 yeere from the foundation of the city: wherein the people created Ancus Martius the fourth K. of the Romanes, and the Senatours approved the same. He built Hostia a town 16 miles distant from the citie of Rome; and fought seven battels. Livius, Dionysius, and Solinus say, that he reigned 24 yeeres; but Eusebius, Eutropius, and Cassiodorus, 23. What death hee died, neither Livie in his first booke, nor Dionysius in his 3, do set down: notwithstanding that by them his noble acts are set out at large. Now Ancus (as Sex. Pompeius hath reported) is hee called, who hath an arme bowing inward, so as it cannot be put straight forth.

38

L. Tarquinius Priscus the fifth K. of Romanes, reigned 38 yeeres.

His Tarquinius beeing left by Ancus (when he died) guardian to his children, was the first that ambitiously intercepted the kingdome to himselfe; hee sent the sonnes of Ancus, during the time of Interregencie, out of the way, as it were to hunting, and made an oration unto the people to win their harts & affections to him: & so with the suffrages of the people, and authoritie of the nobles, he was by the Interregent declared K. in the 170 yeere after the foundation of Rome, and in the 41 Olympias. This noble prince as wel for warlike prowesse as peaceable pollicie and government, at the length (being above fourescore yeere old) was forelaid by the secret traines of the two sonnes of Ancus Martius, in the eight and thirtie yeere of his raigne, according

according to Livie & Dionysius, whose judgement we follow: or in the 37, as Solinus, Messala, Ruffus, Eutropius, Cassiodorus, Eusebius, and Bedas write; like as we have before shewed. Priscus hee was furnished afterwards, because hee lived before Tarquinius Superbus, sixth Sex. Pompeius, unto whom accord Dionysius and Laurentius Valla: who writeth, that the addition of Priscus was given unto him not by men of that time wherein hee lived, but by the age following. But Livie sheweth plainly, that he had the surname of Priscus given him, even then when he came first into the citie, because he was borne before Superbus. Hee also was called Lucumo, and was the sonne of Demaratus the Corinthian, descended from the familie of the Brachiades.

44

Servius Tullius the first K. of the Romans reigned fower and fortie yeeres.

After Priscus Tarquinius was slain, presently Servius Tullius was the first that (without any election of the people, yet with the general consent of the Nobles) tooke upon him the Romane kingdom, in the yeere from the foundation of the citie 176. Concerning whose conception, wee must not let passe that which Plinie writeth in the 36 booke after this manner. During the reigne of Tarquinius Priscus, there appeared suddenly the genital member of the masculine sex upon the hearth where the fire was kept, and thereupon presently a captive woman & bond-servant of Tanaquil the queen, named Ocrisia, sitting there by the fire side, conceived & was with child; and so was Servius Tullius borne, who succeeded in the kingdom. Afterwards as the boy lay asleep within the kings pallace, his head was seene on a light fire, and supposed he was the son of the familiar Lar of that house. In which regard, he instituted first the Compitalia and plaies to the Lares. Concerning his birth, Plutarch hath written more in his booke of the Romans fortune. By the craftie and subtil devise of his wives mother Tanaquil, he attained to the crowne in the fourth yeere of the fifth Olympias, and reigned 44 yeeres: but by the villanous complor of Tarquinius his sonne in law, and Tullia his owne daughter and Tarquins wife, hee was most impiously slaine in the verie street; which thereupon was called Sceleratus. As touching the yeeres of this kings reigne, some controversie there is among writ-

ters: for Livie, Dionysius, and Solinus (whom wee have followed) write, that hee reigned 44 yeeres: but Messala Corvinus, Sex. Ruffus, Eutropius, Eusebius, Cassiodorus, and Bedas, 34, and not above. Howbeit, in adding those ten to the reigne of Tarquinius afterwards, they hinder not this grosse summe and computation of the yeeres: for they set them downe 35, which Livie, Dionysius, and Solinus, make but 25. This K. tooke the name of Servius, by occasion of his owne fortune, for that his mother Ocrisia a captive (but a most beautifull and wise woman of Corniculum) bare him during her bondage: but Tullius hee was called, by the name of his fathers kindred, as Dionysius writeth in his fourth booke, reckoning up many acts by him atchieved.

25

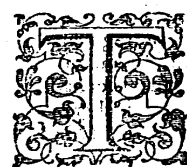
L. Tarquinius Superbus the seventh K. of Romans, ruled 25 yeeres.

IN the two hundred and twentieth yeare after the foundation of the citie, L. Tarquinius the younger having killed Servius Tullius, entered upon the Romane kingdom with force of armes, not by Interregent, ne yet any right of law. Superbus hee was named for his cruell demeanour, in that hee forbade to commit to earth the dead corps of his father in law, by him murdered; giving out that Romulus likewise died and lay unburied. Hee was the sonne of L. Tarquinius Priscus the king, as Q. Pictor, Au. Gellius, Licinius Macer, Verrius Flaccus and Livius have written. Howbeit Dionysius out of L. Piso in his Annales, by most strong reasons disproveth their error, and by the certaine computation of the yeeres sheweth how it cannot possibly be so, but rather that hee was the sonne of Tarquinius Priscus his sonne, who died in the life of Priscus. Five & twentie yeeres he reigned according to Livie in his first booke. Dionysius in his fourth, and Solinus in his Polyhistor. But Cassiodorus, Eusebius, Eutropius and Bedas, ascribe unto him five and thirtie yeeres, adding unto his raigne those ten yeeres which they tooke from Servius Tullius, and thereby giving occasion of error to the later writers. Of him Dionysius, Livie, both the Plinies, Gellius, Macrobius and Eutropius have written much. Collect then, into one summe the yeeres of these kings raigne, and thereof will arise the number of two hundred fortie foure.

of



Of the first election of Consuls.



His is the second change of the common-weale, by occasion that Superbus the K. as well for his insolent and proud government, as for the villanie offered by Sextus the kings sonne to Lucretia, was expelled, and libertie recovered: wherupon the soveraigne government yeer by yeere was committed to two men, who first were named Pretours, for that they were set over the people: then, Iudges, because they decided their controversies: and lastly Consuls, in that they advised and provided for the good of the common-weale: as Cicero in the third booke of Lawes declareth in these words: Let there be two invested in roiall government; and of ruling, judging, and counsell giving, be they called Pretours, Iudges, and Consuls: let them have also the soveraigntie of commaund in warre. Now the first Consuls or Pretors were created by Sp. Lucretius (father of Lucretia, and Interregent for the time) in a generall assembly by the voices of the Centuries, according to the commentaries of Servius Tullius the king. The first Consull had all the rights, prerogatives, and regall ensignes of the KK. this onely provided, that both of them should not have the rods and axes carried before them, for feare of presenting any terror to the people. Both of them were chosen out of the Patritij: which for this intent I advertise the Reader of, that the progresse of the common-weale might be knowne; seeing that in processe of time they came to be created out of the commons also. Moreover, as concerning the yeere, moneth, and day, when as the first Consuls entred their government, something were to be said in this place: but because we have spoken before of the varietie and diffention of Authors thereabout; therefore letting passe these circumstances, proceed wee to the very Consuls, who by the testimony of all writers were first chosen; namely,

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L. Iunius Brutus, and L. Tarquinius Collatinus.



IT is recorded by all writers, that L. Iunius Brutus, & L. Tarq. Collatinus, were the first Coss. or Pretors of the Rom. people: who in the end of the 244 yeer since the foundation of the citie, and upon the first day of March (after the Tarquins KK. the father & the son were expelled the citie) in an assembly of the Centuries were solemnly pronounced and declared Coss. But after that Brutus had compelled his colleague Tarquinius to resign up his Consulship, either because hee was suspected for the affinitye and name of the Tarquins (as L. Piso in Gellius the 15 booke and 29 cap. Livie, Plutarch, & Cic. 3. Offic. doe write:) or by occasion of a variance between Brutus and Collatinus about the execution of Collatinus his sisters sonne, (as Dionysius reporteth) hee subelected in his place Pub. Valerius Volusus the sonne of Volusus, whose helping hand hee had used especially in banishing the KK. Of whose Consulship, Po-

lybius in the third booke, Dionysius, Livie, Valerius Max. 4 booke 4 chap. Plutarch in Poplicola, and Plinie 36 booke chap. 15, have made mention. But Valerius, after that Brutus in his magistracie was slaine by Aruns the sonne of Superbus (for the king his father had levied warre against the Romans) in a generall court of all the Centuries, tooke unto him for his companion in government, Sp. Lucretius Triptitinus the father of Lucretia; and to him (being the elder) submitted the preheminance of soveraigntie. And soone after, within few daies upon his death, (for hee was very aged) hee assumed unto him M. Horatius Pulvillus for his colleague in the Consulship. The said Valerius was called Poplicola, for that during his magistracie, he enacted certaine lawes very popular, and namely, concerning the appeale from the Consuls to the people, and the receiving of the state-government from the said people, as Livius and Dionysius do witnes. In the vulgar bookes

bookes, as also in the old written copies (whether by error or of purpose I wote not) wee read his name evermore Publicola, but still in one and the same signification. Only the letters are a little altered, which otherwise have much affinitye one with another, as Quintilian writeth, namely o with u, and p with b. For in antique titles and inscriptions, you shall read often Poplicus for Publicus. To conclude therefore, in the first yeere after the KK. were exiled, Coss. at Rome were these, L. Iunius Brutus, and Lu. Tarq. Collatinus, P. Valerius Publicola, Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, & M. Horatius Pulvillus.

246

P. Valerius II. T. Lucretius.

THe Consulship of these two is recorded unto us by Dionysius, Livius, and Cassiodorus. Onuphrius Panvinius, giveth unto *Lucretius* the surname of *Tricipitinus*, both for that it was a peculiar addition to that house; & also, because by an ancient Chronologer in the records of Cuspinian, he is named *Tricipitinus*. Now for *Publius*, the Etymologie therof according to Sextus, is twofold. For some call him *Pub.* who hath ben brought up at the publicke charges: others again name him so, who was a ward before hee had his name given him.

247

P. Lucretius. P. Valerius Poplicola.

Livius calleth this *Lucretius* by the for-name of P. but other booke of *Titus* Dionysius writeth, that *P. Valerius Poplicola* the third time, and *M. Horatius* the second time were Coss. Plutarch speaketh of the third Consulship only of *P. Valerius*. Onuphrius and Sigonius follow Dionysius. As for Cassiodorus, hee leaveth out altogether these Consuls.

248

Sp. Lartius. T. Herminius.

After *Poplicola* the third time, and *Pulvillus* the second time Consuls, Dionysius hath placed *Sp. Lartius* & *T. Herminius*. The same dooth Cassiodorus. And the booke noted by Cuspinian, under an unknowne author, hath in it thus written, *Poplicola III. & Pulvillo; Ruso & Aquilino; Valerio & Tuberto*. Livie omitte these Consuls, & in their place putteth downe *M. Valerius* and *P. Posthumus*: but as Sigonius thinketh, the fault is in the writers of the booke.

But that this yeere should necessarily come betweene, Onuphrius thinketh, according to

the booke of *M. Tullius Cicero* entituled *Brutus*: and certain it is, that *Verrius Flaccus* in his Capitoline tables hath not rejected these Consuls. Now this name *Lartius* is derived of *Lars*, and so ought it to be written, and not *Largius*, as corruptly it is to be seen in some copies of Livie and Dionysius. As for the surname to *Herminius*, Onuphrius supposeth it to have been *Esquilinus*, both for that the mention of that surname appeareth in a fragment of the Capitoline marbles, as also because of what familie els it should be, no writer ever hath delivered. This *Sp. Lartius* was the brother of *Titus Lartius* the first Dictator, as writeth Dionysius.

249

M. Valerius. P. Postumius.

Plutarch, as also Dionysius and Livius, writeth, that this *M. Valerius* was brother to *M. Valerius Publicola*, and therefore truly is he said to be the son of *Volusus Postumius* for his surname had *Tuberius*. Witnesse Zonaras, together with Plutarch in *Poplicola*, and Dionysius in the fifth and sixth bookes. Him Dionysius calleth the brother of *Quintus*, where hee treateth of the Consular embassadours sent unto the Commons in the yeere 260. This *Postumius* as Onuphrius teacheth, was by old authors written without the aspiration (*h*) either because of *Postea*, *Postumus*, and *Postimius*, and so *Postumius* is derived, or for that in old time they wrote *umius* without the said (*h*). Now is he called *Postumius*, who was borne last, as *Cesellius* witnesse in his commentaries of ancient readings. Howbeit, lawyers pronounce the word with the aspiration, and call by that name him only, who was born after his fathers death: and with them accord Varro, and Plutarch in the life of Sylla.

250

P. Valerius III. T. Lucretius.

Dionysius, Livius, Plutarch, and Cassiodorus report these for Coss. this yeere. But the registers of Cuspinian deliver unto us *Poplicola* the fourth time, and *Tricipitinus*. *Valerius Maximus* in the fourth booke and fourth chapter writeth thus, *Valerius Poplicola* began his Consulship with *Brutus*, & the same man bare three Consulates afterwards, to the great contentment of the people.

251

Agrippa Meneius. P. Postumius.

Dionysius hath for Coss. this yeere, *Agrippa Meneius L. natius*, & *L. Postumius* the second

cond time. Livie, Cassiodorus, Cuspinians booke, and the Greek records disagree not from him. *Valerius Max.* 4. booke, 4. cap. corruptly calleth him *M. Meneius Agrippa*. Now *Agrippa* are they called, who are born into the world with extraordinarie throwes and birth-travels of their mothers, namely, not with their heads, but their feet forward, against nature.

252

Opiter Virginus. Sp. Caisius.

Livius, Zonaras, & Cassiodorus, name these Consuls barely thus. Dionysius yet is more liberally, calling *Sp. Caisius*, *Vscellinus*; & *Opiter Virginus*, *Tricostus*. But whome Dionysius calleth *σοκελινον*, Cicero in his *Laelius* tearmeth *Caisius Becellinus*. And Cuspinians kalender, *Vscellinus*. For first of *Viscus* commeth *Vscellus*, & so from thence they derive *Vscellinus*. *Opiter* (to note that by the way, as *Sex. Pompeius* saith) is hee, whose father died before his grandfire. And the word foundeth thus much, as if hee were born after his fathers death; or because he taketh his grandfire for his father.

253

Postumius Cominus. T. Lartius.

Livie, Dionysius, Zonaras, and Cassiodorus name these simply thus. But Cuspinians Kalender, giveth to *Postumius* the surname *Auruncus*, and to *Lartius*, *Ruffus*. And those whome Cuspinians booke nameth *Ruffi*, the Greek registers by another word but to the same sence, call *Flavi*.

254

Ser. Sulpitius. M. Tullius.

Livie and Cassiodorus allow to these no surnames at all. The Sicilian records give to *Sulpitius* the addition of *Camerinus*, like as the Kalender of Cuspinian; and to *Tullius* of *Longus*: as also doth Dionysius, who writeth, that *Manius Tullius* died in the time of his magistracie, & that in his place there was none substituted, because the yeer was welneer at an end. Of this *M. Tullius*, Cicero speaketh in his *Brutus*, saying, As if I should avouch my selfe to be descended of *M. Tullius* the Parritian, who in the tenth yeere after the expulsion of the KK. was Coss. with *Ser. Sulpitius*. This surname *Manius*, as *Sex. Pompeius* saith, commeth hereupon, that some one was born *mane*, i. in the morning, like as *Lucius*, who entred into the world by day light. And in another place, this *Manius* (qd. he) consecrated the field *Nemorensis*, from whom

255

C. Vetusius. T. Ebutius.

The forename of this *Vetusius* or *Veturius* in some copies of Livie, as *Marlian* sheweth in his annales of Consuls, is *Caius*: in other *Cneus*: in Cassiodorus, *Lucius*: in Dionysius *Publius*: who also surnameth *Veturius*, *Geminus*: and *T. Ebutius*, *Helus*; and in some place *ελαλλεον*, but faultily; for the Latin writers also affirm his surname to be *Helus*. The Greeke records likewise have *Helus* and *Geminus*. Moreover, they that write him *Vetusius*, imitate the auncient manner of putting *v* for *r*, as when they call men *Fusij*, *Valesij*, & *Papisij*. But they who call him *Veturius* follow the latter usage. Of this matter Livie speaketh in the yeere 292.

156

Q. Cladius. T. Lartius.

Thus say Livie and Cassiodorus: but Dionysius surnameth *T. Lartius*, *Flavius*; and *Q. Cladius*, *Siculus*: to whom accord the registers both of Cuspinian & Sicilie. This *T. Lartius* is the same, as appeareth by Dionysius, who before was Consul: and therefore is his surname *Flavius* rightly added. The house of the *Cladij*, as also of the *Iulij*, *Servilij*, *Geganij*, *Curatij* and *Quintilij* descended from the *Albanes* first, as Dionysius writeth.

257

Au. Sempronius. M. Minutius.

Thus Livie and Cassiodorus deliver unto us these Coss. But Cuspinians registers and the Sicilian, surname them *Atratinus* and *Augurinus*. And Dionysius nameth them *A. Sempronius Rhetinus*, and *M. Minutius Augurinus*, albeit he maketh no mention of *Augurinus*; but in the second Consulship of *Minutius*. As for *Aulus* hee was so called, who being new borne, was nourished and fostered by the gods.

258

Au. Postumius. T. Virginus.

Thus are these Coss. set down by Dionysius, Livie, and Cassiodorus. And to them verily the Greek records put to the surnames of *Albus* and

and Cælimontanus. But the booke of Cuspinian ad *Regillensis* and *Tricoftus* besides: so that by him they are thus written, *Au. Posthumus Albus Regillensis*, & *T. Virginus Tricoftus Cælimontanus*.

259

App. Claudius and *P. Servilius*.

Livius and Cassiodorus record these for Consuls this year. The registers as well of Cuspinian as Sicilie, *Sabinus* and *Priscus*: But Dionysius more fully, *App. Claudius Sabinus*, and *P. Servilius Priscus*. This *App. Claudius* was the top of the Claudian kindred, first named *Actius Clausus*, and afterwards *App. Claudius*; who from Regillus, a citie of the Sabines (whereupon he was called Sabinus Regillensis) came to Rome in the two hundred and fiftieth yeere after the foundation of the citie, and was raunged among the Patrii, as Livie, Dionysius, and Suetonius in Tiberius make report. This man was grandfire to that *App. Claudius* the Decemvir. As touching his forename, there is some difference; whereof ye may see Onuphrius and Marlianus in their Kalendars.

260

A. Virginus and *T. Vetustius*.

These are thus set downe by Livie & Cassiodorus, as here they be named. Dionysius writeth them, *Au. Virginus Montanus*, and *T. Veturius Geminus*. The register of Cuspinian, barely *Montanus* and *Geminus*. The Sicilian, *Calimontanus* and *Geminus*. *Montanus* and *Cælimontanus* are both one. Pædianus upon the Oration of Cicero for Cornelius, calleth these Consuls, *Au. Virginus Tricoftus*, & *L. Veturius Cicurinus*: whereby it may be understood, that both of them had two surnames; to wit, the one, *Tricoftus Cælimontanus*; and the other, *Geminus Cicurinus*; for so elsewhere other writers testifie. Cuspinianus observeth, that this *Cicurinus*, is also called *Coturnius* by some writers.

261

Sp. Cassius and *Postumus Cominius*.

So Livius and Dionysius. Of them speaketh Cicero also in his Oration for Cornelius. But Cuspinian his booke set forth unto us, *Viscellinus* and *Auruncius*. The Sicilian records, *Aruncius* and *Vitellinus*. And that these

same were Consuls together in this yeere, and entred upon their government the first of September, sooner than the custome was, as Dionysius writeth.

262

T. Geganius and *P. Minutius*.

Dionysius in the beginning of the seventh booke nameth for Consuls this yeere, *T. Geganius Macerinus*, and *P. Minutius*. The same doth Livius in the second booke. Cassiodorus likewise and Eutropius. Orofius also in the second booke & fift chapter, leaving out one of their surnames. But the Greeke records and Cuspinians booke surrname them both, the one *Macerinus*, the other *Angurinus*. And these are ordinarie surnames, this to the *Minutij*, and the former to the *Geganij*.

263

M. Minutius and *Au. Sempronius*.

So Livie and Cassiodorus set them downe, omitting their surnames, as also the nummell note II. But Dionysius recordeth them fully in this manner, *A. Sempronius Stratinus* the second time, & *M. Minutius Angurinus* likewise the second time. This yeere reckoneth Dionysius for the nineteenth, after that *Poplicola* the Confull published the law of appealing.

264

Sp. Nautius and *Sex. Furius*.

After *Au. Sempronius* and *M. Minutius* Consuls, Dionysius bringeth in to succeed them, *Q. Sulpitius Camerinus*, and *Sp. Lartius Flavius* the second time. Cuspinian registers, *Cornutus* and *Flavius*: the Sicilian, *Camerinus* and *Flavius*. Moreover, *Cornutus* also is an ordinarie surname to the *Sulpitij*, as may be gathered out of the Capitoline tables of stone. And that these Consuls are not to be left out, either according to the account of the Capitoll, or to make up and digest the summe gathered by Varro, appeareth by the triumph of *P. Valerius*, which would not fall to the yeere 279, if wee should deduct these Consuls out of the Kalender.

265

T. Sicinius and *C. Aquilius*.

Next after the former Consuls, there followed according to Dionysius, *C. Iulius Iulus* and *P. Pinarus Rufus* Consuls. Cuspinian

268

L. Æmilius. *K. Furius*.

Livie avoucheth Consuls for this yeere, *Sp. Cassius* and *Proculus Virginus*: and Dionysius, *Sp. Cassius* the second time, with *Proculus Virginus*. And Diodorus in his eleventh booke, unto *Virginus* addeth the name *Tricoftus*. The Greeke records, as also those of Cuspinian, make mention of *Rutilius* and *Viscellinus*. Now as concerning the name of *Proculus*, some think they be so called, for that they were born when their parents were old, *quasi, Procul atate progressi*, i. farre steep in yeeres.

269

M. Fabius. *L. Valerius*.

Diodorus in the said 11 booke, declareth *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *Servius Cornelius Cossus*, for this yeeres Consuls. The same doe Dionysius, Livie, and Cassiodorus, saving that they leave out the surnames. But as touching the surname of *Cossus*, (that yee may be resolved) men were named *Cossi* in the old time, who had riveld and wrinkled bodies, like to the wood-wormes breeding in trees, called *Cossi*. Plinius in his 17 book and 24 chap. saith: Royot and wantonneffe hath brought up the use at the table of the daintier wood-wormes breeding in oaks. Hereupon Saint Hierome against Iovinian: In Pontus (quoth hee) and Phrygia, it is counted high and delicate fare to eat *Xylophagion*: for so he calleth those plumpe and fat wormes which came of rotten wood, and among them are reckoned to yeeld a great revenue and commoditie to the housekeeper. Of them the Romanes tooke their names of *Cossi*, *Cossutij*, *Cossunij*, and *Cassutiani*.

270

Q. Fabius. *C. Iulius*.

Livius *Æmilius* the sonne of *Mamercus*, and *Cæso Fabius* the sonne of *Cæso*, are by Dionysius recorded the Consuls of this yeere. Livie and Cassiodore approve the same. Diodorus likewise, saving that hee addeth to *L. Æmilius* the surname of *Mamercus*: but they leave out the fore-names of their fathers. The Greeke records have *Mamercus* and *Fabius*. As for the surname of *Mamercus*, Dionysius giveth it unto *Æmilius* himselfe in his third Consulship. Moreover, *Sex. Pompeius* affirmeth, that the kindred *Æmilia* tooke name of *Mamercus* the sonne

Q9999

Cuspinian his records deliver unto us, *Iulus* and *Mamercinus*: but the Greeke, *Iulus* and *Rufus*. And that *Mamercus* is a surname to the *Pinarum*, appeareth by another place. These Consuls Livie over-passeth, like as the other the yeere before: upon whome, they that undertooke the explication of the Capitoline tables have noted, that there want Consuls for two yeeres. So that of himselfe the like may be said to that which he writeth in the ninth booke of Piso, in this manner [These Consuls, Piso bringeth in immediatly after *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, leaving out two yeeres whereof wee have reported that *Claudius* & *Volumnius* were Consuls in the one, and *Cornelius* with *Martius* in the other.] Whether he forgot them in the digesting of the Annales, or of purpose passed by them (notwithstanding he thought of those two couple of Consuls) it is uncertein. Moreover, the surname of *C. Iulius*, was transformed every where into *Tullius* and *Tullius*; but that it is to be read *Iulus*, both Marlianus and also after him Panvinus sheweth. For this surname *Iulus* is set from *Afcianus* the sonne of *Æneas*, and from the said surname is derived the denomination of a familie; and therefore Virgill saith,

*The Iulian house: at Rome, first came
From Iulus great, a prince of name.*

And Livie speaking of the same in this wise saith; Which *Iulus*, the house of the *Iulij* avouch for the author of their name.

266

Sp. Cassius. *Proculus Virginus*.

But to leave these things; *Sp. Nautius* and *Sex. Furius*, are by Dionysius, Livius, and Cassiodorus raunged Consuls in this yeere. In Cuspinian his Annales, there is *Rutilius*, the surname of *Nautius*, and likewise *Viscellinus*. But in the Sicilian, *Nautius* and *Furius*.

267

Servius Cornelius. *Q. Fabius*.

Acording to Livie, the Consuls this yeere were *T. Sicinius*, and *C. Aquilius*; whome Dionysius and Cassiodorus name to be *T. Sicinius* and *C. Aquilius*. The surnames of these, by the Greeke records and Cuspinians Kalender, were *Tusius* and *Sabinus*. As for *Aquilius*, hee was so called (as Marlianus observeth) who was *aquilo colore*; i. of a dusky blacke, or brownish colour.

sonne of Pythagoras the Philosopher, who for his singular humanitie and courtesie, was surnamed *Aemilius*. But as he saith, *Aemilius* is a name and not a surname. Now was this *Aemilius* the sonne of *Mamercus*, as witnesseth Dionysius.

271

K. Fabius. Sp. Furius.

Dionysius hath for this yeeres Coss. *Marchus Fabius Vibulanus*, and *L. Valerius Potitus*. Dionysius, Livius, and Cassiodorus, *M. Fabius* and *L. Valerius*. The Greeke records, *Fabius* and *Volusius*: and finally Cuspinians booke, *Fabius* and *Potitus*.

272

M. Fabius. Cn. Manlius.

Dionysius matcheth together in the Consulship this yeere, *C. Iulius* and *Q. Fabius*. Livius and Cassiodorus, *Q. Fabius* and *Caius Iulius*. The Sicilian registers and Cuspinian, *Iulus* and *Fabius*.

273

K. Fabius. T. Virginus.

Dionysius writeth, that *Caso Fabius* the second time, and *Sp. Furius Medullinus* were Consuls this yeere: but Livie and Cassiodorus put in stead of them, *Q. Fabius* and *C. Iulius*. The Sicilian registers, as also Cuspinian, *Iulus* and *Fabius*.

274

L. Aemilius. C. Servilius.

By the testimonie of Dionysius, there followed Consuls next after, *M. Fabius* the second time, and *C. Manlius*. But Diodorus, Livius, and Cassiodorus, deliver unto us *M. Fabius* and *Cn. Manlius* for Consuls. The Greeke records, name *Fabius* the second time, and *Cincinnatus*. Cuspinians booke hath *Vibulanus* the second time. The Capitoline stone sheweth, *Cn. Manlius* the sonne of *Publius*.

275

C. Horatius. T. Menenius.

Livius, Cassiodorus, Diodorus, and Dionysius, make report of *Caso Fabius* to have been Consul this yeere with *T. Virginus*: but the Sicilian registers, *Fabius* with *Rutilus*. Dionysius noteth that *Caso* the brother of the Cof, who gave up his place, was a third Consul this yeere. And Livie saith, that *T. Virginus* *Ru-*

tilus died in time of the pestilence the 290 yeere.

276

A. Virginus. Sp. Servilius.

According to Livie, Dionysius, and Cassiodorus, the Consuls this yeere were *L. Aemilius* and *C. Servilius*: but Diodorus nameth, *Lu. Aemilius Mamercus* with *C. Cornelius Lentulus*: the Sicilian registers, *Aemilius* with *Esquilinus*. Another fragment of the Capitoline stone, onely *Strutius Abala*: with *Esquilinus* substituted in his rouble. Moreover, *Mamercus* (as Sext. Pompeius writeth) is an Olcane fore-name; who also reporteth, that the House *Aemilia* was so called of *Mamercus* the sonne of Pythagoras the Philosopher, who for his passing courtesie was surnamed *Aemilius*.

277

C. Nautius. P. Valerius.

Livius, Cassiodorus, Dionysius, and Diodorus, put down for Consuls, *T. Menenius* and *C. Horatius*. As for Diodorus, he addeth unto *Horatius* the surname of *Pulvillus*: and the Capitoline stone surnameth *Menenius*, *Lanatus*. And even so, both in Cuspinians Kalender & the Sicilian registers, are to be seen *Lanatus* and *Pulvillus*. Of these Consuls, Gellius maketh mention in the 17 booke and 21 chap. but not without fault.

278

L. Furius. A. Manlius.

Livius, Cassiodorus, and Dionysius, set downe for Consuls, *A. Virginus* and *Spurius Servilius*. Diodorus, *A. Virginus Tricosus*, and *C. Servilius Strutius*. In Cuspinian his Kalender, *Virginus*, for his surname hath *Rutilus*: and the Capitoll marbles, give *Strutius* to *Servilius*: the Sicilian records have both.

279

L. Aemilius. Opiter Virginus, or, Vopiscus Iulius.

Livie and Cassiodorus dominate for this yeeres Coss. *P. Valerius* and *C. Nautius*. Dionysius, *P. Valerius Poplicola* and *C. Nautius*. Diodorus, *P. Valerius Poplicola*, and *C. Nautius Rufus*. The Sicilian registers thus, *Nautius* and *Poplicola*. Cuspinian, *Poplicola* and *Rufus*. The Capitoll stones, have for *Rufus*, *Rutilus*, like as Dionysius before in *Lutius*, for *Rufus* putteth downe *Flavius*.

L. Pina-

280

L. Pinarius. P. Furius.

Diodorus this yeere nameth for Consuls, *Li. Rapius Medullinus* and *M. Manlius Volsus*. Livius and Cassiodorus, record *L. Furius* and *C. Manlius*. Dionysius commeth with *A. Manlius* and *Lu. Furius*. Marlianus giveth warning to read *Volsus*, not *Volsus*.

281

App. Claudius sonne of Appius. T. Quintus.

Dionysius would have *L. Aemilius Mamercus* to be Consul the third time this yeere, with *Vopiscus Iulius*: but Livie, *L. Aemilius* and *Opiter Virginus*. Howbeit, he saith that in some Annales hee found *Vopiscus Iulius*, in stead of *Virginus*. And them, Diodorus, the Greeke records, and the avouchers of the Consuls tables within the Capitoll, have followed. In the fragments wherof is read *Iulius*, which is a surname of the *Iulij*. And therefore in the Sicilian registers, it is thus written, *Aemilius* and *Iulius*: but in those of Cuspinian, *Mamercus* and *Vopiscus*. Cassiodorus hath followed Livie. Moreover, *Appius* is a peculiar name of the *Claudy*, which no citizen els of Rome used: because it was a strangers name.

282

L. Valerius. T. Aemilius.

Livius, Dionysius, and Cassiodorus, name for this yeeres Consuls, *L. Pinarius*, and *Lu. Furius*. Diodorus, *L. Penarius Mamertinus*, and *P. Furius* *Quappov*, but faultily, as Sigonius and Onuphrius think. Of these Coss. *M. Varro* maketh mention, & Macrobius in the first booke of the Saturnalia.

283

T. Numicius Priscus. A. Virginus.

Dionysius saith, the Consuls of this yeere were *App. Claudius* the sonne of *Appius*, surnamed also *Sabinus*, and *T. Quintus Capitolinus*. Livie leaveth out their surnames.

284

T. Quintus. P. Servilius.

Livie and Cassiodorus set downe for Consuls this yeere, *T. Aemilius* and *L. Valerius*. Diodorus, *L. Valerius Poplicola*, and *T. Aemilius Mamercus*. Dionysius, *L. Valerius* the second time, and *T. Aemilius*. The Sicilian registers

yeeld us nothing but the bare names, *Aemilius* and *Valerius*; but Cuspinian, *Potitus* and *Mamercus*.

285

T. Aemilius. Q. Fabius.

Dionysius hath for Consuls this yeere, *A. Virginus Montanus* (whom the Greeke records call *Calimontanus*) and *T. Numicius Priscus*. Diodorus, Livius, and Cassiodorus, conceale their surnames: and whome the Sicilian registers name *Calimontanus*, Cuspinian calleth *Nomentanus*.

286

Q. Servilius. Sp. Posthumus.

IN Dionysius wee read for this yeeres Consuls, *T. Quintus Capitolinus*, and *Q. Servilius Priscus*. Livius and Cassiodorus are silent for their surnames: but in Diodorus there bee *T. Quintus*, and *Q. Servilius Strutius*. In Cuspinians Kalender, *Capitolinus* and *Priscus* in the Sicilian registers, *Calimontanus* and *Priscus*.

287

Q. Fabius. T. Quintus.

Livius and Cassiodorus match together in Consulship for this yeere, *T. Aemilius* and *Q. Fabius*. Dionysius, *T. Aemilius* the 11 time, and *Q. Fabius*. The Sicilian registers, *Aemilius* & *Vibulanus*. Cuspinian, *Mamercus* and *Vibulanus*. Diodorus, *Aemilius Mamercus* & *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*. This is that *Fabius* who afterwards was foure times Consul, and was the onely *Fabius* that survived, when the *Fabij* were slaine at Cremera: not a child at that time of fourteene yeers of age, but a serviceable & an active man of his hands, (as Dionysius reporteth) and was the son of *Marcus*, a man who had been Consul.

288

A. Posthumus Albinus. Sp. Furius Fusus.

This yeere had for Consuls, *Q. Servilius* and *Sp. Posthumus*, as Livie and Cassiodorus report: but *Priscus* and *Albinus*, as Cuspinian saith. And by Dionysius his testimonie, *Sp. Posthumus Albinus*, and *Q. Servilius Priscus* the second time: but Diodorus nameth *Q. Servilius* and *Sp. Posthumus Albinus*. Howbeit, in the fragment of the Capitoll mayble, *Sp. Posthumus* is surnamed *Albus Regillensis*, and not *Albinus*, and so Marlian thinketh it ought to bee read.

Qggggg ij

L. Ebu-

289

L. Ebutius. P. Servilius.

Livius nameth *T. Quintius* and *Q. Fabius*. Cassiodorus, *T. Quintius* the second time, and *Q. Fabius* the second time. Diodorus, *T. Quintius Capitolinus* and *Q. Fabius*. Dionysius *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the third time, and *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the second time.

290

L. Lucretius Tricipitinus. T. Veturius Geminus.

According to the Capitoline table, *Aulus Posthumus*; out of Livie, Dionysius, and Cassiodorus, *Pub. Furius Fusus*, are noted for Consuls this yeere. Diodorus putteth to *Furius*, the other gentile surname *Medallinus* for *Fusus*. This *An. Posthumus* was the sonne of *A. Posthumus* the Dictatour.

291

P. Volumnus. Serv. Sulpitius.

Livie and Cassiodorus write, that there followed as Coss. this yeere, *P. Servilius*; but Dionysius nameth *L. Aebutius* and *P. Servilius Priscus*. Diodorus, *Lu. Aebutius Elva* and *Pub. Servilius Strallus*. The Sicilian registers shew *Priscus* and *Flavius*; Cuspinian, *Elva* and *Priscus*. The Capitoll stones exhibit unto us, *P. Servilius* the sonne of *Sp. P. N.* i. the sonnes sonne of *Publius*, and surnamed *Priscus*.

292

C. Claudius sonne of Appius. P. Valerius Poplicola.

Livie, Cassiodore, and Denis, represent unto us as Consuls this yeere, *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and *T. Veturius* or *Vetusius Geminus*; but Diodorus, *L. Lucretius* and *T. Veturius Cicerinus*. Cuspinian his Kalender, *Geminus* and *Tricipitinus*. The Sicilian registers, *Tricipitinus* and *Veturius*; the Capitoline monuments *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*.

293

Q. Fabius Vibulanus III. L. Cornelius Maluginensis.

Livius and Cassiodorus professe for Consuls this yeere, *P. Volumnus* and *Serv. Sulpitius*. Dionysius, *P. Volumnus*, and *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus*. The Capitoll marbles have *P. Volumnus Amintinus Gallus*. Of the same Consuls *Valerius* speaketh, in his first book and sixt chapter.

294

L. Minutius. C. Nautius.

Livie and Dionysius name, *P. Valerius Publicola*, and *C. Claudius Sabinus* Consuls for this yeere: Diodorus, *P. Valerius Poplicola*, and *C. Claudius Regillanus*. The Sicilian registers and Cuspinian, call them *Poplicola* and *Sabinus*. The Capitoline marble hath this record, *P. Valerius P. F.* [sonne of *P.*] *Volusi N. i.* the sonnes sonne of *Volusus*, surnamed *Poplicola*; but Livie, Dionysius, Orosius, and they that have rainged the Consuls in the Capitoll, have reported that *P. Valerius* the Consull was slaine in the battell against the bondslaves, who this yeere (under the leading of *Ap. Herdonius* the Sabine) held the Capitoll by force, and that in his stead *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* was substituted.

295

Q. Minutius. C. Horatius Pulvillus.

Livius, together with Cassiodorus, declare for Consuls this yeere, *Q. Fabius* the third time, and *L. Cornelius Maluginensis*. Dionysius, *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the third time, and *L. Cornelius*. Diodorus, *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *L. Cornelius Nepotius*. The Sicilian registers, and Cuspinian, *Vibulanus* and *Maluginensis*. The Capitoll marble, *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the third time.

296

M. Valerius. Sp. Virginus.

Both Livie and Cassiodore, deliver unto us for Consuls, *L. Minutius* and *C. Nautius*. Dionysius, *L. Minutius* and *C. Nautius* the second time. Diodorus, *L. Minutius Nepotius*, and *C. Nautius Rutilius*. The Capitoll stones, *C. Nautius Rutilius* the second time. What this surname *Nepotius* should meane, Sigonius and Onuphrius confesse they know not, and thinke in stead thereof, wee should read *Nepotius*. *Valerius Maximus* (5 booke 2 chap. Of thankfull persons) writeth these Consuls corruptly, *Q. for Nautius*, and *Minutius*.

297

T. Romilius. Sp. Veturius.

Livie and Cassiodorus name for Coss. this yeere, *Q. Minutius* & *M. Horatius Pulvillus*; but herein they do amisse, as Sigonius & Onuphrius suppose: for the same Livie writeth, that *Caius Horatius Pulvillus* died beeing Augure in

in the yeere 302. Diodorus nameth *L. Posthumus* and *M. Horatius*. Dionysius, *Q. Horatius* and *Q. Minutius*. The Capitoll records, *C. Horatius Pulvillus*. And the Sicilian registers, *pulvillus* and *Augurinus*.

298

Sp. Tarpeius. A. Aterius.

IN Livie, Cassiodorus, and Dionysius, we find Coss. this yeere, *M. Valerius* with *Sp. Virginus*. But in the twelfth booke of Diodorus, *M. Valerius Lactuca*, and *Sp. Virginus Tricostus*. In Cuspinians Kalender *Maximus* and *C. Alimontinus*. In the Sicilian, *Maximus* and *Virginus*. In that of the Capitoll, *M. Valerius Max.* As for *Lactucinus*, Plinie sheweth, that it is a surname of the *Valerij*. Of these Consuls also, Censorinus maketh mention in his discourse of the plaies called *Seculares*.

299

P. Curiatius. Sext. Quintilius.

According to Livie, Cassiodorus and Dionysius, this yeere, *C. Veturius* and *T. Romilius* entred upon the Consullship. Diodorus delivereth unto us *C. Veturius Cicunus*, and *T. Romilius Vaticanus*. Cuspinians kalender sheweth *Geminus* and *Vaticanus*. The Sicilian, *Rocius* and *Veturius*. The Capitoline records, *T. Romilius*, son of *T.* nephew or sonnes sonne of *T. Vaticanus*. Of the same *Romilius*, Plinie speaketh also, 7. booke, chapter 28.

300

T. Menenius. P. Sestius Capitolinus.

Spurius Tarpeius sonne of *M.* and nephew of *M.* surnamed *Montanus Capitolinus*, the kalender of Verrius Flaccus sheweth unto us for one Consull this yeere. Of whom, Diodorus, Dionysius, Livie, Pedianus upon Cicero his Oration for Cornelius, and Cassiodorus make mention, save onely the surnames. Cuspinians booke, and the Greeke records, have *Capitolinus*. As for his Colleague, they dissent and disagree. For Diodorus would have him to bee *Aulus Aterius Fontinalis*; but Dionysius *Aulus Termentius*. Livie and Plinie, the seventh booke, chapter seven and twentie, *A. Aterius*. Solinus chapter 4. Gell. 1 booke, chapter 11. *A. Thermus*. Lastly, Cassiodorus, *Au. Aterius*. Whom Sigonius and Onuphrius follow.

301

App. Claudius. T. Genucius.

Livie and Cassiodorus likewise, report for this yeere Consuls, *Sext. Quintilius* and *P. Curiatius*. Dionysius, *Sext. Quintilius* and *P. Horatius*. Diodorus, *Sext. Quintilius Tergeminus*. The Capitoll stones name him *Sext. Quintilius*, sonne of *Sext.* nephew of *Pub.* For this surname *Tergeminus* is common both to the Horatij and Curiatij. But Sigonius and Onuphrius allow *Horatius* rather.

302

Sext. Quintilius sonne of Sextus, nephew of Pub.

TO this Consull the Greeke records give the surname of *Varus*, and so the Capitoline tables of stone do represent him. But Diodorus, Dionysius, Livie, and Cassiodorus deliver the same man unto us without the surname. Who was his Colleague, it is doubtfull. For by Dionysius it was *P. Horatius*; by Livie and Cassiodorus, *Pub. Curiatius*; by Diodorus, *Tergeminus*; which is a surname as well of the *Curiatij* as the *Horatij*. Onuphrius rather approveth of *Curiatius*.

303

Decemvirs Consular.

Livie and Diodorus, together with the Capitoline registers (as farre foorth as may bee gathered by the broken fragments of the tables) shew that *App. Claudius* and *T. Genucius* were Coss. elect for this year, but they resigned up the place, in regard of creating Decemvirs. Now as touching this Decemvirat, the law Terentia brought it into the commonweale, which law *A. Terentius Arsa*, a Tribune of the Commons promulged as touching five Quinquavirs to be created, who should set downe lawes to gage the Coss. authority. For the Commons complained, that their government was too great & intolerable, and therefore required that it might be abated and made more moderate. Which law, after it had been for six yeers together hotely canvassed by the Trib. to no effect, in the end waxed cold againe, by reason that the said Trib. obtained a graunt to double their own number. But afterwards upon occasion that *Romilius* & *Veturius* the Coss. bare themselves too extreame in rigor against the Commons refusing warfare, the said law was set on foot againe,

Qggggg iij

again, and the suit followed more hotly than before. Whereupon when the LL. of the Senat were doubtfull what to doe, at length they resolved upon this point, (whereof the principall adviser was T. Romilius) to create certain lawgivers, who should set down the rights and privileges both of nobles and commons. And looke what ordinances by them were decreed, the same should bind both the one state and the other. The Commons agreed to this determination: and so three Embassadors, namely, Sp. Posthumius Albus, Au. Manlius Vullo, and Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus, were sent into Greece to learn the statutes, customs, rights, and lawes of the Atheniens and other cities of Greece, and the same to bring with them to Rome. These went their embassy when Atinius and Tarpeius were Consuls, and three yeeres after returned with the said lawes, whiles Sestius and Menenius were Consuls. Now when the Tribunes were instant and called hard upon them, to begin once for to make these positive lawes; and that now already Ap. Claudius and T. Genutius were elected Coss. for this yeere; there passed an act of the Senat, (according to the advise of Ap. Claudius) That all other magistracies should surcease, and so Decemvirs be created in consular, nay in roiall authoritie absolutely, without libertie of appealing from them to the people: who should choose as well out of their owne customes and ordinances, as the foreine lawes above-said, the best and most profitable to the common-weale, and set downe the rights of the people of Rome. And looke what they prescribed and presented, (if the Senate and people of Rome allowed thereof) that should stand in force and bind the whole bodie of the state for ever. When this act was approved by the Commons, the Consuls resigned and gave over. In whose stead, were chosen Decemvirs consular, namely, Ap. Claudius, T. Genutius, (the same that gave up their Consulship;) Sp. Posthumius, Serv. Sulpitius, Au. Manlius, (those that went in embassy from the Coss. to Athens;) T. Romilius, C. Julius, P. Sestius, Pub. Horatius, all men of Consular calling, and such as had been Consuls before. Besides, Sp. Veturius, according to Livie, Diodorus, and Dionysius: although Dionysius calleth Posthumius by the name of Publius and not Spurius, as Livie and Diodorus doe. Likewise Livie fore-nameth Veturius, Lucius; Dionysius Titus; but Diodorus and the Capitoline stones, Spurius. These Decemvirs began their government in the 301

yeere after the foundation of the citie, as Livie writeth; and after him Cassiodorus goeth. But the vouchers of the Capitoll records, say it was the yeere 302; & with them agreeth Solinus. But Varro (whome Onuphrius followeth) accounteth the yeere 303. These sat in judgement and ministred justice to the people by turnes every one his tenth day: on which day the said chiefe justice bare the soveraigne port, with his 12 Lictors before him; the other nine had but one sergeant apeece to give attendance: and the singular concord among themselves, which otherwhiles was an agreement profitable when they were private, proved exceeding great equitie to others.

304

By this time the Commons, besides that they detested the name of Coss. no lesse than KK. found no misse of the Tribunes assistance, nor sought once after it, seeing the Decemvirs yeeld one unto another in reciprocal appealing. With great affection therefore and endeavour, as well of nobles as commons, there were created for this yeere also Decemvirs in Consuls authoritie absolutely without appeal, Ap. Claudius the second time, Q. Fabius who had been four times Consull, M. Cornelius Maluginensis brother of L. Cornelius, who had been Consull in the yeere 295; Manius Sergius, L. Minutius, T. Antonius Merenda, M. Rabuleius; and three likewise of the Commons, Q. Petilius, K. Duilius, and Sp. Oppius Cornicen, as witnesseth Diodorus, Dionysius, and Livie; although the gentile names for the most part are by Diodorus omitted.

305

When the more part of the former yeere was past, and that upon the adding of two other tables to the former ten, there remained no more to doe, (in case the said tables were once in the high court and assembly of the Centuries passed) why the common-weale should have any need of the Decemvirs, in so much as the commons expected, that soone after, the solemne court and assembly aforesaid for creation of Consuls should be published: then the Decemvirs without any word at all made of that election or assembly, came abroad guarded with whole troupes of young gentlemen Patritians, and demeaned themselves more proudly and insolently to every man. But before the yeere was fully expired, by occasion of the lecherous lust of

308

T. Quintius Capitolinus IIII. Agrippa Furius.

Dionysius and Livie both, name the Coss. of this yeere, T. Quintius Capitolinus the fourth time, & Agrippa Furius. Diodorus and Cassiodorus conceale the surname and the numerall note of foure. The Greeke records have Furius and Capitolinus. Onuphrius unto Furius addeth the surnames of the grandfire, to wit, Medullinus Fufus.

309

M. Genutius. C. Curtius.

Livie delivereth unto us for Coss. this yeere, M. Genutius, and P. Curvatus. Cassiodorus likewise M. Genutius and P. Curvatus: but Dionysius, M. Genutius and C. Quintius: and Diodorus hath, M. Genutius and Agrippa Curtius Chilo. But as Sigonius, and after him Onuphrius have noted, it is falsely read in Livie, Curvatus for Curtius; and that is proved by the authoritie of Varro de lingua latina: and therefore in the Sicilian registers written they are, Genutius and Curtius.

310

A. Sempronius Atratinus. } Militarie Tribunes in Consular authoritie: upon whose resignation Consuls were chosen in their rooms.
T. Clodius.
L. Atilius.

L. Papirius Mugilanus. L. Sempronius Atratinus.

When C. Canuleius a Tribune of the Commons, had the former yeere published a second law, That one of the Consuls should be created out of the Commons, (whereby the dignitie of the Patritij was empaired) the nobles fearing least the said lawe would passe in deed maugre their heads, drew to a point; whereof C. Claudius made the first motion & was the adviser, That in stead of Consuls there should be created militarie Tribunes, three of the Patritij, and as many of the Commons; who being endued with Consull authoritie, should governe the common-weale. Also, that when their yeeres government was expired, the advise both of Senat and also of people should be once again required, Whether they would have Consuls rather than Tribunes consular? and looke which pleased them, they should be created. These points being resolved upon & decreed, three militarie Tribunes were created onely,

of Ap. Claudius, who chalenged a maiden (one of the commons daughters) as a bondservant, according as Livie more at large writeth; and also of the commons insurrection and departing into the Aventine, the foresaid Decemvirs gave over their magistracie: and when Q. Furius the high Pontifex called a generall assembly of the tribes, ten Tribunes of the Commons were againe chosen: and so at length in another assembly of Centuries for the Consuls, holden by the Interregent, created there were Consuls,

L. Valerius Potitus. M. Horatius Barbatus.

These Consuls Onuphrius casteth upon a third yeere of the Decemvirs (although Livie seemeth to dissent) to the end that hee might jumpe with the account of the Capitoll, which he supposeth to be collected by Varro: for by their calculation, the triumphs of these Consuls declared in the Capitoll records, are engraven upon this verie yeere, i. 304: so as it appeareth evidently, that part of this yeere was taken up by the Decemvirs, and part by the Consuls. Tacitus and Rufus write, that the Decemvirs continued but two yeeres.

306

Livie putteth down for Consuls, Sp. Herminius and T. Virginus Calimontanus. Cassiodorus saith, L. Herminius and T. Virginus. Dionysius writeth λαβρον ἐρυθρίων, τίτον ἀργυρίων: and Diodorus thus, λαβρινον ἐρυθρίων, τίτον ἀργυρίων σπύκτον: the Greeke records, Herminius, Tricothus: whereby Onuphrius seareth that it be corruptly written in Diodorus, Syruclius for Tricothus: for Syruclius was a surname of the Servilij and not of the Virginij. As for his colleague Herminius, that he is to be fore named Lars, besides Diodorus & Dionysius, Valerius also sheweth in his tenth booke, where he writeth thus: The fore-name of Lars is derived from the Lars.

307

M. Geganius Macerinus. C. Iulius.

These are recorded likewise to be the Consuls this yeere. The surname Macerinus is suppressed by Cassiodorus and Diodorus, who also nameth the other L. Iulius. In Dionysius certaine pages be wanting in this place. Cyprian his Kalender hath for Macerinus, Macerinus.

all Patritij: and well ynough were the Commons content therewith, because themselves were eligible & capable of that dignitie. Howbeit, this regiment of theirs newly set up, stood not firmly established. For within 3 moneths after, by a decree of the Augurs, they resigned up their honourable place, as if there had been some error committed, in their election: and then *T. Quintius Barbutus* (nominated Interregent) created Consuls, *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atratinus*. These Consuls are left out in the Sicilian registers. Well saith Livie therefore, that these Consuls are found neither in auncient annales and yearly records, nor yet in the kalender of the magistrates. But Cicero maketh mention of them in his epistle to Papyrius Pætus.

311

M. Geganus Macerinus II. *T. Quintius Capitolinus V.*

Dionysius and Cassiodorus avouch these for Consuls this yeere. As for Dionysius, he saith that they entred in the moneth of December. Cassius concealeth both their surnames, and Diodorus the one, namely *Capitolinus*. The Greeke records have *Macerinus* the second time, and *Capitolinus* the fifth time. Zonaras nameth them *Macerinus* & *Barbutus*.

312

M. Fabius Vibulanus. *Postumius Ebutius Cornicen.*

Livie saith, that Consuls of this yeere, were so named. Diodorus and Cassiodorus are silent in their surnames. The Greeke records have *Vibulanus* and *Helus*. Diodorus attributeth to *Ebutius* the surname of *ἑλκεος*, but what manner of addition that might bee, Sigonius knoweth not, & thinketh that it should be read, *ἑλκεος*.

313

C. Furius Pacilus. *M. Papyrius Crassus.*

These Consuls by Livie and Cassiodorus are in this wise represented unto us. But by Diodorus after this sort, *Q. Furius Fusus*, and *Manius Papyrius Crassus*. And by the Greeke records thus, *Pacilus* and *Crassus*.

314

Proculus Geganus Macerinus. *L. Menenius Lanatus.*

Livius and Cassiodorus, deliver these Consuls thus fully named, *Proculus Geganus*

Macerinus, and *L. Menenius Lanatus*. Diodorus, *T. Menenius*, and *Proculus Geganus Macerinus*. The Sicilian registers, *Macerinus* and *Lanatus*.

315

T. Quintius Capitolinus VI. *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus.*

By Livie and Cassiodorus, these were the Consuls for this yeere: but after Diodorus, *T. Quintius*, and *T. Menenius*. According to the Sicilian rolls, *Menenius* and *Capitolinus*.

316

Mam. Aemylus. *L. Quintius son of Cincinnatus.* } Militarie Tribunes in Consuls authoritie.
L. Iulius.

The Tribunes of the Commons imported and prevailed, that there should be an election holden for Tribunes militarie, rather than Consuls; making no doubt, but in the chusing of fixe (for so many now by law might be created) some of the commoners by making profession that they would be revenged for the death of Melius, would step into the place: howbeit the Commons created no more than three Tribunes with Consular authoritie, and among them *L. Quintius*, the son of *Cincinnatus*. In which election, *Mamercus Aemylus*, a right honourable man and of great worth, was by their suffrages preferred before *Quintius*, and *Iulius* they made the third. In like manner, Diodorus nameth three Tribunes militarie for this yeere; but in this sort, *Manius Aemylus Mamercus*, *C. Iulius*, and *L. Quintius*.

317

M. Geganus Macerinus III. *L. Sergius Fidenas.*

When the Commons, together with their Tribunes were quiet, and carefully regarded the maine state of the Commonweale, no question there was nor controversie, but that Consuls were chosen, to wit, *M. Geganus Macerinus* the third time, & *L. Sergius*, so saith Livie. Cassiodorus doth the same, but that he setteth down the names of the Consuls, onely in this wise, *M. Geganus* the third time, & *L. Sergius*, without surnames. Diodorus likewise, *M. Geganus* & *L. Sergius*. Cuspinians kalender, and the Sicilian registers, *Macerinus* and *Fidenas*. For this *Sergius* was surnamed *Fidenas* (as Livie reporteth) by occasion of the warre which hee made against the Fidenates.

M. Cor-

318

M. Cornelius Maluginensis. *L. Papyrius Crassus.*

Livie and Cassiodorus report these above-named, for this yeere Consuls. Diodorus nameth them, *L. Papyrius* and *M. Cornelius Macerinus*: but doubtlesse not without error, as Sigonius supposeth: for both in Cuspinians Kalender and the rolls of Sicilie, we find *Maluginensis* and *Crassus*.

319

C. Iulius II. *L. Virginius.*

These Consuls are found for this yeere in Livie and Cassiodorus; but in Diodorus, *C. Iulius* and *Proculus Virginius Tricostrus*. In Cuspinians Kalender and the Sicilian records, *Iulius* and *Virginius*.

320

C. Iulius III. } *M. Manlius.*
L. Virginius II. } *Q. Sulpitius.*

I find in Licinius Macer, that the same Consuls were chosen againe for the yeere following, to wit, *Iulius* the third time, and *Virginius* the second. Valerius Antias and Quin. Tuberо alledge for this yeeres Consuls, *M. Manlius* and *Q. Sulpitius*. But in these so different records of theirs, Tuberо and Macer both, professe to goe by the linnen bookes; and neither of them dissembleth but that the ancient writers report of militarie Tribunes that yeere created. As for Licinius, he doubteth not to follow those linnen records, and Tuberо cannot resolve of the truth. But among other things, which by continuance of time are unknowne, this also is left uncerteine. Thus much Livie. But Diodorus in stead of Consuls, setteth downe three militarie Tribunes, namely, *M. Manlius*, *Q. Sulpitius Prætextatus*, and *Servius Cornelius Cossus*. The Greeke records (following Antias and Tuberо) have delivered to us Consuls, *Capitolinus* and *Mamercinus*.

321

M. Fabius Vibulanus. } Tribunes militarie in
L. Sergius Fidenas. } Cons. authoritie.
Marcus Esilius.

The Tribunes of the Commons in their orations, continually forbad the election of Consuls: and when they had brought it so about, that the government was at the

point of interregencie, they wan the masterie in the end, that militarie Tribunes might be chosen with Consular authoritie. But reward of this their victorie which they shott at, namely to have a commoner created, they obtained none: for all were elected out of the Patritij, namely, *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, *M. Fostius*, *L. Sergius Fidenas*. Thus much Livie. Diodorus likewise nameth three, but corruptly, to wit, *M. Fabius*, *M. Fostius*, and *L. Servilius*. As for *Fostius* in some of the Capitoll monuments, hee is written *Flaccinator* and not *Fostius*, as in the common editions of Livie, whom Diodorus calleth *Fostius*.

322

L. Pinarius Mamercus. } Tribunes militarie in
L. Furius Medullinus. } Cons. authoritie.
Sp. Postumius Albus.

No motion was made of Consuls election. So, Tribunes militarie were created in Consuls authoritie these, *L. Pinarius Mamercus*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, and *Spurius Postumius Albus*; as Livie writeth. In Diodorus they are named thus, *L. Furius*, *Sp.*, *Pinarius Mamercus*.

323

T. Quintius [sonne of Lucius.] *Cincinnatus Pennus.*
C. Iulius Mento.

An act of the Senate passed, that an election of Consuls should be holden, wherein *T. Quintius*, [sonne of Lucius] *Cincinnatus*, surnamed also *Pennus*, and *C. Iulius Mento*, were made Consuls, saith Livie. The same Consuls Cassiodorus also avoucheth. The Greeke records have *Pennus* and *Mento*: but Diodorus nameth them barely, *T. Quintius* and *Caius Iulius*.

324

L. Papyrius Crassus. *L. Iulius.*

The Tribunes of the Commons made much ado, and kept a canvassing in the citie, that Tribunes militarie in Consuls authoritie should be created, but could not prevail. So Consuls were chosen, *L. Papyrius Crassus* and *L. Iulius*. So say Livie and Cassiodorus: but Diodorus nameth them falsely, *Caius Papyrius* and *L. Iunius*: the Greeke records, *Crassus* and *Iulius*.

L. Ser-

325

L. Sergius Fidenas. II. Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus.

THe Consuls this yeere in Cassiodorus, are *L. Sergius & Hostus Lucretius* in Diodorus, *Opiter Lucretius* and *L. Sergius Fidenas*; in Livie *L. Sergius Fidenas* the second time, and *Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus*. In the Sicilian registers, *Tricipitinus* and *Fidenas*. Of these, Valerius maketh mention in his Epitome.

326

A. Cornelius Cossus. T. Quintius Pennus. II.

Hese Consuls are named by Livie and Cassiodorus for this yeere. But Diodorus avoucheth *L. Quintius & Sæpronius*; but corruptly, as Sigonius and Onuphrius suppose. For in the Sicilian records are written, *Cossus* and *Pennus*, the surnames of *Cornelius* and *Quintius*. Of these Consuls Livie spake before, in the yeere 316.

327

C. Servilius Ahala. L. Papirius Mugillanus.

Livie and Cassiodorus, name Consuls for this yeere, *C. Servilius Ahala*, and *L. Papirius Mugillanus*. Diodorus for *Ahala*, putteth downe *Struclius*: for well it may be, that *Struclius* was also called *Ahala*.

328

T. Quintius Pennus.
M. Posthumus.
C. Furius.

Military Tribunes in
Coss. authoritie.

A. Cornelius Cossus.

The commons caried it cleere, that no Consuls this yeere were created: so, foure there were elected militarie Tribunes in Consuls authority, namely, *T. Quintius Pennus* immediately upon his Consulship, *M. Posthumus*, *C. Furius*, and *A. Cornelius Cossus*. Thus writeth Livie: and the same, Diodorus nameth.

329

A. Sempronius Atratinus.
L. Quintius Cincinnatus.
L. Furius Medullinus.
L. Horatius Barbatus.

Tribb. militarie in
Coss. authoritie.

These abovenamed (as Livie reporteth) were Tribunes militarie in Consuls authoritie this yeere. Diodorus leaveth out all their surnames, and *L. Horatius* full and whole.

330

Ap. Claud. the Decemvirs son.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
L. Sergius Fidenas.
Sex. Julius Iulus.

Tribb. militarie in
Consuls authoritie.

These Tribunes militarie in Coss. authority, Livie stretcheth downe for this yeere. The same doth Diodorus also nominate, all but their surnames, and *Ap. Claudius* whom hee calleth *Titus*. Livie moreover saith, that there were two, *Spurius Nautius Rutilus*, Tribunes in those daies; (but no doubt, as Onuphrius thinketh, there is some error in the copies of the booke) the one who is now the first time, & a second time shall bee in the yeere 338; the other, who was first in the yeere 335, and once againe in the yeere 350. The Capitoll monuments of stone have the same: but they shew that the one was but once, and the other thrice Tribune.

331

C. Sempronius Atratinus. Q. Fabius Vibulanus.

The Consuls this yeere created were according to Livius & Cassiodorus, *C. Sempronius Atratinus* & *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* [Diodorus overpasseth them] whom Livie reporteth to have entered into government, upon the Ides of December. Of *C. Sempronius Atratinus* Consull, Valerius writeth, 6 booke, cap. 5, whom hee forenameth *Lucius*; but in the third booke and second chapter, hee speaketh of both, although untrue; for *Q. Fabius*, hee nameth *Q. Catulus*.

332

L. Manlius Capitolinus.
Q. Antonius Merenda.
L. Papirius Mugillanus.
L. Servilius Struclius.

Tribunes militarie
in Consuls authoritie.

The Senate being offended with the very name of Consuls, for the hatred they bare to *Sempronius*, commaunded Tribunes militarie to be created with Consuls authority. And these they were, *L. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Q. Antonius Merenda*, and *L. Papirius Mugillanus*. Thus much Livie, in whose storie the name is missing of the fourth, to wit, *L. Servilius Struclius*, who in the yeere three hundred thirtie seven, is found engraven in the Capitoll stones, Tribunes militarie the second time. Of these, Diodorus saith not a word. In a fragment of the Capitoline marble, there is to be scene the surnames of *Mugillanus*, belonging to *L. Papirius*.

T. Quintus

333

T. Quintus Capitolinus. N. Fabius Vibulanus.

Not only Livie, but Cassiodorus also recordeth, that the Coss. this yeere were *N. Fabius Vibulanus* and *T. Quintus Capitolinus*. Diodorus overpasseth them; but so doe not the Sicilian registers. In a fragment of the Capitoll marbles, we find engraven *T. Quintus Capitolinus Barbatus*, and *N. Fabius*. This *Fabius* was the sonne of *Q. Fabius* the Decemvir, who after the three hundred *Fabius* slaine at Cremera, survived, and was the first of all that kindred and familie forenamed *Numerius*: as Valerius Maximus in his 10 booke, and Sex. Pompeius doe report. As for *T. Quintus*, sonne hee was (as Livie writeth) to that *Capitolinus* who was Consull six times.

334

An Interregencie.

When the greater part of the yeere was spent in troubles and contentions, between the new Tribunes of the Commons and certaine Interregents, whiles the Tribunes one while would, not suffer the Patritij to goe together about the declaring of an Interregent, and another while impeached the Interregent that hee could not passe an act of the Senat for the election of Consuls; at length *L. Papirius Mugillanus* the Interregent, by rebuking as wel the Senatours as the Tribunes of the Commons, prevailed, that an assembly should be holden for chusing of Tribunes consular. So there were created Tribunes militarie with Consuls authority, and all Patritij, *T. Quintus Cincinnatus* the third time, *L. Furius Medullinus*, *M. Manlius*, *L. Sempronius Atratinus*. Thus much Livie.

335

Agrippa Menenius Lanatus.
P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
Sp. Nautius.
C. Servilius.

Tribunes militarie in
Coss. authoritie.

Militarie Tribunes with Consuls authority for this yeere, are set downe by Livie, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, *P. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and *Sp. Nautius*: for the name of the fourth is wanting; and that was *C. Servilius*, sonne of *Quintus* and nephew of *Caius*, surnamed *Axilla*; who the yeere following, in the

Capitoll tables is numbred among the Tribunes consular, with the numerall note of II. So as it must needs be, that he was the first time in this yeere, for as much as there is no other fit void place left for him. Diodorus nameth *Sp. Peturius*.

336

L. Sergius Fidenas.
M. Papirius Mugillanus.
C. Servilius the son of *Priscus*.

Tribb. militarie in
Coss. authoritie.

For Tribunes Consular this yeere, Livie nameth these. This *C. Servilius*, is by Verrius Flaccus cleped *Axilla*. Diodorus calleth them, *L. Sergius*, *M. Servilius*, and *M. Papirius*. Now this *M. Papirius* was sonne to *L. Papirius Mugillanus* the first Censor.

337

Agrippa Menenius Lanatus.
P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
L. Servilius Struclius.
Sp. Peturius Crassus.

All these are recorded by Livie for Tribunes militarie this yeere. Of these, *L. Servilius Struclius* was the first time in the 332 yeere, but left out in Livie through fault of those that wrote the copies. Diodorus hath the same Tribunes besides their surnames, and *L. Servilius*, whom hee calleth *Caius*. In a Capitoline table their names are thus cut, *P. Lucretius* sonne of *Hostus*, *Agrippa Menenius* sonne of *T. nephew of Agrippa*.

338

A. Sempronius Atratinus III.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus II.
M. Papirius Mugillanus II.

Onely these are by Livie recorded: but, that the pen men who wate out the bookes, left out the fourth Tribune of this yeere, (*Quintus Fabius* son of *Quintus* and nephew of *Marcus*, surnamed also *Vibulanus*) the Capitoll stones and Diodorus doe testifie. Livie himselfe also doth shew the same, who writeth, that *Quintus Fabius* was Tribune militarie the second time, in the yeere three hundred and fortie: but in what yeere hee was first, it appeareth not. Moreover, *A. Sempronius* is by Verrius Flaccus named, the sonne of *Lucius* and nephew of *Aulus*. Diodorus reckoneth all foure, but hee concealeth their surnames.

P. Cor-

339

P. Cornelius Cossus. Q. Cincinnatus.
C. Valerius Potitus. N. Fabius Vibulanus.

THese doth Livie deliver unto us for Tribunes militarie in Consuls authoritie. Diodorus in this wise, P. Cornelius, Caius . . . Fabius. The table of the Capitoll thus, P. Cornelius . . . F. nephew of P. C. Valerius, sonne of L. nephew of Volusus. The forename of Quintius is unknowne.

340

Cn. Cornelius Cossus. L. Valerius Potitus.
Q. Fabius Vibulanus II. L. Posthumius Regillensis.

THese declareth Livius for this yeere: but Diodorus, Titus Posthumius, Caius Cornelius, C. Valerius, and C. Fabius. But Verrius Flaccus nameth P. Posthumius, sonne of A. nephew also of Aulus; whome Livie writeth to have been stoned to death by his owne armie for his crueltie.

341

Cn. Cornelius Cossus. C. Furius Medullinus.

Then the Nobles and LL. of the Senate imported, that there should be Consuls created in a Centuriate assembly, which Q. Fabius held. And the Consuls were M. Cornelius Cossus, and L. Furius Medullinus. The same are named by Diodorus and Cassiodorus, but that they leave out their surnames. The Greeke records have Cossus and Meaulinus.

342

Q. Fabius Ambustus. C. Furius Pacilus.

Livie and Cassiodorus name these for Consuls: Diodorus suppresseth their surnames.

343

M. Papyrius. C. Nautius Rutilus.

Both Livie and Cassiodorus report for this yeere Consuls, M. Papyrius and C. Nautius Rutilus. Diodorus hath not a word of their surnames. Cuspinians booke setteth them downe by their surnames only Mugillinus & Rutilus.

344

M. Aemilius. C. Valerius.

Livie and Cassiodorus call these Consuls, M. Aemilius and C. Valerius. Diodorus in

stead of M. hath M. i. Manius. This Aemilius in the table of the Capitoll, is named in his first and third Tribuneship, M. Aemilius sonne of Manius, nephew of M. and surnamed Mamerminus.

345

Cn. Cornelius Cossus. L. Furius Medullinus II.

Livie putteth these downe for the Consuls of this yeere. Cassiodorus passeth over their surnames, and the numerall note of two. Diodorus hath Lu. Furius and Cn. Pompeius: but he is to be written Cn. Cornelius, out of the end of a broken fragment in the Capitoll: and the other L. Furius, by his Tribuneships testified in the Capitoll records.

346

C. Julius Iulus. } Tribunes militarie in
P. Cornelius Cossus. } Cons. authoritie.
C. Servilius Ahala.

THese are set downe for Tribunes militarie this yeere by T. Livius. Diodorus saith nothing of their surnames, which the Capitoline tables exhibit unto us. C. Servilius is written in his second Tribuneship (after the Capitoll records) the sonne of Pub. and nephew of Q. surnamed Ahala.

347

L. Furius Medullinus II. C. Valerius Potitus II.
N. Fabius Vibulanus II. C. Servilius Ahala II.

Livie reporteth, that the four Tribunes consular were all Patritij this yeere, and had born that dignitie once before, to wit, L. Furius Medullinus, C. Valerius Potitus, N. Fabius Vibulanus, and C. Servilius Ahala; and that this man last named was chosen againe and continued in his place still this yeere with the former, as well in regard of other vertues as for the fresh favour and late grace gotten by his singular moderation and rare carriage in his government. Diodorus hath C. Furius, C. Servilius, C. Valerius, and N. Fabius. In the Capitoline tables, two are written short, Potitus Volusus II. and Medullinus; the other two at full: whereby it doth appeare, (as Onuphrius reporteth) that Livie was deceived. For Medullinus was not this yeere Tribune the second time, but the first: who had been twice Consul before, and after this yeere, will be no lesse than seven times Tribune militarie.

P. Corne-

348

P. Cornelius Cossus. N. Fabius Ambustus.
Cn. Cornelius Cossus. L. Valerius Potitus.

OF these foure Tribunes militarie, L. Valerius Potitus, and N. Fabius Ambustus stand upon record in the Capitoll tables; the other two, as appeareth by a fragment thereof, by Livie also and Cassiodorus, were Pub. Cornelius, sonne of Aulus, nephew of M. Rutilus Cossus, so written by his Dictatorship. Diodorus reckoneth Terentius Maximus for the fourth Tribune.

349

T. Quintius Capitolinus. A. Manlius.
Q. Quintius Cincinnatus. L. Furius Medullinus. III.
C. Julius Iulus. II. M. Aemilius Mamerinus.

Diodorus saith, that this yeere sixe Tribunes were created, but hee nameth but three, T. Quintius Capitolinus, C. Julius, and A. Manlius. Livie rehearseth them all as here they be set down. The Capitoline stone hath Iulus. II. Capitolinus Barbatus, Cincinnatus, & the other three. And this was the first yeere that had sixe Tribunes militarie, notwithstanding that the law permitted it before, at what time as first it was graunted, that Tribunes should be created: and in this yeere began the siege first before Veij.

350

C. Valerius Potitus. III. Cn. Cornelius Cossus.
M. Sergius Fidenas. K. Fabius Ambustus.
P. Cornelius Maluginensis. Sp. Nautius Rutilus. II.

The same Tribunes that Livie nameth, Diodorus also rehearseth, but that hee leaveth out the surnames, and corruptly calleth Cn. Cornelius by the name of Iunius Lucullus. In the Capitoline stones they are written, Maluginensis, Cossus. II. Ambustus: and the other three fully out. Nautius Rutilus Livie nameth the second time, but Verrius Flaccus the third time.

351

M. Aemilius Mamerinus. II. M. Quintius Vetus.
L. Valerius Potitus. III. L. Iulus Iulus.
App. Claudius Crassus. M. Posthumius.
M. Furius Camillus. M. Posthumius Albinus.

Livie writeth, that the number of Tribunes militarie were by the Romanes augmented,

& eight of them created, which were more than ever any time before, whose names we have set downe. In Diodorus they are thus named, Manius Claudius, Mar. Quintilius, Lu. Julius, M. Furius, L. Valerius. And albeit there be wanting in him some Tribunes, yet Onuphrius thinketh, and so doth Sigonius, that himselfe by his owne writing delivered not eight, but sixe: which Verrius Flaccus also observed in the Capitoline tables.

352

C. Servilius Ahala. III. Q. Sulpitius.
Q. Servilius. A. Manlius. II.
L. Virginius. M. Sergius. II.

IN Livie the Tribunes militarie in Consuls authoritie, are C. Servilius Ahala the third time, Quim. Servilius, and Lu. Virginius: the rest, as in the tables of the Capitoll, but onely the forenames. Livie nameth Qu. Servilius, Fidenas in the other sixe Tribuneships following, which hee shall beare. To L. Cn. Virginius, Onuphrius addeth Tricostrus, a surname usuall in that house. Diodorus squarseth not out of this ranage, but as Sigonius noteth, hee dooth fault in the name, κλαύδιος μαρκος ἄγκος. In a fragment of the Capitoll, they are thus named, Qu. Sulpitius the sonne of Servilius. N. Camerinus Cornutus, A. Manlius, sonne of Aulus, nephew of C. Vulso Capitolinus the second time, M. Sergius sonne of Lucius, nephew of Lucius, surnamed Fidenas, the second time.

353

L. Valerius Potitus. IV. Cn. Cornelius Cossus.
M. Furius Camillus. K. Fabius Ambustus.
M. Aemilius Mamerinus. III. L. Iulus Iulus.

Livie reckoneth all these Tribunes this yeere. Diodorus putteth downe Lu. Iulus, M. Furius, Aemilius Mamerinus, Caius Cornelius, C. Fabius, παύλος σέβτιος, but amisse. In the fragment of the Capitoll, they are thus named, Lucius Iulus, sonne of Lucius, nephew of Postumus, surnamed Iulus. Marcus Aemilius, sonne of Manius, nephew of Mar. Mamerinus. K. Fabius sonne of Marcus, nephew of Qu. Ambustus the second time. These were commaunded to enter into government upon the first day of October (whereas the thirteenth of December was the usuall day beforetime) by reason

son of an overthrow received the former yeere at Veij by *M. Sergius, Camillus* made an expedition in the Faliscians countrie, *Cornelius* to the Capenates, *Valerius* to the Volscians for the recoverie of Anxur, *Emilius* and *Fabius* to besiege Veij.

354

P. Licinius Calvus. *P. Manlius.*
T. Titinius. *P. Malin.*
L. Furius Medullinus. *L. Publius Vulsus.*

THese by T. Livius are this yeere named the Tribunes militarie. But Diodorus rehearseth onely three, namely *P. Melius*, *Sp. Menius*, and *L. Furius*. But Onuphrius thinketh that he is to be read, not *L. Furius* but *Sp. Furius*. The same author hath put so *P. Licinius* the surname of *Calvus*, whom Livie writeth to have bene the first man of the commonaltie chosen Tribune militarie, onely to take possession of the said right and interest.

355

M. Veturius. *M. Pomponius.*
C. Duilius. *Volero Pubilius.*
Cn. Genutius. *L. Atilius.*

Hese Diodorus sheweth for Tribunes. But Livie setteth downe *Marcus Veturius* to have bene the onely Patriitian, and the rest commoners, namely *M. Pomponius*, *C. Duilius*, *Volero Pubilius*, *Cn. Genutius*, *L. Atilius*. Cuspinian his booke, who every yeere delivereth the names onely of two Tribunes, hath *Augurius* and *Longus*, surnames of *Genutius* and *Atilius*.

356

L. Valerius Potitus. *L. Furius Medullinus.*
M. Valerius Max. *Q. Servilius Fidenus.*
M. Furius Camillus. *Q. Sulpitius Camerinus.*

ALl these Tribunes militarie for this yeere created, were Patriitij, as Livie writeth: neither differeth Diodorus, although he recite two names corruptly, to wit, *κλαυδίου* & *γαν, ιγ μάρος* & *παιος*, Plutarch in the life of *Camillus* maketh mention of the said *Camillus*, the second time Tribune militarie; and the Capitoline stone, of *Medullinus* the third time.

357

L. Julius Iulus. *A. Posthumius Regillensis.*
L. Furius Medullinus. *P. Cornelius Maluginensis.*
L. Sergius Eidenas. *A. Manlius.*

IN this wise Livie reckoneth them: but Diodorus *L. Sergius*, *A. Posthumius*, *P. Cornelius* & *Ερον, κενσον, Q. Manlius* & *αγχιον, καμλον*. But in those two Greek written names, as Sigonius and Onuphrius observed, there is a foule error.

358

P. Licinius. *P. F. Calvus.* *L. Titinius.* II.
P. Menius. I. *P. Malin.* II.
Cn. Genutius. II. *L. Atilius.* II.

IN this manner are these Tribunes militarie delivered unto us by Livie. But Diodorus nameth them thus, *L. Titinius*, *P. Licinius*, *P. Malin*, *Q. Menius*, *Cn. Genutius*, and *L. Atilius*. All these, but *L. Licinius* the sonne of *Publius*, (as Livie saith) bare the dignitie of Tribuneship a litle before: who writeth moreover, that *Genutius* was slaine in a battaile against the Faliscines.

359

P. Cornelius Cossus. *P. Cornelius Scipio.*
Q. Fabius Ambustus. III. *L. Furius Medullinus.* V.
M. Valerius Max. II. *Q. Servilius.* III.

After the winning of Veij, this yeere had for Tribunes militarie in Consuls authoritie, those above-named. Diodorus calleth *P.* and *Ser. Cornelius* both, *Cossi* in the rest, saving that hee concealeth their surnames, hee agreeth.

360

L. Furius Medullinus. VI. *Sp. Posthumius.*
C. Emilius. *P. Cornelius.* I. I.
L. Valerius Poplicola. *M. Furius Camillus.*

Livie nameth these in this yeere. Diodorus, *M. Furius Aemilius*, & *κατταλον βαρον*, but corruptly. *Camillus* now is the third time. Sigonius and Onuphrius thinke, that by *P. Cornelius* we must understand *Scipio*, and not *Cossus*. This yeere *Camillus* Tribune militarie, by his just dealing reduced the Faliscians to the obedience of the people of Rome; in that hee sent backe unto them, that schoollmaster who betrayed their children: as Livie & Plutarch write.

Vale-

Valerius (not without some suspicion of error) writeth in his sixt booke, that *Camillus* did this being Consul: whereas Plutarch saith, hee was never Consul.

361

L. Lucretius Flavius. *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus.*

After fifteene yeeres (saith Livie) Coss. were created againe, *L. Lucretius Flavius*, and *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus*. Diodorus and Cassiodorus passe over the surnames. The Sicilian registers doe shew, *Flavius* and *Camerinus*.

362

L. Valerius Potitus. *M. Manlius Capitolinus.*

Lucius Valerius Potitus, and *M. Manlius* surnamed afterwards *Capitolinus*, are by Livie reported Consuls this yeere. Dionysius in his first booke maketh mention of these Consuls, naming them, *L. Valerius Potitus*, and *T. Manlius Capitolinus*. Cassiodorus delivereth them by the names of *L. Valerius* and *M. Manlius*. Diodorus, of *L. Valerius* and *A. Manlius*: but the Sicilian registers, of *Potitus* and *Capitolinus*.

363

L. Lucretius. *L. Furius Medullinus.* VII.
Serv. Sulpitius. *Agrippa Furius.*
M. Emilius. *C. Emilius.* I.

By occasion that the Coss. lay sick, thought good it was, to renew the government by means of an Interregencie: therefore after they had deposed the Consuls by an act of the Senat, six Tribunes militarie were created with Consular authoritie, by the Interregent: who upon the first day of Iulie began their magistracie, as Livie saith. Diodorus mentioneth but foure, namely, *L. Lucretius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, *C. Aemilius*, and *Lu. Furius*. As for *Sulpitius*, Zonaras calleth him *Rufus*; which surname Onuphrius also hath put unto him.

364

Q. Fabius Ambustus. *Q. Sulpitius Longus.*
The ij breethren of *Q.* *Q. Servilius.* IIII.
Fabius Ambustus. *Servil. Cor. Maluginensis.*

THese are by T. Livius recorded for Tribb. militarie in Consuls authoritie: but Diodorus reckoneth the three *Fabij*, *Q. K.* and *C.* and the other three, besides Plutarch in *Camillus*, Gellius out of *Verrius Flaccus*, in his 5 booke and 17 chapter; Macrobius also in his first booke of Saturnals, make report of *Quin-*

tus Sulpitius, a Tribune militarie.

365

L. Valerius Poplicola. II. *A. Manlius.*
L. Virginus. *L. Emilius.*
P. Cornelius. *L. Posthumius.*

According to Livie, these were created Tribunes militarie after the winning of the citie: but by Diodorus, they were *Pub. Cornelius*, *L. Virginus*, *Valerius*, *A. Manlius*, and *L. Posthumius*. Of these Tribunes, Macrobius speaketh in his first booke of Saturnalia.

366

T. Quintius Cincinnatus. *L. Aquilius Corvus.*
Q. Servilius Fidenas. V. *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.*
L. Julius Iulus. *Serv. Sulpitius Rufus.*

THese Tribunes militarie in Consuls authoritie for this yeere, Livie thus declareth unto us. Diodorus hath these Tribunes, *Titus Quintius*, *L. Servilius*, *L. Julius Aquilius*, *L. Lucretius* & *Aggus*, *Servus Sulpitius*.

367

L. Papirius. *C. Sergius.*
L. Emilius. II. *C. Cornelius.*
L. Menenius. *L. Valerius Poplicola.* I. II.

THese, Livie reporteth for Tribunes militarie in Consuls authoritie this yeere. But Diodorus hath *L. Papirius*, *C. Cornelius*, *L. Menenius*, *C. Servilius*, *A. Valerius*, and *Q. Fabius*. Howbeit there is wanting in Livie the name of the sixt Tribune, whom (out of Diodorus) Sigonius and Onuphrius have set to the rest, by the name of *C. Cornelius*. Diodorus also for *Sergius* hath *Servilius*, and *Aemilius* for *Fabius*.

368

M. Furius Camillus. *L. Horatius Pulvillus.*
Serv. Cornelius Maluginensis. *L. Quintius Cincinnatus.*
Q. Servilius Fidenas. V. I. *P. Valerius.*

THe common-weale came to be governed againe by *Camillus*, a Tribune militarie in Consuls authoritie, and for colleagues were added unto him these 5 here named. But Diodorus saith there were 4 created, *M. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *M. Furius*, and *L. Quintius*. In this yeere, when the Dictatorship was offered unto *Camillus*, hee said there was no need thereof: and he, together with the Tribb. his colleagues, vanquished the Volscians, Antiores, and Tufcanes which rebelled.

Rrrrr ij

A. Ma.

369

A. Manlius. *P. Cornelius.*
L. Quintus Capitolinus. *L. Papirius Crasor II.*
T. Quintus Capitolinus. *C. Sergius II.*

These hath Livie: but Diodorus saith that foure onely were created, namely, *L. Papirius*, *Q. T.* and *L. all Quintij*. But of those six, *A. Manlius* having been Tribune militarie in the yeere 365, and who shall be a third time in the yeere 371, must now verily be the second time.

370

Ser. Corn. Maluginensis IV. *P. Valerius Potitus II.*
M. Furius Camillus V. *Ser. Sulpitius Rustus II.*
C. Papirius Crassus. *T. Quintus Cincinnatus II.*

These Tribunes militarie in Consuls authoritie, in this manner be delivered unto us by Livie: but Diodorus (as his manner is) putteth down four; *Ser. Sulpitius*, *L. Papirius*, *Mar. Cornelius*, and *T. Quintus*. In this yeere, *M. Manlius* attained and condemned for aspiring to be K. was throwne downe headlong from the rocke Tarpeia: Liv. Plutar. and Valer.

371

L. Valerius IV. *L. Lucretius.*
A. Manlius III. *L. Aemilius.*
Ser. Sulpitius III. *M. Tribonius.*

Livie raungeth these in this yeere. Diodorus nameth four; *L. Valerius Crispus*, (which is the name of Tribonius) *An. Manlius*, and *Ser. Sulpitius Crispus*, some call *Flavius*.

372

Sp. Papirius. *Q. Servilius.*
L. Papirius. *C. Sulpitius.*
Ser. Cornelius IV. *L. Aemilius IV.*

Acording to Livie, these were created Tribunes military in Consuls authoritie. The surname of *Cornelius* (as we saw before) was *Maluginensis*. Diodorus writeth four; *Q. Servilius*, *Sp. Papirius*, *Cornelius*, & *Flavius*, but not truly.

373

M. Furius Camillus VI. *L. Furius.*
A. Posthumius Regillensis. *L. Lucretius.*
L. Posthumius Regillensis. *M. Fabius Ambustus.*

Livie nameth these as we have placed them: but Diodorus in this wise; *M.* and *L.* both *Furij*, *A. Posthumius*, *L. Lucretius*, *M. Fabius*, and *L. Posthumius*. Plutarch also nameth *Camillus* Tribune militarie this yeer; wherein he

vanquished the Preneestines, the Volscians, and the Tusculans also, against whom war was proclaimed, because they had served in the field under the Preneestines.

374

L. Valerius V. *L. Menenius II.*
L. Valerius III. *P. Papirius.*
C. Sergius III. *Ser. Cornel. Maluginensis.*

These fixe are set downe by Livie: but Diodorus reckoneth eight, namely, *L.* and *P.* both *Valerij*, *C. Terentius*, *L. Menenius*, *C. Sulpitius*, *T. Papirius*, *L. Aemilius*, *M. Fabius*.

375

P. Manlius. *C. Sextilius.*
C. Manlius. *M. Albinus.*
L. Julius. *L. Antistius.*

After this, was the generall assembly holden for the election of militarie Tribunes in Consuls authoritie, wherein were as many created of the Commoners as of the Patritij; namely, *P.* and *C.* both *Manlij*, with *L. Julius*, Patritians: and out of the Commons, *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinus*, and *L. Antistius*. But Diodorus exhibireth eight, and to these above rehearsed, he addeth *C. Herennius*, and *P. Trebonius*. *Sextilius* also he calleth *Sextius*.

376

Sp. Furius. *P. Cladius.*
Q. Servilius II. *M. Horatius.*
C. Licinius. *L. Geganius.*

Livie reporteth these for Tribunes militarie in Consuls authoritie this yeere: but in Livie, for *Lu. Menenius* the third time, you must read *C. Licinius*, as Sigonius hath shewed in his *Scholia* upon Livie: which Onuphrius also in his Kalender approoveth. But Diodorus speaketh of no more than foure; *Q. Servilius*, *C. Licinius*, *L. Furius*, *P. Cladius*.

377

L. Aemilius. *Ser. Sulpitius.*
P. Valerius IV. *L. Quintus Cincinnatus.*
C. Veturius. *C. Quintus Cincinnatus.*

These Tribunes militarie, the Consuls (being forced by the might and strong hand of the great men of the citie) chose all Patritians, as Livie witnesseth. The same also are named by Diodorus, excepting only *C. Quintus*, who is called by him *C. Cornelius*. As for *Ser. Sulpitius*, hee was surnamed *Prætextatus*. Zonaras nameth him *Rufus*.

C. Lici-

378. 379. 380. 381. 382.
C. Licinius Stolo. 2 Tribunes of the Com-
L. Sextius. mons five yeeres.

In this yeere happened the fourth chaunge of the Roman government: for the administration of the weale publicke, fell from Tribunes militarie in Consuls authoritie, to the Tribunes of the Commons. The authors that procured this mutation, were (as Livie reporteth) *C. Licinius Stolo* and *L. Sextius*, Tribunes of the Commons, who in the former yeere having promulged three lawes in favour of the Commons and against the power of the Patritij, the first for redressing of debts; a second for a stent of lands and possessions; & the third, that there should bee no more elections of Tribunes militarie, & that one of the Coss. should necessarily be chosen a commoner: seeing they could not goe through with these laws, by reason of their owne fellowes oppositions (whome of purpose the nobles had made for themselves) fell into an anger, and would suffer no curule magistrates of state to be created, nor any election to be holden, but onely of Aediles & Tribunes, both of Commons. This desolate estate and want of magistrates (whiles the Commons made the same Tribunes still, who with uncessant and invincible peristance never gave over to crosse the election of Tribunes militarie) continued in the citie for the space of five yeeres, as Livie saith. This want of magistrates Diodorus calleth *anæxia*, and casteth it upon the formeryeere. But Sext. Rufus, Eutropius, Cassiodorus, and Zonaras write, that they ruled the state not five yeeres, but foure onely. Sigonius and Onuphrius in his Kalender; follow Livie, and his Annales it seemeth that the Capitoline writers go by. Plinie also in the sixteen booke and foure and fortieth chapter, maketh mention of the yeere three hundred seventie nine from the foundation of the citie, in which yeere he saith that at Rome

383

L. Furius. *Ser. Cornelius.*
A. Manlius. *P. Valerius.*
Ser. Sulpitius. *C. Valerius.*

Vhen *C. Licinius* and *L. Sextius* the Tribunes gave over their opposition and the libertie of their negative voice, whereby the Interregent called & held an assembly for the election of magistrates, the abovenamed Tribunes militarie, were (as Livie saith) created for this yeere. Diodorus nameth

them thus, *L. Papirius*, *L. Menenius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, and *Ser. Sulpitius*, who writeth also, that after them there was another Anarchie, & when that was overpast and gone, then were created *A. Manlius*, *L. Furius*, *Ser. Sulpitius*, and *Ser. Cornelius*. But in his storie, as well through his owne default, as the negligence of the writers that copied out the same, there is a confusion of yeerely magistrates.

384

Q. Servilius. *M. Cornelius.*
C. Veturius II. *Q. Quintus.*
A. Cornelius. *M. Fabius.*

This yeere also, as Livie writeth, had these for Tribunes militarie in Consuls authoritie. But Diodorus hath *Q. Servilius*, *C. Veturius*, *A. Cornelius*, *M. Cornelius*, and *Mar. Fabius*: as for *Quintus*, Sigonius calleth him rather *Cincinnatus* than *Capitolinus*. The rest have their warrant out of the Capitoline fragments, wherein it is thus found *Cossus* *Maluginensis* *Cincinnatus* *Mar. Fabius Ambustus*. This is that *M. Fabius Ambustus*, who had bestowed his two daughters in marriage, the one to *C. Licinius Stolo*, the other to *Ser. Sulpitius Prætextatus*, as Livie writeth.

385

L. Quintus. *Ser. Cornelius.*
Ser. Sulpitius. *Sp. Servilius.*
L. Papirius. *L. Veturius.*

Livie declareth these fixe for Tribunes militarie this yeere. Diodorus rehearseth but three, namely, *T. Quintus*, *Servius Cornelius*, and *Ser. Sulpitius*. What surnames all these caried, and with what numeral notes (signifying how often they had borne the office) they are to bee marked, the Capitoline fragments doe shew; wherein they stand thus, *Capitolinus* *Maluginensis*, *L. Prætextatus*, *III.*, *Sp. Servilius*, *Strickius*, *L. Papirius Crassus*, *L. Furius Crassus*, *Cicirinus*.

386

Two Dictators without any curule magistrats of State besides.

Presently in the verie beginning of the yeere, they proceeded to put it to the trial of a final issue, what should become of the foresaid laws proposed by *Licinius* and *Sextius*. When the tribes were called to give their voices, and the publishers of the lawes were not hindered by the negatives of their Colleagues Rrrrr iij comming

comming betweene; the nobles began then, to quake for feare, and in all hast betooke them to their two last helpes and meanes of refuge, the soveraigne and absolute government, and the principall citizen and greatest man of all others. Resolve they did to nominat a Dictator, and *Marcus Furius Camillus* was the man; who tooke unto him for Generall of the horsemen, *L. Aemilius*. But when the cheefetaines & ring-leaders of the Commons, dealt very bitterly and roughly against *Camillus*, he (as Livie writeth) resigned up his Dictatorship. Plutarch also testifieth the same: who likewise avoucheth the cause thereof, which Livie goeth about to disprove. But both Livie and Plutarch doe affirme, that in the rowme of *Camillus* thus giving over his place, there was a second Dictator created. Livie saith it was *P. Manlius*. Plutarch suppresseth his name: but they agree both, that *C. Licinius* was the Generall of the horse. Howbeit, they meane not both, one and the selfesame man. For Livie saith and that truly, that it was he who had been Tribune militarie in Consuls authoritie before: But Plutarch nameth him, who was the authour of the sedition and of the new lawes: wherein hee faulteth. For the captaine of the foresaid sedition, was this yeere also made Tribune of the Commons and Generall of the horse at one time he could not be. And therefore Onuphrius thinketh him to have beene the sonne of *P. Licinius Calvus* militarie Tribune, and who had to his grandfather that *Pub. Licinius*, who of the Commons was the first Tribune militarie. Of this, see more in his Kalender.

387

A. Cornelius. II. *M. Cornelius.*
L. Veturius. *M. Geganius.*
Lulus P. Manlius. *P. Valerius. VI.*

Livie exhibiteth these Tribb. militarie before named for this yeer, whom Diodorus overpasseth. Their surnames, together with the notes signifying how often they had borne this honourable dignitie, are thus expressed in the Capitoline fragments. *Cossus II.* . . . *Maluginensis II.* . . . *Macerinus.* *L. Veturius. Crassus Cicurinus I.* . . . *P. Valerius Petitus Poplicola, V.* *I. P. Manlius Capitolinus II.*

388

L. Sextius. *L. Aemilius.*

When *L. Sextius* and *C. Licinius*, Tribb. of the Common chosen the tenth time, were

more & more eager & instant in the publishing of their lawes, in the end the authoritie both of Dictator and Senate, was conquered by the strong hand of the Tribunes. For they prevailed, notwithstanding al the nobilitie was against it, that there should be holden a solemn assembly for election of Consuls: and that, (by vertue of their lawes which they carried cleere before them) the one of the Consuls should be a Commoner. By which meanes, *L. Sextius* was the first Consul created from out of the Commons. But when the nobles denied flatly to approve the same by their assent, inso much as the Commons were at the point of insurrection and readie to leave the citie; the discord & dissension was at length taken up and appeased by the mediation of the Dictator: and as the nobilitie was content to yeeld unto the communitie a Consull, so the Commons graunted unto the nobles one Pretour or lord cheefe justice within the citie, & him to be created from out of the nobilitie. Graunted also unto them now first it was, that two *Ediles Curule* should be chosen out of the Patritij. The Commons conferred the Consulship upon *L. Sextius* (by whose law it was first obtained) and for companion in government hee had *L. Aemilius Mamercus*. Thus much Livie and Plutarch who altogether with Cassiodorus put down for Consuls, *L. Aemilius* a Patritian, and *L. Sextius* a Commoner. The same, Diodorus nameth *La. Aemilius Mamercus*, and *Lu. Lateranus*. Now this *Lateranus* is the surname of *Sextius*, as appeareth in a table of record in the Capitoll, wherein the Consuls are thus to be scene, *Mamercinus*, and *L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus*: as also in the Sicilian registers they are called *Mamercinus* and *Lateranus*. In the booke entituled *De viris Illustribus* of famous men, wee find written that it was not *L. Sextius*, but *C. Licinius Stolo*, who was the first Consull chosen out of the communitie.

389

L. Genutius. *Q. Servilius.*

Diodorus, Livie, and Cassiodorus shew unto us for Consuls, *L. Genutius*, and *Q. Servilius*: Of whome Orosius also and Eutropius make mention. According to the records of the Capitoll, the Cons. in this first Consulship, is thus written. *Q. Servilius*, son of *Q. nephew* of *Quintus Abala*, together with *L. Genutius*, but in the second, the son of *M. nephew* of *Cn. surnamed Amentinensis*. In the Sicilian registers they

they be written *Genutius* and *Cartius*, but corruptly as Sigonius thinketh.

290

C. Sulpitius Peticus. *C. Licinius Stolo.*

These bee the Consuls reported by Livie and Cassiodorus. Diodorus concealeth their surnames. Valerius Max. in his second booke and first chapter maketh mention of them, & so doth Plutarch in his problemes. But hee whom all other writers name *Stolo*, the Capitoline records nominate *Calvus*: as also the Sicilian, which deliver their surnames *Peticus* and *Calvus*.

391

L. Aemilius Mamercus. II. *Cn. Genutius.*

Livie & Cassiodorus declare these for Consuls: whom Diodorus in his sixteenth booke nameth *Cn. Genutius* and *L. Aemilius*. In the Capitoll tables in this manner, they bee set downe . . . *Mamercinus II.* & *Cn. Genutius* sonne of *M.* and nephew of *M. Amentinensis*. But in the Sicilian registers, *Mamercinus* and *σύλλα*.

392

Q. Servilius Abala. II. *L. Genutius. II.*

Diodorus nameth the Consuls of this yeere, *Q. Servilius* and *Q. Genutius*. The Sicilian registers, *Abala* and *Genutius*. Livie and Cassiodorus, *Q. Servilius Hala* and *L. Genutius*. These are they who three yeeres before were matched together in the same government.

393

C. Sulpitius. *C. Licinius Calvus.*

These are by Livie recorded Consuls this yeere. Cassiodorus writeth them thus, *C. Sulpitius II.* and *C. Licinius*. Diodorus in this wise, *C. Sulpitius* and *C. Licinius*. Sigonius supposeth they be the same, who three yeeres before were colleagues. The Sicilian registers give unto *Licinius* the surname, not of *Calvus* as before, but of *Stolo*: and *Sulpitius* they surname *Peticus*.

394

C. Peticus Libo. *M. Fabius Ambustus.*

Livie and Cassiodorus write the Consuls for this yeere were, *C. Peticus Balbus*: & *M. Fabius Ambustus*. But Diodorus, *M. Fabius* and *C. πάλιος*, corruptly for *πικελιος*. The Capitoline writers give them surnames divers from

Livie: for they call *Libo*, *πικελιος*; but he, *Balbus*. And the Sicilian registers goe with those of the Capitoll.

395

M. Popilius Lanatus. *Cn. Manlius.*

Livie and Cassiodorus name this yeere Consuls in this sort; but Diodorus calleth them, *M. Popilius Lanatus*, & *Cn. Manlius Imperatorius*. This was the first man of the *Popilij* surnamed *Lanatus*. The reason of which name Cicero rendereth in his booke Brutus, saying, *M. Popilius* being Consull, and at the same time offering sacrifice in his robe called *Lana*, for that hee was Flamin to *Carmentis*, upon newes brought unto him that the commons were up and risen in a commotion against the Nobles, came in that attire & habit as he was into the assembly; and what with his authoritie of countenance, and what with his eloquence of speech, appeased the sedition.

396

C. Fabius. *C. Plantius*

Livie and Cassiodorus have these above-named for the Consuls this yeere: but in Diodorus they are named *M. Fabius* and *C. Plotius*. In the Capitoline records . . . *Ambustus* and *C. Plantius Proculus*.

397

C. Martius. *Cn. Manlius.*

Diodorus, Livie, and Cassiodorus name the Consuls of this yeere, *C. Martius* and *Cn. Manlius*. This *Cn. Manlius* was Consull the first time, two yeeres before. Cuspinians booke and the Greek records, have *Rutilius* and *Capitolinus*.

398

M. Fabius Ambustus. II. *M. Popilius Lanatus II.*

This yeeres Consuls are with these names entituled by Livie & Cassiodorus. Diodorus leaveth out their surnames & the numerall notes. Cuspinians booke and the Greeke records, set them thus downe, *Ambustus II.* and *Lanatus*.

399

C. Sulpitius Peticus. III. *M. Valerius Poplicola.*

In the foure hundred yeere from the foundation of the citie, and the thirtie five after that

that it was by the Gaules woon, the commons after eleven yeeres did forgoe their hold of the Consulship, and upon an Interregencie, both Coss. of the Patrij entered into government, to wit, *C. Sulpitius Peticus*. III. *M. Valerius Poplicola*, as Livie saith. The same Consuls, Diodorus, Cassiodorus, and the Sicilian registers, do report. But why the account of time made by Livie, disagreeeth from this reckoning, Sigonius and Onuphrius in his kalender doe give a reason.

400

M. Fabius Ambustus. III. *T. Quintius* or *M. Popilius*.

IN this yeere also, according to Livie, both Coss. were Patrij, namely *M. Fabius Ambustus* the third time, with *T. Quintius*: although hee writeth, that in some Annales in stead of *Titus Quintius*, hee found *Marcus Popilius* Consull. With Livie accordeth Diodorus and Cassiodorus, Solinus also, who in his fortie one chapter out of Cornelius Nepos writeth, that Alexander was borne when *M. Fabius Ambustus* & *T. Quintius* Capitolinus were Consuls. Cuspinians booke, setteth forth *Ambustus* & *Capitolinus*. But these Consuls and those that follow, are in the Sicilian registers concealed.

401

C. Sulpitius Peticus. IIII. *M. Valerius Poplicola*. III.

BOth Consuls created this yeere were Patrij, and namely those who are here set down, after Livie and Cassiodorus. Diodorus omitteth both their surnames, and also the numerall notes, and setteth after the former Consuls, *M. Valerius* and *C. Sulpitius*.

402

P. Valerius Poplicola. *C. Martius Rutilus*.

TO *L. Valerius Poplicola*, was given in fellowship of government this yeere, *C. Martius Rutilus* of the commons, as Livie saith. These Cassiodorus calleth *P. Valerius* and *C. Martius Rutilus* the second time. Diodorus nameth them *M. Fabius* and *P. Valerius*. The Sicilian registers intermingle them confusedly with those of the next yeere, matching *Rutilus* and *Pennius* together.

403

C. Sulpitius Peticus. . . *T. or K. or C. Quintius Pennus*.

THe Coss. for this yeere created, were *C. Sulpitius Peticus*, and *T. Quintius Pennus*. Some

put to *Quintius* the name *Cass*, others *Caius*. Livie and Cassiodorus nameth them thus, *C. Sulpitius Peticus* and *T. Quintius Pennus*: but Diodorus *C. Sulpitius* and *C. Quintius*.

404

M. Popilius Lanus. *L. Cornelius Scipio*.

Livie writeth, that for Consuls this yeere the commons yeelded *M. Popilius Lanus*, and the nobles *L. Cornelius Scipio*. Cassiodorus setteth them forth under the name of *M. Popilius Lanus* the third time, and *L. Cornelius Scipio*. Diodorus nameth them, *C. Cornelius* and *M. Popilius*: and the Sicilian registers barely *Scipio* and *Lanus*.

405

L. Furius Camillus. *P. Claudius Crassus*.

Livie *Furius Camillus* the Dictatour, restored the nobles againe to their former possession of the Consulship: and beeing himselfe for that good demerit created Consul, with the great love and heartie affection of the nobles, nominated for his Colleague, *Publius Claudius Crassus*. Thus saith Livie. The same Consuls are set down by Cassiodorus. But Diodorus nameth them *Aemilius* and *T. Quintius*. The Sicilian registers, *Camillus* and *Crassus*. Cicero in Cato maketh mention of these Consuls, saying that Plato came to Tatentum, when *L. Camillus* and *P. Claudius* were Consuls: Gellius likewise, 9 booke 11 chapter.

406

M. Valerius Corvus. *M. Popilius Lanus*. IIII.

Manus *Manlius Torquatus* being Dictator, declared for Consull with the exceeding favor of the people, *M. Valerius Corvus* (for that was his surname afterwards) in his absence, and being but three and twentie yeeres old. This *Corvus* had joined with him in the Consulship from out of the commons, *M. Popilius Lanus* the third time, as saith Livie & Cassiodorus. But Diodorus three yeeres after nominateth *M. Valerius* and *M. Popilius*. In the fragment of the Capitoll thus only it is found, *M. Valerius*, *M. F. M. N. Corvus* Consull. In the Sicilian registers *Corvinus* and *Lanus*.

407

P. Manlius Torquatus. *C. Plantius*.

Livie and Cassiodorus nameth them for Consuls this yeere. Cuspinians kalender and

and the Sicilian records, *Torquatus* and *Venno*. In a fragment of the Capitoll there is to be read the surname of *Manlius*, *Imperiosus Torquatus*.

408

M. Valerius Corvus. II. *C. Patellus*.

These are named Consuls by Livie and Cassiodorus: but Cuspinians Kalender and the registers of Sicilie, shew for Consuls, *Corvinus* and *Libo*. As for the name *C. Patellus*, it is described by his Dictatourship, which (according to the Capitoll evidences) he bare in the yeere 440: for in a fragment (testifying his Consulship) there appeareth no more but one of his surnames, *Visolus*.

409

M. Fabius Dors. *Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus*.

These were the Consuls created for this yeere, as Livie and Cassiodorus write. Diodorus also (although not in the right place) alledgeth *M. Fabius* and *Ser. Sulpitius* Consuls. The Sicilian registers, *Dors* and *Camerinus*. Both these Consuls were Patrij, which Livie omitted.

410

C. Martius Rutilus. III. *T. Manlius Torquatus*. II.

Livie and Cassiodorus avow these for Coss. this yeere. Diodorus likewise delivereth unto us, *C. Martius* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. The Sicilian registers, *Rutilus* and *Torquatus*. Frontinus also in his second booke of Stratagems speaketh of them:

411

M. Valerius Corvus. III. *A. Cornelius Cossus*.

Livie and Cassiodore both together report, that these were chosen Coss. for this yeere. Diodorus, Cicero in his booke of Divination, and Frontinus, name them, *M. Valerius* and *A. Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers, *Valerius* and *Cossus*: both of them are Patrij. But hee that hath written of famous men, calleth them *Valerius Max.* and *Cornelius Cossus*.

412

C. Martius Rutilus. IV. *Q. Servilius*.

Livie and Cassiodorus declare Coss. for this yeere, *C. Martius* and *Q. Servilius*. Diodorus, *Q. Servilius* and *Martius Rutilus*. The Sicilian registers, *Abala* & *Rutilus*. This is that, *Q. Servilius Abala* who was master of the horse in the 493 yeere.

413

C. Plantius. II. *L. Aemilius Mamercinus*.

The Consuls that followed, were *C. Plantius* the second time, and *L. Aemilius Mamercinus*, as witnesse Livie and Cassiodorus: but *L. Aemilius* and *C. Plotius*, as testifieth Diodorus: and as the Sicilian registers say, *Venno* and *Mamercinus*. Cuspinians kalender set forth for this yeere, *Venno* the second time, and *Mamercinus*.

414

T. Manlius Torquatus. III. *P. Decius Mus*.

Titus *Manlius Torquatus* the third time, and *Pub. Decius Mus*, bare the Consulship this yeere, as Livie and Cassiodorus report. Diodorus nameth them, *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *P. Decius*. The Sicilian registers, *Torquatus* and *Mus*. Zonaras, *Torquatus* the third time, and *Decius*. Of the same Consuls Plinie speaketh in his 22 booke and 5 chap. Valerius also in his 1 booke and 5 chap. besides others.

415

T. Aemilius Mamercinus. *Q. Publilius Philo*.

Titus *Aemilius Mamercinus*, & *Q. Publilius Philo*, are by Livie reckoned Coss. for this yeere. Diodorus passeth over their surnames. The Greeke records shew unto us, *Mamercinus* and *Philo*. As for *Philo*, he is described out of the tables of the Capitoll.

416

L. Furius Camillus. *C. Menius*.

Thus say Livie and Cassiodorus. Diodorus hath *L. Furius* and *μενιος*, but corruptly. The Sicilian registers, *Camillus* and *Menius*. The Capitoll monuments of triumphs, *L. Furius Camillus*, and *C. Menius*. Plinie in his 34 booke and 5. chap. maketh mention of *Caius Menius*, Consull.

417

C. Sulpitius Longus. *P. Aelius Pater*.

Livie and Cassiodorus write, that these Coss. followed. Diodorus putteth down *C. Sulpitius*, and *L. Papirius*. The Sicilian registers, have *Longus* and *Pater*.

418

L. Papirius Crassus. *K. Diutius*.

Livie *Papirius Crassus*, and *K. Diutius*, were this yeeres Coss. as witnesse Livie, Cassiodorus,

dorus, and Diodorus also, but for leaving out the surname *Crassus*. In the Sicilian registers they are named, *Crassus* and *Diutius*. As touching these Consuls, Cicero in his epistle to Pætus, writeth thus; *L. Papirius Crassus*, foure yeeres after he was Dictatour, was made Consull with *K. Diutius*.

419

M. Valerius Corvus IIII. M. Atilius Regulus.

This yeere, when the Ausones that inhabited the citie Cales, took armes and combined with the Sidicines, *Mar. Valerius Corvus*, a right noble Generail, was created Consull the fourth time, having to his colleague (as Livie writeth) *M. Atilius Regulus*. Cassiodorus likewise declareth the same for Consuls; and so doth Diodorus, but that he leaveth out their surnames: which appeare extant in the Sicilian registers.

420

T. Veturius. Sp. Posthumus.

The Dictator held an assembly for the election of Consuls, wherein were created (according to Livie) these above-named. So say Cassiodorus also and Diodorus. Zonaras nameth them, *Tiber. Calvinus*, and *Sp. Posthumus*; and right well, as Sigonius thinketh: for *Tiberius* was the fore-name of the *Veturij*. The Greeke records, and Culpinians booke, have *Albinus* and *Calvinus*.

421

Interregents, all one yeere.

Sigonius and Onuphrius insert this one yeere without Consuls, besides the account of the yeeres, according to the Capitoll monuments, albeit they see neither in Livie nor in any other, mention thereof; and all to make up the totall summe collected by Varro. And that the said yeere should at this time especially be interposed, the tables of the Capitoline records doe shew. For whereas in them thus engraven it is, *M. Valerius Corvus* Consull the fourth time, in the yeere of the citie 419; and againe *L. Aemilius* and *C. Plautius*, in the yeere 414: to the end that these records might agree one with another, or necessitie there must be put a yeere betweene. For leave out that, then, both *L. Aemilius* the Consull should fall upon the yeere 414, and the totall summe of the yeer in Varro

and the Capitoline tables be overthrowen. That this odde yeere was now above all other times to be cast betweene, Gregorie Haloander (who left in writing a Chronologie of the Consuls) saw long before them: for he over-passed this yeere wholly, noted without Consuls. But Sigonius and Onuphrius are of opinion, that this yeer there was an Anarchie, and the commonweale without Consuls or other magistrates of state, by occasion of the pestilence, whereof Livie writeth.

422

A. Cornelius II. Cn. Domitius.

Aulus Cornelius (the second time Cof. with *Cn. Domitius*) is by Livie and Cassiodorus set downe. Diodorus nameth them *A. Cornelius* and *C. Domitius*. The Sicilian registers, *Calvinus* and *Cossus*.

423

M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Valerius.

After this, were created Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Valerius*, as Livie and Cassiodorus report. In Diodorus also they be set downe by the name of *C. Valerius*, and *Mar. Clodius*. Livie saith, that he findeth in the Annales, the surnames of *Valerius* diversly put downe, namely, *Flaccus* and *Potitus*. Orofius calleth these Consuls, *Claudius Marcellus*, and *Valerius Flaccus*: the Sicilian registers, *Potitus* and *Marcellus*. Sigonius and Onuphrius retain the surnames, that it may seeme, how to the old surname *Potitus* of the House *Valeria*, this new surname of *Flaccus* is a later addition.

424

L. Papirius Crassus II. L. Plautius Vennon.

These Consuls are by Livie and Cassiodorus recited this yeere. Diodorus concealeth their surnames. The Sicilian registers make them knowne by the names of *Crassus* and *Vennon*.

425

L. Aemilius Mamercinus. C. Plautius.

Next to them (according to Livie and Cassiodorus) were *L. Aemilius Mamercinus*, and *C. Plautius* created Consuls. Diodorus nominateth *L. Papirius* with *L. Plotius*. The Sicilian registers, *Mamercinus* and *Decianus*. How both these are to be described, their triumphs upon record

record in the Capitoll do evidently shew. These Consuls entred upon their government the first day of Iulie.

426

P. Plautius Proculus. P. Cornelius Scapula.

Livie and Cassiodorus put downe [for Consuls] *P. Plautius Proculus*, and *P. Cornelius Scapula*. Diodorus, *P. Cornelius*, and *A. Posthumus*. The Sicilian registers, *Vennon* and *Scipio*. Onuphrius thinketh this *Plautius* ought to be fore-named not *Publius* but *Caius*: who in his Consulship which he bare afterwards with *Appius Cæcus*, was surnamed *Venox* (as Frontinus supposeth) for finding certaine springs and vaines of water within the earth.

427

C. Plautius Proculus. Q. Pubilius Philo. II.

Livie and Cassiodorus match together in the Consulship for this yeere, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, & *Q. Pubilius Philo*. Diodorus, *L. Cornelius* and *Quintus Pubilius*. The Sicilian registers *Lentulus* and *Philo*.

428

L. Papirius Mugillanus Cusor. C. Petilius.

Caius Petilius and *L. Papirius* are by Livie nominated Consuls this yeere. *C. Petilius* the third time, and *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, by Cassiodorus. Solinus maketh mention of these Consuls in his five and thirtieth chapter. As for *Papirius*, Livie indeed surnameth him here *Mugillanus*, but hee saith that hee findeth him in other Annales by the name of *Cusor*. In the Greeke records they be, *Libo* and *Cusor*. Now as touching *C. Petilius*, he is to bee written with the numerall note *II.* and not *III.* as Sigonius and Onuphrius doe adimonish. For it is not the same man who was Consull in the 393 yeere, but his sonne.

429

L. Furius Camillus. II. Iunius Brutus Scæva.

Livie and Cassiodorus put downe for Consuls, *Lu. Furius Camillus* the second time, and *Iunius Brutus Scæva*. Diodorus, *L. Furius*, and *D. Iunius*. The Sicilian registers, *Camillus* and *Brutus*.

430

L. Furius, unto whome the charge of Samnium fell by lot, fortun'd by occasion

offickenesse to forgoe the warre there, and was commaunded to nominate for the managing of martiall affaires a Dictatour: whereupon he pronounced *L. Papirius Cusor*, the bravest warrior in those daies, by whom *Q. Fabius Rullianus* was named great maister of the horse. Afterwards *Cusor* turned him out of that maistership of horse, because without his warrant hee had fought (although it were fortunately) against the Samnites when himselfe was out of the way and gone to Rome for to take the Auspices anew: and in his roume hee substituted *L. Papirius Crassus*. Thus write Livie, Eutropius, and Valerius, in the second booke.

431

C. Sulpicius Longus. II. Q. Aemilius L. Aulius Cerretanus.

L. Furius Papirius the Dictatour, before he left his magistracie, created Consuls, *C. Sulpicius Longus*, *II.* and *Quintus Aemilius Cerretanus*. Some Annales have *Aulius*. Thus much Livie. In like manner the Sicilian registers have *Longus* and *Cerretanus*. But Diodorus corruptly for *Aulus* hath *Aelius*.

432

Q. Fabius. L. Fulvius.

Livie and Cassiodorus deliver unto us for Consuls this yeere, *Q. Fabius* and *L. Fulvius*: whome the Capitoll records of the triumphs name *Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus*, and *L. Fulvius Corvus*. Mervell it is therefore, that in the Sicilian registers they are put down, *Cusor* and *Sylla*.

433

T. Veturius Calvinus. Sp. Posthumus.

This yeere Livie and Cassiodorus set forth for Consuls, *T. Veturius Calvinus* and *Sp. Posthumus*. Cicero in his third booke of Officines writeth, that they were twice Consuls. Zonaras calleth the one of them *T. Calvinus*, by a familiar fore-name unto that house and kinned of the *Veturij*. The Greeke records exhibite unto us *Calvinus* and *Albinus*. Of these Consuls as also of the Caudine peace, Cicero in his booke of old age, Plinie also in his booke of famous men, Gellius in his 17 booke and 21 chapter, Florus in his first booke and 16 chapter, and Orofius in his third booke and 15 chapter, doe make mention.

L. Papirius

450

P. Sempronius Sophus. P. Sulpitius Saverrio.

THe Consuls next following were *P. Sulpitius Saverrio*, and *P. Sempronius Sophus*, according to Livie and Cassiodorus. In Diodorus they are written *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Sempronius*. In the Greeke registers, they stand *Sempronius* and *Saverrio*. Plinie writeth of these Consuls in his 33 booke: but *Sempronius* hee calleth *Longus*. Both of them are described thus by their triumphs, appearing upon record in the Capitoll, for in their Consulship, there is no more to be seen but *Sophus* and *Publius*.

451

L. Genutius. Ser. Cornelius.

Diodorus, Livie and Cassiodorus, report for Consuls this yeere, *L. Genutius*, and *Servius Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers have *Aventinus* and *Lentulus*. The Capitoline writers put unto *Cornelius* the surname of *Lentulus*.

452

M. Livius Dentor. M. Aemilius.

Livie nameth for Consuls this yeere *M. Livius* and *C. Aemilius*. Cassiodorus, *M. Livius* and *L. Aemilius*. Diodorus, *M. Livius* and *M. Aemilius*. As for the forename to *Aemilius*, Sigonius and Onuphrius doe thinke that more credit is to be given unto Diodorus, than others: especially, seeing that in Livie there is mention made the yeere following of *M. Aemilius Paulus* Generall of the horsemen, whome they all thinke to bee the same man that this Consull, *M. Livius* is written *Dentor* in the Capitoll records, which surname Livie in another place addeth to the *Livij*. Cuspinians booke in like manner setteth downe *Dentor* and *Pamilius* as the surnames of these Consuls. The Sicilian registers, *Dentor* and *Aemilius*.

453

Two Dictatours, and no Consuls.

THis yeere also of two Dictatours without Consuls, Onuphrius inserteth in his kalender, howbeit directed thereto by the evidence of the Capitoll fragments: to the end that the calculation of Varro might agree in all respects, which, if this yeere were over-slipped should be wholly overthrowne: although Dio-

dore, Livie, and Cassiodore dissent there from, and leave out this yeere altogether. Whereof see Onuphrius more at large in his Kalender upon the yeere 453.

454

M. Valerius. Q. Apuleius Pansa.

Immediately after *M. Livius* and *M. Aemilius*, Livie and Cassiodorus letting passe the yeere of two Dictatours without Consuls, bring in *M. Valerius* & *Q. Apuleius Pansa* for Consuls. The Greeke records shew *Corvinus* and *Pansa*. It seemeth that Livie by *Marcus Valerius* meaneth *Maximus*, for that hee saith that presently upon his Dictatourship he was made Consull. Now that *Mar. Valerius Max.* was Dictatour the yeere before, he writeth plainly.

455

M. Fulvius Petus. T. Manlius Torquatus.

Livie and Cassiodorus declare for Consuls this yeere, *M. Fulvius Petus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. The Sicilian registers have *Patinus* and *Torquatus*. Livie saith that *Q. Fabius* refused the Consulship offered unto him without any suite of his. But *T. Manlius* the Consull was by lot appointed to levie warre against Hetruria, which tooke armes and prepared for warre against the truce accorded upon. Now was he scarce well entred into the enemies confines, but as hee exercised among men of armes, and chanced to turne about his horse upon a full carrier, hee was cast from his backe: whereupon (for the present) hee lay for dead, and within three daies after the said fall ended his life. Then all the Centuries in generall by their suffrages chose *M. Valerius* Consull, whom the Senate purposed to have made Dictatour. Thus much Livie. By *M. Valerius* hee meaneth *Corvus*, whom Cicero writeth in his booke of old age, & *Valerius Max.* in his seventh booke and foure eight chapter, to have beene Consull the sixth time, & that between this and the first there were 46 yeeres, although Plutarch in the life of *C. Marius* saith they were but 45. Howbeit all of them call him *Corvinus* and not *Corvus*.

456

L. Cornelius Scipio. Cn. Fulvius.

Cneus *Fulvius* and *L. Cornelius Scipio* are recorded Consuls by Livie and Cassiodorus: but

but *Scipio* and *Centumalus*, by Cuspinians booke: *Scipio* & *Maximus* by the Greeke records.

457

Q. Fabius Max. IV. P. Decius Mus III.

Livie and Cassiodorus alledge for Coss. this yeere, *Q. Fabius Max.* the fourth time, and *P. Decius Mus*, thrice. The same Consuls, Cuspinians booke and the Greeke records deliver unto us. The author that writeth of famous men, and Frontinus in his booke of Stratagemes, speake of *P. Decius* thrice Consull.

458

L. Volumentius. Appius Claudius.

Livie and Cassiodorus declare for Consuls this yeere: even the same men who in their former Consulship were matched together, as Livie and Cassiodorus write: but in the Sicilian registers they are found written, *Claudius* and *Volens*. Howbeit Cicero in his booke entitled *Cato*, reporteth, that betwene the two Consulships of *App. Cacus* were ten yeeres.

459

Q. Fabius V. P. Decius IV.

Livie and Cassiodorus both witnesse, that the Consuls next following, were *Q. Fabius* the 5 time, and *P. Decius* the 4 time, who had been companions together alreadie in 2 Consulates and in one Consulship. The Sicilian registers have *Rullus* and *Mus*: of which Consuls Cicero speaketh very often; *Valerius Max.* likewise, *Paterculus* also, *Plutarch*, *Frontinus* in his first booke of Stratagemes, the author of the booke of famous men, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others: who all report, that this Consull *P. Decius*, following the example of his father, offered himselfe to die for the Roman legions, and by his death purchased a notable victorie to the people of Rome.

460

L. Postumius Megellus. M. Atilius Regulus.

THe Consuls next following, were *L. Postumius Megellus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*, as Livie and Cassiodorus write. In the Sicilian records, their surnames are *Megellus* and *Regulus*.

461

L. Papirius Cursor. Sp. Carvilius.

After Livie and Cassiodorus, the Coss. this yeere, were *L. Papirius Cursor*, & *Sp. Carvilius*.

462

Q. Fabius Gurgus Max. Decius Junius Brutus, son of Scervolini.

The yeere following had Consuls, *Q. Fabius Gurgus*, and *D. Junius Brutus Scerva*, as witnesse Livie and Cassiodorus. Zonaras nameth them, *Junius Brutus* and *Q. Fabius Max.* Cuspinians Kalender, *Maximus* and *Scerva*. The Sicilian registers, *Brutus* and *Maximus*. Livie, Plinie in his 7 booke, the capitoll tables, and Zonaras, have delivered, that this *Fabius* was the son of *Q. Max. Rullianus*, who had been 5 times Consull before. And here an end of the Consuls for the first ten bookes.

463

L. Postumius. C. Iunius.

Since that after this Consulship, ten bookes of Livie next ensuing be lost, whome hitherto wee have had for the most sufficient witnesse of this storie, so as now we are in manner destitute and deprived of the best helps of Annals, namely, Diodorus, Dionysius, and Livie: from hence forward wee will use principally in digesting and reckoning the yeeres by the Consuls, the authoritie and testimonie of Cassiodorus, the Sicilian records, and Cuspinians booke: yet will wee not in the meane while reject what helpe soever shall be ministred unto us by others. For this yeere therefore Cassiodorus writeth, that *L. Postumius* and *C. Iunius*, were created Coss. whose surnames, *Megellus*, and *Brutus Bubulcus*, have not been left out so much as in Cuspinians kalender, nor in the Sicilian records. Livie also maketh mention of them in his 28 booke, saying thus, *Lu. Postumius Megellus* the interregent, was created Consull with *C. Bubulcus*, by that very court and assembly which himselfe called and held.

464

P. Cornelius Rufinus. M. Curius Dentatus.

The Coss. this yeere are recorded by Cassiodorus, *Pub. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *M. Curius Dentatus*.

Sssij

Dentatus: for whom in the Sicilian registers, appeare *Maximus* the third time, and *Mus* the sixth time. But of those forenamed Consuls, Cicero maketh mention in his booke, entituled *Caro*; *Paterculus* in his first booke, *Valerius Max.* in his sixth booke and 3 chap. *Plinie* also in his 7 booke and 50 chap. Now this *M. Curius* was called *Dentatus*, as *Plinie* writeth in his 6 booke and 16 chap. for that hee came into the world with teeth.

465

M. Valerius. Q. Cadius.

Marcus Valerius and Q. Cadius were afterwards Consuls, as saith Cassiodorus. The old booke of Cuspinian putteth to them the surnames of *Corvinus* and *Noctua*: which in the Sicilian registers are overpassed. The Greek records shew unto us, *Maximus* and *Mus*: for *Maximus* was a surname also of the *Valerij Corvini*.

466

Q. Martins. P. Cornelius.

Cassiodorus this yeere delivereth for Consuls, Q. Martins and P. Cornelius. Cuspinians booke and the Greeke records, adde their surnames, *Tremulus II.* and *Arvinus II.* who had been Consuls together once before.

467

M. Marcellus. Sp. Nautius.

Cassiodorus avoucheth Consuls this yeere, M. Marcellus and Sp. Nautius. The Greeke records and Cuspinians booke, have *Marcellus* and *Rutius*.

468

M. Valerius. C. Aelius.

Marcus Valerius and C. Aelius, are raunged in this year for Consuls by Cassiodorus. Cuspinians booke putteth forth, *Maximus* and *Potius*: but the Greeke records, *Potius* and *Potius*. Now you must thinke, that both *Maximus* & *Potius*, are the surnames of the *Valerij*.

469

C. Claudius. M. Aemilius.

For this yeeres Consuls, Cassiodorus hath *C. Claudius* and *M. Aemilius*. The Greeke records and Cuspinians booke, *Canina* and *Lepi-*

dus: whereof the former is the surname of *Claudius*, the latter of *Aemilius*.

470

C. Servilius. L. Caelius.

By Cassiodorus, C. Servilius and L. Caelius *Metellus*, are placed Consuls in this yeere; for whereas in some copies of Cassiodorus, in stead of *L. Caelius*, is written *Cabius*, that is a fault; as Sigonius and Onuphrius have noted. To Servilius this Consull, the Greeke records adde the surname of *Turca*, whome they put down Consull with *Dento*, they would say *Denter*, as both Sigonius and Onuphrius suppose. For *Denter* is a surname also given to the *Cacilij*, as appeareth by Livie.

471

P. Cornelius Dolabella. Cn. Domitius.

Cassiodorus inserteth P. Cornel. Dolabella, and Cn. Domitius for Consuls. Cuspinians Kalender hath *Dolabella* and *Calvus*. The Sicilian registers, *Dolabella Maximus*. And some thinke, that *Maximus* was the surname of *Dolabella*, which hee seemeth to have acquired by the honor that he had woon in the war against the Gaules.

472

C. Fabricius. Q. Aemilius.

Cassiodorus bringeth in for Consuls, C. Fabricius and Q. Aemilius: but the Sicilian registers, *Luscinus* and *Papus*. Of them Cicero in his booke *Laelius*, maketh mention in this manner: Vee see that *Papus Aemilius* was familiarly acquainted with C. *Luscinus*; for so we have heard our fathers say, that they were two Consuls together, and companions in the Censorship. Moreover, Valerius in his chap. where hee treateth of Poverty, maketh mention of C. Fabricius, and Q. Aemilius *Papus*. This *Aemilius*, Plutarch in his *Parallels* calleth corruptly by the name of *Paulus*.

473

L. Aemilius. Q. Martins.

There followed Consuls, as Cassiodorus sheweth, L. Aemilius and Q. Martins; unto whome, Cuspinians booke and the Greeke records, give also their surnames, *Barbula* and *Philippus*: and the same also is evident by the records in the Capitoll of their triumphs.

P. Val-

474

P. Valerius. T. Cornucaninus.

Pub. Valerius and Tit. Cornucaninus, are by Cassiodorus placed in this yeere for Coss. The Greeke records, Cuspinians booke, Florus, Orosius, and Eutropius, give to Valerius the surname of *Lævinus*. And Plutarch hath *Λαβινος* for *Lævinus*.

475

P. Sulpitius. P. Decius.

Next after those, Cassiodorus putteth down P. Sulpitius Consull with P. Decius. The Sicilian registers, have *Savennio* and *Mus*. Cicero in his 2 booke, entituled *De Fin.* and in his *Tusculan disputations*, saith, That this *Pub. Decius* was the son of that P. Decius who vowed himselfe to death in the *Samnites* and *Gaules* waire.

476

C. Fabricius. Q. Aemilius.

Cassiodorus delivereth unto us for Consuls C. Fabricius and Q. Aemilius: whome Cuspinians booke and the Greeke records, call *Luscinus* the second time, and *Papus*. That these were fellows together once before in the Consulate, Cicero writeth in his book *Laelius*, Plutarch in *Pyrrhus*, Gellius 3 booke chap. 8. Eutropius, and Zonaras, make report of the same.

477

P. Cornelius. C. Iunius.

Pub. Cornelius, and C. Iunius, are rehearsed for Consuls this yeer by Cassiodorus. Cuspinians booke hath *Rufinus* the second time, and *Brutus*. The Greeke records, *Rufinus* and *Babulcius*. Zonaras hath *R. finus* and *Iunius*. Of P. *R. finus* twice Consull, Cic. in his 2 booke Of a perfect orator, Valer. Max. in his 3 booke and 4 chap. Gellius in his 4 booke and 8 chap. in his 17 booke likewise and 21 chap. and last of all, Frontinus in his booke of *Stratagemes*, make mention.

478

Q. Fabius. C. Genutius.

Cassiodorus reporteth Q. Fabius and C. Genutius Coss. The Sicilians registers have *Gurges* and *Clepsina*. Of these Consuls, Orosius

maketh mention in this wife: When *Fabius Gurges* was the second time Consul with *Genutius Clepsina*, a grievous pestilence reigned both in the cittie, and also in the territorie about it.

479

M. Curius. L. Lentulus.

Cassiodorus and Eutropius deliver unto us for Consuls, M. Curius and L. Lentulus. The Sicilian registers, *Dentatus* and *Lentulus*. This is the third Consulate of M. Curius, which together with *Lentulus* Consullship, is drawne out of the Capitoll records of triumph this yeere.

480

Sp. Cornelius. M. Curius.

Cassiodorus sheweth for this yeeres Consuls, *Servius Cornelius* and M. Curius. Cuspinians booke and the Greeke records, *Merenda*, and *Dentatus* the third time. This M. Curius is now Consull the fourth time, for, thrice he was before. Concerning this *Servius Cornelius Merenda*, Plinie relateth and writeth, that hee received a princely coronet of gold at the hands of L. *Lentulus* the Consull of the former yeere, for winning a town of the *Samnites*.

481

C. Fabricius. C. Claudius.

Cassiodorus setteth downe, C. Fabricius and C. Claudius Consuls: the Sicilian records, *Licinius* and *Canina*: Cuspinians kalender, *Licinius* and *Cinna*. Eutropius, *Fabius Licinius* and *C. Claudius Canina*. Velleius, *Fabius Do so* and *Claud. Canina*. Whereby it may be understood, that these Consuls were called, *Fabius Do so Licinius*, and *Caius Claudius Canina*: for *Dorso* was an old name of the *Fabij*.

482

L. Papirius Censor. Sp. Corvilius.

Next after them, Cassiodorus nominateth for Consuls, *Sp. a. vilus* and *L. Papirius Cursor*. The records both of Sicilie and Cuspinian, have *Cursor* and *Maximus*. Both these were now Consuls the second time, as appeareth by their triumphs upon record in the Capitoll. Frontinus speaketh of them in his booke Of water conduits, and Livie in his 24 booke.

Sssiiij

C. Quin-

483

C. Quintius. L. Genutius.

It is reported by Cassiodorus, that C. Quintius and L. Genutius were Consuls. Cuspinians booke and the Greeke records, set to their surnames, Claudius and Clepsina. Livie in his 7 booke speaketh of one Tit. Quintius lame of one legge, from whome haply this surname is drawne.

484

C. Genutius. Cn. Cornelius.

Reported thereate for Consuls, this yeere by Cassiodorus, C. Genutius and Cn. Corneli-
us; whose surnames were Clepsina & Blasio, as it appeareth in Cuspinians booke. This Caius Genutius is the same, who before-time was Consull. As for C. Blasio, he is described by his Cenforship standing upon record in the Capitoll. The Greeke records over-passe them both.

485

P. Sempronius. 2 or after Q. Ogulpius.
App. Claudius. 3 or more, 2 Fabius Pictor.

After Cornelius and Genutius Consuls, Cassiodorus bringeth in Pub. Sempronius, and App. Claudius, and of purpose over-skippeith Q. Gulo and Fabius Pictor. Zonaras, Q. Gallus and C. Fabius. Of them speaketh Eutropius, saying; When Q. Gulo and Fabius Pictor were Consuls, the Picenates raised warre; and by the Consuls next following, to wit, P. Sempronius and App. Claudius, they were vanquished. Plinie also in his 33 booke and 3 chap. When Q. Fabius (quoth hee) was Consull, silver was coined and stamped for money, five yeeres before the [second] Punicke war. These Consuls, Velleius also reckoneth in his first booke. But Sigonius and Onuphrius advertise us, that the booke of Eutropius is verie faultie in one of these Consuls, and that in lieu of Quin. Gulo, it should be read Q. Ogulpius; for of this Gulo, there is in no place besides, any mention: so as they would have, that it should be Q. Ogulpius, son of L. nephew of A. surnamed Galus, who a little before was sent in embassage to Ptolemeus. And it falleth out passing well, that they should match Ogulpius a commoner, with Fabius a Patritian. Also Onuphrius testifieth, that in the most auncient hand-written bookes of Eutropius, the name is found of Ogulpius. And, as both the Greeke records, and also Zonaras, together, with the more auncient and

perfect copies of Eutropius, agree to this his judgement: so Hubertus Goltzius likewise in his catalogue of Consuls, embraceth the same: and that which maketh most for the purpose, the old antiquities of coine, witnesseth as much. But in the meane while this is worth the observation, that oftentimes in the most auncient peeeces of money, the letter C is written for G, as for example here, *Ocul. Cal. for Ogul. Galba.*

486

P. Sempronius. App. Claudius.

Seeing that wee settle the Consulship of the former yeer, in Ogulpius and Fabius Pictor, and that upon the authoritie of Eutropius, the Greeke records, Cuspinian, Zonaras, Onuphrius, and others; wee will set downe for this yeeres Consuls, P. Sempronius and App. Claudius, whome Velleius in his first booke calleth, Sempronius Sophus, and Appius the sonne of Cacus. The Greeke records, Sempronius Rufus Sophus; and Cuspinians booke, Rufus. Moreover, this also Goltzius giveth us to understand, that the surname of this Sempronius is in old peeeces of coine found written without an aspiration [Sophus]; which is no rare thing to be scene in such antiquities: for we read in others of them, Pilippus, T. Ampilius, Gracchus, Pulcher, Triumpus, for Philippus, T. Amphilius, Gracchus, Pulcher, Triumpbus, and such like.

487

M. Atilius. L. Julius Libo.

Eutropius putteth downe for Consuls, M. Atilius and L. Julius Libo. The Sicilian registers, Regulus and Libo. Cassiodorus, M. Atilius and L. Julius. And both of them are taken forth of the records of capitoll triumphs.

488

D. Iunius. N. Fabius.

Cassiodorus reporteth for Coss. this yeere, D. Iunius and N. Fabius: the Sicilian register, Pera and Pictor: the capitoll records of triumphs, D. Iunius son of D. nephew of D. surnamed Pera, and N. Fabius son of C. nephew of M. surnamed Pictor. Vpon what occasion these Fabij tooke the surname of Pictor, Plinie sheweth in his 35 booke chap. 4. Valer. Max. in his 4 booke and 3 chap. seemeth to note and signifie, that Fabius Gurges and N. Fabius Pictor, lived at one and the same time.

Q. Fabius

489

Q. Fabius Maximus. L. Mamilius Vitulus.

This yeere also Cassiodorus passeth over. The Greeke records shew, Maximus and Vitulus. Zonaras, Q. Fabius, and Mamilius (no doubt) for Mamilius, by some error and fault of the copies, Cuspinian out of some old booke delivereth unto us for Consuls, Q. Fab. Maximus and Lu. Mamilius. Onuphrius thinketh, that Q. Fab. Maximus Gurges was now thrice Consull.

490

App. Claudius. M. Fulvius.

Besides the capitoll monuments, Polybius in his first booke maketh mention of these Consuls. Gellius also, who calleth them thus, App. Claudius brother of Cacus surnamed Caudex, and Mar. Fulvius Flaccus. In like manner Livie, Paternulus, and Plinie in his booke of famous men: as also Appianus, Florus, Frontinus in his 1 booke of Stratagems, Eutropius, Orofius, and Cassiodorus.

491

M. Valerius. M. Otacilius.

Cassiodorus and Eutropius shew unto us, that M. Valerius and M. Otacilius were Consuls. Zonaras nameth Valerius Max. and Otacilius Crassus. Cuspinians Kalender and the Sicilian records, Maximus Messala and Crassus. Of these Consuls, Verrius Flaccus, Polybius, Cassiodorus, Eutropius, and Macrobius out of Varro make report. As for Macrobius, he rendereth a reason, why M. Valerius was in this government of his named Messala: and Plinie likewise, in his sixth booke and five and thirtie chapter.

492

L. Posthumus. Q. Mamilius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius put downe for next Consuls, L. Posthumus and Q. Mamilius. Zonaras nameth them, Postumius Albinus and Quintus Mamilius. The Sicilian registers, Albinus and Vitulus: but the capitoll monuments, Lucius Postumius sonne of Lucius, nephew of Lucius, surnamed Megellus, and Quin. Mamilius sonne of Q. nephew of M. surnamed Vitulus.

493

L. Valerius. T. Otacilius.

Polybius and Cassiodorus match together in the Consulate for this yeere, L. Valerius and T. Otacilius: the surname of Valerius is Flaccus, and of Otacilius, Crassus, as it appeareth upon the capitoll and Sicilian records.

494

Cn. Cornelius. C. Duilius.

Cassiodorus and Zonaras bring in for Coss. Cn. Cornelius and C. Duilius. In like manner also Polybius, but only that in lieu of Pub. hee hath Albi. The Sicilian registers shew Scipio and Duilius. Cn. Cornelius Scipio is surnamed also Asina, by the capitall writers, Orofius, Eutropius, and Valerius in his sixth booke chap. 10: of which surname Macrobius writeth thus in his first booke of Saturnalia: The surname of Asina (qd. hee) was given to the Cornelijs, for that the first of the House Cornelia having either bought land, or given his daughter in marriage, when (after the solemne manner) hee was required to put in good sureties for securitie, brought into the open market place a shee asse laden with money, and pawned down that presently in stead of pledges.

495

C. Aquilius son of M. L. Cornelius son of L.

There are nominated by Cassiodorus for Consuls, C. Aquilius and L. Cornelius. The Sicilian registers, Florus and Scipio. Zonaras, C. Florus and L. Scipio. Eutropius and Orofius, L. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Aquilius Florus. Polybius leaveth them out. The Capitoline monuments agree with the Annales of Eutropius and Orofius.

496

A. Atilius Calatinus. Q. Sulpitius.

Polybius avoucheth for this yeeres Consuls, A. Atilius and C. Sulpitius. Cassiodorus, A. Atilius Calatinus, and C. Sulpitius. The Sicilian registers and Cuspinians Kalender, Calatinus & Paternulus. The capitoll monuments, A. Atilius Calatinus and C. Sulpitius Paternulus. Zonaras, Atilius Calatinus, and Caius Sulpitius. Of these Consuls, Polybius, Cicero, Valerius, Florus, Frontinus in his Stratagems, Plinie the younger, Gellius, Eutropius, and Cassiodorus make mention. But concerning the

the forename of *Sulpitius Paterculus*, the Capitoline tables disagree one from another; to wit, those that carrie the records of the triumphs, from those that shew the Consulships and other magistracies: for in these latter monuments hee is called *Quintus*, in the former *Caius*. Whereby Goltzius doth conjecture, that one man was not the author of both those records, namely, the Triumphant and the Consular.

497

Cn. Cornelius. C. Atilius.

Cassiodorus sheweth unto us, *Cn. Cornelius*, and *C. Atilius Serranus*, for Consuls: but Polybius, *C. Atilius*. The Capitoll tables, *C. Atilius Regulus*. Cuspinians Kalender and the Sicilian registers, have *Regulus* and *Blasius* the second time. But how *Atilius* should come by his surname *Serranus*, Plinie sheweth in his 18 booke, saying; In these daies the fields were tilled by the very hands of L. Generals themselves, and a man verily would beleeeve thereby, that the ground joyed in a lauréat ploughshare and a triumphant plowman. Him they found a sowing, unto him they presented those honorable dignities, & so tooke he his surname *Serranus*. As concerning *Blasius*, all authors well-nere besides, approve the judgement of Cuspinian: but Goltzius supposeth, that hee was not the same man that was Consul before; and therefore hee writeth him the sonne of *Cn.* nephew of *Lu.* without putting to the numerall note II.

498

Q. Cædicius. L. Manlius.

The next Consuls that succeeded, were (by Cassiodorus his saying) *Q. Cædicius* and *L. Manlius*. The Sicilian registers name them, *Vulso* and *Cædicius*. Zonaras, *M. Regulus* and *L. Manlius*. Eutropius, *M. Atilius Regulus* and *L. Manlius Vulso*: and Polybius, *M. Atilius* and *L. Manlius*. Insenus in his 41 book maketh mention of these Consuls. But ye must understand, that *Q. Cædicius* died while hee was in office, and *M. Atilius* was substituted in his rounne, and made Consul the second time; as appeareth evidently by the Capitoll tables, wherein it standeth thus upon record, *Lu. Manlius Vulso Longus*: and in stead of *Q. Cædicius*, *M. Atilius Regulus* the second time: as also by Cuspinians booke, wherein is written, *Longus* and *Regulus*.

499

M. Æmilius Paulus. Ser. Fulvius Nobilior.

Polybius sheweth for the Coss. this yeere, *Ser. Fulvius*, and *M. Æmilius*. Cuspinians Kalender, *Nobilior* and *Paulus*. The Sicilian registers, *Paulus* and *Paulus*. Cassiodorus and Eutropius, together with the Capitoline records, have *Ser. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *M. Æmilius Paulus*.

500

Cn. Cornelius. A. Atilius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius report for this yeeres Consuls, *Cn. Cornelius* and *A. Atilius*. The Capitoll authors write, *A. Atilius Calatinus* the second time, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina* likewise a second time. As touching *Cn. Cornelius Asina* twice Consul, thus writeth Valerius in his sixt booke: *Cneius Cornelius Scipio Asina*, who being Consul, was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians at Liparæ when he had by the law of armes lost whatsoever hee had, recovered all againe, and was made Consul the second time: so as, of a Consul hee became a captive, and of a captive twice Consul.

501

Cn. Servilius. C. Sempronius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius put downe for Consuls, *Cn. Servilius* and *C. Sempronius*. The Sicilian registers, *Cæpio* and *Blasius*. Zonaras, *Servilius Cæpio* and *C. Sempronius*. Eutropius and Orosius, *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, and *Sempronius Blasius*. Of the same Consuls, Sabinus in his 30 book maketh mention, as also a stone of the Capitoll.

502

C. Aurelius Cotta. P. Servilius.

Cassiodorus bringeth in as Coss. *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and *P. Geminus*. The Sicilian registers, *Cotta* and *Geminus*: but those of the Capitoll, *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and *P. Servilius Geminus*. Zonaras, *Pub. Servilius* and *C. Aurelius*. Cicero in his booke, entituled *Lucullus*, writeth, that *C. Cotta*, together with *P. Servilius Geminus*, was twice Consul. Frontinus also in his fourth booke of Stratagemes, and likewise Orosius, make mention of *C. Cotta* Consul in Sicilie.

L. Cæsi-

503

L. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Furius.

Polybius setteth downe for Consuls, *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Cn. Furius*. The Sicilian registers, *Metellus* and *Pacilius*. Zonaras, *Cæcilius Metellus*, and *C. Furius*. Cassiodorus, *Lu. Cæcilius* and *C. Furius*. Eutropius, Orosius, and a capitoll stone, *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Cn. Furius Pacilius*. This is that *Lu. Metellus*, twice Consul and high priest, of whome Plinie writeth in his seventh booke and three and fortie chapter.

504

C. Atilius Regulus. L. Manlius.

Polybius placeth for this yeeres Consuls, *C. Atilius* and *Lu. Manlius*. Cassiodorus, *C. Atilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius*. Orosius and a capitoll stone, have *C. Atilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius Vulso*, both Coss. the second time. Zonaras, *C. Atilius* the brother of *Regulus*, and *L. Manlius*. The Sicilian records, *Regulus* and *Vulso*.

505

P. Claudius. L. Iunius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius inferre for Consuls the next yeere, *Pub. Claudius* and *L. Iunius*. Zonaras, *L. Iunius* and *Cl. Pulcher*. Florus and Suetonius in Tiberius, put to *Claudius* the surname of *Pulcher*; and Censorinus to *Iunius* of *Pullus*: which also are upon record in the Sicilian and capitoline tables. This *P. Claudius*, Cicero (in his bookes of Divination, and of the nature of gods) calleth the sonne of *Appius Cæcus*: but Plinie (in his seventh booke and three and fortie chapter) nameth him his nephew or sonnes sonne: The capitoll writers take part with Cicero. Valerius Maximus in his first booke and fourth chapter, speaketh of the same Consuls.

506

P. Servilius. C. Aurelius.

For Consuls this yeere, Cassiodorus putteth downe *P. Servilius* and *C. Aurelius*. Cicero in his booke *Lucullus*, saith that these were twice Consuls. Which also is apparant by the Capitoll and Sicilian tables: in which their surnames are to be seene, *Geminus II.* and *Cotta II.*

507

L. Cæcilius. N. Fabius.

It is recorded by Cassiodorus, that the Consuls of this yeere, were *L. Cæcilius* and *N. Fabius*: but Zonaras nameth them, *Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Numerius Fabius*. Cuspinians Kalender and the Sicilian registers, have them in this manner; *Metellus II.* and *Buteo II.* But the capitoline tables shew them thus, *Lu. Cæcilius Metellus II.* *N. Fabius Buteo II.* Plinie also reporteth in his seventh booke, that *Metellus* was twice Consul.

508

M. Fabius. M. Otacilius.

Cassiodorus setteth downe as Consuls, *M. Fabius* and *M. Otacilius*. The Sicilian registers, *Craffius* and *Licinius*. Gellius in his tenth booke and sixt chapter, hath *Fabius Licinius* and *Otacilius Craffius*. The capitoll marble stones, *M. Fabius Licinius*, and *M. Otacilius Craffius*. Besides Gellius in the place before alledged, Florus likewise in his 19 Breviary upon Livius maketh mention of these Consuls; as also Suetonius in Tiberius.

509

M. Fabius. C. Atilius.

Cassiodorus reckoneth *M. Fabius*, and *Caius Atilius*, Consuls for this yeere. The Sicilian tables, *Buteo* and *Bulbus*. But those of the capitoll, *M. Fabius Buteo*, and *C. Atilius Bulbus*. Of *Fabius* the Consuls shipwracke, Florus speaketh out of the nineteenth booke of Livie.

510

A. Manlius. C. Sempronius.

For this yeeres Consuls, Cassiodorus setteth forth unto us, *A. Manlius* and *C. Sempronius*. The Sicilian records, *Torquatus* and *Blasius*. Cuspinians booke hath *Atticus* and *Blasius*. The capitoline tables shew *Aul. Manlius Torquatus Atticus*, and *Caius Sempronius Blasius II.*

511

C. Fundanius. C. Sulpitius.

Cassiodorus putteth downe, *C. Fundanius*, and *C. Sulpitius* for Consuls. The Sicilian writers,

writers, *Fundulus* and *Gallus*. The Capitoll monuments, *Caius Fundanius Fundulus*, and *C. Sulpitius Gallus*. None besides make mention of them.

512

C. Lutatius Catulus. A. Postumius.

Cassiodorus delivereth unto us for Consuls this yeere, *C. Lutatius* and *Aul. Postumius*. The Sicilian records, *Catulus* and *Albinus*. Eutropius, and the Capitoll marbles, *C. Lutatius Catulus*, and *A. Postumius Albinus*.

513

Q. Lutatius Cere. A. Manlius.

Cassiodorus, Eutropius, and Orofius, shew for Consuls this yeere, *Q. Lutatius*, and *Aul. Manlius*. The Sicilian records, *Cere* and *Torquatus*. They of the Capitoll, *Q. Lutatius Cere*, and *Aul. Manlius Torquatus Atticus II*. Indeed *C. Lutatius Cere*, is named for an embassador by Livie in his 42 booke.

514

C. Claudius Centho. M. Sempronius.

For this year there were Consuls, *C. Claudius Centho*, and *M. Sempronius Tudianus*, according to Cassiodorus and the capitoll writers. The Sicilian records testifie also the same surnames. Of these Consuls likewise, besides the capitoll Writers, Cicero speaketh in his *Cato* and *Brutus*, where he calleth this yeere (according to the judgement of *Atticus*, where to Varro also agreeth) the 514 yeere from the foundation of the citie; as also in his first *Tusculane* question. So doth *Gellius* 17 booke 21 chap. and Cassiodorus.

515

C. Mamilius. Q. Valerius.

Next there followed in Consuls place, as witnesseth Cassiodorus, *C. Mamilius* and *Q. Valerius*: but according to the Sicilian registers, *Turinus* and *Falco*: and after the capitoll records, *C. Mamilius Turinus*, and *Q. Valerius Falco*. Besides *Verrius Flaccus* and Cassiodorus, *Gellius* also maketh mention of these Cons. in his 17 booke and 21 chap. So doth *Cicero* in *Brutus* and the *Tusculane* questions, in which yeere they say, that *Ennius* the poet was borne.

516

T. Sempronius. P. Valerius.

For the yeere following, Cassiodorus hath Consuls, *T. Sempronius* and *Pub. Valerius Gracchus* and *Falco*, in Cuspinians Kalender, and the Sicilian records. Zonaras avoucheth, *Sempronius Gracchus*, and *P. Valerius*. The capitoll writers, have *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *Pub. Valerius Falco*. Orofius speaketh of these Consuls.

517

L. Cornelius. Q. Fulvius.

Next to them, Cassiodorus reporteth for Consuls, *L. Cornelius* and *Q. Fulvius Zonaras*, *L. Lentulus* and *Q. Flaccus*. Eutropius, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. The capitoll registers give to *Lentulus*, the surname *Gaudens*: and therefore in Cuspinians Kalender, they stand by the names of *Candinus* and *Flaccus*. As for the Sicilian registers, they leave them out cleane.

518

C. Licinius. T. Cornelius.

Cassiodorus putteth downe for Consuls, *C. Licinius* and *P. Cornelius*. Zonaras, *Pub. Lentulus* and *Licinius Varus*. The capitoline writers, *C. Licinius Varus*, and *P. Cornelius Lentulus Candinus*. In like maner *Censorinus*; who reckoneth this for the 518 yeere after the cities foundation, following herein the computation of Varro, Cicero, and Plinie. Cuspinians Kalender and the Sicilian registers, name them *Claudius* and *Varus*.

519

T. Manlius Torquatus. C. Atilius.

This yeere had for Consuls, as Cassiodorus saith, *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *C. Atilius*. The Sicilian records, shew *Torquatus* and *Bulbus*: but Eutropius, Orofius, and the capitoll tables shew, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Atilius Bulbus*: unto *Bulbus*. The capitoll records put to the numeral note II. When *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *C. Atilius Bulbus* the second time were Cons. according to *Verrius Flaccus*, Eutropius, Orofius, and Cassiodorus, and that there was peace throughout all the empire of Rome, the temple of *Ianus* was shut the second time, as *Plutarch* sheweth in *Numa*; as *Livie* also, *Velicius*, Eutropius, and Orofius, doe testifie.

L. Postu-

520

L. Postumius. Sp. Carvilius.

Cassiodorus nameth for Consuls this yeere *L. Postumius* and *Sp. Carvilius*. The Sicilian registers have *Albinus* and *Ruga*. Zonaras, *Postumius Albinus*, and *Sp. Carvilius*. The Capitoll writers have *L. Postumius Albinus*, and *Sp. Carvilius Maximus*. That *Ruga* was asurnameto the *Carvili*, appeareth out of *Gellius*, who maketh mention of *Sp. Carvilius Ruga*, who at this time was the first that divorced his wife.

521

Q. Fabius. M. Pomponius.

Cassiodorus putteth downe for Consuls, *Q. Fabius* and *M. Pomponius*. The Sicilian records *Maximus* and *Matbo*. The Capitoline writers have *Qu. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus*, and *M. Pomponius Matbo*. Zonaras hath *Qu. Fabius Max.* and *Manius Pomponius*. The surname of *Maximus*, this *Fabius* tooke of his grandfather, and was not himselfe the first of that name, whatsoever *Polybius* writeth in his third booke. *Verrucosus* he was called besides of a wart upon his lip, as *Plutarch* witnesseth, and he that wrote the treatise of Famous men.

522

M. Lepidus. M. Poplicius.



Arcus Lepidus and *M. Poplicius* are reputed to be Consuls this yeere by Cassiodorus. The Sicilian registers have *Lepidus* and *Malleolus*. Zonaras hath *M. Malleolus* and *M. Aemilius*. The Capitoll tables shew *M. Aemilius Lepidus* and *M. Poplicius*.

523

C. Papirius. M. Pomponius.

Next after this were created Consuls, *C. Papirius* and *M. Pomponius* according to Cassiodorus, Zonaras, and *Dionysius* in his second booke. The Sicilian registers shew *Maso* and *Matbo*. But the Capitoll records have *C. Papirius Maso* and *M. Pomponius Matbo*. Of *C. Papirius*, son of *C. surnamed Maso*, a Pontific or bishop, *Livie* speaketh in the yeer 540.

524

M. Aemilius. M. Iunius.

Zonaras and Cassiodorus exhibite unto us for Consuls, *M. Aemilius* and *M. Iunius*.

The Sicilian registers, *Barbula* and *Pera*. The Capitoll records, *M. Aemilius Barbula* & *Mar. Iunius Pera*.

525

L. Postumius. Cn. Fulvius.

Cassiodorus setteth downe *L. Postumius* and *Cn. Fulvius* as Consuls. The Sicilian records *Albinus* and *Gentumalus*. But those of the Capitoll, and Eutropius, present unto us *L. Postumius Albinus* & *Cn. Fulvius Gentumalus*. *Polybius* nameth *Cn. Fulvius* and *A. Postumius*.

526

Q. Fabius. I. I. Sp. Carvilius.

There are by Cassiodorus nominated for Consuls this yeere, *Qu. Fabius Maximus* the second time, and *Sp. Carvilius*. The Sicilian registers *Maximus* & *Ruga*. The Capitoll writers set also unto *Carvilius Maximus* the marke and numerall note of a double Consulship. *Cicero* in his booke entituled *Cato*, likewise in his second booke of *Rhetoricall* invention, maketh mention of these Consuls, and so doth *Valerius* in his chapter, discoursing of the kindnes and affectionate dutie of children to their parents.

527

P. Valerius. M. Atilius.

These are set downe by Cassiodorus for Cons. this yeere, *P. Valerius* and *M. Atilius*. The Sicilian registers, have *Flaccus* & *Regulus*. The Capitoll records represent *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*. *Gellius* writeth of them in his 4 booke and 3 chapter.

528

L. Apustius. M. Valerius.

Next after, Cassiodorus putteth *L. Apustius* and *M. Valerius* Consuls. The Sicilian tables *Maximus* and *Apustius*. The Capitoll monuments *L. Apustius Fullo*, & *M. Valer. Mefala*.

529

C. Atilius. L. Aemilius.

Immediately followed Consuls, *C. Atilius* and *L. Aemilius*, as Cassiodorus and *Polybius* doe witness: whome the Capitoll writers call, *C. Atilius Regulus*, and *L. Aemilius Papus*.

Papir. The Sicilian registers, *Regulus* & *Papir.* Zonaras, *Regulus* and *Aimilius*. *Orosius* Consuls also *Orosius* maketh mention and *Livie* in his third booke and twentieth chapter, where untruly men read *Paulus* for *Papir.*

539

T. Manlius. *Q. Fulvius.* II.

The yeere following had Consuls *T. Manlius* and *Q. Fulvius* the second time, according to *Cassiodorus* and *Polybius*, and as *Orosius* saith, *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. *Cuspinians* tables, together with the Capitoline, have *Torquatus* the second time, and *Flaccus* likewise the second time, (chewing the furnants only of these Consuls).

531

C. Flaminius. *P. Furius Philus.*

Cassiodorus setteth downe for Consuls, *C. Flaminius* & *P. Furius*. So doth *Polybius*. Zonaras nameth them *Flaminius* & *Furius*. Plutarch likewise in *Marellus*. The Sicilian tables name them *Flaminius* and *Philus*. But the Capitoll records, *C. Flaminius*, and *Pub. Furius Philus*.

532

M. Marcellus. *Cn. Cornelius.*

Cassiodorus nameth for the next Consuls, *M. Marcellus* and *Cn. Cornelius*. *Polybius*, *M. Claudius* and *Cn. Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers *Scipio* and *Marcellus*. Zonaras, *Claudius Marcellus* and *Cn. Scipio*. *Eutropius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*. The Capitoll tables *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus*. This is that *Marcellus*, who was fivetimes Consull: and this is that *Scipio*, who afterwards with his brother *Scipio* was slain in Spaine by *Asdrubali* the Carthaginian.

533

P. Cornelius. *M. Minutius.*

Cassiodorus sheweth for this yeeres Consuls, *P. Cornelius* and *M. Minutius*. So doth Zonaras. The Sicilian registers have *Scipio* and *Rufus*. *Eutropius* hath *P. Cornelius* and *M. Minutius Rufus*. *Cuspinians* booke *Asina* and *Rufus*. *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* both, doe thinke that this *Publius Cornelius Scipio Asina* was his sonne, who in the first Punicke war was twice

Consull. And verily *Livie*, in the yeere 543 maketh mention of *P. Cornelius Asina*, an honorable Senator, and who had been Consull.

534

Cassiodorus and Zonaras exhibite unto us for Consuls, *L. Aemilius* & *C. Lutatius*. The Sicilian registers *Philus* and *Cuspinians* booke *Philus* and *Scevola*.

535

M. Livius. *L. Aemilius.*

The Consuls next following were *M. Livius* and *L. Aemilius*, as *Cassiodorus* witnesseth, *Cuspinians* booke & the Greeke records *Philus* and *Philus*. Zonaras, *M. Livius* & *Aemilius Paulus*. *Plinie* maketh mention of these Consuls in the 29 booke and 1 chapter.

536

P. Cornelius Scipio. *T. Sempronius Longus.*

Cassiodorus and *Polybius* put downe for Consuls *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius Longus*. Zonaras, *Sempronius Longus* and *P. Scipio*. The Sicilian records, *Longus* and *Scipio*. *Livie*, *Eutropius*, *Probus*, *Orosius*, and *Pædianus*, name them *Pub. Cornelius Scipio*, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. Whiles these were Consuls, the second Punicke warre arose, as writers have delivered unto us in their chronicles.

537

Cn. Servilius Geminus. *C. Flaminius.*

Then followed Consuls, as *Polybius*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Livie* write, *Cn. Servilius*, together with *C. Flaminius*. But the two last named, as also the Sicilian registers, have given to *Servilius* the surname of *Geminus*. *C. Flaminius* now second time Consull, with like pride as heretofore, entered into his magistracie in the Ides of March, not at Rome but at *Antimnum*. The same man, in neglect and contempt of the Auspicia or signes of birds, at what time as hee made head and went against *Anniball* coming into Italie, fought a battell at the lake *Thralymenus*, where his armie was wholly defeated and himselfe lost his life: into whose place *M. Atilius Regulus*, who had ben Consull before, was substituted. Thus much out of *Livie* and *Polybius*.

C. Teren-

538

C. Terentius Varro. *L. Aemilius Paulus.*

Next to them *Polybius* bringeth in *L. Aemilius* and *C. Terentius* for Consuls. The Sicilian registers, *Paulus* and *Varro*. *Plutarch* in *Paulus*, *Terentius Varro*, and *Aemilius Paulus*. *Livie*, *Cassiodorus*, and others, *C. Terentius Varro*, and *Lucius Aemilius Paulus*. *Goltzius* noteth, that the father of *C. Terentius Varro*, was one *Aulus*, a thing by others passed over.

539

L. Posthumius Albinus. III.
M. Claudius Marcellus. II.
Q. Fabius Maximus. III.
T. Sempronius Gracchus.

Livie reporteth that the Consuls elect for this yeere, when *M. Junius* the Dictatour held the solemne assembly for the election, were *Lucius Posthumius Albinus* the third time, who as then ruled the province of *Gaul*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, who had bene maister of the horsemen: and that *Posthumius* before that hee entred into government, was by *Anniball* in France environned and slaine, in whose steed *M. Marcellus* was subrogated Consull now the second time: who upon information given by the Augurs, that his creation was not good, resigned: & commonly the Nobles gave out and said, That the gods were not well pleased, that two commoners were then first chosen Consuls: whereupon in the roume of *Marcellus*, *Quintus Fabius Maximus* was chosen Consull the third time. Thus write *Livie* and *Plutarch*. And for this cause it is that *Cassiodorus*, *Orosius*, and *Eutropius* doe put downe for this yeeres Consuls, *T. Sempronius* and *Q. Fabius*.

540

Q. Fabius. IIII. *M. Claudius Marcellus.* III.

Livie, *Plutarch*, and *Cassiodorus*, set out for Consuls this yeere, *Quintus Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *Marcus Claudius Marcellus* the third time. Moreover, *Cicero* oftentimes and *Frontinus* in his second booke of stratagemes, make mention of these Consuls.

541

Q. Fabius Max. son of Verrucosus.
T. Sempronius Gracchus. II.

Against this yeere were both the Consuls created in their absence, namely, *Q. Fab. Max.* the son of *Verrucosus*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time: as *Livie* testifieth and *Cassiodorus*, together with the Sicilian registers. This *Fabius* had bene Pretour the former yeere: and *Gracchus* Consull two yeeres before. These Consuls *Gellius* nominateth out of *Quadrigrarius*, the second booke and second chapter. Likewise *Cicero* and *Valerius*.

542

Appius Claudius Pulcher.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus. III.

The Consuls created for this yeere by the Dictatour, were *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus* the third time, who then was maister of the horsemen, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, who in his pretourship was *L. depute* in Sicilie, as *Livie*, *Plutarch* in *Fabius*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Festus* in his seventeenth booke doe witnesseth.

543

C. Sulpitius Galba. *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.*

Vpon the receit of certain letters, the Consuls agreed together, that *Claudius* should hold the election for magistrates and see it finished, whiles *Fulvius* remained still before *Capua*. *Claudius* created for Consuls, *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, and *Publius Sulpitius* sonne of *Servius*, and surnamed *Galba*, who before time had borne no state-office of the chaire. Thus writeth *Livie*. The same Consuls also *Cassiodorus* doth deliver. *Orosius* likewise and *Festus* in his seventeenth booke. The Sicilian records declare *Galba* and *Centumalus*. As for *Serv. Sulpitius*, he is named in his second Consulship, as it appeareth upon record in the Capitoll, the son of *Serv.* nephew of *Publius* surnamed *Galba Maximus*.

544

M. Valerius Maximus. II. *M. Claudius Marcellus.* IIII.

Livie, *Sextus Pompeius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Plutarch*, *Florus*, *Eutropius*, and *Orosius*, doe

doe present for Consuls this yeere, *Marcus Claudius Marcellus* & *M. Valerius Lavinius*. Now this is *Marcellus* his fourth Consulship, as *Plutarch* and *Livie* write: but *Cassiodorus* saith, that hee was but the third time with *M. Valerius Lavinius*, leaving out that Consulship which he bare not through, because of the error in his creation: and yet is it one of the five that hee is reported to have borne. *Livie* in the nine and twentieth and thirtieth bookes, writeth that *Marcus Valerius* was twice Consull. In like manner, the booke of *Cuspinian* hath for this yeer, *Marcellus* the fourth time, and *Lavinus* the second time. And therefore *Onuphrius* supposeth that his first Consulship was in the yeere five hundred foure and thirtie: and his second, now. Of him *Polybius* and *Cicero* make mention.

545

Q. Fabius Maximus. V.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus. IIII.

THe Consuls for this yeere created, were *Quintus Fabius* the fift time, and *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus* the fourth time, the same man who being Dictator, held the assembly for that election; as *Livie* and *Cassiodorus* doe witnesse. The Sicilian records set forth *Fabius* and *Flaccus*. Whiles these were Consuls, *Cicero* in his Oration against *Rullus*, saith that *Capua* was woen: and yet *Livie* hath reported it two yeeres before. Of these Consuls *Valerius* also, together with *Plutarch*, *Eutropius*, and *Orosius* have made mention.

546

M. Claudius Marcellus. V.
T. Quintius Crispinus.

IN the eleventh yeere of the Punicke warre, there entered into their Consulship, *Marcus Marcellus* the fift time (so yee reckon that Consulship which upon an error in the creation he kept not) and *T. Quintius Crispinus*. So saith *Livie*. *Plutarch* also nameth *Marcellus* the fift time and *Crispinus*. But *Cassiodorus* reckoneth *Marcellus* but the fourth time with *Crispinus*, passing over that faultie Consulship of his. Moreover these Consuls are mentioned by *Cicero*, *Valerius*, *Plinius* the younger, *Probus*, *Eutropius*, and *Orosius*: who also report

that they both were forelaid and intrapped in ambush by *Anniball*: in so much as *Marcellus* was presently slaine in the place, and *Quintus* fled fore wounded.

547

C. Claudius Nero.
M. Livius Salinator.

WHen the LL. of the Senate cast about to see whome they should create Consuls, behold, the most eminent and singular man above all others, was *C. Claudius Nero*: unto whom was joined as companion in government *Marcus Livius*, who many yeeres before, upon a Consulship that hee had borne, was by the judgement of the people condemned; and almost eight yeeres after his condemnation was by *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Marcus Livius* then Consuls, reduced into the cittie. In like manner, the Sicilian registers name for Consuls, *Nero* and *Salinator*. The capitoll records shew *Caius Claudius Nero*, with *Marcus Livius Salinator*.

548

Quintus Caelius Metellus.
L. Veturius Philo.

Livie, *Cassiodorus*, and the records of the capitoll, exhibit unto us for Consuls this yeere, *Lucius Veturius Philo*, and *Quintus Caelius Metellus*. The Sicilian registers, *Metellus* and *Philo*. Over and besides, of these Consuls *Cicero* many a time and often, *Valerius*, *Plutarch* in *Africanus*, *Appianus* in *Ibericus*, *Plinie* in his 7 booke 43 chap. doe make mention.

549

P. Cornelius Scipio.
P. Licinius Crassus.

Livie *Veturius Philo* held the assembly for creation of magistrates, wherein all the Centuries in generall, with exceeding great favour nominated *Publius Scipio* for Consull, and to him was joined in government, *P. Licinius Crassus*, the supreme Pontific. Thus saith *Livie*. The Sicilian tables shew *Scipio* with *Crassus*. The capitoll records shew

P. Cor-

P. Cornelius Scipio, surnamed afterwards *Africanus*, with *P. Licinius Crassus* the rich, of whom *Cassiodorus* likewise and *Cicero* in *Brutus* doe speake.

550

M. Cornelius Cethegus. *P. Sempronius Tuditanus.*

Livie, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitoll records doe name for Consuls this yeere, *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. The Sicilian registers, *Cethegus* and *Tuditanus*, of whom *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Plutarch*, *Eutropius* and *Cassiodorus* doe often times make mention. In this yeere *P. Scipio Nasica*, judged by the Senate the best man in the cittie, received dame *Idea*.

551

Cn. Servilius Capio. *C. Servilius.*

Livie and *Cassiodorus* together, with the Sicilian records and capitoll monuments, put unto us for Consuls, *Cn. Servilius Capio* and *C. Servilius*. Of which twaine *Capio* had bene Pretour in the yeere 548, and *Servilius* in 547. This yeere died *Q. Fabius Max*: and *Anniball* with a sad cheere & heave heart departed out of *Italie* into *Africke* by commaundement of certaine delegate embassadours, in the seventeenth yeere of the second Punicke warre.

552

Tib. Claudius Nero. *M. Servilius Geminus.*

Marcus *Servilius Geminus*, & *Tib. Claudius Nero* were Coss. his yeere according to *Livie*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitoll records, in which *Servilius* standeth surnamed *Pulex Geminus*. The Sicilian tables have *Nero* with *Servilius*. In these Consuls yeere, *Anniball* was in *Africke* by *Scipio* overthrowne, and a second peace made with the *Carthaginians*, as *Polybius*, *Livie*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Eutropius* do report.

553

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. *P. Aelius Patus.*

Against this yeere were created Consuls, as *Livie* writeth, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Aelius Patus*: So saith *Cassiodorus*

also and *Plinie* in his eighteenth booke and eighteenth chapter. In a broken peece of marble in the Capitoll, were find *Lentulus* and *P. Aelius*: in the Sicilian registers, *Lentulus* and *Patus*. These two were Pretours both in the yeere 550.

554

P. Sulpitius Galba. *C. Aurelius Cotta.*

Livie and *Cassiodorus* put downe for Consuls, *P. Sulpitius Galba*, & *C. Aurelius Cotta*. This *P. Sulpitius* in the yeere 542 was first Consull: and *C. Cotta* two yeeres before, Pretour. These same Consuls are to bee scene in the capitoll tables, but *Galba* and *Cotta* in the Sicilian.

555

L. Cornelius Lentulus. *P. Villius Tappulus.*

This yeere had for Consuls, *L. Cornelius* and *P. Villius*, as *Cassiodorus* writeth: but according to *Livie* & the capitoll monuments, *Lentulus* and *Tappulus*: after the Sicilian records, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Villius Tappulus*. Of *P. Villius* Consull, *Plutarch* maketh mention in *Quintius*.

556

T. Quintius Flaminus. *Sext. Aelius Patus.*

Livie, *Cassiodorus*, the capitoll records, together with *Plutarch* in *Quintius*, report unto us for Consuls this yeere, *T. Quintius Flaminus* and *Sext. Aelius Patus*. The Sicilian tables, *Flaminus* and *Patus*. *Plinie* in his booke of famous men, saith (but not without some error) that this *Flaminus* was the sonne of that *C. Flaminus* who was slaine at *Thrasymenus*. Whereas in deed this man was descended of the noble *Patrician* house of the *Quintij*, the other of the familie of *Flaminij*, no better than commoners. Now this *Sext. Aelius Patus* is the man of whom *Cicero* giveth this report out of the Poet *Ennius*:

This *Sextus Aelius* in records, *Caius* surnam'd yee see.
A worthy knight for wisdomerare, a discrete man was hee.

And therefore in the capitoll tables he is called *Patus Caius*.

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C. Cor-

557

C. Cornelius Cethegus. Q. Minutius Regius

IN this yeere *Caius Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Q. Minutius* were Consuls, after *Livie, Cassiodorus*, & the capitol marbles. Their surnames onely appeare in the Sicilian registers. And Cicero speaketh of them in Brutus.

558

L. Furius Purpureo. M. Claudius Marcellus.

THis yeere had for Consuls, *L. Furius Purpureo*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, according to *Livie, Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records. The Sicilian annales deliver unto us *Porphyreo* and *Marcellus*.

559

M. Porcius Cato. L. Valerius Flaccus.

Marcus Porcius Cato & *L. Valerius* are ranged Consuls this yeere, by *Verrius Flaccus*, Cicero in many places, *Livie*, *Plutarch*, *Plinie*, *Valerius*, *Probus*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and *Cassiodorus*.

560

P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus. II. T. Sempronius Longinus.

Livie, *Cassiodorus*, the monuments both of the capitol and Sicilie, match Consuls together this yeere, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the second time, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. Of them Cicero maketh mention in the oration of *Cornelius* accused of felonie, as appeareth in *Pædianus*.

561

L. Cornelius Merula. Q. Minutius Thermus.

Livie, *Cassiodorus*, & the capitol authors, write that the Consuls chosen to succeed in this yeere, were *L. Cornelius Merula*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The said surnames are found in the Sicilian records. *Probus* speaketh of them in *Anniball*, and *Frontius* in his booke of stratagemes.

562

L. Quintius Flaminius. Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Livie, *Quintius Flaminius*, and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* were this yeeres Consuls, as

Livie, Cassiodorus, and the capitol records testifie. The Sicilian registers also shewe their surnames.

563

M. Atilius Glabrio. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.

THe Consuls created for this yeere, were *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and *M. Atilius Glabrio*, sonne of *Cn.* as testifie *Livie, Cassiodorus*, the capitol records, *Plutarch* in *Quintius*, and *Appian* in his Syriack historie. In the Sicilian registers, named they are *Glabrio* and *Nasica*. In these Consuls yeere the same authours report, that the war against *Antiochus* king of Syria, and against the *Ætoliens*, was proclaimed: which in the capitol monuments, in *Paterculus*, and *Macrobius*, is called the *Antiochian*, but by *Florus* and *Plinie* the younger in *Cato*, the Syrian warre. This was the 562 yeere from the cities foundation, as *Macrobius* writeth in his first booke of *Saturnals*.

564

L. Cornelius Scipio. C. Laelius.

Cassiodorus, *Livius*, and the capitol tables put downe for Consuls this yeere, *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Laelius*. The Sicilian registers have *Scipio* and *Laelius*. The same men *Gellius* in his sixteenth booke and fourth chapter nameth *C. Laelius* sonne of *C.* and *L. Scipio*, sonne of *P.* To *Laelius* *Cassiodore* onely addeth the surname *Africanus*. This *L. Scipio* surnamed *Asiaticus*, was brother to *Africanus*.

565

C. Manlius Vulso. M. Fulvius Nobilior.

Cneus *Manlius Vulso*, and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, are nominated Consuls for this yeere by *Livie, Cassiodore*, and the tables both of the capitol and Sicilie. *Manlius* was Pretor in the yeere 557 and *Fulvius* anno 560.

566

C. Livius Salinator. M. Valerius Messala.

THe Consuls next following, were *M. Valerius Messala*, and *C. Livius Salinator*, as *Livie*, and *Cassiodorus* testifie, together with the Sicilian and capitol tables.

M. Aimi-

567

M. Aemilius Lepidus. C. Flaminius.

THe next Consuls, were *M. Aemilius Lepidus* & *C. Flaminius*, as witness *Livie, Cassiodorus*, *Zonaras*, *Strabo* in his fifth booke, the Sicilian & capitol tables. Of them *Valerius* maketh mention in his sixth booke. This is that *M. Lepidus* who was the Arch-bishop, twice Consull, Censor, and President of the Senate sixe times chosen by the Censours. And this is that *C. Flaminius*, who afterward by *Cato* the Censor was displaced out of the Senate and disrobed.

568

Sp. Posthumius Albinus. Q. Martius Philippus.

Livie, *Cassiodorus*, *Eutropius*, and the capitol tables report Consuls for this yeere, *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Q. Martius Philippus*. The Sicilian Registers name them barely, *Albinus* and *Philippus*. *Valerius* maketh mention of them in his sixth booke & third chapter. Likewise *Plinie* in his 33 booke & tenth chapter.

569

App. Claudius Pulcher. M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

For this yeeres Consuls were *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, as *Livie, Cassiodorus* and the capitol records do testifie. They stand in the Sicilian records by the names of *Pulcher* and *Tuditanus*.

570

P. Claudius Pulcher. L. Porcius Cicerinus.

THe Consuls that followed for this yeere, were *L. Porcius Cicerinus* & *P. Claudius Pulcher*: witness *Livie, Cassiodorus*, and the capitol tables. *Pulcher* and *Cicerinus* they be called in the Sicilian records.

571

Q. Fabius Laber. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Against this yeere were created Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus* & *Q. Fabius Laber*, according to *Livie, Cassiodorus*, and the capitol marble stones. Their surnames be found also in the Sicilian tables. Whiles these were Consuls, *Atticus* wrote that *Anniball* died, as *Probus* maketh report in *Anniball*.

572

L. Æmylius Paulus. Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Cneus *Bæbius Tamphilus* & *L. Æmylius Paulus* were created Consuls for this yeere, as *Livie, Cassiodorus*, the capitol, yea & the Sicilian tables do testifie, although these last have regard only of their surnames. This *L. Æmylius* is the sonne of that *L. Æmylius*, who was slaine at Cannæ, as *Plutarch* and *Velleius* doe witness.

573

P. Cornelius Cethegus. M. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Publius *Cornelius Cethegus* and *M. Bæbius Tamphilus*, succeeded Consuls this yeere, after *Livie, Cassiodore* and the capitol tables. *Cethegus* and *Tamphilus* they be called in the Sicilian records. Of *P. Cornelius* and *M. Bæbius* Consuls, *Plutarch* made mention in *Numa*. Of *P. Cornelius* and *M. Bæbius Tamphilus* *Valerius* speaketh in his first booke & first chapter. Of *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *M. Bæbius Tamphilus* in 11 booke & first chapter. But *Plinie* in his 13 booke and 13 chapter calleth the one *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, son of *Lucius*: and the other *M. Bæbius* son of *Q.* surnamed *Tamphilus*.

574

A. Posthumius Albinus. C. Calpurnius Piso.

Livie, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol monuments exhibit unto us for this yeeres Consuls, *A. Posthumius Albinus*, and *C. Calpurnius Piso*. The Sicilian tables, *Albinus* and *Piso*. *Piso* was Pretour in the yeere 567. And *Albinus* anno. 568. But when as a pestilence had reigned now three yeeres, so as it dispeopled the citie of Rome and all Italie, it hapned that *C. Calpurnius* died, not without suspicion that he was murdered by *Quarta Hostilia*: in whose rounge *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, his father in law or mothers husband, was declared Consull.

575

L. Manlius Acidinus. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Livie, *Cassiodore*, and the capitol records shew for Consuls this yeere, *L. Manlius Acidinus* and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. The Sicilian tables, *Acidinus* with *Flaccus*. Cicero maketh mention of *Acidinus* a Consull, in his second booke of a perfect oratour. Also observed it is

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in the capitoll monuments, that these Consuls were german brethren: & the same hath Vellejus in his second booke reported. And thereby it commeth to passe, that in the capitoll tables *L. Manlius Acidinus*, is surnamed also *Fulvius* after the manner of those that are adopted.

576

M. Iunius Brutus. A. Manlius Vulso.

Ext Consuls created, were *M. Iunius Brutus* and *A. Manlius Vulso*: as Livie, Cassiodore, and the capitoll records doe testifie. *Brutus* and *Vulso* they bee named in the Sicilian monuments. This *Brutus* was Pretour in the yeere 562, and *Vulso* in 571.

577

C. Claudius Pulcher. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus.

C. Claudius Pulcher and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, are matched Consuls this yeere by Verrius Flaccus, Livie, & Cassiodorus. Of this *Tib. Gracchus* Cicero speaketh in his first booke of divination, and Frontinus in his first of stratagemes.

578

C. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus. Q. Petilius Spurinus. C. Valerius Lavinius.

Livie, Cassiodore, and the capitoll records exhibit unto us for Consuls, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus*, and *Q. Petilius Spurinus*. The Sicilian registers, *Scipio* and *Petilius*. But when *Scipio* returning out of the mount Albanus, fell into a fit of Apoplexie, and so into a dead palsey, whereupon hee went to the bath at Cumes, where, by reason that his disease grew upon him, he departed this life; *Q. Petilius* the other Consull, created for his companion to enter presently upon the government, *C. Valerius Lavinius*. Thus saith Livie.

579

P. Mutius Scævola. M. Aemilius Lepidus. II.

Orosius putteth downe for Consuls *Lepidus* and *Mutius*, Cassiodorus and Obsequens, *M. Lepidus* and *P. Mutius*. The Sicilian tables, *Lepidus* and *Scævola*. The capitoll monuments, *P. Mutius Scævola* and *M. Aemilius Lepidus. II.* The election of the Consuls this yeere is lost in Livie. Cicero likewise writeth in his discourse of

provinces; *Valerius* also in his sixt booke and sixt chapter, that this *M. Aemilius Lepidus* was twice Consull.

580

Sp. Posthumius Albinus. Q. Mutius Scævola.

Cassiodorus setteth downe for Consuls, *Sp. Posthumius* and *Q. Mutius*. The capitoll records, *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Q. Mutius Scævola*. Cuspinians booke hath *Paulus* & *Scævola*. Plinie maketh mention of these in his second booke and 31 chapter. The election of the Consuls this yeere is lost in Livie.

581

L. Posthumius Albinus. M. Popilius Lenas.

The Coss. for this yeere created, were *L. Posthumius Albinus* & *M. Popilius Lenas*, as Livie, Cassiodorus, & the capitoll monuments doe testifie. *Albinus* and *Lenas* are put downe in the Sicilian records. Whiles these were Consuls, the feast Floralia was instituted first, as Ovid sheweth in his sixt booke of his kalender.

582

C. Popilius Lenas. P. Aelius Ligur.

This yeere had for Consuls, *C. Popilius Lenas*, & *P. Aelius Ligur*, as Livie, Cassiodorus, and the capitoll records doe testifie. The Sicilian registers name them *Lenas* & *Aelius*. To this day had no Coss. in one yeere bin matched together, both commoners: and this was the first time, that both Consuls were created out of the commons, as is observed in the capitoll monuments. After this, you shall never find the Consuls both Patritij: commoners ye shall have them both twaine, many a time and often: but most of all, a Commoner and a Patrician, one with another.

583

P. Licinius Crassus. C. Cassius Longinus.

The Consuls next ensuing for this yeere, were *P. Licinius Crassus*, and *C. Cassius Longinus*, as it appereth in Livie, Cassiodorus, Orosius, and the capitoll tables: For in the Sicilian records, they are named no otherwise than *Crassus* and *Longinus*. Of the very same Consuls Plinie maketh mention in his seventh booke. Gellius also in his ninth booke & fourth chapter. Whiles these were Consuls, the people of Rome began warre against *Perseus* king of the Mace-

Macedonians, son of Philip: which *Florus* and *Eutropius*, together with *Orosius*, call the second Macedonian war: whereof *Livie* and *Plutarch* write more at large.

584

A. Hostilius Mancinus. A. Atilius Serranus.

Cassiodorus setteth next after for Consuls, *A. Hostilius Mancinus*, & *C. Atilius*. The Sicilian registers, *Mancinus* and *Serranus*. The capitoll monuments, *Au. Atilius Mancinus*, and *Au. Atilius Serranus*. As well the election of these Consuls as their acts, are missing in the Annales of Livie.

585

Q. Martius Philippus. II. Cn. Servilius Capio.

Livie, Cassiodorus, and the capitoll tables match together in the Consulship of this yeere *Q. Martius Philippus* the second time, and *Cn. Servilius Capio*. The Sicilian catalogue hath barely *Philp* and *Capio*. Cicero in his bookes entituled *Brutus* and *Cato*, writeth that *Ennius* the Poet died in their Consulare.

586

L. Aemilius Paulus. II. C. Licinius Crassus.

The Consuls that next succeeded were *L. Aemilius Paulus* the second time (seventeen yeeres after his first Consulship) and *Caius Licinius Crassus*: witness Livie, Cassiodorus, and the capitoll monuments. In like manner they are named in the Sicilian registers *Paulus* and *Crassus*. As touching this second Consulare of *L. Paulus*, *Plutarch*, *Velleius*, *Orosius*, *Eutropius*, *Florus*, and *Iustinus* in his 33 booke doe write. *Plutarch* addeth thus much & saith, That *Paulus* was threescore yeeres of age, when he was chosen Consull the second time.

587

Q. Aelius Paetus. M. Iunius.

Livie bringeth in for Consuls next after, *Q. Aelius* and *M. Iunius*. The Sicilian records *Paetus* and *Pannus*. Obsequens and Cassiodorus *Q. Aelius Paetus*, and *M. Iunius Pannus*. Cicero likewise in *Brutus* speaketh of *Mar. Iunius Pannus*, Consull with *Q. Aelius*. Now from this yeere forward, we want the compleat storie penned by Livie.

588

M. Marcellus. C. Sulpicius.

Livie and the capitoll monuments shew for this yeeres Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus*,

and *C. Sulpicius Gallus*. Obsequens, and the title prefixed before the comedie *Andria* in Terence, exhibit *Mar. Marcellus* and *C. Sulpicius*. This is that *Marcellus*, who after he had bene thrice Consull, perished in the sea. Nephew he was of that *Mar. Marcellus*, who had been five times Consull, as *Pædianus* reporteth. Of these Consuls, *Iustine*, *Plinie* in his second booke, and many other have made mention.

589

Cn. Octavius. T. Manlius.

Cassiodorus & Obsequens inferre Consuls this yeere, *Cn. Octavius* and *T. Manlius*. The Sicilian tables, *Octavius* and *Torquatus*. The capitoll stones, *Cn. Octavius* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. Mention there is made of these Consuls in the title set before *Hecyra* in Terence. Cicero in his first booke of Finall ends, & likewise in many other places, speaketh of *T. Torquatus*, Consull with *Cn. Octavius*.

590

A. Manlius. Q. Cassius.

Cassiodorus matcheth together Consuls in this yeere, *A. Manlius* and *Q. Cassius*. The Sicilian catalogue hath *Torquatus* and *Longinus*. The capitoll records, *A. Manlius Torquatus* and *Q. Cassius Longinus*, who died in his Consulship. These also had been companions together in their Pretourship, anno 586, as Livie beareth witness.

591

Tib. Sempronius. M. Iuventius.

Cassiodorus saith, that the Consuls this yeere were *T. Sempronius* and *M. Iuventius*. Obsequens nameth them, *Tib. Gracchus*, and *M. Iuventius*. The capitoll monuments shew *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time, and *M. Iuventius Thalna*. In the Sicilian registers, *Dolabella* & *Thalna*, but not well as it is to be doubted. Cicero, *Valerius*, and *Plutarch* have made mention of *Tiberius Gracchus* twice Consull. And that *M. Iuventius* died whiles he was Consull, *Plinie* in his seventh booke, and *Valerius* also doe report.

592

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. C. Marcius.

Cicero in his first & second booke of the nature of gods, *Verrius Flaccus*, Obsequens & Cassiodorus

Cassiodorus, report for Consuls *Pub. Cornelius Scipio Nasica* and *C. Martius Figulus*. But for that there was an error committed in their creation, and thereupon they resigned up their place, as the foresaid authours witnesseth, together with *Valerius*, *Plutarch*, and *Plinie*: *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Cn. Domitius Aemobarbus*, entred in their stead.

593

M. Messala. C. Fannius.

Cassiodorus putteth downe for Consuls, *M. Messala* and *C. Fannius*. The Sicilian catalogue *Messala* and *Strabo*. The capitoll records, and the title before *Phormio* in *Terence* represent unto us, *M. Valerius Messala*, & *Caius Fannius Strabo*. Of these Consuls *Suetonius* maketh mention in his book of excellent Rhetoricians. Likewise *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Plinie* in his ninth booke and fiftieth chapter, and *Gellius* in his second booke.

594

L. Anicius. M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Cassiodorus and the title set before the Comedie *Adelphi* in *Terence* avouch for *Coss. L. Anicius* and *M. Cornelius*. The Sicilian and capitoll records put surnames unto them, *Gallus* and *Cethegus*. Of *Anicius* the Consull, *Cicero* speaketh in *Brutus*: and of *Cethegus*, the sixe and fortieth Epitome or breviarie of *Florus*. In their yeere, it is for certaine held, that *L. Paulus* who conquered *Perseus*, died.

595

Cn. Cornelius Dolabella. M. Fulvius.

The yeere next following had Consuls, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*, *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* and *M. Fulvius*. The Sicilian registers shew *Dolabella* and *Fulvius*. The capitoll monuments, *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* and *Mar. Fulvius Nobilior*. The same is to be seene in the life of *Terence* the poet, for there it is written, that in their yeere he died.

596

M. Aemilius. C. Popilius.

The Consuls next succeeding, were *Marcus Aemilius* and *C. Popilius*, as *Cassiodorus* saith. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Lepidus* and *Lenas*. The capitoll records have *M. A-*

mylius Lepidus and *C. Popilius Lenas* the second time. Of the same, *Censorinus* maketh mention in his chapter of distinction of ages.

597

Sex. Julius. L. Aurelius.

Cassiodorus reporteth, that the next Consuls were *Sex. Julius* and *L. Aurelius*. The Sicilian and capitoll tables yeeld surnames unto them, *Cesar* to *Julius*, and *Orestes* to *Aurelius*. *Plinie* writeth of them in his 33 booke.

598

L. Lentulus. C. Martius.

Obsequens and *Cassiodorus* record for this yeeres Consuls *L. Lentulus* and *C. Martius*. The Sicilian catalogue *Lentulus* and *Figulus*. The capitoll monuments, *L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus*, and *C. Martius Figulus* the second time. *Cicero* in *Brutus* speaketh of them both. And as touching *Figulus* twice Consull, *Valerius* writeth in his chapter of Wrath.

599

P. Scipio Nasica. M. Claudius.

Publius Scipio and *M. Claudius* are by *Cassiodorus* set down for *Coss.* The Sicilian registers have *Nasica* and *Marcellus*. The capitoll records, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica* the second time, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* likewise the second time. *Pædianus* writeth, that this *Marcellus* was thrice Consull. And that *Pub. Scipio Nasica*, surnamed also *Corculum*, was twice Consull and Censor besides, *Cicero* writeth in his *Brutus*.

600

L. Postumius. Q. Opimius.

This yeere had Consuls, *L. Postumius* and *Qu. Opimius*, as *Cassiodorus* & *Obsequens* doe witnesseth. The Sicilian tables shew *Opimius* and *Albinus*. But the capitoll records, *Q. Opimius*, and *L. Postumius Albinus*. Mention there is made of this *Qu. Opimius*, Consull, by *Cicero* in his *Brutus*; also in the Epitome of the seven and fortieth booke. Moreover, that *Postumius* died in his magistracie, besides *Verrius Flaccus*, *Obsequens* also sheweth: in whose stead *Manius Acilius Glabrio* was chosen.

Q. Fulvius.

601

Q. Fulvius. T. Annius.

The Consuls next following, as *Cassiodorus* writeth, were *Qu. Fulvius* and *T. Annius*. In the capitoll fragments they are named *Nobilior* and *T. Annius*. In the Sicilian registers, *Nobilior* and *Luscus*. *Cicero* in his *Brutus* saith, that *Q. Nobilior* sonne of *Marcus*, and *T. Annius Luscus* were Consuls. The Greeke records and *Culpsinians* booke shew *Nobilior* & *Luscus*.

602

M. Marcellus. L. Valerius.

This yeere had for Consuls, *M. Marcellus* & *L. Valerius* as *Cassiodorus* witnesseth. The Sicilian catalogue representeth *Marcellus* and *Flaccus*. *Obsequens* exhibiteth unto us *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*. This *Marcellus* was thrice Consull, as *Pædian* saith upon the Oracion for *Seaurus*, & *Cicero* in his booke of divination and destiny.

603

L. Licinius Lucullus. A. Postumius Albinus.

Cassiodorus putteth downe for Consuls, *L. Lucullus* and *A. Postumius*. The Sicilian tables, *Lucullus* & *Albinus*. The broken marbles of the capitoll, *Lucullus* and *A. Postumius* sonne of *Aulus*. *Orosius* and the Epitome 48. shew *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *A. Postumius Albinus*. *Cicero* in his *Brutus*, and *Lucullus* both maketh mention of the same.

604

T. Quintius. M. Acilius.

This yeere had for Consuls, *L. Quintius* and *M. Acilius*, as *Cassiodorus* testifieth, whom *Plinie* in his 7. booke and 36 chap. calleth *Caius Quintius* and *M. Acilius*. *Cicero* in his book *Cato*, and the 12 booke of his epistles to *Atticus* nameth *T. Flaminius* and *M. Acilius*, & saith that they were created Consuls in the 19 yeere after the death of *Ennius*. The Sicilian tables have *Flaminius* and *Balbus*. The capitoll fragments, *Flaminius* and *M. Acilius Balbus*.

605

L. Martius. M. Manilius.

Cassiodorus avoucheth for the Consuls of this yeere, *L. Martius* and *M. Manilius* like-

wise the 49 Epitome. *Cicero* in *Lucullus* maketh mention of *Censorinus* and *M. Manilius*: of *Censorinus* and *Manilius* in his twelfth booke of epistles to *Atticus*. The same Consuls, *Appianus* in *Libyca* nameth *L. Manius Censorinus* & *M. Manilius*. In like sort *Censorinus* in his treatise of *Nativitie* or *Birthday*. The Sicilian tables have *Censorinus* and *Manilius*. The capitoll fragments shew *Censorinus* and *M. Manilius*, sonne of *Publius*, nephew of *Pub.* Whiles these were Consuls, there arose a third war betwene the State of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*, as *Florus* in the 49 Epitome, besides *Verrius Flaccus* doe testifie: likewise *Solinus*, but that hee saith with *Verrius Flaccus*, that it was the yeere 64. *Cicero* also in his eleventh *Philippicke*, and lastly *Eutropius*, with *Orosius*.

606

Sp. Postumius. L. Piso.

Then were Consuls created, *Sp. Postumius* and *L. Piso*, according to *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*. In the Capitoll fragments they are named *Albinus Magnus*, and *L. Calpurnius*, sonne of *Caius*, nephew of *Caius*, surnamed *Piso Calpurnius*. In *Culpsinians* kalender, *Magnus* and *Censorinus*; in the Sicilian catalogue *Albinus* and *Piso*. As for *Magnus* and *Albinus*, they be the surnames of *Postumius* like as *Calpurnius* and *Piso*, of *Calpurnius*. In this yeere the people of *Rome* entred into armes against *Andriscus*, otherwise rearm'd *Pseudo-philippus*, which they call the third *Macedonian warre*, after *Florus* and *Eutropius*.

607

P. Africanus. C. Livius.

Obsequens and *Cassiodorus* set fourth for Consuls this yeere *P. Africanus* and *Caius Livius*. In the Sicilian catalogue they are registred *Scipio* and *Drusus*: in the capitoll fragments *Africanus Aemilianus*, and *C. Livius* the one sonne of *M. Aemilianus*, nephew of *Marcus*, the other surnamed *Drusus*. This *Pub. Cornelius* was the naturall sonne of that *Paulus* that vanquished *Perseus* king of the *Macedonians*, and adopted by *P. Cornelius* the sonne of *Scipio Africanus*. Whereupon he was called *Pub. Cornelius*, sonne of *Publius*, & *Aemilianus*, as *Velleius* and others doe witnesseth.

His

His two last surnames are in the capitoll records, out of which, the complete name of *M. L. vius Drusus*, with his addition, was framed. Of these Consuls Cicero speaketh after: likewise Valerius, Paternulus, Appian, Plutarch, Florus, both Plinies, Eutropius and Orofius,

608

C. Cornelius. L. Mummius.

NExt Consuls following, were *Cn. Cornelius* and *L. Mummius*, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*: and according to *Orofius*, *Velleius*, *Censorinus*, and *Cicero* in the thirteenth booke of epistles to *Atticus*, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Mummius* they are named. In the Sicilian registers: *Lentulus* and *Mummius*. In the fragments of the capitoll, *Lentulus* and *L. Mummius*, nephew of *Lucius. Lu. Mummius* in this magistracie acquired the surname of *Achaicus*, upon a victorie achieved by him in Achæa, as *Plutarch* in *Marius*, and *Velleius* doe testifie.

609

Q. Fabius Maximus. L. Hostilius.

Cassiodorus this yeere delivereth unto us for Consuls, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, together with *L. Hostilius*. *Cicero* in *Lælius*, and *Plinie* in his five and thirtieth booke and fourth chapter, nameth them *Qn. Maximus*, brother of *Scipio*, and *L. Mancinus*. Of this *Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus*, *Valerius* writeth in his second booke and first chapter. This *Q. Fabius* was the sonne of *P. Aemilius*, adopted by *Q. Fab. Max.* the sonne of *Verrucosius*, as *Appianus* writeth in *Hispanensis*: and therefore in the fragment of a capitoll table there is to be seen the second surname *Aemilianus*. *Plinie* was deceived, who in his one & thirtieth booke and eleventh chapter calleth him *Qn. Allobrogicus*, brother of *Scipio*, who was the sonne of this *Fabius*.

610

Ser. Galba. L. Aurelius.

This yeere had for Consuls, *Ser. Galba* and *Lu. Aurelius*, according to *Cassiodorus*; those *Valerius* in his sixt booke nameth *Ser. Sulpitius Galba*, and *Lu. Aurelius Cotta*, whom the Sicilian catalogue sheweth under the bare names of *Galba* and *Cotta*. But the capitoll fragments have *Galba* and *L. Valerius Cotta*. This is

that *Sulpitius Galba*, who being Pretor, as *Suetonius* writeth, stirred up the war before against *Viriatius*, for hee was a vehement Oratour, of whom *Cicero* speaketh many times. And as for *L. Cotta*, hee it was whom afterwards being accused by *Africanus*, *Qn. Metellus Macedonicus* defended. *Cicero* in *Brutus*, for *Murena* and against *Verres*, maketh mention of him. Likewise *Frontinus* of them both, in his first booke of water-conduits.

611

App. Claudius. Q. Metellus.

Cassiodorus nameth for this yeeres Consuls *Appius Claudius* and *Q. Metellus*, *Orofius*, *App. Claudius* and *Qn. Cæcilius Metellus*. The Sicilian registers have *Claudius* and *Metellus*. The capitoll fragments shew *Pulcher* and *Q. Cæcilius Macedonicus*. Of the same, *Frontinus* speaketh in his booke of water-conduits, and *Valerius* in his seventh booke. Now this *Metellus* is he who being Pretor, subdued the *Macedonians* and *Achaicans*, whereupon he was surnamed *Macedonicus*: whom *Plinie* 7 booke sheweth to be the son of *Lu.* and nephew of *Quin.*

612

L. Metellus. Qn. Maximus.

Cassiodorus putteth downe for Consuls, *Lu. Metellus* and *Q. Maximus*. The Sicilian records *Metellus* and *Maximus*. *Orofius*, *L. Cæcilius Metellus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus Seruilius*. In like manner the capitoll fragments *Calvus* & *Servilianus*. This *Servilianus* is the brother german of *Quintus Servilius Cæpio*, the Consull two yeeres after (as witnesseth *Appian*) and the adopted son of *Q. Fabius Aemilianus*; for they were both adopted by *Q. Fabius Max.* the son of *Verrucosius*, the one out of the house *Aemilia*, the other of *Servilia*. *L. Metellus* is the brother of *Q. Metellus Macedonicus*, as witnesseth *Valerius* in his treatise of *Witnesses*.

613

Cneus *Cæpio* and *Q. Pompeius* are recounted for Consuls by *Cassiodorus*. *Velleius* in his second booke saith thus: Whether there were two or three houses of the *Pompeii*, the first of that name was Consull with *Cn. Seruilius*. Of this *Q. Pompeius*, *Cicero* maketh mention oftentimes, writing that hee was of base and obscure parentage. Him *Valerius* in his chapter of witnesses

nesses nameth *Aufidius*, but corruptly through the fault of the copiers, in steed of *Au. F.* i. the sonne of *Aulus*. In the same sort *Appianus* in *Hispanensis* nameth him *Qn. Pompeius Aulus* for *A. Filius*. *Cicero* in his Orations against *Verres*, and in that for *Fonteius*, *Valerius* also in his chapter of *Witnesses*, sheweth that there were two brethren named *Cneus* and *Quintus*, both *Servilij Capiones*.

614

Q. Cæpio. C. Lælius.

After this were Consuls made, *Qn. Cæpio* and *C. Lælius*, my authours are *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*, together with the Sicilian tables, and *Frontinus* in his treatise of *Water-conduits*. This *Lælius* as *Cicero* in his eleventh *Philippicke*, and *Velleius* doe report, was the sonne of *Lælius* the Consull, anno 564, whom as *Cicero* in his second booke of *Duties* and in *Lælius*, was the first that was surnamed *Wife*, whereof *Plutarch* in *Gracchi* yeeldeth a reason.

615

Cn. Pifo. M. Popilius.

Cassiodorus sheweth for this yeeres Consuls, *Cn. Pifo* with *M. Popilius*, *Appianus* and the *Epitomist* have *M. Popilius Lenas*; but they be named *M. Popilius Lenas* and *L. Calpurnius* by *Valerius* in his first booke, writing thus: That *Cornelius Hispanus*, lord cheefe justice for strangers, when *M. Popilius Lenas* & *L. Calpurnius* were Consuls, by an edict commanded all the *Chaldean* [Astrologers] to depart out of *Rome* and *Italie* within ten daies next ensuing.

616

P. Scipio. D. Brutus.

Publius *Scipio* and *D. Brutus* are named for this yeeres Coss. by *Cassiodorus*. *Florus* in his 55 *Epitome*; *P. Cornelius Nasica* (surnamed *Serapion* in mockerie by *C. Curtius* a Trib. of the Com.) & *D. Junius Brutus* Coss. levied and mustered soldiours, &c. This *Scipio* was sonne of that *Nasica* who was surnamed *Corcalium*, and twise was he Consull and Censor also, nephew to that *Nasica*, who by the Senate was deemed the best man in the citie, and father to him that warred upon *Iugurtha*, as *Velleius* saith. This *Decius Brutus*, *Cicero* in his *Brutus* calleth the sonne of *Marcus*, who bare the Consullship in

the yeere five hundred ninetie seven, and in the capitoll tables is called *Pennus*. Moreover, of these Consuls *Cicero* speaketh very oft. *Valerius* also in his 3 booke, chap. 7. 5 booke, chap. 3. 9 booke, chap. 15: Likewise *Plinie* in his 21 booke, and lastly *Frontinus*.

617

M. Aemilius. C. Hostilius Mancinus.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* match together in the Consullship this yeere, *M. Aemilius* and *C. Hostilius Mancinus*. The Sicilian registers *Lepidus* and *Mancinus*. *Orofius* & *Appian*, *M. Aemilius Lepidus* and *C. Hostilius Mancinus*. Of this Consull *Mancinus* there remaine yet some tokens to be seene in broken marbles of the capitoll. *Cicero* maketh mention oftentimes of *Lepidus*, as well in other places as in *Brutus*. Likewise *Valerius*, *Florus*, *Paterculus*, and *Plinie* in his treatise of *Famous men*.

618

P. Furius. Sex. Atilius Serranus.

Cassiodorus putteth downe for Consuls, *P. Furius* and *Sex. Atilius Serranus*. *Cicero* in his third booke of *Duties*, *L. Furius* and *Sex. Atilius*. *Obsequens*, *L. Furius* & *Atilius Serranus*. The Sicilian registers *Philus* and *Serranus*. Of this *Furius*, *Cicero* writeth thus in his *Brutus*; *Lu. Furius Philus*, was reputed for a man of very good language, and to have spoken more learnedly than others. In the capitoll fragments there appeareth yet some shew of *Serranus* the Consull.

619

Ser. Fulvius. C. Calpurnius.

The next Consuls are set downe by *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*, *Ser. Fulvius* and *Q. Calpurnius*. The Sicilian catalogue hath *Flaccus* and *Pifo*. *Orofius* nameth *Servius Fulvius Flaccus* and *Qn. Calpurnius Pifo*. The capitoll fragments shew *Pifo*; as for *Fulvius Flaccus* the Consull, mention there is made of him in the *Epitome* 36: *Appian* also in his *Illyrica* speak of him, and in *Hispanensis* of *Calpurnius Pifo*.

620

P. Africanus. C. Fulvius Flaccus.

The yeere following had *P. Africanus* and *C. Fulvius Flaccus* for Coss. as it is written in *Cassi-*

Cassiodorus and Obsequens. But *Scipio* and *Flaccus*, in the Sicilian catalogue. The same *Flaccus* the Capitoll fragments doe shew. Of this *C. Fulvius*, mention there is made also in the 36 Epitome; and of *Africanus* wife Consul, by Appian in Hispanensis, by Orosius, Florus, and Valerius in his eight booke.

621

P. Mucius. L. Calpurnius.

His yeere had Consuls, *P. Mucius*, and *Lu. Calpurnius*, as witnesseth Cassiodorus. The Sicilian registers shew *Scevola* and *Calpurnius*. Velleius nameth *P. Mucius Scevola* and *L. Calpurnius*. Of these Consuls *Pædianus* upon the Orations against Verres, maketh mention in these words: *Scevola* a right learned man in the lawes was Consul with *L. P. so*, that yeer wherein *Tab. Gracchus* was killed. In the broken marbles of the capitoll he standeth by the name of *L. Calpurnius P. so*, surnamed also *Frugi*, & that truly. For Cicero in one Oration against Verres and in another for Fonteius writeth, that he was the first of the Pisones, called *Frugi*. This man, when he was Tribune or Provost of the Commons, made a law against the extortion of magistrates, when *Martius* & *Manilius* were Consuls: he wrote also the annals of Rome, as Cicero testifieth in his booke Brutus.

622

P. Popilius. P. Rupilius.

Against this yeere were Consuls created, as Cassiodorus writeth, *P. Popilius* and *P. Rupilius*: after the Sicilian records *Lenus* and *Rupilius*. Cicero maketh mention of them in his thirteenth booke of epistles to Atticus, and against Verres. Also in the capitoll fragments we read of *P. Popilius*, son of *Caius*, and *P. Rupilius* sonne of *P.* and nephew of *Publius*. Velleius in his second booke, nameth the Consuls *Rupilius* and *Popilius*. Cicero in *Lælius* speaketh of *Rupilius* and *Lenus*. And of *P. Rupilius* there is mention made in the epitome or breuiarie, 39.

623

P. Crassus. L. Valerius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls this yeere, *Pub. Crassus* and *Lu. Valerius*. *Crassus* and *Flaccus* the Sicilian catalogue. *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *Pub. Licinius Crassus*, according to Cicero in his eleventh Philippicke against An-

tonic. Of this Consul *Pub. Licinius Crassus*, all they have spoken, who wrote of the warre of Aristonicus. This *P. Crassus* surnamed *Dives*, by Cicero in his bookes of a perfect Orator, and in Brutus is called the brother of *Scevola*: whereupon Velleius in his second booke nameth him *Mutianus*, betokening thereby that hee was adopted out of the house of *Mutij* into the familie of the *Crassi*. This man Gellius writeth in his first booke and three and twentieth chapter, to have bene of all others the richest man, the noblest personage, and the most eloquent Orator, the deepest lawyer, and the supreme bishop withall.

624

C. Claudius. M. Perpenna.

Appius Claudius and *M. Perpenna* are matched in the Consulate together this yeere by Obsequens and Cassiodorus. Cuspinians booke and the Greeke records, shew *Lentulus* and *Perpenna*. This *Claudius* haply was adopted into the familie of the *Cornely*. Moreover Cicero in his third booke of Lawes, and in the Oration for Plancius, calleth this man *C. Claudius*. This also is confirmed by an old table of stone commonly knowne, wherein is to be seen this inscription, *C. Claudio* and *M. Perpenna* Coss. Which evidence, Sigonius and Onuphrius following, named him *C. Claudius* and not *Appius*. Of this *M. Perpenna* as many as wrote the warre of Aristonicus, have made mention, and namely, Valerius in his 3 booke and 4 chap. Velleius, Strabo, Orosius, & Eutropius.

625

C. Sempronius. M. Aquilius.

This yeere had Consuls, *M. Aquilius* and *C. Sempronius*, as witnesseth Cassiodorus. But *Aquilius* and *Tuditanus* according to the Sicilian registers. *C. Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Aquilius*, after Orosius. Cicero speaketh of them in his booke of the nature of gods, and to his brother, *Quintus*. *Paterculus* also in his second booke. Strabo in his 14 booke. Appian in his first booke. And both of them are taken out of the triumph records in the capitoll.

626

Cn. Octavius. T. Annius.

Next followed as Consuls *Cn. Octavius* and *T. Annius*, as Cassiodorus testifieth and none

631

Q. Cecilius. T. Quintius.

none but he. For Cuspinians booke and the Sicilian catalogue have *Octavius* and *Rufus*. Plutarch also writeth, that one *T. Annius* contended with *Tib. Gracchus* in a sedition. As for this *Cn. Octavius*, son he was to that *Cneus* who was Consul in the yeere five hundred eightie nine.

627

L. Cassius. L. Cinna.

Cassiodorus nameth for this yeeres Consuls, *L. Cassius* and *L. Cinna*. The Sicilian records *Longinus* and *Cinna*. Cuspinians booke set out *Rulla*, corruptly for *Ravilla*, and *Cinna*. This *L. Cassius* was his sonne who bare the Consulship in the yeer five hundred & ninetie, and he was afterwards Cenfor in the yeere 629 surnamed *Ravilla* by Frontinus.

628

M. Aemilius. L. Aurelius.

Cassiodorus & Obsequens reckon for Coss. this yeere, *Mar. Aemilius* and *Lu. Aurelius*. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Lepidus* and *Orestes*. Censorinus hath *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, and *L. Aurelius Orestes*. Cicero in Brutus, *Mar. Lepidus*, and *L. Orestes*.

629

M. Plautius. M. Fulvius.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens avouch Consuls this yeere, *M. Plautius* and *M. Fulvius*. The Sicilian registers, *Hypseus* & *Flaccus*. Orosius and Frontinus in his treatise of Water-conduits, *M. Plautius Hypseus* and *Mar. Fulvius Flaccus*. Valerius also in his discourse of Pride maketh mention of them.

630

C. Cassius Longinus. C. Sextius.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens report, that the Consuls following were *C. Cassius Longinus*, & *C. Sextius*. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Longinus* and *Calvinus*. Velleius writeth, that the colonie *Fabrateria* was planted by *Cassius* and *Calvinus*. Cicero in Brutus speaketh of *C. Sextius Calvinus*. Eutropius declareth for Consuls, *C. Cassius Longinus*, and *Sextius Domitius Calvinus*, not without suspicion of a fault or error.

632

Cn. Domitius. C. Fannius.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens joine in fellowship of the Consulate this yeere, *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Fannius*. The Sicilian records, *Aenobarbus* and *Fannius*. Cicero writeth of them in his Brutus, and Plinie in his second booke and two and thirtieth chapter. Three moones (qd: he) appeared when *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Fannius* were Coss. which most men called the night-stars.

633

L. Opimius. Q. Maximus.

This yeere had for Consuls, *Lu. Opimius* & *Q. Maximus*, as witnesseth Cassiodorus. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Opimius* and *Maximus*. But Obsequens, *L. Opimius* and *Qu. Fabius Maximus*. Plinie speaketh of them in his second booke, saying, About the sunne there appeared an arch or bow, when *L. Opimius* and *Q. Fabius* were Consuls. This *Qu. Fabius Maximus* is by Cicero in Brutus, Florus in his Epitome, Velleius in his 2 booke, and *Pædianus* upon the Orations against Verres, rightly named the nephew of *Paulus*, and son of *Fabius Aemilianus*. And so may Strabo, Appian, and Plinie bee well reprovved, for making him and his father *Aemilianus*, all one. The same man, as Cicero and Plinie testifie, was surnamed *Allobrogicus*, upon a victorie over the *Allobroges*. Of this *Lucius Opimius* Consul, after whose name there was a wine called *Opimianum*, Plinie maketh mention in his fourteenth booke and fourth chap. Plutarch also in *C. Gracchus*, and Velleius in his second booke.

Vuuuu

P. Man-

634

P. Manlius. C. Papyrius.

Cassiodorus inferreth for this yeeres Consuls, *P. Manlius* and *C. Papyrius*. The Sicilian records *Manlius* and *Carbo*. This is that *Caius Papyrius Carbo*, who being a Tribune of the Commons when *Claudius* and *Perpenna* were Coss, was afterwards by *C. Gracchus* appointed for one of the Triumvirs to devide lands: who first tooke part with the Commons, but afterwards raunged with the nobilitie: of whom Cicero in many other places, and namely in his second booke of a perfect Oratour, maketh mention.

635

L. Caelius. L. Aurelius.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens put downe for Consuls, *Lucius Caelius* and *Lu. Aurelius*. The Sicilian catalogue, *Metellus* and *Cotta*. Plutarch in Marius speaketh of *Caelius Metellus* and *Cotta*, Consuls. Which *Marius* he writeth to have borne the Tribuneship of the Commons, when these were Consuls, and to have cast *Metellus* the Consull into prison. This is that *Cotta*, in whose consular rounge Velleius reporteth, that *C. Caesar* Flamin of Iupiter, was created.

636

M. Cato. Q. Martius.

This yeere had for Consuls *Mar. Cato* and *Q. Martius*: witnesseth Cassiodorus and Obsequens. *Cato* and *Martius*, according to the Sicilian registers. But Eutropius nameth them *M. Porcius Cato* and *Q. Martius*. Valerius speaketh of them in his first booke, and Plinie in his second booke and one and thirtieth chap. Gellius also in his 13 booke and 19 chapter.

637

L. Lucilius. Q. Mutius.

Consuls next ensuing by Cassiodorus his saying, were *L. Caelius* and *Q. Mutius*. After the Sicilian registers, *Metellus* and *Scævola*, if ye go by Eutropius, *L. Caelius Metellus* and *Q. Mutius Scævola*. Now is this that *L. Caelius Metellus*, who afterwards upon subduing the Dalmatians, was surnamed *Dalmaticus*, whom Plutarch in Coriolanus and in his booke of the Romane fortune, nameth *Dindematus*, for that

a long time he bound up his forehead with a frontlet or wreath which they call a diademe, to hide an ulcer that hee had there. Hereupon, when *Pompeius* bound up his leg with a white band or garter, It makes no matter qd. Favonius, in what part of the bodie a man weareth the diademe: upbraiding and reproching him for his kinglike power, in tearing a small clout or peece of cloth by that name. This is that *Q. Mutius Scævola* the Augur, of whom Cicero in his booke *Lælius*, and in the first booke of an Oratour maketh mention.

638

C. Licinius Geta. Q. Maximus.

Cassiodorus coupleth together in societie of Consullship this yeere, *C. Licinius* and *Qu. Maximus*. The Sicilian registers name them *Geta* and *Eburinus*. Of this *Q. Maximus* Cicero speaketh in his Oration for Murena. That this man was of the house of the *Fabij*, his surname *Eburinus* sheweth, of whome writeth Festus in this manner: *Qu. Fabius* was called *Pullus Iovis*, surnamed *Eburinus*, of whitenesse, for that his buttocke was blasted with lightening. Quintilian in his third Declamation reporteth, that this *Fabius Eburinus* had a sonne unchast of his bodie, whom he examined at home in his house, and thereupon put him to death. The same man Valerius calleth *Qu. Fabius Servilianus*. As for the name of this *Licinius* his father, obscure and unknowne heretofore, Goltzius out of an old antiquitie of coin hath restored it, wherein as he saith, was written plainly, *C. Licinius Geta*, son of *Publius*.

639

M. Metellus. M. Scaurus.

The Consuls next following by Cassiodorus his report, were *Mar. Metellus* and *M. Scaurus*. As for *Metellus*, the third sonne he was of *Macedonicus*: But astouching *M. Scaurus*, whome the writer of the booke entituled of Famous persons, calleth *M. Aemilius Scaurus*, thus writeth *Pædianus*: *M. Scaurus* (quoth hee) was a Patritian indeed and of noble blood, but so, as the gentrie of his house, for those discontents before him lay obscure, for neither father, nor grandfire, by reason of their poore estate, and for want of putting forth themselves in the world, attained to dignitie

643

P. Scipio. L. Calpurnius Bestia.

nitie in weale publicke. Moreover, of him Cicero maketh mention oftentimes in his Oration for Murena and in Brutus. Valerius also in his first booke and eight chapter, and Plinie likewise in his second booke and sixe and thirtieth chapter.

640

M. Acilius Balbus. C. Cato.

Cassiodorus setteth downe for Consuls this yeere, *M. Acilius Balbus*, and *C. Cato*. The Sicilian catalogue *Balbus* and *Cato*. Obsequens *M. Acilius* and *C. Portius*. Of the same Consuls Plinie speaketh in the 2 booke, chap. 29 and 58. Plutarch in Marius giveth to *Acilius* the surname *Marius*. This *C. Cato* is the brother of that *M. Cato*, who foure yeeres before was Consull, nephew to *M. Cato Censorinus*, & *Africanus* sisters sonne as saith Velleius, Cicero against Verres, and in Brutus.

641

C. Caelius. Cn. Papyrius.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens set downe for next Consuls, *C. Caelius* and *Cn. Papyrius*. The Sicilian registers *Metellus* and *Carbo*. Eutropius, *C. Caelius Metellus*, & *Cn. Carbo*. The same men Tacitus in his booke of the manners of Germanes reported to have borne the Consullship, anno 640 after the foundation of Rome: in which yeere, both he and Obsequens doe report, that the people of Rome began first to war with the Cimbrians and the Teutones. This *C. Metellus* was the fourth sonne of *C. Metellus* the sonne of *Macedonicus*: whom when he died, he left a man of Pretors calling, and in suit and election for to be Consull. This man gat a surname by way of reproch, as Cicero testifieth in his second booke of a perfect Oratour. Now surnamed was hee *Capriarius*, as Plutarch saith in the Life of the Romans.

642

M. Livius Drusus. L. Piso.

Cassiodorus exhibiteth unto us for this yeeres Consuls, *M. Livius Drusus* and *L. Piso*. The Sicilian catalogue *Drusus* and *Piso*. *L. Piso* surnamed *Cæsonius* a man of Consular degree, was slaine after by the Tigurines, when *Lu. Cassius* was Consull, as Orosius testifieth.

Cassiodorus nameth this yeere for Consuls, *P. Scipio* and *L. Calpurnius Bestia*. The Sicilian records *Nasica* and *Bestia*. Obsequens, *Pub. Scipio* and *L. Calpurnius*. Salust, Eutropius, and Orosius, *P. Scipio Nasica* and *L. Calpurnius Bestia*. Of these Consuls, *P. Nasica Scipio* & *L. Bestia*, Valerius likewise maketh report, lib. 1. cap. 6. Moreover, Cicero in his Brutus writeth, that *P. Scipio* the sonne of *Pub. Scipio* surnamed *Serapion* and fellow Consull to *L. Bestia*, died in his Consullship. Of this *Bestia* there is some mention to be scene in a capitoll fragment.

644

Sp. Postumius. M. Minutius.

Cassiodorus setteth downe for Consuls, *Sp. Postumius* and *M. Minutius*. The Sicilian registers *Albinus* and *Rufus*. Salust, *Sp. Albinus* and *Q. Minutius Rufus*. Of *M. Minutius*, Velleius and the threescore and seventh Epitome make mention.

645

Q. Metellus. M. Silanus.

Cassiodorus saith that the Consuls next following were *Q. Metellus* and *M. Silanus*. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Metellus* and *Silanus*. *Pædianus* and Eutropius, *Qu. Caelius Metellus Numidicus*, and *M. Iunius Silanus*. Of them also Cicero speaketh in Brutus. This *Metellus* was surnamed *Numidicus* for the conquest of Numidia, as witnesseth Velleius.

646

Ser. Galba. M. Scaurus.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens deliver for the Consuls of this yeere, *Servius Galba* and *M. Scaurus*. The Sicilian evidences, *Sulpitius* and *Scaurus*. Cicero in the Oration for Rabirius, saith that *Servius Galba* was a man of Consular degree, when *Marius* was the first time Consull. Of *M. Scaurus* the Consull, Velleius and Tacitus make mention. This is that *Mar. Aurelius Scaurus*, who being afterwards in embassy was by the Cimbrians murdered, as appeareth in the threescore and seventh Epitome.

Vuuuu ij

L. Cassius.

647

L. Cassius. C. Marius.

Cassiodorus joineth in the Consulship this yeere, *L. Cassius* and *C. Marius*: Cuspinians booke and the Sicilian records, *Longinus* and *Marius*. Plinie also maketh mention of them in his tenth booke and thirteenth chap. Cicero in his Oration for Plancius: Plutarch in *Marius*; and Cicero againe in his third booke of Duties, writeth, that *C. Marius* having taken the repulse twise for the office of Edileship, was created Consull.

648

Q. Servilius Cæpio. C. Atilius.

Obsequens and Cassiodorus match Consuls together this yeere, *Q. Servilius Cæpio* and *C. Atilius Serranus*. The Sicilian monuments *Cæpio* and *Serranus*. In this yeere upon the third day of Ianuarie Mar. Tullius Cicero was borne, as Gellius in his fifteenth booke and eight and twentieth chapter hath left written. Much mention there is made of these Consuls in Cicero and other ancient writers.

649

P. Rutilius Rufus. C. Manilius.

P. Rutilius Rufus and *C. Manilius*, are put downe by Obsequens and Cassiodorus for this yeeres Consuls. This *P. Rutilius*, Cicero in Brutus, calleth the sonne of *Marcus*. About the other Consull the Annales doe varie and disagree; some forename him *C.* others *Cneus*: Some name him *M. Manlius*, others *Mallius* or *Manilius*. But all this controversie is decided by an old antiquitie in stone at Puteoli: the inscription whereof testifieth that *P. Rutilius* and *Cn. Mallius* were Consuls; as also the evidence of the Sicilian registers, wherein written it is *Rufus* and *Mallius*. Of this *Mallius*, mention there is made in Cicerones Orations for Plancius and Muræna likewise in Valerius, Salust, Tacitus, Florus, Eutropius and Orosius. That hee was not onely a base man and of low birth, but also without all vertue and wit, in the course of his life also vile and contemptible, Cicero writeth in his Oration for Plancius. Whereby it easily appeareth, that the *Mallij* were a kindred different from the *Manlij*. For of *Cn. Manlius* a Patritian, and that of a most noble house, Cicero would never have spoken in such termes.

650

C. Marius. II. C. Flavius Fimbria.

The next Consuls are set downe by Cassiodorus, *C. Marius* the second time, and *C. Flavius Fimbria*: by Obsequens, *C. Marius* and *C. Flavius*. By the Sicilian registers *Marius* and *Fimbria*: by Pædianus upon the Oration for Cornelius, *C. Marius* the second time, and *C. Fimbria*; Item, *C. Marius* and *Caius Flavius*. Besides, Cicero, Velleius, Valerius, Plutarch, and others speake often of these Cons.

651

C. Marius. III. L. Aurelius Orestes.

Cassiodorus reporteth for this yeeres Consuls, *C. Marius* the third time, and *L. Aurelius Orestes*. The Sicilian catalogue *Marius* and *Orestes*. Moreover, *Marius* even in his absence was elected Consull the third time, for feare of the Cimbrian warre which was differed, as Velleius, Eutropius, the Breviarie, and Cicero in his Oration concerning provinces, doe testifie.

652

C. Marius. IIII. Q. Lutatius.

Next after them are put downe for Consuls by Cassiodorus and Obsequens, *C. Marius* the fourth time, and *Q. Lutatius*. The Sicilian registers exhibite unto us *Marius* and *Cæsius*, Plutarch and Eutropius, *Caius Marius* the fourth time, and *Q. Lutatius Catulus*. Of these Consuls, Cicero and Plinie oftentimes make mention.

653

C. Marius. V. M. Aquilius.

Then succeeded in the Consulship by the testimonie of Cassiodorus, *C. Marius* the fifth time, and *M. Aquilius*. Of this *C. Marius* five times now Consull, Plutarch and Florus give report. And Cicero in his second booke of a perfect Oratour, nameth *M. Aquilius* for the companion of *C. Marius* in his fifth Consulship. Of whom Plutarch in *Marius* speaketh, and calleth him *μείζων ἐκράτεις*, as also Appian in *Mithridatica*. Now this *Manius Aquilius* a Consular man, is the same, who afterwards being an embassadour, was by king Mithridates taken prisoner, and most villanously tormented and mangled.

C. Ma-

654

C. Marius VI. L. Valerius Flaccus.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens shew unto us for this yeeres Consuls, *C. Marius* the sixth time, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*. The Sicilian records, *Marius* and *Flaccus*. This *L. Flaccus* (afterwards Cenfor) was President of the Senat, and master of the horsemen under *Sylla* Dictatour. Of these Consuls Cicero speaketh verie often, and namely in his Brutus, in his oration for Rabirius, against Catiline and Antonie; and also in the defence of Plancius. Plinie likewise in his second booke, Velleius, and Pædianus upon the oration against Pifo. Moreover, Plutarch, and many authours besides. In this yeere (upon the twelfth day of Iuly, then called Quintilis, as Macrobius witneseth) was *C. Caesar* borne, who afterwards was surnamed *Dictatour*.

655

M. Antonius. A. Postumius.

Reported it is by Cassiodorus and Obsequens, that *M. Antonius* and *A. Postumius* were Consuls this yeere. The Sicilian registers, shew *Albinus* and *Antonius*. In a fragment also of the capitoll marbles, mention there is of *A. Postumius*. Cuspinians booke and the Greeke records, have *Antonius* and *Albinus*. Of these Consuls, Cicero speaketh in his oration to the citizens of Rome, after his returne out of exile. Likewise Plinie in his 8 booke and 7 chapter, where he noteth this the 655 yeere. Also Gellius in his 4 booke and 6 chap.

656

Q. Metellus. T. Didius.

Q. Metellus and *T. Didius* succeeded Consuls next in this yeere, as Cassiodorus and Obsequens doe write. And Pædianus upon the oration for Cornelius, nameth them: *Curio* (saith he) accused *Q. Metellus Nepos*, son of *Balearicus*, and nephew of *Macedonicus*, who was Consull with *T. Didius*. Cicero speaketh of the same man in his oration after his returne.

657

Cn. Lentulus. P. Crassus.

Not onely Cassiodorus, but the Sicilian registers also, doe testifie, that *Cn. Lentulus* and *P. Crassus* were Consuls this yeere: and Obsequens nameth them, *Cn. Cornelius* and

P. Licinius. Plinie writeth of them in his tenth booke and first chapter: also in his 33 booke and second chapter.

658

Cn. Domitius. C. Cassius.

This yeer had for Consuls, *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Cassius*, as Cassiodorus and Obsequens do witnesse. Cuspinians annals and the Greeke registers, shew *Ænobarbus* and *Longinus*. A fragment of Verrius Flaccus his marbles, *Ænobarbus* and *C. Cassius* sonne of *Lucius*. Pædianus speaketh of them upon the oration for Cornelius.

659

L. Crassus. Q. Scaevola.

L. Crassus and *Q. Scaevola* were Consuls next following, according to Cassiodorus and Obsequens. In a fragment of the capitoll records as touching Consuls, is to be seene *Crassus* and *Marius*. In Cenforinus, we find *L. Licinius* son of *Lucius*. Cite. in his Brutus writeth, that *Crassus* the oratour bare all dignities of magistracie, together with *Scaevola* the highpriest, except the Tribunat of commons and the Cenforship: also that whiles they two were Consuls, *Q. Hortensius* pleaded the first cause that ever he undertooke, at the barre. Pædianus upon the oration of Cicero for Cornelius, maketh mention of *L. Licinius Crassus* the Oratour, and *Q. Mutius Scaevola* the arch-bishop, an oratour besides and a professed lawier, both Consuls together.

660

C. Calpurnius. L. Domitius.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens declare for this yeeres Consuls, *C. Calpurnius* and *L. Domitius*. The Sicilian registers, *Caldus* and *Ænobarbus*. In a capitoll fragment, they are *Calpurnius* and *L. Domitius* sonne of *Cn. Asfor* *Caldus*, it is the surname of *Calpurnius*. For Velleius maketh mention of one *Calpurnius Caldus*, under Augustus. In like manner Cicero in his booke entituled, The suing for a Consulship, and in his oration for Muræna. Also Pædianus upon the Oration for Cornelius. Againe, Cicero in his Brutus, nameth them next before *Herennius*.

661

C. Valerius Flaccus. M. Herennius.

Here are matched by Cassiodorus and Obsequens for Consuls this yeere, *C. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Herennius*.

Flaccus and *Mar. Herennius*. The Sicilian records, *Flaccus* and *Herennius*. A broken stone of the capitoll, hath *Flaccus* and *M. Herennius*. Plinius in his 29 book and 3 chapter; Cicero also in his Oration for *Muræna*, and in *Brutus*, speaketh of them.

662

C. Claudius Pulcher. M. Perenna.

Consuls this yeere, were *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *M. Perenna*, as witnessse *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*. Likewise in a capitoll broken monument, and in the Sicilian register, it is *Pulcher* and *M. Perenna*. Cicero maketh mention of this *Claudius* as Pretor of Sicilie, in the fourth Oration against *Verres*; and as *Ædile Curule*, in his second book of *Offices*. So doth *Plinie* in his 8 booke.

663

L. Martius. Sext. Julius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* name for Consuls this yeere, *L. Martius* and *Sext. Julius*. The Sicilian records, *Philip* and *Cæsar*. *Eutropius* and *Orosius*, *Sext. Julius Cæsar*, and *L. Martius Philippus*. A capitoll fragment, *Philip* and *Sext. Julius*, son of *Caius*. *Plinie* speaketh of them in his 2 booke 8 chapter: also in the 33 booke and 3 chapter. In like maner *Cic.* many times, and *Valerius*.

664

L. Julius Cæsar. P. Rutilius Lupus.

According to *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*, the Consuls this yeere, were *L. Julius Cæsar*, and *P. Rutilius Lupus*. And so it is in *Pædianus*, *Velleius*, and the 73 *Epitome*: as also in other authors who have written of the *Marlian* warre. In a fragment of the capitoll, they are seene written, *Cæsar*, and *P. Rutilius* son of *Rufus*. In the Sicilian records, *Cæsar* and *Lupus*. Cicero in his booke of *Divination*, speaketh of them both: and in his oration for *Plancius* he writeth, that *L. Cæsar* missing of an *Ædileship*, became a Consul.

665

L. Portius. Cn. Pompeius.

Cassiodorus setteth downe for Consuls this yeere, *L. Portius* and *Cn. Pompeius*. *Pædianus* upon the Oration for *Cornelius*, furna-

meth *Cn. Pompeius*, *Strabo*; and *L. Porcius Cato*. The capitoll fragment shew no more but *Strabo* and *Cato*. Appius hath made mention of these Consuls: so have *Orosius* and others that have penned the *Marlian* warre. This *Cn. Pompeius* was father to that *Cn. Pompeius* the Great: as Appian witnesseth, and *Pædian* upon the oration against *Piso*.

666

L. Sylla. Q. Pompeius.

Cassiodorus sheweth for this yeers Consuls, *L. Sylla* and *Q. Pompeius*: and the same is written in *Obsequens*, *Velleius*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, Appian, *Plutarch*, and others. The Sicilian records, have *Sylla* and *Rutilius Sylla*, after his victorie in the civill war, would needs have himselfe surnamed *Felix*: and therefore *Pædian* and the avouchers of the capitoll monuments, in reporting this consulate, write thus; *L. Sylla*, who afterwards was called *Felix*. The same man in his second Consulship, (which appeareth upon record in the capitoll) is named the sonne of *Lucius*, and nephew of *Publius*. Moreover, of *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, Cicero maketh mention in his *Brutus*.

667

L. Cornelius Cinna. Cn. Octavius.

Reported there are by *Cassiodorus* and the Sicilian registers for Consuls this yeere, *L. Cinna* and *Cn. Octavius*. Appian, *Velleius*, and the rest, who have recorded the historie of this time, name them *L. Cornelius Cinna*, and *Cn. Octavius*. *Plutarch* writeth, that *L. Cinna*, being of the adverse faction to *L. Sulla*, was by him made Consul, upon condition, that he should not crosse nor stand against the proceeding of the said *L. Sulla*: and so soone as hee was entred into place of government; hee began to trouble and disquiet the present state of the common-weale, yea and intended an action against *Sulla*, by the meanes of *Virginus* a Tribune of the commons. Howbeit *Sulla* contemning *Virginus*, made an expedition against *Mithridates*.

668

L. Cinna II. C. Marius VII.

After this, were Consuls, *C. Marius* the seventh time, and *L. Cinna* the second time, according to the records of Sicilie, *Cassiodorus*,

rus, and those that wrote of the civill war. *Plutarch* saith, that *Marius* was the first man that was seven times Consul of Rome. Moreover, as it is to be read in Appian, and in the *Breviaries*, *L. Cinna* and *C. Marius*, without any lawfull assembly for Election, declared themselves Consuls against this yeere, and the very same day that they entred into their magistracie, *Marius* commaunded *Sext. Licinius* a Senator, to be throwne downe from the rocke *Tarpeia*: who, after hee had committed many hainous crimes and outrages, ended his daies upon the Ides of Ianuarie: in whose rounge was subordained, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, even hee (as men think) who before-time was colleague to *Caius Marius* in his sixt Consulship: of whome Cicero maketh mention in his oration for his sonne *Flaccus*.

669

L. Cinna III. Cn. Papirius.

Cassiodorus witnesseth, that the Consuls succeeding in this yeere, were *L. Cinna* the third time, and *Cn. Papirius*. The Sicilian records, have *Cinna* and *Carbo*. In the 83 *Breviary* it is written, that *L. Cinna* and *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, for two yeeres together usurped the Consulate. Also in the booke entituled, Of famous persons, wee read that *Cinna* made himselfe Consul a second and third time. Of these Consuls *Plutarch* speaketh in *Sulla*, Appian in *Mithridatica*, and in the first booke of civill warres.

670

L. Cinna IV. Cn. Papirius II.

Next were Consuls, after *Cassiodorus* and the *Epitomis*, *L. Cinna*, the fourth time, and *Cn. Papirius* the second time. Cicero in his *Tusculane* questions mentioneth *Cinna* foure times Consul: so doth *Suetonius* in *Cæsar*. And of *Cn. Papirius Carbo* twice Consul, the capitoll tables doe yeeld testimony. As for the Sicilian records, they put downe for Consul, (not without suspicion of error) *Carbo* and *Scipio*.

671

L. Scipio. C. Norbanus.

Besides the Sicilian tables, *Cassiodorus*, *Obsequens*, Appian, *Eutropius*, *Florus*, and *Tacitus* in his nineteenth book do witness, that *Lucius Scipio*, and *Caius Norbanus* were

Consuls. In the capitoll fragments it is written, *Lucius Cornelius* sonne of *Lucius*, nephew of *L. Scipio Asiaticus*.

672

C. Marius. Cn. Carbo III.

I Find in *Cassiodorus*, Appianus, *Velleius*, and others, the next Consuls to have been, *C. Marius* and *Cn. Carbo* the third time. This *C. Marius* was the brothers sonne of *C. Marius* seven times Consul, according to Appian: but *Velleius*, *Paterculus*, *Plutarch*, *Eutropius*, and others, say, that hee was the sonne of that *C. Marius*: and haply indeed hee was adopted by *C. Marius*. Certes in the capitoll tables, hee is called *C. Marius*, sonne of *C.* and nephew of *Caius*. Cicero speaketh of these Cons. against *Rullus*: *Plinie* also in his seventh booke, and they who have set downe in writing the civill warres of *Sylla*.

673

M'. Tullius. Cn. Dolabella.

Next to those, *Cassiodorus* bringeth in for Consuls, *M'. Tullius* and *Cn. Dolabella*. The Sicilian records, have *Decula* and *Dolabella*. Appian also reporteth, that *Sylla* Dictator, to the end that the state and common-weale might seeme to retaine some shew yet of her auncient dignitie, permitted *M'. Tullius* and *Cornelius Dolabella* to be created Consuls, whiles himselfe after the manner of *K.* sat aloft in a throne above them. Cicero in his oration against *Rullus*, and *Gellius* in his 15 booke and 33 chap. maketh mention of *M'. Tullius* and *Cn. Cornelius* Consuls. In a capitoll fragment, this *M'. Tullius*, sonne of *M.* nephew of *A.* is surnamed *Decula*.

674

L. Sulla II. Q. Metellus.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian registers, set downe for Consuls, *L. Sylla*, the second time, and *Q. Metellus*. Appian saith moreover, that *Sylla*, Dictator though hee was, yet stood content and willing to be declared Consul with *Q. Metellus Pius*, to the end that the common-weale might seeme to have some likenes yet of a free state. Of these Consuls, *Cic.* maketh mention in his Orations against *Verres*, and elsewhere. *Gellius* likewise in his 15 book & 28 chapter, together with *Cassiodorus*. This

This *Metellus* was surnamed *Pius*. Hee it is, who was by lot appointed to manage the warres in Spaine and against *Sertorius*; and sonne hee was to *Nymidicus*.

675

P. Servilius. App. Claudius.

The next Consuls, were *P. Servilius* and *App. Claudius*, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*. In the Sicilian tables, it appeareth that their surnames were, *Futia* and *Pulcher*: of whome *Appianus* writeth thus; The people of Rome in obsequious manner to court *Sylla* the Dictator, requested of him that hee would continue Consull still another yeere: But *Sylla* would none of that: and tooke order, that *Servilius Isauricus* and *Claudius Pulcher*, should be declared Coss. In a fragment of the capitoll he is thus written; *Pub. Servilius Patis*, called afterwards *Isauricus*: which surname hee tooke of the Isaurians, a nation in Cilicia whome hee subdued. My authors are, *Pædianus* upon the Orations of Cicero against *Verres*; *Strabo* in his 14 booke; *Marcellinus* likewise in his 14 booke, with others.

676

M. Lepidus. Q. Catulus.

Mar. Lepidus and *Q. Catulus*, are by *Cassiodorus* named Consuls for this yeere. *Plutarch* reporteth, that when *L. Sylla* had given up his Dictatorship, and restored againe to the people of Rome the free libertie to dispose of consular dignities in their solemne assemblies for elections; *M. Lepidus* an enemy to *Sylla*, and an audacious person, was declared Consull before *Catulus*, and had the preheminence above him, by the earnest endeavour of *Cn. Pompeius*. Of these Consuls, *Plinie* maketh mention in his 36 booke, wherein he saith, that they governed in the yeere 676. Likewise *Cicero* in his Oration for *Cornelius*: *Florus* out of *Livy*: *Valerius* 2 booke 3 chap. and *Eutropius*.

677

M. Aemilius. D. Brutus.

This yeere had for Consuls, by the testimonie of *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*, *M. Aemilius* and *D. Brutus*. *Macer*, a Tribune of the commons, speaketh of them in *Salust*, complaining that the commons were by the nobles oppressed. In like sort, *Cicero* in *Brutus*, and in his second booke of *Duties*, as also *Valerius* in

the 7 booke and 7 chap. This *M. Aemilius* was surnamed *Lepidus* and *Livianus*: for out of the familie of *Livius* he was adopted by *Mamercus Lepidus*, and therefore right well hee is called, sonne of *Mamercus*.

678

Cn. Octavius. C. Curio.

Verrius Flaccus setteth downe for Consuls, *Cn. Octavius* sonne of *M. nephew* of *C.* and *C. Scribonius Curio*. The same doth *Cicero* report in *Brutus*. So doe *Salust*, *Obsequens*, *Lactantius* in his first booke, and *Plinie* in his second booke and 35 chapter. *Cicero* in his *Brutus*, and *Plinie* in his 7 booke and 41 chapter, make report of three *Caij Curions*, all Orators, to wit, the father, the sonne, and the sonnes sonne or nephew.

679

L. Octavius. C. Cotta.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls this yeere, *L. Octavius* and *C. Cotta*. *Obsequens*, *C. Aurelius* and *L. Octavius*. *Plinie* in his second booke and 35 chapter: *Cicero* likewise in his third and fifth Orations against *Verres*, maketh mention of *L. Octavius*, and *C. Aurelius* Consuls. Vpon the broken marbles of the capitoll, they stand to be seene, *L. Octavius* sonne of *Cn. nephew* of *Cn.* and *C. Aurelius*. This yeere the Sicilian registers over-skip. *Pædianus* writeth, that there were at this time three *Cottas* brethren, and all of consular degree, namely, *Cains*, *Marcus*, and *Lucius*.

680

L. Licinius Lucullus. M. Cotta.

For this yeeres Consuls, *Cassiodorus* registereth *L. Lucullus* and *M. Cotta*. The Sicilian records, *Lucullus* and *Cotta*. *Eutropius*, *Appianus* in *Mithridatica*, and *Plutarch* in *Lucullus*, nameth them, *L. Licinius Lucullus*, and *M. Aurelius Cotta*. Mention there is made of them by *Cicero* against *Verres*; and by *Florus* in the 93 and 94 Epitomes. This *L. Lucullus* had for his grandfather that *Lucullus*, who was Consull with *A. Albinus*, as *Cicero* and *Plutarch* doe testifie.

681

M. Lucullus. C. Cassius.

This yeere (by the testimonie of *Cassiodorus*) had for Consuls; *Marcus Lucullus* and *C. Cassius*:

684

M. Crassus. Cn. Pompeius.

C. Cassius, but the Sicilian records, nominate *Marcellus* and *Cassius*: whom *Cicero* in an oration against *Verres*, nameth *M. Terentius* and *C. Cassius*: saying that the lawes *Terentia* and *Cassia*, were by them promulged. For, so farre forth as we may conjecture by the capitoll fragments, *M. Licinius Lucullus*, was adopted by *M. Terentius Varro*, and therefore called *M. Terentius Varro Lucullus*. *Cicero* in *Lucullus*, and *Plutarch*, call *Lucius Lucullus* and *M. Lucullus* brethren, whom *Eutropius* nameth cousin germanes by two sisters. That the surname of *Cassius* was *Varus*, appeareth both by a conduit pipe or waterspout of lead found in Rome, and also for that *Appian* in his fourth booke, writeth that *C. Cassius Varus*, a man who had bene Consull, was condemned and outlawed by the *Triumvirs*.

682

L. Gellius. Cn. Lentulus.

The Consuls next following, by the report of *Cassiodorus*, were *L. Gellius* & *Cn. Lentulus*. In like sort *Cicero* maketh mention of them in his oration for *Balbus*, and else where. *Plutarch* also in *Crassus*, with *Eutropius* and *Orosius*. *Cuspinians* booke sheweth *Poplicola* and *Lentulus*. Now the surname of *Lucius Gellius* was *Poplicola*, as witnesseth *Onuphrius*.

683

Cn. Aufidius. P. Lentulus.

Cassiodorus setteth downe for Consuls this yeere, *Cn. Aufidius* and *P. Lentulus*. The Sicilian registers have *Lentulus* and *Orestes*. *Eutropius*, *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Cn. Aufidius Orestes*. This *Cn. Aufidius Orestes*, when hee went beside a tribuneship of the commons, was chosen Consull, as *Cicero* writeth in his oration for *Plancius*. This is that *P. Lentulus* surnamed *Sura*, who afterwards, being a man of Consular calling, and who had been twice Pretour, was hanged and strangled to death when *Cicero* was Consull, for that he had conspired with *Catilin*: whose grandfather was *P. Lentulus* President of the Senate, as *Cicero* saith, pleading for his house, and inveighing against *Catilin*: as also *Pædianus*.

686

L. Metellus. Q. Marcus.

Pædianus writing upon *Tullies* Oration against *Piso*, *Dio* likewise & *Cassiodorus*, joine together in the Consullship this yeere, *L. Caecilius Metellus* & *Q. Marcus*. The Greeke records, *Marcus Rex*, and *Metellus*. This *Metellus*, *Dio* writeth to have died in the very beginning of his magistracie: that hee also who was substituted in his roume, left this life before hee entred into the government: and thereupon it was not thought good to subiect any more: and by that means *Quintus Marcus* bare that dignitie alone: and him *Salust* entituleth with the surname of *Rex*. This *Lucius Metellus* was brother to *Quintus Creticus*, as *Pædian* witnesseth.

C. Piso

687

C. Piso. M'. Glabrio.

Here succeeded Consuls, C. Piso & M'. Glabrio, witnesseth Cassiodore & the Sicilian records. And in Dio they follow immediately by the name of *Manius Acilius* and C. Piso. Cicero in his twelfth booke of Epistles to Atticus, speaketh of C. Piso and M'. *Acilius Glabrio*, men of Consular place and calling. Pædian in his commentaries upon the oration for Cornelius maketh mention of C. Piso and the law *Calpurnia* by him made, as touching inordinat and indirect suite after dignities of state. Moreover, of them Valerius in his fourth booke writeth.

688

M'. Lepidus. L. Volcatius.

Cassiodore putteth down for Consuls, *Manius Lepidus*, and with him *L. Torquatus*, but untruly, The Greeke records have *Volcatius Tullus*, Dio *Lu. Tullus*, and *Aimilius Lepidus*. Salust in Catiline, *L. Tullus* and M'. *Lepidus*. Pædian upon the oration for Cornelius, M'. *Lepidus* and *L. Volcatius*. Cicero in his oration for Sulla hath *L. Volcatius Tullus*: so as it appeareth it should bee, M'. *Aemilius Lepidus*, and *L. Volcatius Tullus*.

689

L. Cotta. L. Torquatus.

The Consuls elect, were *L. Antonius Patas* (as it appeareth upon a monument of a triumph in the capitoll, and not *Antonius*, as commonly it is read) and *P. Cornelius Sulla*, who being condemned for ambitious seeking after that office, and having therefore suffered condigne punishment, their accusers stept into their place of government, namely *L. Aurelius* sonne of *Marcus*, surnamed *Cotta*; and *L. Manilius* sonne of *Lucius*, surnamed also *Torquatus*: as testifie Salust, Dio, Pædian upon the oration for Cornelius, and that which hee made in his white robe: and lastly, *Tranquillus* in Cæsar.

690

L. Cæsar. C. Figulus.

The yeere next ensuing had for Consuls, by the testimonie of Cassiodore, Pædianus, and the Sicilian records, *L. Cæsar* and *C. Figulus*, whome Dio calleth *Lucius Cæsar*, and *Lucius*

Martius son of *Caius*, surnamed *Figulus*. Cicero in his oration for Sulla, nameth them *Lucius Inbrius* and *C. Figulus*: so doth Salust in *Catiline*. This *L. Inbrius Cæsar* is his sonne who was Consull in the *Marfan* warre.

691

M. Cicero. C. Antonius.

The Consuls this yeere, were *M. Tullius* son of *M.* surnamed *Cicero*, and *C. Antonius* son of *M.* as testifie Dio in his seven and thirtieth booke, Cassiodore, Salust in his *Catilinarian* oration, Velleius in his second booke, Ioseph in his Iewish antiquities 14 booke 8 chapter. Plinie in his eight booke and three and fiftieth chapter; *Tranquillus* in the life of *Augustus*, *Appian*, *Eutropius*, Pædian, and others.

692

D. Silanus. L. Murena.

Here followed Consuls next, *D. Silanus*, and *L. Murena*, as Cassiodorus, Salust, and the Sicilian records do witnesseth. Dio calleth them *D. Junius* son of *M.* surnamed *Silanus*: and *L. Licinius* son of *L.* surnamed *Murena*. *Eutropius* nameth them *D. Junius Silanus*, and *L. Licinius*, sonne of that *L. Murena* who in qualitie of Pro-petour triumphed over *Mithridates* (as Cicero saith) pleading for *Murena* himselfe, being accused and in trouble for unlawfull seeking to be Cof. In this assembly for election of Cof. *L. Sergius Catilina* suffered the second repulse: for anger whereof, in a melancholy hee brake out into a conspiracie, and practised against the state; and likewise *Servius Sulpitius Rufus* the lawyer, who afterwards accused *Murena* for the crime aforesaid.

693

M. Pupius. M. Valerius.

Cassiodorus setteth downe for Consuls this yeere, *M. Pupius* and *M. Valerius*. The Sicilian registers, *Piso* and *Messala*. Dio, *M. Pupius*, sonne of *M.* surnamed *Piso*: and *M. Valerius* son of *M.* surnamed *Messala Niger*. Of this *Messala Niger*, there is also mention made by Pædian upon the oration for *Scaurus*. Also of *M. Messala* and *M. Piso*, in Plinies seventh booke, and sixe and twentieth chapter, seven and thirtieth booke, cap. second, and the eight booke, chap. fixe & twentie. And in Cæsars first booke of the *Gaules*

Gaules warre. Of *M. Piso* Pædian likewise speaketh writing upon the oration against *Piso*.

694

Q. Metellus. Q. Afranius.

Cassiodorus & the Sicilian registers nominate for this yeeres Consuls, *Q. Metellus* and *L. Afranius*. The like doth Obsequens and Cicero in his first booke of Epistles to Atticus. Dio nameth them *L. Afranius* sonne of *L.* and *Q. Cæcilius*, sonne of *Q.* surnamed *Metellus Celer*. Both of them were advanced to the Consulate (as Dio witnesseth) by the means of *Pompeius*, for they had beene both twaine his lieutenants serving under him in *Asia*.

695

C. Cæsar. M. Bibulus.

Cassiodorus, Suetonius, together with the Sicilian tables and the Breviaries, do match together for Consuls this yeere, *C. Cæsar* and *M. Bibulus*. Dio, *C. Julius* sonne of *Caius Cæsar*, and *M. Calpurnius*. *Plutarch* and *Appian*, *C. Julius Cæsar*, and *Calpurnius Bibulus*. Albeit *Appian* as also *Eutropius* and *Orosius* give *Bibulus* the forename, of *Lucius*. Of *Cæsar* and *Bibulus*, Cicero speaketh in his first booke of Epistles, writing to *Lentulus*.

696

L. Piso. A. Gabinius.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records shewe for Consuls this yeere, *L. Piso* and *A. Gabinius*. Dio, *L. Calpurnius* sonne of *Lucius Piso*: and *A. Gabinius* sonne of *Aulus*. Cæsar, Cicero, *Plutarch*, and Cassiodorus, *L. Piso*, and *A. Gabinius*. Cæsar writeth of them in his first booke of the *Gaules* warre, and *Plutarch* in the life of *Cato* the younger. Cicero also in his oration against *Piso*, and for *Sextius*. This *Piso* the Consull, Cicero and Pædian surnamed *Cæsonius*, for so his grandfather before him was called, as appeareth in the capitoll records for the yeere 606.

697

P. Lentulus. Q. Metellus.

The Consuls following for this yeere, were by Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records,

P. Lentulus and *Q. Metellus*. By Dio, *Pub. Cornelius* sonne of *Publius*, *Lentulus Sponker*: and *Q. Cæcilius* sonne of *Quintus Metellus Nepos*. Of them speaketh *Valerius* in his ninth booke. *Lentulus* (qd. he) and *Metellus* companions in the Consullship were beheld & seen both upon the stage like plaiers: but the one of them tooke the surname of *Spinther* *one of the second sort of actors: the other, but that he had gotten the name of **Nepos* already for his lewd behaviour, should have beene called *Pamphilus*, after the name of *one of a third sort, whome for all the world hee resembled. Of the same men, Cicero in his first booke of Epistles, and in very many of his orations. Plinie also in his seventh booke and second chapter, *Plutarch* in the life of *Cicero*, and all other writers make much mention.

698

Cn. Lentulus. L. Philippus.

Cassiodorus putteth downe for Consuls, *Cn. Lentulus* and *L. Philippus*. The Sicilian records, *Marcellus* and *Philippus*. Dio, *Cn. Cornelius* son of *Publius*, *Lentulus Marcellus*: and *L. Martius* sonne of *Lucius Philippus*. Of *Lentulus* and *M. Marcellus* Consuls, Cicero speaketh in his Epistles to *Lentulus*. *Plutarch* also in the life of *Cato*, maketh mention of *Martius Philippus* now Consull. This *Cn. Lentulus* was the son of that *P. Lentulus*, as Cicero saith in his *Brutus*. And surnamed hee was *Marcellus*, and not *Claudius*, that it might be knowne, of what familie of the *Claudij* hee was descended.

699

Cn. Pompeius. M. Crassus.

When as by the obstinate persistence of *C. Cato* Tribune of the commons, (who ever interposed his negative) there could be no ordinarie assembly holden for the creation of magistrates, the whole degree of the Senators changed their weed in token of griefe: so as upon an Interregencie between, *Cn. Pompeius* was chosen Consull, & with him *M. Crassus* the second time, as *Plutarch*, Dio, & *Appian* do witness. *Lucius Domitius Aenobarbus*, whom *Cato* and all good men accompanied & presented, was in the common place by violence thoroughly beaten, and *Cato* himselfe wounded. These Cof. Dio calleth *Cn. Pompeius*, son of *Cneus Magnus* the second time: & *M. Licinius* sonne

sonne of *Publius, Crassus*, the second time. Of them *Pædianus*, *Eutropius*, the Sicilian registers and others make mention.

700

Ap. Claudius. L. Domitius.

DIO in his nine and thirtieth booke, for the yeere after the cities foundation 700, following the computation of *Varro*, avoucheth Consuls, *Appius Claudius*, son of *Appius, Pulcher*; and *L. Domitius* sonne of *Cneus, Enobarbus*. *Cassiodore* and *Obsequens*, name them, *Appius Claudius* and *L. Domitius*, whom the Sicilian records call *Pulcher* and *Enobarbus*; and *Pædian* upon the oration for *Scaurus*, *L. Domitius Enobarbus*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*. Of this *L. Domitius*, sonne of *Cneus, Enobarbus*, *Calius* speaketh in the eight booke of *Cicerones Epistles*.

701

Cn. Domitius. M. Messala.

Against this yeere there stood in election and labored with much earnestnes & ambitious desire to be Consuls, *Caius Memmius*, *Cn. Domitius*, *M. Messala* and *M. Scaurus*, as *Cicero* writeth to his brother *Quintus*. But at the last, even in the seventh moneth of this yeere there were created by meanes of an Interregencie, *M. Messala* and *Cn. Domitius*. Neither had they bene chosen then; but that *Q. Pompeius Rufus* a Tribune of the commons, who still opposed himselfe to hinder and debarre all election, was by order from the Senate committed: and the Senate made countenance to do the like by the rest, as many as went about to crosse the said election. Thus much *Dio*. But *Appian* saith, that the common weale continued for eight months space in Anarchie without any soveraigne magistrates of state. *Plutarch* writeth, that in this so great extremitie of daunger, *Lucilius* a Tribune of the commons, preferred a bill for the creating of *Cneus Pompeius* Dictatour, who should redresse all enormities and set upright the state againe: but *Cato* gainesaid it, and so nothing was effected. *Dio* saith moreover, that the Tribunes of the commons mooved for the chusing not of a Dictatour onely, but also of militarie Tribunes in Consuls authoritie: but through the earnest labour of *Pompeius*, Consuls were created, *Messala* and *Calvinus*, which surnames stand to be seene upon the Sicilian records. Also in the ca-

pitoll monuments, written it is thus. *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* sonne of *M. nephew of Marcus*, ann. 708 and 717.

702

Cn. Pompeius. Q. Metellus.

When by reason of the contentions among so mighty competitorours, the Consuls could not be created by the kalends of Ianuarie: there passed an Act of the Senate, according to the mind and advise of *Bibulus*, by vertue whereof *Cn. Pompeius* was by the Interregent *Serv. Sulpitius* created Consull the third time, upon the five and twentieth of Februarie, without a colleague first, and presently entred upon the government. But afterwards to avoid the envie that might arise thereupon, he tooke unto him as companion in the Consulship for the five last months of the yeere behind, *Q. Cæcilius Pius Metellus Scipio*, his wives father. Thus writeth *Pædian* upon the oration of *Cicero* in defence of *Milo*: *Plutarch* likewise, *Appianus* & *Dio*. This *Metellus Pius Scipio* was also called *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, sonne of *Nasica Scipio*, who beeing adopted by *Q. Metellus Pius*, is called by *Calius* in the familiar Epistles of *Cicero*, *Q. Cæcilius* sonne of *Q. nephew of Q. Metellus Pius Scipio*.

703

M. Marcellus. Ser. Sulpitius.

Against this yeere were Consuls created, *M. Marcellus*, & *Serv. Sulpitius*, as *Cassiodorus*, *Plutarch*, and *Appian* witness. The Sicilian records call them *Rufus* and *Marcellus*. *Dio* nameth them *Servius Sulpitius* sonne of *Q. surnamed Rufus*, and *M. Claudius* sonne of *M. surnamed also Marcellus*. Of these Consuls *Suetonius* also maketh mention in *Cæsar*: likewise *Cicero* in his Epistles, & the Epitome 118. This *Marcellus* was the cousin germane of that *Marcellus* who the yeere next following was Consull: and brother germane to him who two yeeres after bare the Consulship, as may be collected out of *Verrius Flaccus*, *Dio*, and *Suetonius*.

704

L. Paulus. C. Marcellus.

There succeeded Consuls, *L. Paulus* and *C. Marcellus*: witness *Cassiodore*, *Dio*, *Suetonius*, *Hirtius* in his 8 book, together with the

the Sicilian records. The one of these is by *Dio* named *L. Æmilius*, sonne of *Marcus*, surnamed *Paulus*; the other by *Cicero* in his epistles, *C. Claudius* sonne of *Caius, Marcellus*. *Dio* writeth, that this man by some was reported to be *ἑνελυος*, i. the brothers sonne, others *ἀδελφός*, i. the brother of *Mar. Marcellus*, but *Suetonius* saith plainly hee was the brothers sonne.

705

L. Lentulus. C. Marcellus.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls this yeere, *L. Lentulus* and *C. Marcellus*, as also *Appian*, *Plutarch*, *Hirtius*, *Florus*, & *Cicero* in his epistles do testifie. *Dio* calleth these Consuls *Lu. Cornelius*, sonne of *Publius, Lentulus*; and *C. Claudius* sonne of *Marcus, Marcellus*. In the broken marbles of the Capitoll it is to be seene thus. *C. Claudius* sonne of *Marcus*, nephew of *Marcus, Metellus*. This is that *Lucius Lentulus Cruss*, who as *Calius* testifieth in the former election tooke a repulse, and by *Cicero* is called in the Oration against *Vatinius*, *Flamen Martialis*.

706

C. Cæsar. P. Servilius.

When *Caius Cæsar* the Dictatour held the solemn assembly for the election in the latter end of the former yeere, Consuls there were created *Caius Julius*, sonne of *Caius, Cæsar*; and *Pub. Servilius*, sonne of *Publius, Isauricus*. For now was the yeere come, when as *Cæsar* by the lawes might be chosen Consull: for so in the third booke of his owne Commentaries hee saith himselfe, and so *Dio* in his one and fortieth booke, *Plutarch*, *Tranquillus*, *Appianus*, and *Cassiodorus* doe testifie of him. But hee meaneth that law which expressly forbade and debarred, that no man might be within tenne yeeres space chosen Consull twice. As for *Publius Servilius*, hee was the sonne of that *Pub. Servilius* that first tooke the surname *Isauricus*, who this yeere bare his Consulship at Rome, while *Cæsar* warred in Macedonie.

707

Q. Fufius Calenus. P. Vatinius.

Dio saith, that the people of Rome having intelligence that *Pompeius* was murdered,

endeavoured earnestly, that there might passe as honourable decrees for *Cæsar* the conquerour as possibly might be. And therefore they ordained, that hee might be Consull five yeeres together, and Dictatour not for fixe moneths, as beforetime, but an whole yeere; and endued with the Tribunes authoritie for ever. Now *Cæsar*, albeit hee was without Italie, immediately entered upon his Dictatourship, having sub-ordained under him for his Generall of the horse, *Mar. Antonius*, a man who yet had not beene Pretour. This appeareth by the Capitoll records, *Dio*, *Plutarch*, and *Cicero* in his second Philippica. But under what pretence and colour *Cæsar* tooke upon him this Dictatourship and the rest following, *Mar. Antonius* sheweth in his Oration of *Cæsars* praise in *Dio*: wherein hee saith that *Cæsar* was created Dictatour to make head against the enemies, and therefore the troubles and dissentions of warre was the cause of this creation. But certaine it is that *Cæsar* became Dictatour for another cause, namely, that by the meanes of that soveraigne power, hee might draw unto himselfe alone the whole managing & government of the State, which beforetime had beene administred by many persons. But *Dio* addeth moreover and saith, that in the beginning of this yeere there were neither Pretours nor Consuls elected. For *Marcus Antonius* Generall of the horse, arraigned in his purple robes, with fixe Licitors, making way before him, resembled a certaine shew of the auncient liberie. But within a while after he departed forth of the cittie, and that which never was before done by any maister of the horse, hee left *Lu. Cæsar* an aged man, Provost and governor of Rome. Howbeit in the end of the yeere, after the recoverie and conquest of *Ægypt*, when king *Ptolomeus* was slaine, and *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus* vanquished; Consuls were created, *Q. Fufius*, sonne of *Quintus, Calenus*; and *Pub. Vatinius*, sonne of *Publius*. And these the Capitoll tables doe shew, and *Cassiodorus* also. Of *Pub. Vatinius* Consull, *Macrobius* in his second booke maketh mention.

708

C. Cæsar. M. Lepidus.

Verrius in his capitoll tables setteth forth Consuls of this yeere, onely without ever a Dictatour.

a Dictatour. The stone record of Colatia, whereof Onuphrius speaketh heere, nameth *C. Julius Caesar* the third time, and *M. Aemilius Lepidus*. But Dio in his three & fortieth booke, The next yeere following (quoth he) hee bare the Dictatourship and the Consulat both, the third time, & tooke unto him for his colleague in both magistracies, *M. Aemilius Lepidus*. Of the same mind seemeth Tranquillus to bee in *Caesar*, chap. seventie sixe. Likewise Hirtius in the fift booke. But Onuphrius supposeth that both Tranquillus and Dio, yea and Hirtius also were in an error. For, with the capitoll records, Plutarch and Eutropius agree; who write that *Caesar* this yeere was Consull the third time with *M. Lepidus*, and Dictatour the second time.

709

C. Caesar. Q. Maximus.

They who cut the capitoll marbles, do shew unto us that *Caesar* this yeere was third time Dictator with *M. Lepidus* General of the horse. From whence Dio differeth; who doth report that this yeere, *Caesar* was Dictator the 4 time, and *Lepidus* second time master of the horse-men: also that *Lepidus* fellow Consull with *Caesar*, declared himselfe against all law, Generall of the horse. Thus much of the Dictatour. But as touching the Consuls this yeere, there is to be seene written in the Index or table of Dio, that the same yeere *Caesar* bare his fourth Dictatourship, & likewise his fourth Consulat without colleague. In that historie also it appeareth, that *Caesar* presently entered upon his fourth Consulate, but bare it not throughout the whole yeere: and tharso soone as he was returned to Rome out of Spain, he resigned & substituted in his place for the rest of the yeere, *Q. Fabius Max.* and *Cn. Trebonius*. With Dio, the evidences agree that are written in the capitoll fragments wherein it appeareth that *Caesar* was the fourth time Consull, and that without a colleague; as Sigonius maketh interpretation. For Cuspinians kalender together with the Sicilian registers, doe shew that *Caesar* was Consull now alone the fourth time. In like manner, Appian and Plutarch make mention of *Caesar*, who being Consull elect now the fourth time, led an armie into Spaine. As for *Q. F. Fabius*, Suetonius calleth him a three month Consull. Dio saith moreover, that *Caesar* upon the death of *Q. Fabius* the Consull, declared the very last day of the yeere, *C. Canticus* to bee the

Consull for those few houres that were behind. Whereof Cicero in his seventh booke of Epistles, writing to Curius, Macrobius in his second booke of Saturnalia, Tacitus in his eighteenth booke, Plinie in his seventh, and Suetonius in *Caesar* do make report.

710

C. Caesar. M. Antonius.

Dio setteth downe for this yeere, *Caesar* Dictator the fift time, together with *M. Aemilius Lepidus* master of the horse-men. But the capitoll tables avouch him Dictator now the fourth time. Dio & Appian write that hee created himselfe Consull together with *M. Antonius*. Likewise Cassiodorus and the Sicilian registers give record, that *Caesar* was this yeere Consull the fift time, together with *M. Antonius*. And Macrobius in his first booke speaketh of them. Moreover, written it is in the Capitoll and Colotian tables, that *C. Caesar* was Consull the fift time, with *M. Antonius* son of *M.* & that in the room of *Caesar* there was chosen *P. Cornelius* son of *Publius*. And this was *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, whom *Caesar* himselfe (if hee had lived) meant to have substituted in his owne rowm. Plutarch writeth, that *Caesar* Consull now the fift time, tooke unto him for his companion in government *M. Antonius*. And when as he would have subordeined *Dolabella* in his owne stead, *Antonie* gainesaid it in an oration: and afterwards, when *Caesar* a second time would have had *Dolabella* to be declared Consull, and still *Antonie* crossed and withstood it, *Caesar* gave over his enterprise. But after *Caesar* was murdered, *Antonie* (as Dio writeth) fearing some insurrection and commotion if he should have rejected *Dolabella*, tooke him into the fellowship of government. Appian saith, that immediately after *Caesar* was killed, *Dolabella* entred into the magistracie. So saith Velleius also. And this verily was the yeere, in which the conspiracy was contrived against *Caesar*, whereof the chieftaines were *M.* & *Decimus* both *Bruti*, *C. Trebonius* and *C. Cassius*: and upon the fifteenth day of March, when hee sat in counsell together with the Senate in the court of Pompeie, he was stabbed, and received in his bodie three & twentie wounds: which done, the murderers who had wrought the feat seized the capitoll. And *C. Octavius* his nephew or sisters sonne, whome *Caesar* had made in his will his halfe-heire, and adopted to beare his owne name, came out of Epirus, whither *Caesar* had sent

sent him before, minding to make warre upon the Parthians, and after all luckie and happie proceedings, took upon him the name of *Caesar*, according to his last will and testament.

711

C. Pansa. A. Hirtius.

Dio, Cassiodorus, and the rest, nominate Consuls for this yeere, *C. Vibius Pansa Capronianus*, and *A. Hirtius*, sonne of *Anlus*. Cuspinians booke sheweth *Cretonianus* and *Hirtius*. Whereby it may be understood, that *Cretonianus* was the surname of *Pansa*, but peradventure written for *Capronianus*. In the Colotian table they are named *C. Vibius*, sonne of *Caius*, and *A. Hirtius* sonne of *Hirtius*. This *Hirtius* was one of their sonnes who were outlawed by *Sulla*, and whome *Caesar* (as Dio reporteth) advanced to honourable dignities. Both these, and the Consuls of the yeere following, were by *Caesar* elected & destined thereto, before hee was slaine. Dio, Appian, and others report, that of these two Consuls, *Hirtius* in the time of the civile warre, in a battell before *Modenna*, against *Antonius* was slain; and *Pansa* some daies after, upon a hurt received in the same fight, died at Bononia. In the rowme of *Pansa*, *C. Octavius* was sub-elected Consull, the nineteenth of August in the same yeere, and hee in steed of *Hirtius*, tooke unto him for his colleague *Q. Pedius*.

712

M. Lepidus. L. Plancus.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records put downe for Consuls, *M. Lepidus* & *L. Plancus*. Dio, *M. Aemilius Lepidus* the second time, and *L. Munatius*, sonne of *Lucius*, surnamed *Plancus*. Of these Consuls Suetonius speaketh in Tiberius, saying, That *Tiberius* was borne after the battell of Philippi, when *Mar. Aemilius Lepidus* was the second time Consull with *Munatius Plancus*. Now had there been before appointed Consuls against this yeere by *Caesar*, *D. Brutus* and *L. Plancus*. But by reason that *Brutus* the yeere before was by the law *Pedia* condemned and after killed, and so the three Triumvirs usurped the rule of the commonweale; agreed it was, that *M. Lepidus* one of the Triumvirs who beforetime also had been Consull with *Caesar* in his third Consullship, should together with *Plancus*, (who also taking part and siding with *Antonie*, had revolted from

the Commonweale) administer the Consulare. Moreover, this *Brutus* was by Plutarch, Appian, Dio, and Zonaras, called also *Albinus*; I suppose, for that out of the race of the *Bruti* he was adopted and incorporat into the house of the *Albini*. In this yeere, during the civile war, *Brutus* and *Cassius* were slaine in battell before *Philippi*, as Dio, Plutarch, Appian, and others write.

713

P. Servilius. L. Antonius.

The Colotian tables, Dio, and Cassiodorus match Consuls together for this yeere, *L. Antonius* son of *Marcus*, surnamed *Pietas*, and *P. Servilius*, son of *Publius*, surnamed *Isauricus*, the second time. Of these Consuls, Suetonius writeth in Tiberius. This *P. Servilius* was first Consull with *Caesar* in his second Consulat; whose father *Isauricus* died a little before, as Dio and Eusebius report. As for *L. Antonius*, named hee is by Dio *Pietas*, for that being Consull, he together with *Fulvia* the wife of his brother *Marcus*, managed the affaires of state with that mind, as if his whole care had ben for his brother the Triumvir, in regard of which brotherly and affectionate kindnesse, he chalenged the surname of *Pietas*.

714

Cn. Domitius. C. Asinius.

A Colotian table, Dio, and Cassiodorus join in the Consulare of this yeere, *Cn. Domitius* sonne of *Marcus*, surnamed *Calvinus*, the second time; and *C. Asinius*, sonne of *Cn. Asinius*, surnamed *Pollio*. Of these, *Iosephus* speaketh in his fourteenth booke of the Iewes antiquities and three and twentie chapter. Toward the end of this yeere, Dio writeth that these Consuls gave up their place, and that other Consuls were substituted for those few daies that were to come; and one of them was *L. Cornelius Balbus Gaditanus*. And therefore in the Colotian table these subordained Consuls stand under their names, *L. Cornelius*, son of *Lucius*, and *P. Canidius*, sonne of *Lucius*. Of *Pub. Cornelius Balbus* Consull, Plinie writeth in his seventh booke and three and fortieth chapter, and Velleius in his second booke.

715

L. Censorinus. L. Calvisius.

Cassiodorus inferreth for the next Consuls, *Lucius Censorinus* and *Caius Calvisius*, The Sicilian
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Sicilian records have *Censorinus* and *Sabinus*. Dio, *L. Martius* and *C. Sabinus*, *C. Calvisius* son of *Caius*, is named by Dio in the catalogue or table, *Sabinus*, although it be red there commonly, but amisse, *Asinius*.

716

Ap. Claudius. C. Norbanus.

Consuls that follow, were *App. Claudius* and *C. Norbanus*, as *Cassiodorus* saith. But as the Sicilian registers purport, *Censorinus* and *Sabinus*: as Dio writeth, *App. Claudius* sonne of *Caius Pulcher*; and *C. Norbanus*, son of *Caius Flaccus*. As touching *Tadius* after the Consull elect, and substituted in the rowme of another, who before hee entred into government, being terrified with the minatorie threats of *C. Caesar*, threw himselfe downe headlong, and so brake his necke, see *Tranquillus* in *Augustus*.

717

M. Agrippa. L. Caninius.

Cassiodorus putteth downe for Consuls, *M. Agrippa* and *Lu. Caninius*. The Sicilian registers *Agrippa* and *Gallus*. Dio, *M. Vipsianus*, sonne of *Lucius Agrippa*; and *L. Caninius* sonne of *Lucius Gallus*. Iosephus in his fifteenth booke of Antiquities, avoucheth Consuls, *Mar. Agrippa* and *C. Canidius Gallus*. Nepos also in the life of *Atticus*, calleth *Vipsianus Agrippa*. In the capitoll marbles and in other old monuments of Rome his gentile name is passed over, and namely in the forefront of the temple called Pantheon, where is engraven *M. Agrippa* sonne of *Lucius*, Consull the third time. Tacitus also in his first booke mentioneth this *Agrippa*.

718

L. Gellius. M. Cocceius.

Cassiodorus nameth for Consuls this yeere, *L. Gellius* and *M. Cocceius*. The Sicilian records shew *Publicola* and *Nerva*: Dio hath *Lu. Gellius* sonne of *Lucius Poplicola*, and *M. Cocceius Nerva*. Out of the capitoll fragments it appeareth, that *L. Gellius* was sonne of *Lucius*, and nephew of *Lucius*. By the report of Dio, this *Lu. Gellius* was brother to *M. Valerius Messala*. For it is the same man who was pardoned before by *Mar. Brutus*: whereby it may be understood, that *Poplicola* was his surname by way of adoption: for they were not the *Gellij*

but the *Valerij*, that carried the surname of *Publicola*. The same fragments doe shew, that the said *Gellius* left his place, and that another was put in his rowme. And haply it was *L. Munatius*, sonne of *Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius Plancius*: whome *Plinie* in his thirteenth booke and third chapter, saith to have been twice Consull: but in what yeere he was the second time, a man cannot find, unlesse it were in this.

719

Sext. Pompeius. L. Cornificius.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records testifie, that this yeeres Consuls were *Sext. Pompeius* & *L. Cornificius*. Dio, *L. Cornificius* son of *Lucius*, & *Sextus Pompeius* sonne of *Sextus*. This yeere *Sext. Pompeius*, sonne of *Cneus*, was slaine.

720

M. Antonius. L. Scribonius Libo.

Cassiodorus putteth downe for Consuls, *Lu. Scribonius* and *Lu. Atratinus*. The Sicilian catalogue *Antonius* and *Libo*. Dio, *M. Antonius* sonne of *Marcus* the second time, and *L. Scribonius*, sonne of *Lucius Libo*. The same Dio saith moreover, that *M. Antonius* the Triumvir, presently upon the very Kalends of Ianuarie gave over the magistracie, and substituted in his own steed *Lu. Sempronius Atratinus*: and therefore many there be that affirm how it was not *Antonius* but *Atratinus* that was Consull this yeere with *Libo*. That Consuls also were sub-elected to beare out one part of the yeere, it is to be found in some authours that have set forth the Municipall Annales. And verily Dio maketh mention of *Paulus Aemilius* Consull, for one part of the yeere, and that hee built a stately porch or gallerie at his owne charges, and dedicated it in his Consullship.

721

C. Caesar. L. Volcatius.

Cassiodorus exhibiteth unto us for Consuls, *C. Caesar* and *L. Volcatius*. Dio, *Caesar* the second time, and *L. Volcatius* sonne of *Lucius Tullus*. They who composed and digested the Sicilian registers, very unfitly set downe *Caesar* and *Cicero* for this yeeres Consuls. Of this Consullship of *Caesar*, *Suetonius* and Dio speake, saying that hee held it very few houres, as *Antonius* also beforetime. In steed of *Caesar* was *Lu. Antonius* subrogated, and many other for one

one part or other of the yeere, who in the book entituled, *Old inscriptions*, are reckoned in this manner:

724

C. Caesar. III. M. Crassus.

Emperour *Caesar. II. L. Volcatius.*
Kal. Ianuarij. *L. Antonius.*
Kal. Maij. *L. Flavius.*
Kal. Iulij. *M. Atilius.*
C. Fonteius.
Kal. Sept. *L. Vinutius.*
Kal. Octob. *L. Lanonius.*

Of *L. Flavius* made Consull by *M. Antonius*, and deposed, Dio likewise maketh mention.

722

Cn. Domitius. C. Sosius.

Cassiodorus nominateth for Consuls this yeere, *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Sosius*. The Sicilian records, *Aenobarbus* and *Sosius*. Dio, *Cneus Domitius*, sonne of *Cneus*, nephew of *Cneus Aenobarbus*; & *C. Sosius* son of *Cneus*, nephew of *Caius*. Nepos writeth, that *Atticus* died, when *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Sosius* were Consuls.

723

C. Caesar. II. M. Messala.

Cassiodorus avoucheth Consuls this yeere, *C. Caesar* the second time, and *M. Messala*. The Sicilian registers, *Octavianus* and *Corvinus*. Dio, *Caesar* the third time, and *M. Valerius*, sonne of *Marcus*, surnamed *Messala Corvinus*, and that right truly. For *Cassiodorus* maketh no reckoning of that consullship of *Caesar* which hee bare with *Pedius*, because hee was subordained in the place of another. But Dio and Appian doe witnesse, that *Caesar* and *Antonie* were matched together this yeere, both of them in their second Consullship, at what time as upon peace made with *Sextus Pompeius*, they were appointed Consuls beforehand for eight yeers next ensuing: howbeit, in the first yeer the people turned *Antonie* out of his Consullship, and proclaimed warre against him and *Cleopatra*, and so in his place was *Mar. Messala* declared Consull. As touching the Consuls this yeere subordained, thus wee find written in the ancient inscriptions.

Emperour *Caesar. IIII. M. Valerius.*
Kalend. Maij. *M. Titius.*
Kal. Octobris. *Cn. Pompeius.*

Cassiodorus nameth for this yeeres Consuls, *C. Caesar* the third time, and *M. Crassus*. The Sicilian records *Octavianus* and *Crassus*. Dio, *Caesar* the fourth time, and *M. Licinius*, sonne of *Marcus Crassus*. Hee addeth moreover and saith, *Caesar* in the midst of that water crossed the seas out of Macedonie into Italie, wherein he was the fourth time Consull with *M. Crassus*. Orofius likewise noteth, that *Caesar* called Emperour, was Consull the fourth time with *M. Licinius Crassus*. Of other Consuls substituted after *M. Licinius*, this we find in the old inscriptions.

Emperour *Caesar. IV. M. Licinius.*
Kal. Iul. *C. Antistius.*
Idib. Septembr. *M. Tullius.*
Kal. Novembr. *L. Senius.*

Of *M. Tullius* Consull with *Augustus*, Dio maketh mention in his storie of this yeeres acts. *Plinie* also in his 22 booke and 6 chap. and *Plutarch* in *Cicero*. By *Velleius* and *Tacitus* it appeareth that *Antistius* had for addition the surname of *Petus*, and *Senius* of *Servinus*.

725

C. Caesar. IIII. Sex. Apuleius.

In *Cassiodorus* the Consuls bee *C. Caesar* the fourth time, and *Sext. Apuleius*. In Dio, *Caesar* the fift time, and *Sext. Apuleius* son of *Sext*. In the Sicilian records, *Octavianus* and *Apuleius*: in the Antique inscriptions, Emperour *Caesar* the fift time, and *Sext. Apuleius*. Dio saith this was the yeere 725 from the foundation of the citie. Of *Caesar* five times Consull, there is to be seene an old epigramme or inscription in this manner.

Senatus Populusq. Romanus,
Imp. Caf. Divi Iulij Fil. Caf. Quint.
Cof. Desig. Sext. Imp. Sept.
Resp. conservata.

That is,

The Senate and people of Rome. By Emperour *Caesar*, sonne of *Iulius* of famous memorie, Consull five times, elect Consull the sixt time, and emperour the seventh, the Commonwealth saved.

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C. Caesar.

726

C. Caesar V. M. Agrippa II.

Cassiodorus declareth for Consuls this yeere, *Caesar* the fift time, and *M. Agrippa* the second time. Orofius and the Sicilian records, *Caesar* the fixt time, and *Agrippa* the second time. Dio, *Caesar* the fixt time, and *M. Vipsanius Agrippa* the third time: but it is to bee read the second time, as Sigonius advertiseth, so as the next yeere it should bee written the third time. And this plainly appeareth by the superscription of that temple (which he erected & named Pantheon) in this form, *M. AGRIPPA SON OF L. THIRD TIME COS. BUILT IT*. For Dio saith that this temple was finished two yeeres after that hee was Confull with *Caesar* the seventh time Confull, in which yeere himfelfe bare his third Consulship, & not the fourth. For otherwise in the front of the said temple, hee would have written, *CONSUL THE FOURTH TIME*.

727

C. Caesar VI. M. Agrippa III.

Cassiodorus saith, that the next Consuls were *Caesar* the sixt time, and *Mar. Agrippa* the third time. But Dio, *Caesar* the seventh time, and *Agrippa* the fourth time. But what is to bee thought of them both, is evident by that which hath been said before. In the Sicilian registers verily it is written, *Octavianus* the seventh time, and *Agrippa* the third time.

728

C. Augustus Caesar VII. T. Statilius.

Cassiodorus putteth downe for Consuls *Caesar Augustus* the seventh time, and *T. Statilius*. The Sicilian monuments, *Octavianus* the eighth time, and *Taurus*. Dio, *Caesar Augustus* the eighth time, and *Statilius Taurus* the second time. For hee had been Confull first, for a part of the yeere, anno 727, and now is the second time: of whom Suetonius writeth thus in Nero; *Nero* tooke to wife *Statilia Messalina*, daughter (in the fourth descent) of *Taurus*, one who had bene twice Confull, and also triumphant: hee writeth also, that *Augustus* entered upon his eight and ninth Consulate at Tarracon.

729

C. Caesar Augustus VIII. M. Silanus.

Cassiodorus sheweth for Consuls next, *Caesar Augustus* the eighth time, and *M. Silanus*. Dio & the Sicilian records, *Augustus* the ninth time, and *M. Silanus*. A fragment of the capitol, Emperour *Caesar Augustus* the ninth time, and *M. Iunius Silanus*. This yeere *Augustus Caesar* was called Emperour the eighth time, and shut up the temple of Ianus the fourth time now that ever it was shut: which hee had set open before in regard of certaine warres, as Dio reporteth.

730

C. Caesar Augustus IX. C. Norbanus.

Cassiodorus putteth downe for this yeeres Consuls, *Caesar Augustus* the ninth time, and *C. Norbanus*. The Sicilian registers, *Augustus* the tenth time, and *Flaccus*. Dio, and a fragment of the capitol marble, *Augustus* the tenth time, and *C. Norbanus Flaccus*. This *Norbanus* seemeth to be the son of *C. Norbanus* the Confull, anno 716, for he had not the numeral note testifying a second Consulship.

731

C. Caesar Augustus X. Cn. Piso.

Cassiodorus setteth downe for Consuls, *Caesar Augustus* the tenth time, and *Cneus Piso*. The Sicilian records *Augustus* the eleventh time, and Dio, *Augustus* the eleventh time, with *Cn. Calpurnius*, sonne of *Cneus, Piso*. By a fragment of the capitol stone it appeareth that *Augustus* entered the Consulship the eleventh time, together with *Aulus Terrentius Varro Murana*: also that *Murana* died in his magistracie, in whose steed was elected *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*; and *Augustus* went out of his government. Of which matter Dio thus writeth; *Augustus* went to the Albane hill, and there resigned up the Consulship. For whereas both hee himfelfe and many others, ever since the time that the C. VV. was set in frame & established, had borne the yeerely magistrates, he thought that from thence forwards hee was to forbear the same, to the end, that the honourable dignitie of Consuls should bee open to as many as might bee. And this did he without the citie, because hee would not bee hindered and letted in the action; and therewith substituted in his

his place *Lucius Sestius*, a man that of all others most affected and loved Brutus; who also wrate of his praises and commendable parts.

732

M. Marcellus. L. Arruntius.

This yeere had for Consuls, as saith Cassiodorus, *M. Marcellus* and *L. Arruntius*: as Dio, *M. Claudius* son of *Marcus, Marcellus*; & *Afernius* son of *Lucius*. In the Capitol stone these Consuls are thus set downe, *L. Arruntius* sonne of *L.* nephew of *L.* and *M. Claudius* son of *Marcus*, nephew of *M.* Whereby it is given to understand, that in the Sicilian records the Consuls are not well put downe to be *Octavianus* the twelfth time, & *Arruntius*. In this yeere, the conspiracie of *Fannius Capio* and *Varro Murana* against *Augustus* was discovered: and the temple of thundering Iupiter was dedicated, witnesseth Dio.

733

M. Lollius. Q. Lepidus.

The Colotian stone and Cassiodorus shew for this yeere Consuls, *Q. Aemilius Lepidus* and *M. Lollius*. Dio writeth, when *Augustus* was in Sicilie, & the people of Rome at the assembly for Consuls election, there arose a sedition and commotion. For *M. Lollius* onely entred upon the government, by reason that the other place was reserved and kept for *Augustus*: but when he made refusall, *Q. Lepidus* was created. Of these Consuls Horace in his first booke of Epistles writeth thus:

*Me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembres,
Collegam Lepidum quo dixit Lollius anno.*

Know he, that 40 winters old and foure, I was that yeere,
At Rome when Confull Lollius, chose Lepidus his feere.

734

M. Appuleius. P. Silius.

After Cassiodorus, the Consuls that followed for this yeere, were *M. Appuleius* and *P. Silius*. But in Dio, *M. Appuleius* sonne of *Sextus*, and *Publius Silius* sonne of

Publius, Nerva. In the Sicilian records, *Appuleius* and *Nerva*.

735

C. Sentius. Q. Lucretius.

The Colotian stone, Eusebius in his treatise of Times, Dio and Cassiodorus set fourth as Consuls this yeere, *Gaius Sentius*, sonne of *Caius, Saturninus*; and *Quintus Lucretius* sonne of *Quintus, Vspillo*. Of this yeeres Consuls thus writeth Dio, *Caius Sentius* was declared Confull: but for that there was to bee given him a companion, and *Augustus* refused the second place of Consulship reserved for him; there arose a sedition, untill *Augustus* pronounced Confull *Quintus Lucretius* one of the embassadours, whom the Senate had sent unto him about the appeasing of the foresaid sedition; notwithstanding he was a man in times past proscribed and outlawed. The same writeth Velleius in the second booke. In the broken Colotian stone it is to bee read, that the Confull elected in steed of *Sentius Saturninus*, was *Mar. Vinicius* sonne of *Marcus*. Velleius, uno *Vinicius* adjoineeth as Colleague, *Agrippa*. In this yeere, after the first tenne yeeres were expired, for which space *Augustus* together with *Agrippa* at the first received the Censorian authoritie and dignitie, hee was created a second time by the people over-seere of mens behaviour for the tearme of five yeeres; and resumed the Censours power for the same time; and the Consulare authoritie for ever. So as, at all times and in all places, hee might have twelve licours goe before him with their bundels of rods, and bee allowed to take his place and sit with the Consuls.

736

Cn. Lentulus. P. Lentulus.

Publius Cornelius sonne of *Publius, Lentulus Marcellinus*; and *Cn. Cornelius* son of *Lucius*, are set downe for Consuls by the Colotian stone table; by Dio also and Cassiodorus. In this yeere *Marcus Agrippa* by the motion and authoritie of the Emperour *Caesar Augustus*, obtained of the Senate and people of Rome the Tribunitian power for five yeeres.

C. Furnius

737

C. Furnius. C. Silanus.

There succeeded Consuls next, according to Cassiodorus, C. Furnius & C. Silanus. After Dio, C. Furnius sonne of C: and C. Iunius sonne of Caius, Silanus. But in the Colotian fragment, C. Furnius sonne of Caius, and C. Iunius. Whiles C. Furnius and C. Iulius Silanus were Consuls, the solemn plaies called Seculares were now the fife time set out by Augustus, as Censorinus and Dio affirme.

738

L. Domitius. P. Scipio.

Cassiodore nameth for Consuls, Lucius Domitius and P. Scipio. The Sicilian records, Aenobarbus and Cornelius. Dio, L. Domitius son of Lucius, nephew of Lucius, Aenobarbus: and P. Cornelius son of P. nephew of Publius, Scipio: In like manner the Colotian table, wherein it standeth, that for P. Cornelius there was substituted L. T. i. Tarius: of whom Plinie in his eighteenth booke and seventh chapter writeth thus, L. Tarius Rufus, a man most base for his parentage, deserved a Consulate under Augustus Cæsar of happie memorie, onely for his militarie service. In this Consuls yeere, was the Quinquennale solemnitie performed, as writeth Dio, in memoriall of the empire of Augustus: and Agrippa one of the Quindecimvirs, had the ordering and setting out thereof.

739

M. Drusus. L. Piso.

The Consuls next following, were M. Drusus and L. Piso, as Cassiodorus saith. The Sicilian registers name them Libo and Piso. Dio, M. Livius sonne of Lucius, Drusus Libo; and L. Calpurnius sonne of Lucius Piso, M. Drusus sonne of Marcus. L. . . . according to the Colotian fragment.

740

Cn. Lentulus. M. Crassus.

This yeere next following had for Consuls, after Cassiodorus, and the Sicilian monuments, Cn. Lentulus and M. Crassus: whom Dio calleth M. Licinius sonne of Marcus, Crassus; and Cn. Cornelius sonne of Cn. Lentulus. The Colotian fragment, sheweth, Marcus Licinius sonne of Marcus.

741

T. Nero. P. Quintilius.

Tiberius Nero, and P. Quintilius were Consuls this yeere, as Cassiodorus reporteth. They are named Nero and Varus in the Sicilian Catalogue. And Dio calleth them Titus Claudius sonne of Tiberius, Nero: and P. Quintilius, son of Sextus, Varus. The Colotian fragment, Tiberius Claudius sonne of T. Suetonius writeth, that Tiberius bare his first Consulship but a few daies. For this is that Tiberius Nero, Augustus Cæsar's wives sonne, who after the death of Augustus, attained to the empire, having bene first by him adopted.

742

M. Messala. P. Sulpitius.

Cassiodorus putteth downe for Consuls, Messala and P. Sulpitius. The Sicilian records, Messala and Quirinus. Dio, M. Valerius sonne of Marcus, Messala Barbatus: and P. Sulpitius sonne of Publius, Quirinus: of whom Suetonius in Claudius and Tacitus in his second booke write. Moreover, this is that Sulpitius Quirinus, who by Iosephus in the seventeenth booke of antiquities and first chapter, is said to have borne the consularie dignitie & was lieutenant in Syria: At which time, our Lord Iesus Christ the redeemer & Savior of mankind, was borne: of whom Saint Luke maketh mention saying: This was the first enrolment or taxation which was made by Quirinus President and governor of Syria. After these Consuls, others were substituted in their place, as the Colotian stone sheweth, wherein it is thus read:

M. Valerius. M. F.
C. Volgins. C. F.
Suff. C. Caninius.

Likewise in Cuspinian his kalender, these Consuls are written with their surnames:

Messala, Quirinus.
Rebulus, Saturninus.
Maximus, Tiberio.

By which it appeareth that Rebulus and Saturninus were the surnames of Caninius Volgus.

Volgus. By a fragment of the capitoll marble, it is evident, that the surnames of Valerius was Aemilianus; of Volgins, Rufus; and Rebulus of Caninius: and that as Rufus was put in the place of Valerius, so Rebulus in stead of Rufus. There remaineth also the memoriall of Rebulus and Saturninus in the Sicilian records. In this yeere, Dio reporteth, that Augustus was a second time made over-seer for mens maners and demeanours five yeeres more: and that he resumed still the same authoritie by times, as also the empire, and therein Agrippa died.

743

P. Fabius. Q. Elius.

Cassiodorus exhibiteth for this yeeres Consuls, Paulus Fabius & Q. Aelius. Dion, Paulus Fabius, sonne of Quintus Maximus and Tiberio. Of Q. Aelius Tiberio, and P. Fabius Maximus Consuls, Frontius speaketh of in his booke of water conduits: and Plinie in his eighth booke and seventh chapter, where hee writeth that the Theatre of Marcellus was dedicated when Quintus Tiberio and Fabius Max. were Consuls.

744

Iulius Antonius. Q. Fabius.

Cassiodorus nameth for Consuls this yeere, Iulius Antonius Africanus and Q. Fabius. Dio, Iul. Antonius Africanus, and Q. Fabius sonne of Quintus Maximus. The Sicilian catalogue & kalender of Cuspinian, shew Africanus and Maximus, Dio nameth Iulus, the sonne of

Antonius. Vnto him Horace writeth in this manner:

Pindorum quisquis studet emulari
Iule, ceratis op: Dædalæ,
Nisiitæ pennæ, &c.

With wings devis'd by Dædalus
And glew'd with wax, they flie:
Who strive (ô Iule) with Pindarus
To match his poetrie.

And after,

Tendit (Antoni) quoties in altis
Nubium tractus.

——— ô Antoni, so oft
As he doth mount the clouds aloft.

745

Drusus Nero. Titus Quintius.

There succeeded Coss. according to Cassiodorus, Drusus Nero, and T. Quintius: but after Dio, Nero Claudius, sonne of Tiberius, Drusus; and T. Quintius, sonne of Titus Crispinus. Drusus and Crispinus, by Cuspinian's kalender and the Sicilian registers. This Drusus brother of Tiberius Nero, was Augustus Cæsar's wives sonne: who being Consul, died in Germanie, and both he and his children had the surname of Germanicus, as Dio writeth: which addition the Senat gave him first of that province, as Eutropius saith. With the death of this Drusus ended Livies histories: for thus it is written in the last Epitome, &c. Looke in the said Breviarie.

TO



TO THE READER.

Doubt not but many of them who shall take delight and pleasure in reading the *Romane storie* above-written, will presently grow into a liking of the very place, which hath afforded so woorthy persons and rare examples. The love whereof hath moved many a man to undertake a voiage to Rome, onely to see the river Tyberis, those seven hills, and the monuments remaning of that famous citie. The journie they have found, for way long and tedious; for expense of money heavie and chargeable; for hazard of religion, conscience and good manners, exceeding dangerous: so farre degenerate are the inhabitants now from that auncient people, so devoute, so vertuous and vncorrupt, in old time. To satisfie the readers in this behalfe, and to avoid the perill of that travaile, I thought it not amisse to bring Rome (as it were) home to them, even to represent unto their eye the topographie thereof, that is to say, the description of the paces, with the memorable edifices, or rather the ruines of those antique buildings, mentioned in the storie aforesaid. And for as much as Bartholmew Marlian hath herein taken paines, and made a treatise therof, worthy in his conceit to be dedicated unto that noble Prince of famous memorie, Francis the French king, the first (I take it) of that name: and for that those learned men, who last set Livie forth in print, have thought good to adjoine thereto, as a necessarie dependant, the foresaid treatise: for my part, having struggled with the difficulties of the Alpes & in some sort overcome the crossed Rhosne and the Po; passed over the hills Olympus and Aemus, & scrawled through the rough streights of Thermopylae and Tempe, seeme now I would not in my returne to stick at the pleasant mounts, Palatine, Capitol, Aventin, &c. with the plains and vallies between, or the river Tybre & Mars field underneath the beutified especially with such stately temples, triumphant arches, glorious palaces, Theatres, Cirque, Columnes, & Colosies, wonders of the world. And albeit I found Marlian far unlike himself, & the book that goeth in his name much corrupt in the print, yet by conference with other authours, I have reformed the faults, and endeavoured that our English edition might in some measure be answerable to the Latine.

A SUMMARIE COLLECTED BY
JOHN BARTHOLMEW MARLIANUS, A GENTLEMAN OF MILLAINE, TOUCHING THE TOPOGRAPHIE OF ROME IN ANCIENT TIME.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

The situation of the Cittie.

Before we enterprise to shew the edifices and buildings of the cittie of Rome, somewhat would be premised of the site thereof. Begin therefore we will at the very habitation of the immortall gods; with the invocation of whome, the Poets are wont in every hard and difficult worke, to lay their first ground and make their entrance.

The Capitoll hill, where it is broadest, exceedeth not 800 foot: in length it lyeth out toward the Northwest 1500. It hath a point or wing on either side in fashion of a semicircle, and in compasse containeth well-neere seven * furlongs.

* Stadia.

From this mount as it runneth out in length, the Palatine hill is divided by a valley of the same breadth, or somewhat more; making a square with 4 angles of unequall sides, containing 1200 paces. For, the one of 600 foot boundeth upon the Capitoline hill: a second of 700 foot, bendeth to the Northeast: the third, being almost twice as long, looketh toward the Southeast and the mount Caelius: the fourth, which of all others is biggest, and comprehendeth the lifts or shew-place called Circus maximus, directly regardeth the Aventine. On the second side thereof there is one plaine, reaching from the head and top of the Forum Rom. to the utmost skirt of the hill Quirinalis, which bendeth toward the Suburra, and taketh up in breadth 500 foot: but it lyeth out in length almost a mile from both fronts, betwene the Capitoll, the Forum Nervæ, and the mount Caelius: in like manner from the said mount Caelius and Palatine, Suburra and the Esquilæ, as farre as to the Church of Saint *M. avecline*. A second plaine there is, under the other point and top of the Capitoll, neere the Theatre of *M. avecllus*, which stretcheth out 500 foot from the mount it selfe, as farre as to the Tyber; and anon over-against the valley, from the crooked reach and course of the river, and the nouke whereby the Aventine is divided from the Palatine, it spreadeth broader: but afterwards betwene the said hills it groweth narrow, untill yee come to Cæliolus and the very gate Capena, where the Aventine is parted from Cæliolus onely by the breadth of the street or high way. The length of this plain is likewise a mile, having on the right hand, Tyber and the Aventine; on the left, the Capitoline mount, the Palatine, and Cælius.

Then followeth the mount Cælius (separate from the Palatine by a plaine) resembling a pyramidal ferme of a spire, so as the Base thereof containeth 500 foot neere to the Amphitheatre. Divided also from the same it is by the street Appia, fast by the grand Cirque, which reaching to the gate Capena, leaveth on the left hand a valley 600 foot broad, betwene Cælius and Cæliolus, lying out in length 4 Stadia, and within a while to the walls which joine close to the mount Cælius, as farre as to the gate Asinaria. This hill then from thence lyeth along the citie wall for 4 Stadia, toward the Northeast. From hence the walls meet affont for the space of two Stadia, even to the gate Nævia: from whence as they turne to the Northeast, it is parted from the Esquilæ by the street Labicana; and anon shewing it selfe affont neere Saint *M. aveclines*, it beareth forward as farre as to the Amphitheatre. Thus keeping no certaine forme, it taketh in circuit about 2500 paces. Moreover, the Cæliolus is enclofed within the said valley, the street Appia, and all along Northeast and Southeast, with the citie walls; and hath in compasse well-neere a mile.

The Aventine seemeth to containe two hilles; the broader part whereof toward the Tyber, and in like manner in length from Tyber along the wallles, and anon neere the gate Hostiensis, is divided and cut with a crooked street-way which leadeth to the angle of the grand Cirque, and the

the mount Caelius: leaving the other part thereof, divided on the right hand from the mount Caelius by the street Appia, untill you come to the gate Capena. It had in compasse 12 Stadia, as Dionysius also testifieth; and on the Southeast; a most spacious and large plaine of 4 unequal sides: toward the South containing almost sixe Stadia, VVestward five, somewhat lesse Eastward, but toward the Tyber not above foure.

The Esquiline on the South part is divided with the street Labicana; on the Northwest, with the valley lying betwene Caelius, Palatinus, and it selfe; on the North, the Subura; and from the Viminal hill, the street called Patricius parteth it, untill a man come to the bath of Diocletian. In circuit it containeth about foure miles, and hath no certaine forme; in so much as *Varron* (not without good reason) thinketh it two hills, and cutteth it into many parts.

The Viminal hill on the VVest side regardeth the Quirinal, having about a furlong space the plaine Suburralying betwene: on the North it hath the valley Quirinalis. Betwene the same hills there lyeth as it were 4 jugera in breadth, but about a quarter of a mile in length. And anon it joyneth to the Quirinal and Esquiline along the wall of the citie, by a continuall row of many arches, whereby these mountains are made even. The compasse thereof taketh up two miles and an halfe; the forme thereof is longwise, and the breadth not in every part alike, but variable.

The Quirinal mount on the left hand, directly from the tower called [Militarium] for the space of 4 Stadia, over-looketh the leuell plot of the citie which lyeth VVestward: but on the right hand (as cleerey appereth by that which we have said) it is opposit to the Viminalis: on the third side Northward, for the space of six Stadia, it heth to the hill called [Hortulorum.] It hath a valley lying betwene, in breadth foure jugera, reaching neere to the gate Salaria: and in the whole compasse it taketh almost three miles.

Next to it is the little hill Hortulorum, although it standeth without the old pomerie of the citie: for the space of 3 Stadia it beareth over the valley Martia, lying betwene it and Tyber. It carrieth in length along the wall of the citie, from the gate Flumentana to Collina, a full mile more than any other sides. The circumference thereof, is much about 18 Stadia.

There remaineth now the mount Ianiculus, on the other side of Tyber: the one halfe thereof and not above, is contained within the walls: from the Vatican Plaine, for the space of three Stadia, whereas it stretcheth toward the South, it adjoyneth to the river: the other part thereof is enclosed within the walls, for the compasse of five Stadia.

Moreover, above the Vatican plaine, there is a little hill of the same name, which putteth forth two points like hornes; the one toward Ianiculum, the other Northward, much like a bow full bent: the convexitie or outward compasse whereof containeth a mile.

Now will we run over the plaine and bafe plot of the citie: which beginning at the Capitoll hill neere the gate Flaminia, at this day on the Northeast side (or rather the North) comprehendeth a Diameter or race almost of 8 Stadia, environed with the hills Quirinalis and Hortulorum: but on the VVest side, the Tyber runneth by it, where along the bankes thereof it beareth a greater space. Moreover, by a freight and direct line being drawne for two Stadia from the hill Hortulorum, and namely where it over-looketh the Piere of *Domitian* called Naumachia: along the banke of Tyberis, over-against the Pile Hadriani, it maketh a quadrangle of foure uneven sides, containing within it more than three miles: without which square is left the valley Martia, namely as much as heth between the hill Hortulorum, the wall of the citie, and Tyberis: so as the breadth draweth narrow or still unto the gate Flaminia.

There resteth yet the Transtiberine region, which together with the Ianiculum, taketh in compasse about 3 miles. This will be more easily observed and marked by the very channell of Tyberis; which entring into the citie, keepeth his course directly on the right hand of the gate Flaminia through the vale Martia, and soone after by little and little turneth from the North, VVestward, and representeth the forme of a semicircle, in the convexitie whereof is the Vatican, and within the concavite, the *Mars* field. Moreover, beneath the Moles or pile [Hadriani] returning to his former course, as farr as to the utmost foot of the Aventine, winding somewhat crooked into the South, not farr from the gate Portuensis it runneth forth of the citie.

Thus much concerning the situation and forme of Rome, and the plot wherein it standeth, which at this day is so farr changed, that hardly a man may find any token or memoriall of it, as it was in old time.

CHAP. II.

Of the founders of the citie of Rome, the KK. and inhabitants thereof.



Here region (on which Rome was after built) VVest of Tyber, a hundred and fortie furlongs distant from the sea, the Sicilians (by constant report) first inhabited. Afterwards, the Aborigines leaving Arcadia, by the conduct of *Oenotrius* the sonne of *Lycan*, came into the said quarters: and being growne into a liking of the place for the fertilitie thereof, they expelled the

the Sicilians, and held it for their owne use. In processe of time the Pelasgians, a people of Greece, together with the Thessalians, who came to aid the Aborigines against the nations their neighbor borderers, remained also in these parts (with the good will and contentment of the said Aborigines) untill the Trojan warre: but they all retained the name of the Aborigines, which prerogative they held because they were the first, that by armes conquered that siegnorie and kingdome. Long time after, *Saturne* being chased out of Crete by *Jupiter* his son, fled into Italie: where he taught *Lanus* the K. of the Aborigines the skil of planting vineyards, with the use thereof, and likewise the handling of the sickle: in regard of which good turne, hee was freely feoffed by *Lanus* in part of his realme, yea, and after the decease of *Lanus* enjoyed the kingdome alone. After this, the Arcadians, who tooke the citie Palantium (as wearie of their owne native countrey) and by the leading of *Evander*, seeking some other place of habitation, arrived at the place where now Rome standeth; received of *Faunus* the king of the Aborigines, a portion of ground; built a fort upon a little hill not farr from Tyber, and named it Palantium, in remembrance of their native citie which they had abandoned. After all this, the Peloponnesians, Phlietians, and Epians, by reason that Elis their native countrey was wasted before by *Hercules*, were by him brought away into Italie, & they planted themselves upon the mount Saturnine. These men lived a long time according to their owne lawes and customes, untill they being vanquished and subdued by the Aborigines, were incorporated by them into one Communitie. Then reigned *Latinius* the sonne of *Faunus*, untill such time as *Enceas* the sonne of *Anchises*, after the overthrow and finall ruine of Ilium, after many adventures and much varietie of fortune, which he had endured together with the Trojans his companions, came by the instinct of the destinies to K. *Latinius*. VVhose daughter *Lavinia* hee tooke to wife, and so was by *Latinius* admitted into the societie and fellowship with him of the kingdome. VVhen the Aborigines and the Trojans were thus linked and joined together, hee called both nations by the name of Latines. Then was *Enceas* swayed upon by *Turnus*; for that he had married *Lavinia*, who was espoused & affianced to him before. But *Enceas* won the victorie, and in single combat slew *Turnus*. At that time also *Latinius* died, & left his son in law *Enceas* heir to the crowne. Certaine yeeres after, was *Enceas* killed by *Mezentius* king of the Tuscanes; and *Ascanius* his sonne succeeded in the kingdome. He built the townes Lavinium and Alba: and when hee departed this life, made over the crowne to his brother *Sylvius*. After him followed kings, *Enceas Sylvius*, *Latinius Sylvius*, *Alba*, *Atys*, *Capys*, *Capetus*, *Tyberinus*, *Agrippa*, *Romulus*, *Aventinus*, *Procas*, and *Amulius*. This *Amulius* usurped the kingdome by fraud, which in right of eldership was due to his brother *Numitor*. And for feare lest there might arise from his brothers offspring, some one to make claime and recover the roiall seat, and thereby himselfe be thrust out of his place; he consecrated *Rhea* the daughter of *Numitor* to *Vesta*, for to bee a professed Nun. Shee being thus made a votarie, and devoted to perpetuall virginitie, happened to be with child by *Mars*, and was delivered of two boies, twins, namely *Romulus* and *Remus*. *Amulius* advertised hereof, commaunded both the babes to bee cast forth to perish. Found they were by *Fausulus* a shepherd upon the banke of the river Tyber, and by his wife *Fausula* fostered and brought up among other shepherds. *Remus* being grown to mans estate, was taken by certain theeves and robbers, and brought to K. *Amulius* his great-uncle. Accused he was, for that hee used to raise booties and drive away whole droves of *Numitor* his cattell. VVhereupon delivered hee was to *Numitor* for to bee punished according to his discretion. But *Remus* after much discourse of speeches to and fro, was by certaine tokens found and knowne to be *Numitor* his daughters son. And at the very time came *Romulus* also with *Fausulus* in place, purposing to rescue *Remus* his brother. Soon they entered into a conspiracie, and at unwares surprised and murdered *Amulius*: and so restored their grandfather *Numitor*. In the second yeere of *Numitor* his reign, *Romulus* and *Remus* built the citie of Rome, in the very place where they had been laid forth to perish, which was the 432 yer after the winning of Troy, and the twelfth day before the calends of May. Afterwards in a fray that arose betwene *Romulus* and *Remus* striving for the soveraigntie, *Remus* came by his death, and then *Romulus* gave name both to the citie and citizens also of Rome.

CHAP. III.

The forme and bignes of the citie of Romulus.

Romulus set out the citie fouresquare, as *Plutarch* witnesseth: whereupon of some it is called *Quadrata*. Others affirme that the forme and compasse thereof is uncertaine, and by reason of Antiquitie unknowne at this day. The hill Palatinus was by *Romulus* first fortified, because therein he was brought up: at the foot whereof began the Pomerium. Afterwards the Capitoll and the Roman Forum were laid to it.

The citie began to be marked and bounded out from the beast-market; from whence in certaine places were stones pitched and set between, along the bottome of the mount Palatine, as far as to the altar of *Consus*; and so within a while to the old Curiae: then, to the chappell of the Lares & the Roman Forum the bounds were extended, until a place was assigned for the wals, and a spacious plot to build the citie upon.

Yyyy

Titus

THE TOPOGRAPHIE OF ROME.

Titus Tatius began the wall from the rocke *Carmentalis*, and brought it to the way, which is not farre from *Tyber*. From thence, Southward unto the farthest part of the grand cirque: and so North-eastward hee raunged it into the Forum of *Nerva*, and in the end joined it to one of the points of the Capitoll hill, and within it compassed both the Capitoll it selfe, and also the Palatine. And finally to enlarge the citie, hee set to it the hills *Quirinalis* and *Caelius*.

CHAP. IIII.

The gates of *Romulus* his citie.

Romulus when he died, left the citie of Rome with three gates, namely *Carmentalis*, *Romana*, and *Pandana*. Others adde a fourth thereto, to wit, *Ianualis*.

Carmentalis took the name of *Carmentis* the mother of *Evander*, whose chappell *Carmen-talis* stood before the gate. This gate stood under the Capitoll on the right hand, betweene the cliffe *Tarpeius* and the *Tyber*, over-against the church now of *S. Katherine*, toward the shewplace *Flaminius*. This was afterwards named *Scelerata*, for that without this gate, in the temple of *Ianus*, the act of Senate passed, for the sending of the three hundred *Fabij* to *Cremera*: who went forth at this gate, and were slaine every one at *Cremera*.

Romana was so called of *Romulus*: built it was where now the gardens are belonging to the new church of *S. Maria*, not farre from the angle of the mount *Palatine*, in the bottome of the cliffe of *Victoria*. Some affirme, that this gate was afterwards called *Mugonia*, of the loowing of kine and oxen: others name it *Trigonia* of three corners that it had.

Pandana was so cleped, because it stood open for things to bee brought through it into the citie. The same was called *Libera* or *Romulida*. The place for it they assigned where the gate *Saturnia* stood, bearing the name of the old citie, so called and after destroyed.

Ianualis carried the name of the temple of *Ianus*, which is not far off. It stood sometime at the very foot of the hill *Viminalis*.

CHAP. V.

The varietie of the compasse and walls of the citie.

When the Romans one while made warre upon their neighbor nations of *Italic*, and otherwhiles defended themselves against their violence, it hapned for the most part that they got the upper hand, and ever as they vanquished any and subdued them under their subjection, in the end made them cittizens of Rome: by which occasion, the citie built by *Romulus*, was not sufficient to receive so great a multitude. *Tullus* therefore after his conquest of the *Sabines* and *Albanes*, laid to the citie the mountain *Caelius* and the *Esquilie*, & so enlarged it. Afterwards, when *Policorium* was woen, and a number of the inhabitants translated to Rome; *Anclus* made a second enlargement of the citie, and granted these new commers the mount *Aventine* to inhabit. The old Romanes therfore dwelt in *Palatine*; the *Sabines* in *Capitolium*; the *Albanes* in *Caelius*; and this new-come multitude in *Aventine*. But after the *Latines* also were received into the citie, they joined *Ianiculus* also to the citie by a wodden bridge made over the *Tyber*; and cast a trench called *Fossa Quiritium*, about the low & leuell places of the citie. So the *Trans-tyberine* quarter was united to the citie, & made it more spacious & itately: last of all, *Servius Tullius* by adjoining the hills *Viminalis* and *Quirinalis* to the five abovenamed, amplified the citie. And whereas before it was mounded about with rubbish, and the same rudely laid, *Tarquin* the proud was the first that enclosed it with a wall of good ashler stone. And the very same walls which stand at this day, were by the posteritie that followed, repaired and reedified upon the old foundations. But the citie in old time, when as it flourished in greatest glorie, extended farre more in bounds and compasse. For in *Plinies* time the circuit therof within the wall contained about 20 miles. But in these daies hardly 12. And the whole compasse of the citie, with the suburbs and buildings about and without the walls (which although they spread far, were comprehended yet under the name of citie) in the said *Plinies* time, was 50 miles.

CHAP. VI.

The Pomarie of the citie

That void space of ground within and without the walls, which might not lawfully bee either plowed or inhabited, is called *Pomarie*. And sometime it is put for the circuit of the whole citie. This *Pomarie* was oftentimes set out farther, and altered by the Roman emperours. But none had power granted so to doe, save only they that either conquered somewhat to the *Romane* dominion, or endowed the citie with some singular and especiall benefit; as the emperor *Claudius* and many more. And like as the Romanes had no certain limits of their empire, so no set bounds confined either the citie or the *Pomarie*.

CHAP.

THE TOPOGRAPHIE OF ROME.

CHAP. VII.

The gates of old Rome, which at this day are not to be seene: those also that are now extant.



ven as the bounds of the citie and *Pomarium* were many times altered, so the gates also; some were left within the citie, by occasion that the walls were farther set out and lost their names: others in time were so old, that they fell downe; and albeit their name remaine, yet the place where they stood is not knowne. Some againe were made new, and tooke either new names, or else kept their old: others changed the place, and held their old name: and finally, there were some that had two names; and others, more. And these in manner were all the names of the gates:

Flumentana, or *Flaminia*.

Numentana, or *Viminalis*.

Esquilina, or *Taurina*.

Capena, or *Appia*.

Tergemina, or *Hostiensis*.

Ratumena, or *Victrina*.

Carmentalis, *Magonia*, *Pandana*, *Querquetulana*, *Raduscula*, *Saginalis*, *Saucualis*, *Collatina*, *Interaggeres*, *Tiburtina*, *Gabiola*, *Latina*, *Aurelia*, *Catularia*, *Laurentia*, *Fontinalis*, *Lavernalis*, *Ferentina*, *Minutia*, *Salutaris*, *Mutia*, *Piccularis*, *Prenestina*, *Libitinensis*, *Valeria*, and *Tarpeia*.

Flumentana, tooke name of the river *Tyberis*, for it stood at the first upon the banke of that river, not far from the bridge of *Xylus*, in the end of the Broad street, and at the head of the way or street *Flaminia*: but afterwards, translated it was to the place where now it standeth. In time following, it was called *Flaminia*, of the causey of *Flaminius*: at this day it is named, The peoples gate, and is situate in the hill *Hortulorum*.

Collatina, bare the name of *Collatia*, a towne not farre from Rome: now it is *Pinciana*, of one *Pincius* a Senator, whose name it keepeth. This also standeth in the hill *Hortulorum*: between it and *Flumentana* is a mile space.

Quirinalis tooke name of the chappell of *Quirinus*: or because in old time the way lay through it, for that went to the hill *Quirinalis*. It seemeth to be called *Agonensis*, quasi *agone*, i. without a corner; afterwards, *Collina*: and at the last, *Salaria*; for that by it, salt was carried into the citie. This name it holdeth still, and standeth 6 Stadia from *Collatina*.

Viminalis is from *Quirinalis* distant 5 Stadia; so cleped as they say, of a wood of osters, which (as it is supposed) sometime grew thereby: or else, of a chappell of *Imp. Viminis*. This also men called *Figulensis*, of the potters workes made without it: but now they name it the gate of *S. Agnes*, and *Numentana*.

Interaggeres standeth in the Plaine *Viminalis*, betweene the gate *Viminalis* and *Esquilina*: it had the denomination of *Tarquinus* his mures and bankes, among which it was built.

Tiburtina, stood between *Esquilina* and *Numentana*, so as it was 12 Stadia distant from *Esquilina*, upon the plaine of *Esquilie*, in the verie place where the conduit is of the *M. Anio* water.

Esquilina, tooke that name of the hill *Esquilie*: the same in auncient time was called *Taurina*, of a bulles head there found: for many a day after was the said bulles head, scene painted in the inner front of the said gate. At this day, *S. Lawrence* gate.

Navia drew the name of certaine groves or woods neere adjoining. In times past *Labicana*, and now *Major*. An arch there was so called, and erected in the same place by the old Romanes.

Caelimontana, standing from *Navia* 8 Stadia, seemeth by affinitye of name to be, so called of the hill *Caelius*, in the edge wherof it standeth: and *Afinaria* it was called, of the *Affes* which were wont to be sent out to *Naples*, by that gate. At this time they call it *S. Iohns* gate.

Gabiola, built close to the mount *Caelius*, Southeast: which seemeth by all likelihood to take the name of the citie *Gabij*, which it directly regardeth. It carried the name also *Metrodium*, of measuring, and is situate from *Caelimontana*, as it were 5 Stadia.

Latina is 5 Stadia likewise from *Gabiola*, seated not farre from the church of *S. Iohn Baptist*: so called, for that men goe forth of it into *Latium*.

Capena is so named of the *Capenates*, a Latine nation, against which it lyeth. This also is called still *Camena*, of a grove and chappell of the Muses, built just before the same gate. *Appia* likewise, of the high-way *Appia*; which *Appius* the Cenfor paved, and so it bare his name. They call it also *Triumphalis*, for that in triumph the pompe is that way carried with state. Of some it is named *Fontinalis*, for the plentie of springs there. At this day *S. Sebastians* gate.

Tergemina tooke that name of an old gate so called, at which the 3 twinnes *Horatij* went forth against their enemies, and gave the first name to it. Some shew remaineth yet of this gate to be seene, neere the *Salinae*.

Yyyy yj

Hostiensis,

THE TOPOGRAPHIE OF ROME.

Hofienfis, was in auncient daies so called, for that it led to the citie Hostia : now *S. Pauls* gate : situate it is from Capenaweele-neere 8 Stadia.

Portuensis is a gate beyond the Tyber, within halfe a Stadium of the said river ; so called, for that it leadeth to the haven of Hostia. Now a daies men call it, *Porta ripa*, i. The banke gate.

Aurelia, looketh toward Ianiculum ; distant from the former almost 7 Stadia . In this age they call it *S. Pancrace* gate.

Aelia, was built by *Aelius Hadrianus*, of whome it tooke that name.

Septimiana, bare the name of *Septimius* the Emperour : and because it standeth under Ianiculum, is at this day called, *Subtus Ianum*. Some affirme, that this is *Fontinalis*, because out of the mount called Aureus, there issue fountaines : for to the said hill this gate standeth close . From it to Aurelia are 5 Stadia ; and to the river Tyber 7 jugera or acres.

Thus much for the gates of the citie of Rome, and their names.

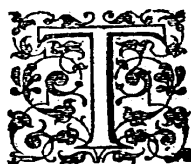
The wall in old time had upon it 360 turrets. Some of these are decayed and gone ; others repaired, and many this long time are ready to fall.

Now is it time, and the course of the storie both require, that leaving the towres and walls, we enter into the cittie, and shew the beginning and the place of those edifices, which within the walls, either upon the hills or the plaine plot of the citie, were built by men in old time. First therefore begin we will at the worthiest earthly habitation of all their gods, to wit, the Capitoll.



THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

The sundrie names of the Capitoll.

He Capitoll was by the old Romanes called Mount Saturnius, either of a citie named Saturnia, which under the very hill was buile in that place where now Rome standeth : or because *Saturne* in times past dwelt in that hill : or els (as some thinke) for that the mount it selfe had *Saturne* for the tutelard god and protector thereof. But afterwards it was named the mount Tarpeius, of the virgin *Tarpeia*, of whom Livie writeth. Last of all, *Tarquinius Priscus* going in hand to build upon that hill a temple to *Iupiter*, when he digged for to lay the foundation, chaunced to find in the botome of the trench a mans head ; wherupon they called it Capitoliūm. And the Augurs being sought unto and demanded, VVhat the finding of that head might signifie ? answered, That this castle should be the See of the empire and the head of the whole world. This hill they divide into the castle and the Capitol. The castle they built Northward, as a stronger and more fortified place : but the Capitoll, toward Tyberis, a place naturally defended.

CHAP. II.

Who first laid the foundation of the Capitoll : who finished it : how often it was burnt, and by whome reedified.

IN the Sabine warre, *Tarquinius Priscus* vowed to build the Capitoll temple : but after the war was ended, so soone as he had laid the ground-workes, he died . After him, *Tarquinius Superbus* finished the building, of 4 square stone : and defraied the charges thereof out of the pillage of *Pometia*, a towne that he won. VVhen he for his tyrannie was banished Rome, *Horatius Pulvillus* the Consul, dedicated the said Capitoll to *Iupiter*. It stood upright and sound for the space of 415 yeeres, untill the Marian warres, and then (in the Consulship of *Scipio* and *Narbo*) it was consumed with fire. *Sylla* reedified it, and *Q. Catulus* consecrated it : and so it continued untill the Vitellian war. During which troubles, it was a second time burnt, at what time it stood with the doores shut, undefended, and not rifled. *Vespasian* built it againe ; and in his life, a third time it was destroyed by fire : and together with the Capitoll, *Vespasian* also himselfe died. Afterwards, *Domitian* rebuilded it in more magnificent and stately manner than it had been ever before, and disbursed therein above 12000 talents. Of the Capitoll turrets and pinacles, the statues and images smitten with thunderbolts and blasted oftentimes with lightning, divers writers have made mention.

CHAP.

THE TOPOGRAPHIE OF ROME.

CHAP. III.

The temple of Iup. Feretrius, of Iup. Opt. Max. of Iuno, and Minerva.

He Capitoll, *Cicero* calleth The house and habitation of the gods, because it contained the chappels, statues, and images in manner of all the gods : but the first of all other in Rome was that of *Iupiter Feretrius*, vowed by *Romulus* in the warre against the Ceneuians. After which war ended, and he returned to Rome with victorie, hee reared a temple in the very pitch and top of the capitoll hill. But *Iupiter* was by *Romulus* named *Feretrius*, as some would have it ; for that *Iupiter* assisted him in striking the enemy, in that verie place where he vowed the temple. Or els, because the Romanes used in making of peace, to sweare by his scepter and the flint. The rouse of this church fallen downe for verie age and through neglect of the Romanes, *Augustus* repaired. This temple first built by *Romulus*, was afterwards enlarged by *Ancus Marcius*.

But the temple of *Iup. Opt. Max.* of all other was the greatest and most renowned. This also was called Capitoliūm ; and *Tarquinius Priscus* vowed it. After him, *Tarquinius Superbus* expended in the foundation thereof 40000 pound weight of silver : but before that he finished it, he was deprived of his kingdome for his tyrannie, and left the worke unperfite to be accomplished by the Romanes. Buile it was upon the hanging of the Capitoline hill toward Tyberis, as hath been shewed before. For the forme, the greatnesse and beautie of this temple, read *Dionysius* and sundrie other authors, who have written of the Romane acts and of Rome it selfe. Vpon the top or lanternne thereof, stood *Summanus* the god, made of potters earth, whose head was smitten with lightning and fell into Tyberis. It had within it besides, a sanctuarie or secret chappell, which no Lay person might enter into. VVithin the said cell or chappell, were two coronets of gold : the one of them the Gauls consecrated to *Iup. Opt. Maximus* : the other, the Carthaginians sent to Rome in the honour of *Iupiter*, in token of joy for their victorie over the Samnites. Moreover, in the said temple were other three chappels, to wit, one of *Iup. Opt. Max.* in the mids ; a second of *Minerva* on the right hand ; and a third of *Iuno* on the left. And because men in old time attributed unto *Minerva* the invention of numbers, a law was set downe in writing, That the chiefe and highest Pretour for the time being, should drive a spike or great naile neere unto her image, whereby the computation of the yeeres might be knownen. This so rich and costly edifice, was burnt all at once in the Vitellian warre. Now at this day the place wheras it stood, is prophane : howbeit there remaine yet to be seene, some tokens thereof, and the foundations ; but all deformed and broken peece meale.

CHAP. IIII.

The temples of Saturne, Iupiter Tonans, Iupiter Custos, of Fortune, of Vejovis, Mercie, Iuno Moneta, and of Ianus. The sepulchre of Orestes, the common Tresurie, the house of Manlius, and chappell of Carmenta.

INce that we have described the temple of *Iupiter K.* of the gods, in what place it was situate, and by whome built ; meet it is to make report also of other gods in order, who had their houses in the Capitoll : and first of *Saturne*, *Iupiters* father.

Saturne in old time had an altar erected unto him in the verie way as ye goe out of the Forum up to the Capitoll, as some thinke. There be, that would have this temple or altar of *Saturne*, built by the companions of *Hercules* : others againe say, that *Tatius* reared it. But of this varietie in opinion of VVriters, this may be the reason, because some affirme, that there were two temples consecrated to *Saturne*, but reared in divers places and at severall times : one at the rocke of Carmenta, even before the Capitoline cliffe (wherein the bones also of *Orestes* brought from Aricia were bestowed) : the other in that very place, where now standeth the chappell of *S. Saviour* : where yet at this day there is a turret to be seene, which they call, the tower in *Erarium* : for there first was the common treasure house of Rome. In the temple of *Saturne*, dedicated by *Catulus Lutatius*, there stood *Ianus* with four faces ; signifying the four times of the yeere : of whome the first moneth Ianuarie tooke name.

The temple of *Iupiter Tonans*, *Augustus Caesar* first built, on the Capitoline cliffe or side of the hill, Southeast ; upon this occasion : It happened, that in the Cantabrian expedition, as hee was carried by night in a litter, the lightning slightly glauced thereupon, and killed the servant that was the guide ; and therefore he both vowed this temple, and also finished it to the honour of Thundring *Iupiter*. A temple also to *Fortune* was built not farre from it.

The temple of *Vejovis*, stood betweene the castle and the Capitoll, in that part where now the chappels are to be seene of Conservatores. In old time they called this Idoll-devill, *Vejovis*, because he was deprived of all power to helpe and doe good. To him they sacrificed a shee goat : because hee

Yyyy iiij

held

held arrows in his hand, most men thought he was *Apollo*.

Asylum, that is to say, the temple of *Mercie* stood likewise upon the Capitoll hill, neere a shadowie grove, in the very valley amid the Capitoll and the castle. Called it is the temple Intermontium, between two oke rowes. This *Romulus* erected; that what offender soever thither fled, he should be privileged as in a sanctuary. But *Tyberius* afterwards, supposing that this place ministered occasion of mischief, deprived it of that libertie. This Asylum, by report, the posteritie of *Hercules* first erected.

The temple (as also the mint-house) of *Iuno Moneta*, was built upon that plot of ground, where sometime stood the house of *M. Manlius*. This chappell, some report that *L. Furius* vowed; others, that *L. Cicervius* the Pretor; and *Ovid*, that *Camillus*. Now was *Iuno* called *Moneta*, of giving warning; for that from the verie place where afterwards the temple was set, there was a voice heard of *Iuno*, admonishing them of the future overthrow by the *Senones*. In this place now standeth a Senators house of Rome.

The temple of *Ianus* keeper of the Capitoline castle, stood in that place, where at this day is the goale and prison for malefactors and fellows, toward the Southwest, over-against the Forum Romanum. This *Ianus* upon the Capitoll, *Romulus* and *Tatius* devised to have two faces, representing thereby the two nations. Others would have him to be pourtraied a faced, for his cunning and providence: for he was the first that invented the [roiall] crown; also boats; the skill of navigation; brasen coine, and many other things. *Ianus* tooke that name *ab eundo*, of going, for that he turneth about the heaven and all things els. For which cause he is also named *Vertumnus*: In old time they beleevd there was but one *Ianus*; but the posteritie in later age, have imagined more.

The temple of *Iupiter Custos*, *Domitian* (after hee was invested in the empire) built: and placed his owne image in the lap and bosome of that god. It stood where at this day the Saline or salt pits are, neere the temple of *Ianus*.

CHAP. V.

The temples of gods which have no certaine place now in the Capitoll.

AMong those gods, whose determinate place assigned to them in the Capitoll, is not knowne where it was, the first was *Terminus*, as to whom in all the world throughout, there is no proper place appointed. Now this *Terminus* was a rude & formlesse stone. Vnto him *Tatius* first vowed a temple: and some say, that *Numa* dedicated it. How ever it be; no doubt, verie ancient it was, as easily may be collected by that which followeth. But why, that in the Capitoll was of men in old time reputed for a god, this was the cause: VVhen *Tarquinius Superbus* determined to build a temple to *Iupiter*, he consulted with the Augures about the place, because he would begin nothing without the approbation of the birds. They shewed unto him the mount *Tarpeius*: but this place was already taken up with other gods, whose chappels there, were consecrated and hallowed. These therefore were by certaine sacrifices to be conjured out from thence, for to give way unto *Iupiter*, and to be translated into some other quarter. All the gods willingly yeelded their places up to *Iupiter* as their King. only *Terminus* refused to be displaced; and so remained there still. VVhen he had finished the temple, that fore-part of the rouse which regardeth the said stone, was left naked & open for that god, as who neither ought nor could be enclosed. The augures therefore being sought unto and demanded, For what reason *Terminus* alone abode still with *Iupiter*, when all the other gods were gone? made answer, that thereby was signified, that together with religion, their empire also was eternall. To this god they sacrificed not but in open aire and publickly abroad, as being the god and keeper of bounds. Saint *Augustine* witnesseth, that *Mars* also and *Iulianus* together with *Terminus*, would not agree, to give place unto *Iupiter*: for that the dominion of Rome should not be bounded out, ne yet decay with age and continuance of time.

To *Mars* and *Venus Erycina*, *Atilius* and *Q. Fab. Max.* being Duumvirs, dedicated chappels upon the Capitoll, severd asunder by one vault or cistern.

To queene *Iuno*, *Cn. Flaminius* in the Ligurian warre, vowed a temple.

To *Ops*, *Tatius* the King, consecrated a temple; for that shee is called the earth, and is the mother of all things; as bringing forth all, and receiving all again. The same *Ops* is called *Mai*, *Fauna*, and *Bona Dea*. This temple was blasted with fire from heaven, as *Livie* testifieth.

To *Mars* revenger, *Augustus Caesar* erected a temple upon the Capitoll, within the hill *Saturnius*.

To *Faith*, on the same hill, *Atilius Collatinus* dedicated another.

To *Health*, *Concord*, *Libertie*, and *Victorie*, they built temples: and many there were within the citie erected to *Concord*.

To *Fortuna Primiigenia* and *Obsequens*, *Tullus* dedicated a temple.

To *Venus* bald, they set up also a temple in the Capitoll, in memoriall and everlasting praise of the *Romane* dames, for willingly parting with the haire from their heads, toward the making of engines that

that during the *Gauls* warre, were devised and made against the enemies.

Tarquinius Superbus built a temple to *Iupiter Sponsor*, and *Sp. Posthumius* dedicated it. Likewise to *Iupiter Piflor*, the old *Romans* consecrated a temple in the Capitoll.

**The baker.*

CHAP. VI.

Of the statues which either in old time were, or now remaine in the Capitoll.

IF statues in old time were sundrie sorts, and the same made of divers matter: some of marble, some of brasie, some of silver, and others of gold. Many of these were set up in the capitoll to the immortal gods for divers causes, and namely, for their benefits bestowed upon mankind; which along time were honoured and worshipped. To noble men likewise and such as had deserved well of the common-weale, the usuall manner was in old time to set up statues and images in the temples, to provoke others by their example to doe the like.

To *Iupiter* in the Capitoll, *Sp. Carvilius* erected a statue in his temple, after he had vanquished the *Samnites*, taking the proportion and forme thereof by the patterne of *Iupiter Latarius* his image. *Florus* maketh mention, that this statue was smitten with lightning. He also set up another to *Thundering Iupiter*.

The old *Romans* set up in the temple of *Imp. Opt. Max.* statues to *Victorie* and *Faith*, to either of them one.

For *Nemesis* also, was an image erected in the Capitoll, for that this goddesse punisheth proud and faithlesse persons. Shee is named also *Rhamnusia* of *Rhamnus* a village in *Attica*, where shee was worshipped: and *Adraste*, of *Adrastus* who was the first that built a temple in the honour of her.

Vnto *Hercules*, for his notable and famous actes, they erected many statues in the Capitoll: and namely, *Pub. Sulpitius* and *Pub. Sempronius* one; and *Q. Fabius Max.* another, which he brought from the *Tarentines* by him subdued.

The images of good Event, and good Fortune (the workmanship both of *Praxiteles*) were within the Capitoll.

The image of *Apollo* with a diademe, and his Colossus thirtie cubits high: in the making whereof were bestowed 140 talents, *Lucullus* translated out of *Apollonia* in *Pontus*, into the Capitoll.

An image there was of *Ianus* likewise in the capitoll, holding in his right hand the number of 300, and in his left of 65, to signifie the daies of the yeere.

Two golden statues of *Castor* and *Pollux*, were by the Emperour *Claudius* of famous memorie, dedicated in the temple of *Iupiter*.

The counterfeits resembling the rivers, *Nilus* and *Tygris*, halfe naked, were set up in the forefront of the temples of *Conservatores*: the one carie upon the shoulders, *Sphinx*; the other a *Tygre*; two wild beafts: both of them hold in their right hand *Cornucopia*, which signifieth plentie.

The pernage of *Hercules* pourtraied naked, of brasie and double guilt, without beard, holding in his right hand a club, and in the left the golden apples of the *Hesperides*, was found neere the *Greeke* schoole and the beast-market, in the ruines of *Ara maxima*.

There be certaine portraitures also of the *Parthian* and *Dacian triumphs*, enclosed within walls, which were taken out of the church now called *S. Martina*.

CHAP. VII.

Statues of famous and noble men set up in the Capitoll.

IO *Scipio* they erected in the capitoll, a statue wearing a soldiars cassock and slippers or pantofles, in regard of his victorie over *Antiochus*, for an everlasting memoriall of his worthie deeds. To *Sylla* there was also a statue erected in the Capitoll, in habit of a footman.

For *Aemilius Lepidus*, when he was but a boy, the people of Rome set up a statue, because hee had in battaile vanquished an enemy, and saved a citizen.

The like honour to the rest they did to *Metellus*, for that hee had preserved out of the temple of *Vesta* being on fire, the image of *Pallas*.

They erected an image unto *Cornelia* the mother of the *Gracchi*, in recompence of a benefit of hers, for that in a great dearth of corne, she served the people at 3 farthings a Modius. The same they did to *Trebius* the *Edile*.

Fabius Maximus made for himselfe a cast or molten image, and erected it just by that of *Hercules*.

Vnto *Brutus*, for delivering Rome from the tyrannie of *Tarquinius*, the *Romans* erected his image in the mids of the KK. statues.

Domitian

*Cum chlamide & crepundis: but for [crepundis] read [crepidis] Rabinio: signifying the Greekish and Asian habit: for the *Romane* statues were Togatz.

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Domitian would not suffer any image of his to be erected, unless it were of molten silver or gold, and of a certaine weight.

The emperor *Commodus* tooke off the head from the colosse of *Nero*, and set it upon his owne statue which he had in the Capitoll. This Colossus is to be seene broken as it was, in the houses of Conservatores.

In the said houses of Conservatores, is extant yet the brassen portraiture of a shee wolfe, at whose teats, *Romulus* and *Remus*, the first founders of Rome, are to be seene how they hang suckling.

The images of *Romulus* and *Remus* remained in the Capitoll, resembling two youthes; the one, standing upon the feet in servile habit and attire: the other sitting like a shepherd or heardman, bending forward with his bodie, plucking a thorne out of the sole of his foot, which ranckled and fettered withall.

An infinite number of statues were in the Capitoll, of gods especially, brought from other parts to Rome. For the Romanes robbed the Churches of forreyn nations, for to enrich and adorne their owne.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Capitoll cliffe, Tarpeia rocke, the stone of Carmentis, and the gate Stercoraria.

IN old time, they called that place and way whereby men goe up to the Capitoll, *Clivus Capitolinus*: but where that place was in times past, sundrie opinions there be. Some affirme, that it lay toward that part of the hill which looketh to the Aventine, where now standeth *S. Gregories Church* in *Velabrum*: others, betwene the temples of *Saturnus* and *Concordia*, neere to the arch of *Severus*, and at the stalls or standings, called *Senatoris itabula*. Now this arch of *Severus*, was raised at the foot of the Capitoll hill, in the verie head and top of *Forum Romanum*: under which they passed, that in triumph ascended up to the Capitoll. The Capitoll cliffe then, was neere unto the *Romane Forum*; which by the Censors was paved with flint: who also set up a gallerie from the chappell of *Saturne* unto the Capitoll temple close to the *Senaculum*, and the *Curia* over it. *Corn. Tacitus* writeth, that in former times there were many avenues and waies up to the Capitoll, and thereupon arose so many and divers opinions concerning the *Clivus Capitolinus*. In that place, the feast *Floralia* was in old time celebrated, wherof some tokens remaine at this day to be seene. In it stood *Milvius house*, which was full of shields and other armour, as *Cicero* maketh report.

That place was called *Tarpey rocke*, which standeth over the *Forum Romanum*: from whence in times past felonious malefactors found guiltie, were pitched downe headlong, and wherein at this day offenders are punished.

Carmentis stone, regardeth *Tyberis*, just over-against the *Senatours bridge*.

The Dung-gate called *Stercoraria*, stood upon the Capitoll cliffe aforesaid; thither was thrown out all the filth rid out of the temple of *Vesta*, for to be carried away and soone after to be cast into the *Tyberis*.

CHAP. IX.

Of tables, of brassen columnes or pillars, and of the silver goose.

IN the Capitoll there were two sorts of tables; the one, of pictures, containing the noble acts or battailes, with the siege and assault of cities, exploited by valiant martiall men. For some of them were so desirous of praise and renowne, that they could not be content to behold their owne statues erected in the capitoll, unless their acts were described also, and depicted in tables set up in publicke place; and by that meanes left their glorie behind them, recommended likewise to posteritie. Another kind there was of tables, wherein were written the most ancient lawes, to wit, of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and the other Kings. Likewise the statutes of the later lawgivers: the publicke acts and ordinances; the leagues and covenants with other nations; the sacred rites of divine service, and the ancient records and monuments, which were engraven and cut in brassen tables: of which, some at this day are extant; others by continuance of time, by warre, fire, and carelesse negligence are lost and perished. For the keeping of these, there were certaine persons appointed, that in so serious and important matters, there should be no forgery and corruption.

Pillars likewise of brasse, were by *Domitian* set up in the capitoll; the which, *Augustus* the conqueror of *Egypt*, caused (of many brassen beakeheads of ships molten together) to be made into four huge columnes, and brought them to Rome. *Sylla* likewise tooke out of *Iupiters* temple in Athens, certain brassen pillars, brought them to Rome, and there consecrated them to *Iupiter* in the capitoll.

The portraiture of a goose in silver, was set up within the castle by the Romanes for perpetuall memorie,

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memorie, because a goose by gagging gave warning of the enemies comming, to the warders of the castle, and thereby saved the Capitoll. For which cause geese a long time after, were fed and kept in Rome at the cities charges. There are besides, many other antiquities within the Capitoll, cut in tables of brasse and marble both, and namely Epitaphies, which here for brevities sake are left out.

CHAP. X.

Of certaine edifices and buildings upon the Capitoll hill, and of other things in generall.

NOW that we have made declaration of the statues, tables, and columnes, worth the noting: something by the way would be said in this place, as touching the auncient houses there.

The court called *Calabra Curia*, *Romulus* built in the Capitoll, and covered it with reed. In to this place the king-sacrificer was wont to assemble the Senate and people of Rome, that from him they might learne and know the dayes of solemne games, playes, and sacrifices.

Not farre from the said *Curia*, was the cottage of *Romulus*.

And almost in the same place stood the stately porch or gallerie of *Metellus* and *Constantinus*. The *Librarie* also called *Majorum*, built most artificially upon marble pillars: and besides, the publicke court-yard.

There was an hallowed place likewise upon the Capitoll, from whence they gathered *Verbena*, or sacred hearbs, to make gairlands for the faciaall heralds and the *Paterpatratus*: wherewith they were crowned when they purposed either to make any accord and peace, or to proclaime warre.

The flint stone also was here found, which they held in their hand when they swore by *Iupiter*, pronouncing these words, *If I made default with my knowledge, then let Dispieter cast me out of all that I have (sparing the citie and the castle) as I hurle from me this stone.*

The Capitoll had certaine vaults like cisternes, into which were throwne all things over-worne, or so old, that they were good for nothing. The fixe steeds drawing in one teeme, were there to be seene, which *Cneus Cornelius* set up. The twelve gilded shields likewise, made of thar money wherein the *Ediles* condemned and fined the corne-mudgins that hounded and kept in their corne. The shield also of *Marius*, set out with the image of *Ashurball*; and the columnne garnished with ship beake-heads of brasse, wherof *Livy* speaketh, were here to be seene. Within the temple of *Iupiter Capitolinus* there was a short cloake or mantle of purple woollen, to which, if other purple garments were laid, they shewed the colour of ashes in regard of the excellent bright glosse and lustre that it caried. A present this was (by report) given to *Amelians* by a Persian king, who had it from the farthest Indians. The lintell, cheekes and sill of the Capitoll dore, were made all of brasse. The brassen tiles likewise upon the rooffe, *Q. Catulus* gilded all over. The place where *Numa* tooke his auguries was on the Capitoll; but *Tatius* used rather the castle cliffe: where also stood sometime the house of *Manlius*, but afterward, thereupon was built the chappell of *Imo Moneta*. The bookes also of *Sibylla* were kept in the temple of *Iupiter Capitolinus*, by tenne VVardens, in a stone coffer under the ground. Over and besides so many edifices were there, so beautifull was the Capitoll, and the riches thereof so great, so many goodly ornaments & shrines of the gods most artificially wrought, that right worthily of men in old time, it was called the earthly habitation of the gods and of *Iupiter* himselfe. For during the upright and flourishing state of Rome; so curiously built and richly beautified it was: that as heaven surpasseth the earth, so farre this edifice went beyond all other workes and wondrous whatsoever of the world; in so much as it seemed to have been built by the gods: so farre surmounted it all the devise and reach of mans wit. But as excellent as these things sometimes were, now at this day they are to be seene, all naked, forlorne, and desolate.

CHAP. XI.

The temples of Concord, and Iupiter Stator: moreover what the Curia is.

BETWEENE the Capitoll hill and mount *Palatine*, there lyeth a valley, whereof wee have spoken before. The temples and buildings whereof, as also the places behind the Capitoll, by order and course we are now to describe. In this valley therefore the temple of *Concord* deserveth to be visited first: which word, being derived (as it were) from the unitie and agreement of heart, maintaineth, augmenteth, and preserveth alone, all things in the world whatsoever.

A temple to this *Concord*, *Camilus* vowed, in case hee could reconcile the Commons to the Nobles. VVhen as therfore the people was brought into grace and favour againe with the nobilitie, he built the church of *Concord*, beginning above the Comitium and so forward unto the *Forum*. The porches belonging to this temple, are yet to be seene at the foot of the Capitoll. From it, there was an ascent

of an hundred steps up to the chappell of *Luna, Maneta*. That temple of *Concord*, fallen in long time to decay, was afterwards by the Senat reedified. Therein many a time the Senat met and late in counsell, and orations were made unto the peeple. In this also there was a yaile or shroud under the ground, wherein oftentimes thieves, armed men, cutters and hacksters were kept as in a prison, untill the assemblies of the peeple were dismissed. This house had many statues and images, curiously and cunningly wrought, namely, of *Luna, Apollo*, and of *Latoia*, bearing and holding her two babes *Apollo* and *Diana*. Likewise of *Asculapius* and *Hygie*, the handy worke of *Nicoratus*. Also of *Iupiter, Ceres*, and *Minerva*: likewise of the Dames weeping and adoring the said images; all made by *Stenes*. Moreover, the images of *Mars* and *Mercurie*; the workmanship of *Piscicutes*. Also of *Mosyas* bound, made by *Zencis* the painter. Likewise father *Liber* and *Cassandra*, painted by *Theodorus*. As for the image of *Vesta* in the porch and entrance of the said temple, it is to be seen how it was smitten with a thunderbolt.

To *Iupiter Stator*, *Romulus* in the Sabine warre vowed a temple, that he might stay the flight of the Romanes: whereupon he was called, The upholder of the Romane state. Therefore after victorie obtained, he built a temple at the foot of the Palatine hill, just over-against the church of *Concordia*, where at this day be most high battlements of walles. In this house also, like as in that other of *Concordia*, the Senate assembled oft. Likewise in other temples. The courts, wherein the Senate gathered together in counsell, were temples all, and therein were the acts made: but in the sacred churches of the gods, neither met the Senat, nor any orations were made to the people. This temple of *Stator* was burnt to the ground in that fire of *Neroes* making, and never after reedified.

CHAP. XII.

The temple and grove of Vesta: the temple of Faith and of Romulus.

The temple of *Vesta* was built by *Romulus*, betweene the Capitoll and the Palatine hills, not far from the Forum Romanum; where at this day is to be seene, the church of *S. Marie* of graces. Neere unto it the pallace of *Numa* was built. The Romane Pontifices, when they would confoule of great matters concerning religion, met in the court-yard of *Vesta*; like as the Senat and people of Rome, debated in counsaile of their weightiest affaires within the temple of *Faith*. Now this was a most auncient temple built in Palatium by *Romulus*, or as some will have it, by *Numa*.

There was a grove also consecrated to *Vesta*, which reached from the roote of the Palatine, as far as to the large street called *Nova via*. Out of that grove (before Rome was taken by the Gaules) a voice was heard, giving warning, That the citie should be lost, unless the walles and gates were repaired.

The temple of *Romulus* was seated at the foot of mount Palatine, in the mids of that side which regardeth the Capitoll, in that very place where now the church is of *S. Theodore*. In this said temple there is a most auncient monument, The pourtrature of the shee wolfe, yecljing her teares unto the founders of the citie, to be suckd.

CHAP. XIII.

Lupercal, and the figtree Ruminalis.

This *Lupercal* was a cave at the botome of the Palatine hill, overspread and covered with trees; having springs deepe beneath under the rocke. In the most inward and secret place of this cave, there was an altar consecrated to *Pan*. But as touching the etymologie and derivation of the name, as also of the situation thereof, there goe divers opinions: For as in times past the place was close hidden and unfrequented, so now it is inhabited on every side; in so much as there remaineth no marke and token at all where *Lupercal* was. Howbeit the greater part of writers affirme, that it was in that quarter of the citie, where at this day *S. Theodors* church is seene. For to this place upon a time the Tybre overflowing, made a creeke thither: and hard by it was, where the two infants were cast forth. In the *Lupercal* therefore, certaine authors confidently avouch, that *Romulus* and *Remus* were laid to perish, and so carried by water to the place called afterwards *Ruminalis*, where under a fig-tree there, nourished by a shee wolfe. This wolfe haunted and kept in the denne called *Lupercal*, and from thence ranne to the banke side under the figge-tree *Ruminalis*, for to suckle the said babes, and so gave the name unto the cave to be called *Lupercal*, as it were the lurking hole and denne of the wolfe. There be againe that would have *Evander* to give the name to the same hollow cave: for he, as is before declared, was descended from Arcadia, where the people after most auncient rites and ceremonies, doe right devoutly worship *Pan*, the god of heard-men.

men. Vnto whom also a mountaine in Arcadia to him dedicated, was called *Lycæus*, for that he keepeth wolves from the sheepe, and preserveth the flockes and heards. This *Evander* therefore comming upon a time into Italie, and resting in these parts, consecrated both this grove and cave to *Pan*, and according to the manner of his countrey, there honoured him. In the said cave therefore reared was an altar, and a goat thereupon sacrificed unto him, as to the god and preserver of the flockes: and seeing that he chaſeth wolves from them, therefore the place wherein he was worshipped tooke the name *Lupercal*.

Now the feast *Lupercalia* was by *Romulus* and *Remus* instituted. For they having obtained of *Numitor* a plot of ground to build them a citie on, in that very place where they had been cast forth; called all their companions to a feast and merrie meeting: where, after they had killed sacrifices, and refreshed themselves with meat, and withall taken their wine liberally to the full, they grew to disport, and in that merie fit clad themselves in the skins of the goats which they had sacrificed, and then fell to hopping and dauncing full jocundly. Hereupon their posteritie, celebrating the memoriall thereof, held a festivall solemnitie called *Lupercalia*, which retained the name of the place where first they began. Hereof see more in *Valerius Maximus*, *Servius*, and *Plutarch* in the life of *Antoninus*. As for the fig-tree *Ruminalis*, it was so cleaped of the river Tyber, called at the first *Rumion*. Some would have it take the name of *Romulus*. Others of the milke given to the said infants, for that part of the throat which draweth milke, is called *Ruma* in Latine. This place was overagainst the house of the two lords, *Cosinus* and *Damianus*, on the side of the mount Palatine, opposit against the grand race or shew-place, called *Circus Maximus*. *Romulus* and *Remus* thus laid forth about *Lupercal*, and carried by the water, to this place, were fostered for a while under the figtree *Ruminalis*, in the place where the Comitium after was. The tokens of this tree remained unto the time of *Augustus Cesar*, as *Ovid* testifieth.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the New way, the streets Iugarius, and Tuscan.

The street called the New way overagainst the temple of *Iupiter Stator*, goeth along the valley betweene the Capitoll hill and the Palatine, and reacheth to the Forum Romanum. This, howsoever it be called New, was well known to be most auncient, and is different from that, which *Caracalla* repaired under his baines.

The street *Iugarius*, otherwise called *Thurarius*, leadeth from the gate *Carmentalis*, along the foot of the Capitoll hill, to the Forum Romanum. In it was the altar of *Iuno Iuga*, who was thought to make mariages, and to couple folke in matrimonies, and she it was that gave the name to *Vicus Iugarius*.

Vicus Thuscus beginneth at the Forum, and along the foot of the Palatine sheweth the way to *Velabrum*. The reason of the name is this. The *Tuscans* upon a time fighting against the *Aricians*, were by them overcome; and after many thousands of them slaine in battell, the rest being few in number fled to Rome: who taking delight in the pleasant seat of the citie, and the commodiounesse of the place, determined there to remain. VVherupon having a plot of foure stadia granted them by the Senat, betweene the Capitoll and Palatine, they inhabited the same. Hereupon the street was called by them *Thuscus Vicus*, and many a hundred yeer after retained that name. In it afterwards there kept bawds and such kind of people, whereupon it grew out of credite, and lost also the first name.

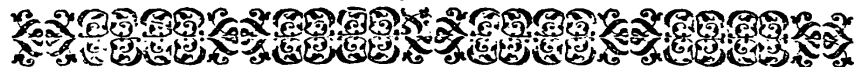
CHAP. XV.

The Arches of Romulus, the Senaculum, and the dwelling house of Ovid.

The old arches (which some thinke *Romulus* erected) continued a long time built of bricke, neither would the Romanes suffer that any man should make them of marble: so the end, that the memoriall of their citie founder, should remaine more firmly in the minds of men. But in continuance of time long after, they decayed and fell downe, in that very place where now is the church of *Saint Marie* of Grace, and were never afterwards reedified. The Romanes named that place *Senaculum*, betweene the Capitoll and the Forum, wherein the Senate kept a consistorie for counsell and consultation.

That *Ovids* mansion house stood under the Capitoll, himselfe witnesseth, even where as now the church is of *S. Marie* of Consolation.

Thus much of the buildings of the Capitoll and the valley to it. Now followeth the mount Palatine.



THE THIRD BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

The divers etymologies of Palatine.

Albeit the hill Palatine were a long time inhabited before the citie was built, and namely, first by *Valentia* the daughter of *Italus*; then, by *Evander*, who also therein set up a castle: whome there succeeded after the citie was founded, *KK.* and Emperors; inasmuch as scarcely any one place of Rome is more renowned by writing, than this hill: yet the certain reason of the name why it should be so called, & which a man may be bold to follow, can hardly be set downe. Some would have it so called, because the Arcadians wandering with *Evander* disorderly, and the Palatines out of the Rheatine territorie (called likewise Palatium) came to that mount and it inhabited: others of *Palas* the great grandfather of *Evander*. *Livie* thought, that of Palanteum a citie of Arcadia, it was first called Palantium, and afterward Palatine. There are besides, who of *Palatia* the wife of *Latinius*, fetch the originall of the denomination: or of *Palatho*, the daughter of *Hyperboreus*, who bare *Latinius* unto *Hercules*, and inhabited this mountaine: or of *Palantia* the daughter of *Evander*, who there was buried: or of *Palas*, who was himselfe interred in it. Some there are also, who of the bleating of sheepe, which pastured there in times past, before the hill was by men frequented and peopled, imagine it was so named: or else because flocks were wont there *palare*, that is, to wander and graze up and downe. And hereupon it is, that *Nervius* called it Balantium, of *Balarus*; or Palantium, of *palaree*. *Tremellius* calleth it the mount *Rumuleus*, of *Romulus* his image, found at the very foot of the said hill. This may suffice for the derivation of the name.

* Beletus, i.
Bleating.

CHAP. II.

The temple of Victorie, Ceres, Iuno Sospita, and the mother of the gods: the temple of Libertie and the porch thereof, as also the house of Cassius.

Now that we have declared the reason of the name of Palatium; we will goe forward to shew the temples and houses of the said mountaine, like as we have done in the description of the Capitoll hill.

VVhen the Romans had performed fortunatly many martiall exploits, and oftentimes returned with victorie over their enemies, because they would not bee found unthankfull to the gods, unto whom they were beholden for their happie achievements, and thereby afterwards misse of the like fortunate successe; they consecrated unto the goddesse *Victorie* a temple in that part of the Palatine, which looketh toward the hortyards and gardens of *Maria Nova*, in the verie botome of the descent, hard at the gate Romana. *L. Posthumus* an *Edile* Curule tooke order for the building thereof, out of certain money raised by fines and penalties; and when it was finished, he dedicated it to the goddesse *Victoria*.

Near thereto was a chappell, consecrated to virgin *Victoria*, which *M. Porcius Cato* vowed.

Besides, in the same place was the temple of *Iuno Sospita*.

The Arcadians, which with *Evander* came to the Palatine hill, built a temple also in Palatium to *Vesta*, but as different from this above-named, as farre more ancient: and to the honor of that goddesse, solemnized yeerely sacrifices.

They built a temple to *Ceres* also in the Palatine.

In the farrall bookes of *Sibylla* there was a prophesie found, That the forreine enemy and straunge borne should be chased out of *Italie*, in case the mother of the gods might be brought to Rome from *Peisinus*. Now a stone it was, which the inhabitants of that countrey so called. Sent therefore were embassadours into Asia as far as to *Peisinus* a towne of *Phrygia*: who brought with them that Great mother of the gods into *Italie*. Then *P. Cornelius* carried it from the sea into the Palatine, and bestowed it in the temple of *Victorie*, until such time as one was built of purpose for her. Afterward, *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* the Censors, tooke order for a temple to be made, to this great mother of the gods, and the same set out with statues, pillars, and pavements of divers stones of great price. And *Iunius Bruttus* dedicated it. The plaies also and games called *Megalicia*, whereof *Cicero* speaketh, were first instituted at the dedication thereof.

Vnto

THE TOPOGRAPHIE OF ROME.

Vnto *Libertie*, *P. Clodius* built a temple and a stately gallerie, in part of *Cassius* his house, neere the temple of *Iupiter Stator*.

CHAP. III.

*Of the chappell and altar of * Febris: the temple of the Lares: the chappell of the goddesse Viriplaca, of Faith, and Iupiter Victor.*

* The fever.

Not to those gods only that did good to mankind the Romanes consecrated temples, but dedicated chappels to those also that did them hurt; to the end, that they should do lesse harme, and punish them more gently. For certain it is, that on the hill Palatine there was a temple and altar both, consecrated to the Fever: likewise to *Nemesis* the goddesse of vengeance; wherof before in the second booke.

Besides, they erected a chappell of the *Lares* in the Palatine.

In like manner, there was a chappell in the Palatine, consecrated to the goddesse *Viriplaca*; into which, if man and wife came together, although they disagreed and were fallen out before, they returned homie againe good friends from thence, and all was well.

After that *Aeneas* with his sonne *Ascanius* and daughter *Roma* came into *Italie*, they reared a temple to *Faith*, in Palatine: the which was dedicated notwithstanding in the name of the daughter, and the same was written in the forefront of the temple: and therefore many yeeres after, when *Romulus* and *Remus* strove who should give name to the citie, the Senat and people of Rome reading the name of *Aeneas* his daughter in the frontispice of the said temple, resolved to name the city after her, *Roma*.

Q. Fabius in the Sabine warre, vowed a temple to *Iupiter* conqueror: and afterwards built it on the Palatine hill, and there dedicated it.

CHAP. IIII.

The temples of Heliogabalus, Apollo, and the Penates: the house of Orcus; the place of the Palladium or image of Minerva; and the temple of Augustus.

Antonius Heliogabalus consecrated a god in the mount Palatine, which hee called *Heliogabalus*, and built a temple in the verie place, where before stood that of *Orcus* or *Pluto*. But to win credit and name to this new & counterfeit god with great reverence and worship; he endeavoured to translate into this temple of his, the sacred cup of that great mother of the gods, the fire of *Vesta*, the image of *Minerva* called *Palladium*, the heavenly scutcheons, and all things else which the Romanes honoured above the rest. The Christian and Iewish religion also he there counterfeited, to the end, that no man in the religious worship of that temple and god, might alledge any pretence why hee should not with good conscience so doe.

Moreover, in the Palatine, there was built almost auncient temple of *Apollo*. This chaunced to be overthrowne by thunder and lightning; and when the soothsaiers gave out, that the god misse it and required another, *Augustus Caesar* adjoynd a porch to the ruines thereof, and reedified the temple anew that there stood: wherein himselfe when hee grew aged, many a time sat in counsell with the Senat, and empanelled the decuries of judges. In it likewise were pendant candlesticks, braunth with armes like trees, whereon the approved poets bestowed their writings. Certaine markes and tokens of this temple are to be seene (although obscurely) neere to the vineyard of *Fedius*, where the house of *Tiberius* stood. Vnto him were instituted the Apollinare games, whereof read *Cicero*.

The temple of the citie-protectours, called *Penates*, stood in that part of the Palatine which looketh into the North, even on *Velia* not farre from the Forum. In it were the images of the Trojane gods. In the same are pourtraied two young men sitting together, and holding a ball in their hand. In like manner, the crooked *Augurs* staves called *Litui*, of iron and brasle. Besides, an earthen Trojane vessell of potters worke. *Apollo* also and *Neptune* were there to be seene.

VVhen the temple of *Vesta* was on a light burning fire, the image of *Pallas* being saved out thereof, was translated into *Velia*, and gave the name unto the temple of *Palaca*, now *S. Andrews* church, standing in the same place.

Some report, that there was a temple built in Palatium to *Augustus Caesar* of famous memorie, by his daughter *Livia*.

CHAP. V.

The Palatine houses, and the court of the Salij.

That *Romulus* and *Remus* being shepheards abode sometime in these parts, the sheds and cottages, which long time after were found here, made of slight wood and reed, doe testifie: which as any of them in continuance of time decayed and fell downe, the shepheards repaired with the like matter to their auncient forme, that the perpetuall memoriall of *Romulus* and *Remus*

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the citie founders, what kind of persons they were, and what manner of houses they woned in, might be delivered to posteritie. In that corner of the Palatine hill, which leadeth into the grand cirque or shew-place, there stood (many ages) the cottage which they called *Casa Romuli*.

Tullus Hostilius, before he built his court dwelt upon Velia, in that verie place where afterwards the chappell of the Penates stood.

Not farre from thence, even in that part of the Palatine which regardeth the Forum, *Caesars* (by report) had his house built.

Moreover, betweene *M. Scaurus* his house and *Caesars*, there was but a small step over.

Ciceros house purchased of *Crassus*, was in the most frequent and conspicuous place of the mount Palatine, above the church of *Imp. Statius*, neere the Palatium.

Plinius testifieth, how the houses of *Crassus* the orator, and *Vitellius*, in the Palatium, were in old time overturned.

One captaine *Vannus* likewise had an house in the Palatium.

Albius Tiberius, whereof we have written in the former chapter.

Augustus (borne in the region about Palatium, in a place called *Capita bubula*, i. the ox heads; and where after his death, they erected a chappell unto him) dwelt first neere the Romane Forum, above the round staires called *Scala annularia*, in the house sometime of *Calvus* the orator. Afterwards he built the stately Palatine at his owne charges and gave it to the city, and himselfe dwelt on the Palatine hill in the small house of *Hortensius*.

The Guild, or religious court of the *Salii*, built in the mount Palatine, chaunced to be burnt; and in the ashes thereof, the staffe of *Romulus* called *Lituus* was found, without any hurt.

Publius dwelt in an house standing over the Forum, which was called *Subvelia*.

That the dwelling house of *Tarquinius Priscus* was neere unto the temple of *Imp. Statius*, may soone be proved out of *Livie*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the top of Velia; the statues in Palatine, and other things in generall.

THe pitch of the hill called *Summa Velia*, was in that higher part of Palatium, which looketh into the Southeast, whereas now is the temple of *Mariae* the new. Called *Velia* it was, because in old time before the devise of shearing sheepe, the shepheards were there wont to plucke the wooll from the sheeps backe.

Augustus set up a Librarie of Latine and Greeke bookes in Palatine, and adorned it with the money raised of the most excellent brasie of that huge colossus of *Thuscan Apollo*. He adjoynd thereto a porch or gallerie, which they called Palatium.

In it was erected by the Senate, a statue unto *Numerianus* the Emperour, and a singular oratorie.

In the same porch, the Romanes also set up a statue unto *M. Varo*, while he lived.

The Auguratorium, which was a place where they used to take auguries, was upon mount Palatin.

Apollo Palatinus likewise, the workmanship of *Scopas*, was in Palatium. *Latona* in the same was placed.

Titus the Emperour set up a golden statue in Palatine to *Britannicus*.

Moreover, the tree which grew out of *Romulus* his speare, was in the Palatium. For hee, after he had taken his auguries in the mount Aventine, launced his speare from him into the Palatine, which sticking in the earth, budded forth leaves and grew to be a tree.

Likewise the bay tree, which the same day that *Augustus* was borne, sprung with him and suddainly appeared, was in Palatium. Of this laurell tree, they that afterwards triumphed, were wont to wear their wreathed guirlands.

The Palatine baines, whereof *Cicero* maketh mention in his oration for *Roscius*, were in the same Palatium; and of them there remaine yet some tokens, above the *Circus max.* not far from the vineyard of *Fedra*.

In the same mountaine also there was a place called *Sicilia*, and *Iupiters* parlour.

The most beautifull streets called *Antoniana*, paved with *Lacedaemonian* and *Porphyret* stones, were in Palatium. The streets also of *Padus*, and *Fortuna respiciens*, were to be scene in Palatine. And there were the games and pastimes celebrated, which they call *Palatual*.

CHAP. VII.

The Palatium now called the Greater: the court-yard of the Palatium: and the old gate of the very Palatium it selfe.

HOW great a compasse the Palatium tooke up in old time, how gorgeously it was built, how rich, how frequent and full of houses, the huge ruines, the pictures, statues, and most pretious pillars there

there found, do easily declare. For no man ever hath left in writing, who first built so great and stately edifices; who afterwards enlarged the same, and in so conspicuous a place erected those houses. By little and little it grew to so great an height, as if all writers should be ignorant of those antiquities: neither was any thing at one time done at once, which seemed worth the memoriall. For, Historiographers are wont to deliver unto posteritie those things only which are rare and worthie of admiration. The mount Palatine at this day is called *Palatium majus*, and setting aside the Church of *Saint Andrew*, hath scarce two houses inhabited. The rest beeing either replenished with vines or fit for pasture, yeeldeth grasse and food, for sheepe, caples, and goats. So as it seemeth it may be called *Balanium* of the bleating that sheepe make, rather than *Palantium*.

This Palatium had also a place therein called *Atrium*, built in old time and hallowed by Augurie: in it the Senat sate in counsell, because they might not assemble in any place unaugurate or unhallowed. Therein also rammes were sacrificed.

The old gate of the Palatium was neere the *Roftra*, over-against *S. Lawrence* church in *Miranda*. Some would have this to be called the gate of *Romulus*, in old time.

CHAP. VIII.

The temples of Janus, Augustus, and Faustina.

AFTER the description of the temples and edifices of Palatium the third part of the citie, now followeth a fourth; namely the *Romane Forum*. Therein is the most stately temple of *Janus*, (for me thinkes wee doe well to begin at *Janus*, who is counted the dore and entrance as it were of all things) having four gates. For *Janus* himselfe, who was therein worshipped, had foure faces; & from *Faliscia* a citie in *Tuscane* forced by the Romans, he was translated to Rome into the Forum, named after *Transitorium*. His temple was built in that part of the said Forum which looked toward the *Romane Forum*. *Procopius* saith, that in his daies it was built in the mids of the Forum over-against the *Capitoll*; a little above the place which the Romans called, *The three Destinies*. Other temples there were besides of *Janus*, and namely in the *Capitoll* neere the theatre of *Marcellus*, with two fronts all of brasie, and had two brazen dores, which in time of peace were shut; and against warre, were set open.

The temple of *Augustus* was builded in the *Romane Forum*. This was begun in the time of *Tiberius* the Emperour, but left unperfected. *Caligula* finished it. Above it, he made a bridge which joyned the *Capitoll* and Palatine together.

There remaine yet to be scene certaine monuments and markes of the temple of *Faustina*. *Hadrianus* the emperour her husband founded it at the foot of the Palatine hill (where the brazen image of a bull standeth) for her sake, that she might be honoured as a goddesse. The same, his sonne *Antoninus Heliogabalus* afterwards would have to be a temple for himselfe, or *Jupiter Syrius*, or els the Sunne. At this day it is the Church of *S. Lawrence* in *Miranda*.

CHAP. IX.

The temple of Castor and Pollux, and the Roftra.

NO man doubteth but that the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* was sometime in the *Romane Forum* before the *Roftra*, neere to that abovesaid of *Faustina*. This sacred house *A. Poethunius* the Dictator dedicated; and *L. Metellus* afterwards repaired and beautified it, with the *Dalmatian* spoiles. In it, as in many other, the Senate used to sit in counsell, and therein were publicke orations made to the people. *Cacilius Metellus* adorned the same with statues, pillars, and excellent painting: wherein also hee set up the pourtraiture and resemblance of *Flora*, a picture of singular beautie. A table besides, which containe the records and monuments, touching the free burgeoisie graunted to the horsemen of *Capua*. The steps and greeces going up to this temple, *Clodius* afterwards plucked up, as witnesseth *Cicero*.

There was a temple or consecrate place called *Roftra*, at the foot of the hill Palatium, over-against that before-named of *Castor* and *Pollux*, whereas now is the little chappell of *S. Marie de Inferno*. From these *Roftra*, were the sentences and acts of the Senat, brought and propounded to the people.

CHAP. X.

The temple of Caesar, Venus Genetrix, and Mars revenger: and the courts of Venus.

CÆsar of famous memorie had a temple neere his own Forum, at the broad street called *Sacra*, behind the temple of *Faustina*. In it were set up as Saints, *Victorie* and *Castor*.

In the same *Caesars* Forum, there stood a chappell of *Venus Genetrix*, behind the said temple of *Faustina*. This, *Caesar* vowed in the *Pharaliam* war, and dedicated it. After victorie in the warre against *Pompey*, *Caesar* enclosed the temple of the said *Venus*, within a court-yard and a cloister, which *Hadrian* afterwards repaired and built new.

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Augustus

THE TOPOGRAPHIE OF ROME.

Augustus Caesar in the battaile of Philippi, vowed a temple to *Mars* the avenger, which afterwards hee edified in his owne Forum, wherein were certaine iron pots dedicated to *Mars*: and two statues, bearing up the tabernacle of *Alexander* the Great. This is thought to be at this day the church of saint *Martina*.

CHAP. XI.

The temples of Vulcan, Concord, Peace, Romulus, and Venus Cloacina.

THe temple of *Vulcan*, *Romulus* founded, above the Comitium and Forum Romanum, at the bottome of the Palatine hill: but *Tatius* dedicated the temple of *Vulcan*, as also of the Sunne and Moone, of *Saturne*, *Rhea*, *Vesta*, *Diana*, and *Quirinus*. In the temple of *Vulcan* there was dedicated unto *Vulcan*, the brazen chariot of *Romulus*, wherein he rode in triumph a second time. Therein remained also the statue of *Cocles* there erected. Many a time were orations made to the people in this temple.

In the yard belonging to *Vulcan* temple, *Eulvius*, the sonne of a Libertine or enfranchised citizen, 303 yeeres after the building of the Capitoll, vowed the temple of *Concord*, if he could reconcile the States of Senators and gentlemen to the people. Afterwards hee built it of the amercements and penalties that hee tooke of *Vsurers* condemned, at the foot of the mount Palatine. *Optimus* the Consul afterwards repaired it anew. In it, *Plinie* testifieth that an altar ran blood for two daies.

Livia Drusilla in her open gallerie, erected a chappell of *Concord*, in regard of the mutuall and loving agreement between her husband and her: which afterwards *Tyberius* dedicated.

In that place where *Drusilla* first founded the said chappell of *Concord*, *Vespasian* afterwards with wonderfull celeritie and speed, (after the civill warres ended) finished the temple of *Peace*, begun before by *Claudian*. A large building this was and foure square, set out with most stately and faire columnes, and of all other temples the richest. In it *Vespasian* bestowed the holy vessels and pretious ornaments of the temple in Hierusalem, which *T.* had shewed in triumph. It had also the statue of *Ganymedes*, and an infinite number of other ornaments wherewith it was decked and beautified. This temple caught a fire, and at once sodainly was consumed whole: and never was it knowne to this day how this fire came; unless it were (as some imagine) by reason of an earthquake which happened the same houre, the stones rubbed together and strucke fire.

An altar of *Peace* was by *Augustus* first reared; but in what place, the posteritie knoweth not. The same, *Agrippa* afterwards enlarged and adorned. Betweene the temple of *Peace* and *Faustina*, there is at this day a most auncient temple, and two pillars of the porch to it, which now is dedicated to the two brethren Saint *Cosmes* and *Damians*. Some thinke it was the temple of *Romulus* and *Remus*, the same that *Corvilius* the Consul, after hee had subdued the Samnites, dedicated, and of the infinite masse of spoiles adorned it.

That the temple of *Venus Cloacina* stood neer the broad street *Sacra*, *Ovid* testifieth. Now the image of this *Cloacina* was found in a privie or draught, called *Maxima*, and *Tatius* consecrated it. And because it was not knowne whole resemblance it was, it tooke the name of the place wherein it was found.

CHAP. XII.

The temples of Tellus, Salus, Victoria, the Sunne and Moone, the house of Caisius, and the Armorie.

WHere the temple of *Tellus* stood, some say it is uncertein; others thinke it was not farre from the Esquiline, neere the rising of the hill that leadeth to *S. Peters* church in Vinculis, where as now standeth the temple of *Pantalcon*. *Sempronius* vowed it: for whiles he fought a battaile with his enemy, at *Alculum* the head towne of the *Picentines*, the earth quaked: and because he would pacifie the goddesse *Tellus* (i. the earth) which he thought was angry, he vowed this temple unto her. Built it was in the same plot of void ground, where the house of *Spurius Caisius* (who sought to be a king) was overthrowne. Neere unto this temple of *Tellus*, there was an Armorie; whereof *Cicero* also maketh mention in a certaine place. Within the said compasse, *C. Iulius Iuliaculus* the Consul, vowed a chappell to the goddesse *Salus*, in the time of the Samnites warre. The same was by him put forth to building when he was Censor, and dedicated by him Dictatour.

L. Volumnius an *Aedile*, caused the temple of *Victoria* neere the Romane Forum to be made, of the penalties and fines taken.

In this place also was the altar of *Apollus*.

Some would have, that the temples of *Concord* and *Esculapius*, were neere the Amphitheatre, in the place where the gardens be of *S. Maria* the new.

The temple of *Marte* also was in the Forum.

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The temples likewise of *Isis* and *Serapis* were in the Burse called Emporium. And some thinke, that these were the Chappels of the Sunne and Moone, dedicated by *Tatius*.

CHAP. XIII.

The Forum of Trajanus: the things now therein, or that have been heretofore.

THus much of temples, of holy and religious places, which seemed worth the noting, hath been briefly written. Now from hence forward we will speake of those things, which shall concerne the honour and memoriall of mortall men, and first begin we will with that excellent prince *Trajanus*.

Forum *Traiani* was built (with wonderfull Art and industrie of man) by *Apollodorus*, betweene the Forum of *Nerva*, the Capitoll hill, and the mount *Quirinal*. The same workeman built also (at the commaundement of *Trajanus*) Metodeum and Gymnasium. The rouse of that Forum or Hall was of brass, within round about in every place the formes and images of horses, and militarie ensignes all guile. Now were these foresaid images erected there at the cities charges in memoriall of them that had deserved well of the common weale, or otherwise of some notable act.

The triumphant arch in like manners with many other monuments reared to the praise of *Trajanus*, adorned this Forum or hall of his.

The porch of this Forum, built upon most mightie and high pillars, and resting upon large chappiters, yielded so great admiration to the beholders, that they seemed rather the workes of gyants than men. Into this, *Alexander Severus* in the honour of *Trajanus*, translated most beautiful statues of singular men.

Trajanus horse in like manner stood in the mids, bearing upon high columnes.

In a coine also there is found the image of *Trajanus*, with this inscription: S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI, THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME TO THE BEST PRINCE. But hereof *Lampidius* writeth much.

He likewise is reported, to have adorned the palace, made of sundrie marbles, with pictures and statues within.

In the mids of the Forum, there stood the Columne of *Trajanus*, built with winding stairs. This had round about it the summarie of the acts of *Trajanus* engraven and chased most cunningly; but above all the Dakes warre: within-forth there bee 185 steps up to the top; and it hath 40 little windowes to let in light unto them that shall goe up: 120 foot high it was, or (as *Eutropius* writeth) 140. In the louver or lanterne thereof were the bones of *Trajanus* kept within a golden ball. This pillar, *Trajanus* himselfe never saw: for whiles he warred against the Parthians, the Senat dedicated it unto him in his absence. But hee in his returne from the Persians, died by the way, at *Seleucia* a citie in *Syria*, of a fluxe of blood. His dead corps was brought to Rome: and of all the Emperours, hee alone (as *Eutropius* writeth) was entered within the citie. The reason why his bones are left in that Columne is this: The manner in old time was, for princes and noble men to be buried under hills: but there being not mountaines enough wherupon to raise sepulchres in every place, it happened that such steeples and high pillars were set over their dead bodies in steed thereof.

CHAP. XIII.

The Forum, the palace, and porch of Nerva.

NExt to our sight cometh the Forum of *Nerva*, & it is behind the Church of *S. Hadian*. In the mids of it there stood a Columne of brasle of an huge bignesse; covered with plate of latten or copper, and hath within it, light every way. This Forum was garnished with divers statues and columnes, containing the whole order of all the actes of *Nerva*. This was afterwards called Forum Transitorium, for that from it there was the way to the Forum of *Augustus*, and the Romane.

There appeareth as yet some part of the porch or gallerie belonging to that Forum: for being consumed by fire, yet it left certaine obscure tokens, witnessing, that in the same place was the Forum of *Nerva*.

Part also of the palace of *Nerva*, built of 4 square stones and pillars, together with the Church of *S. Blase*, are yet seene enclosed betweene the Comitium and the tower of *Milicia*.

CHAP. XV.

The Romane Forum, the Comitium, the prison Tullianum, and the image of Marforius.

THe Romane Forum, which also is called *Latinum*, began at the foot of the Capitoll, and reached in length to the Church now of Saint *Maria* the new, which is in *Velia*. But at the first, the

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the circuit and bounds thereof were much narrower. For from the head thereof above named; it went no farther than the nearest foot of the mount Palatine. Many a yeere after, *Augustus Cæsar* enlarged it.

The Comitium joined to the Forum; or rather it was a part thereof: for it beginneth at the gate of Palatium, and endeth at the church of *S. Martina* the new.

At the foot of the Capitoll hill, South-eastward, *Annius Marinus* built a prison for malefactors to be laid up in. After him king *Tullius* adjoined to it that part which is under the ground, and called that dungeon, *Tullianum*. Made it was of huge & mighty big stones; with narrow long holes, for to receive the shadow as it were and resemblance of a light. The dungeon within was vaulted with stone, ugly for darkenesse, and foathsome by reason of a strong and stinking sent. This whole prison was divided into two parts, the upper rowine and the nether. *Cæsar* it was called in Latine *a concendo*, because it kept them there enclosed from coming forth.

Just before this prison there lieth a huge marble-idoll which they call *Mæserius*. Some think it was the image of the bakers god, others, of *Super* surnamed *Panarius*; of the tumours that beare out, like to loaves of bread. For the Romanes in times past, when they were besieged by the Gauls in the Capitoll, had warning by *Super* in a dreame, to make bread of all the corne that they had left, and to throw it into the enemies campe. Whereby the Gauls despairing that the Romanes could possibly be ramed with hunger, brake up the siege. Whereupon the Romanes in perpetuall memonall of this benefit, erected an altar and a statue to *Super Pistor*.

This image is thought to be the resemblance of the river *Rhenus* in Germanie; because it is upon a rocke. But why it should be called *Mæserius*, I know not, unless it be because it standeth in the Forum of *Augustus*.

CHAP. XVI.

The Secretarie of the people of Rome; the arch of Septimius; the temple of Saturne. Of the Treasure, and the mint-house where they coined monie.

BEhind the image of *Mæserius*, over against the arch of *Septimius*, is the church of *S. Martina*: where, as it appeareth by an evidence engraven in marble, was sometime the place called the Secretarie of the people of Rome.

Right against the said church of *S. Martina* at the bottome of the rocke *Tarpeia*, standeth the arch of *Septimius*, which in both the fronts thereof containeth the deeds of that emperor both by land and sea.

Directly there followeth the temple, sometime of *Saturne*, now, *S. Hadrians* church. The said temple was of great antiquitie. Some report *L. Lægius* for the builder thereof; others *L. Tarquinius*: albeit more likely it is that *Lægius* dedicated it. *Livie* writeth, that when *A. Sempronius* and *M. Minutius* were Consuls, *Nimantius Plancus* reedified it. The treasure of the people of Rome, no writer denieth, but that it was translated out of the Capitoll into this temple. But why men in old time would have the treasure to be within *Saturns* temple, there be divers opinions. Some say, because in *Saturnes* daies there was no theft committed: for under him all things were common; no covetous miser, nor leawd person laid wait for his neighbour, but all things were admittred with righteousness, faith, and love. Cyprian alleageth this cause, because *Saturn* was the first that in Italie ordained mony to be coined. Moreover, in this treasure-house were kept the publicke ordinances. Also the bookes called *Elephantini*, containing the five and thirtie tribes of the people of Rome. Moreover, all the books of the cities accounts: also the ancient writings and records of the old *Ærarium* & of the citie debts. Furthermore, the standards and ensignes of war. Over and besides, whatsoever was by the Generals and captains after the conquest of provinces carried in triumph, was thither brought. Lastly, whatsoever was expedient and profitable for the Commonweale to be reserved, as lawes, letters, and other common registers of a citie. The Censors likewise were put to take their oth in the temple of *Saturne*.

Betweene the church now of *S. Hadrian*, and that which sometime was the temple of *Cæsar* & *Pollux*, stood in old time the worke-house wherein they coined money.

CHAP. XVII.

The golden Miliarium, the bridge of Caligula, the Rostra and the Curia.

Miliarium aureum stood in times past at the head of the Romane Forum, under the temple of *Saturne*, neere to the arch of *Septimius*. A pillar it was, so called, wherein all the high waies of Italie were cut and engraven, and there ended, and from which the measures began and went on to every gate of all quarters.

Caligula brought a bridge of marble through the Romane Forum, from the mount Palatine to the Capitoll.

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Capitoll. A more stately and curious peece of work there never was throughout all the citie: for the bridge was sustained with fourscore mightie pillars of most white marble; whereof at this day three are to be seene at the foot of the one hill, and as many at the other; in such manner as they were in times past by *Caligula* built for the bridge. In the mids of the Forum, over-against *S. Hadrians* church there standeth a pillar, which is verily thought to be one of them that supported the brazen horie of *Domitian* gilded all over. At the foot of this horie was the resemblance of *Rhene*, a river in Germanie; for that *Domitian* the emperor had triumphed over that province. And this is the image which afterwards they called *Marforius*.

Of the beakeheads of the Antiate ships, a pulpit was built in the Romane Forum by the Romans at the foot of the mount Palatine, which temple they called *Rostra*, that therein the acts of the Senate should be made. Now of this *Rostra* there were twaine; the new at the bottome of the Palatine as is before said, and the old, neere the *Curia* in the Comitium. In this *Rostra* were lawes published, causes pleaded, and Orations made to the people. On the same the manner was also to erect the Statues for most famous and noble men.

In the most conspicuous place of the Forum Romanum, before *Rostra*, upon a lion of stone was the portraiture of *Faustulus* the fosterfather of *Romulus* & *Remus*. For he, while he was desirous to part the fray betweene *Romulus* and *Remus* the founders of the citie, was there slaine, where, afterwards they erected unto him his statue. Behind the *Rostra* was the sepulchre also of *Romulus*. Moreover, before the *Rostra* stood the statue of *Hercules*, clad in a coat after the Eleans habite, with a grim and sterne countenance. Three statues also of *Sibylla* in the same place. The manner of the Romanes besides, was to set up the heads of those that were put to death, there to be seene.

Two Curie or Counsell-houses at Rome there were: one neere the Forum, fast by the temple of Peace named *Hofilia*; the other in the mount *Cælius*, whereof we will speake hereafter.

CHAP. XVIII.

The lake Curtius, the great sinke or town ditch, and the Doliola.

The lake *Curtius* was in the midst of the Rom. Forum, neere *Domitian* his horie. This lake tooke that name of *M. Curtius*, who to save the Commonweale, willingly of his own accord cast himselfe headlong, armed as hee was, together with his horie into a chinke of the ground in the middelt of the Romane Forum. Some would have it so called of *Metius Curtius* a Sabine, who through this lake escaped safe to his owne companie.

The vault or sinke called *Cloaca Maxima*, was made by the commaundement of *Tarquine*: for by reason that the hills were digged under, and the citie stood hollow upon arches, it received and carried away all the filth thereof. At the temple of *Iup. Stator*, devided it was into three conveighances or channels, whereof two of them are now stopp'd up, the third runneth with most cleere water by the lake *Curtius*, under the Roman Forum, along the foot of the mount Palatine into *Velabrum*, and from thence in a sinke made of four square stone, it dischargeth it selfe into *Tyber*. In old time there were many such vaults, & those for publicke use. But after the citie was woon by the Gauls & burnt, whiles every man made hast to rebuild his house, where hee could meet first with a convenient place; they tooke no heed to the streets as they were before: so as neither the citie was devided as aforetime into quarters, nor yet the sinkes which in times past went under the streets, were marked where they lay: but afterwards were conveighed under private mens houses, whereby it came to passe, that each house almost at this day hath a sinke or privie belonging to it. Hereupon also it is, that this authour, whose epitome or abridgement we write, hath not divided the regions of the citie, agreeable to the old writers. But to the end that those things which he setteth down, might be sooner understood, and better remembred, he hath parted it into those quarters as now it standeth: and when hee sheweth in what part of the citie any place in times past was, he declareth them in those coasts which at this day are known to the inhabitants. But as at first these sinkes were common (as I have said) so there were appointed publicke overseers to looke unto them.

Neere the foresaid great sinke there was a place, which of certaine barrels under the ground was called *Doliola*. This place was reputed so holy, that a man might not spit thereupon. In it were supposed to have been, certaine secret mysteries of *Numa*. And yet, there be that thinke verily the ashes of the French *Senones* were there bestowed.

CHAP. XIX.

The Comitium, the temple of Venus Genetrix. The statues and images that were in the Comitium and Romane Forum. Cæsars statue and pillar.

VHere the Comitium was, from what place it began, & in what part of the citie it ended, we have shewed before, in the 15 chapter of this book. Called it was Comitium, as *Plus* arch faith for

for that *Romulus* and *Tatius* were wont to meet together in this place, to make covenants between them. In which place afterwards, the Senate and people of Rome assembled, when they would decree any thing for the good of the C. VV. and namely, when Consuls, Tribunes Consular, and such magistrates were created, and other affaires concluded; whereof authors make mention in all their writings. That place was neere the Senaculum, at the very foot of the mount Palatine. This Comitium was open above-head for many yeeres: whereupon oftentimes, albeit assemblies were summoned, yet they were enpeached: holding for them, fearing some tempestuous weather toward. Long time after, when *Anniball* came into Italie, they set a rouse over it: and afterwards *Cæsar* repaired it againe. In this Comitium the plaies were many times exhibited. In the same (as *Livius* reporteth) the bookes of *Sibylla* were burnt. In like manner many leaud and outrageous acts were committed in the assemblies there, whereof elsewhere we will speake.

In the Comitium stood the statue of *Cæsar*, which being afterwards stricken with fire from heaven, was translated into the court-yard of *Vulcani*. In the cantons & angles of the Comitium, were the statues like unto of *Pythagoras* and *Alcibiades*: Also in the ascent and stairs thereof, on the left hand of the Curia, stood the image of *Actius*, together with his whetstone and rasour.

The image resembling the Mother goddess, was set up in the Forum. They that worshipped this goddess were of this opinion, that the stone whereof shee was made, could not possibly be consumed with fire; which they guessed hereby, for that albeit many fires were made, in the night especially at her image, yet it took no hurt thereby; and therefore gave they out, that there was such vertue herein, as I have said. And from hence it came, that in all streets almost they began to worship her, and to erect altars and little chappels unto her.

The temple of *Venus Genetrix*, as is shewed before, was in the Forum. Just before this temple stood the statue of *Cæsar*, carrying a blazing star upon the head. In like manner a Colonne of *Cæsar* made of Numidian marble 20 foot high, there remained. Before the temple of *Castor*, there was the statue of *Q. Marius* in horsmans habit; of *Tremellius* clad in a side gowne; of *M. Atticus* covered with a vaile.

CHAP. XX.

The colunne called Mœnia: the pillar Horatia: the houses of Cæsar, Constantine, and Domitian. The temple and court-yard of the said Cæsar.

IN that part of the Forum was the colunne Mœnia, where stood the pallace of *Portius*. Called Mœnia it was, of *Manius* the Censor: for hee (when as he sold unto *Cato* his house, and when *Flaccus* the other Censor gave order, that the palace aforesaid should there be built) reserved in the sale so much space for himselfe, as a pillar or colunne would take up: upon the which he might put out a loft to jutte forth, made of joists and boards upon them: from which place both he and his posteritie might behold the sport of sword-fencers. And this priviledge hee obtained: whereupon, others also, as many as might bee allowed, were as industrious, and built them colunnes in the Forum.

There stood a rock of stone also in the Forum, whereupon the spoiles of the three twinnes *Crutius* were hanged.

In like manner, the pillar called Horatia.

The houses of *Cæsar*, *Constantine*, and *Domitian* beautified the Forum.

Likewise the court and cloister of *Minerva*; and the shops [of Bankers] as well old as new.

The dead corps of *Cæsar* was brought out of the Curia into the Forum, and entered in that place, where afterwards they built unto him an altar and temple.

Likewise in the Forum the manner of the Romanes was, to lay downe their magistracie.

CHAP. XXI.

Cæsars Forum: the palace of Paulus, and his Librarie.

BESIDES the temple of *Saturne*, or the common treasure (whereof we have written before in the 16 chapter of this booke) in the Romane Forum toward the Northeast, was *Cæsars* Forum, even in that very place which seemeth lower than the rest, behind the temple of *Faustina*. There, was the temple of *Venus Genetrix*, about which, *Cæsar* made a cloister and a Forum, not of wares and marchandise to be sold, but for them that repaired thither for justice in law matters. In this Forum, among other statues (whereof there were many and those most faire and beautifull) he suffered his owne to be made, all armed. The Forum it selfe contained but a small compasse, but it was most excellently set out. The very level of the plot stood him in an hundred millions of Ailes and above.

Cæsar purchased with 1500 talents, *Paulus Emilius* the colleague of *C. Marcellus* in his Consulship, to be his friend and to stand with him. *Paulus* having received this summe of mony, built in the middle of

of the Forum neere to the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, a most excellent and wonderfull pallace, of Phrygian colunnes, which afterwards they named, Basilici Pauli.

A Librarie also the same *Paulus* erected, neere unto his owne Basilici.

CHAP. XXII.

The Forum of Augustus: the galleries of Antonius, Faustina, and Livia: Cæsars house.

THE Romane Forum, those also of *[Julius] Cæsar* and *Augustus*, were (as it is well knowne) neere one to another. That of *Augustus*, they affirme to have been at the image of *Marforius*, in the most frequented place of the citie: it was but little in compasse, as the other of *Cæsars*, but excellently well adorned with brave statues and other things. For it had the statues of *Castor* and *Pollux*, with the victorie of *Alexander* the Great: the image also of *Corrinus*, and of the raven that upon his helmet fought. Also *Apollo* in yvorie: and besides these, other ensignes and ornaments of vertue and valour.

In this Hall or Forum, publicke justice was administred: and the judges from thence were empannelled: herein they debated in counsell, of wars, of triumphes, and other weightie affaires. From hence they used to goe when they tooke journey into their provinces with soveraigne command. Hither, they that returned victors, brought the ensignes and tokens of their victorie. This Forum being by time decayed, *Hadrian* reedified.

This Forum had two porches, wherein were the statues set out and decked in triumphant manner. *Augustus* dwelt in the street *Sacra*, in a house not so large and stately, but marvellously furnished by his neece *Livia*. And *Augustus* not able to abide this wastfull superfluitie of riches, pulled it downe and laid it even with the ground: in the void plot and court-yard whereof, was afterwards built the gallerie of *Livia*; which also was called *Claudia*. *Nero* cast it downe, but *Domitian* built it up againe under the old name.

The goodlie galleries of *Antonine* and *Faustina*, adorned with divers and sundry marbles well built in old time, were whereas at this day standeth the church of *S. Lawrence* in Miranda.

CHAP. XXIII.

The raster or beame called Sororium Tigillum: the street Syprius, Sceleratus, and Patritius: the house of M. Antonius.

SORORIUM Tigillum was a place hallowed for the expiation and assailing of *Horatius* for killing his sister, set up neere the street *Carinae*, to the honour of *Jupiter*.

The street *Cyprinus* is neere to the cliffe or rising of the Capitoll, which leadeth to the church of *S. Peter* in Vinculis, so called of *Cyprus*. In it dwelt the *Sabines* first, when they were afranchised and made free-demons. Surnamed afterwards it was *Sceleratus*, upon the wicked and devilish act of *Tullia*, whereof *Livius* speaketh. Some thinke this was all one with the former: others say it was divers from it.

The street *Patritius*, was so called, because of the *Patritij*, who were by *K. Tullus* commaunded there to dwell. For this was a place raised somewhat higher than others; from whence as from the upper ground, they might easily defend themselves against the sodaine violence of others, if it should be offered.

M. Antonius dwelt in that house, where sometimes stood the temple of *Tellus*. After *Antonie*, the church of *S. Pantalion* was in the same place built.

CHAP. XXIII.

Busta Gallica, and Aequimelum.

BUSTA Gallica, was a place in the heart of the citie, where the dead bodies of the Frenchmen that held Rome, were burnt and buried. It was in that part of the citie where at this day standeth the Church of *S. Andrew* (in *Busta Gallica*.) Now they call it by an awke name, *Portugallo*: and it is not far from the Amphitheatre. *Varro* setteth the *Busta Gallica* neere the *Aequimelum*. As for *Aequimelum*, it was so called, because the house of *Melius* who fought to be *K.* was there laid levell with the ground.

CHAP. XXV.

The street called Via Sacra: the arch Fabian and Vespasian.

THIS street beginneth at the old Curia, in the angle of Palatium neere the arch of *[Great] Constantine*. *Varro* supposeth that it began at the *Carinae* and the chappell of *Sternie*. VVhereby a man

man may gather, that the Via Sacra sometimes went through the gardens now of *S. Marie the new*, to the temple of *Peace*, the Forum of *Cæsar*, and so directly up to the castle of the Capitoll. The name of Sacra it tooke, for that the Augurs when they came from the Capitoll hill, went through it as they tooke their Augurie: or because monthly, they went in procession with sacred reliques along that way: or last of all, in regard that in it there was a league and covenant made betwene *Romulus* and *Tatius*. At the head and top of it, *Ancus Martius* in times past dwelt, neere the chappell of the Lares.


In this street was the famous statue set up of *Clodia*.

The arch Fabian likewise, neere the kings palace, fast by the Basilica of *Paulus*, was reared by *Fabius* the Censor, who subdued the Allobroges. In which arch was the scutcheon with his armes, and other tokens of the victorie engraven. Fast by it, *Scribonius Libo* erected a seat and Tribunal for the Pretour, named Puteal.

In the same street-way, was the marble arch of *Vespasian*, (the ancientest of all others that are now to be seene) erected by *Vespasian* after hee had won Hierusalem. In it were his victories cut and engraven, with the arke of the covenant of one side; and on the other, his triumphs and spoiles; and namely, the golden candlestick; the seven other lights, the two tables of *Moses*, the vessels of the temple of Hierusalem; the golden table, weighing one great talent; and many things else, whereof *Iosephus* writeth.

CHAP. XXVI.

Græcostasis; Senaculum; the Curia; the pallaces of Opimius and Porcius.

 Ræcostasis is a place on the right hand of the Rostra, as men goe forth of the Comitium; where, the embassadours of forreign nations beeing sent unto the Senat, used to stand and give attendance, untill they were admitted to audience.

The pallace of *Opimius*, and the Curia, stood neere unto the Græcostasis. Above the Græcostasis was the Senaculum at the temple of *Concord*. Called it was Senaculum, because the Senat or the elders, were wont there to meet. In Greeke it is named *ἑκαστα*.

Curia was in the Comitium, and some thinke it is all one with Senaculum: so called, because the affaires that required publicke care, were there debated. There was a Curia also of priests, where church matters were handled and treated of. Now this Curia where the Senat met, was a temple or halloved place: for neither might the Senat meet, nor act of Senat passe, but in place set out and appointed by augurie. Hercupon Curia Hostilia, Pompeia, and Iulia, being profane places before, were by inauguration consecrated temples. In this Curia was the altar of *Victorie*: & upon the staires of the said Curia stood the image of *Victorie*, made of fine and pure gold.


Cato the elder in the time of his Censorship, built (with the citie mony) a pallace neere to the Forum, under the Curia, which after his owne name he called Portia Basilica.

The pallace also of *Romulus* (as men thinke) stood where the church is now of *S. Marie the new*. These places therefore which have been thus described in the fourth region of the citie, joyned together in one place in a manner, and were all contained within this circuit, as you goe from the Comitium toward the temple of *Peace*, and the church and gardens of *S. Marie the new* almost as far as the Esquiliae.

THE FOURTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

The temple of Janus and Pietie: of the publicke goale of Rom. Commons.

 Eeing that foure parts of the citie are described, the fifth ensueth; which includeth those places that comprehend Tybre, part of the Aventine on the right hand, and the rock Tarpeia on the left: the valley also which lyeth between those very hills. VVherefore begin wee will at the memorable places, which are next after the theatre of *Marcellus*, and so runne through the plaine and levell plot of the citie. And with *Ianus* first, whome men in old time beleaved to bee the verie dore and as it were the entraunce of all things. Vnto *Ianus*, *Numa* built a temple at the gate Carmentalis, (afterwards the chappell of Saint *Katharine*) at the botome of Argiletus, close unto the theatre of *Marcellus*. This temple had two dores: In time of peace they were shut, but

but in warre opened by that Consull, who, as the worthier person was created first. It is found in records, that this temple was shut but onely thrice. First, by *Numa* himselfe: secondly, by *T. Manlius* the Consull: and a third time by *Augustus*, after the battell of Actium. But why in time of warre it stood open, many reasons are given: and this is thought the chiefe, namely, an accident that befell when *Romulus* warred against the Sabines: for when the Sabines were now possessed of the gate Carmentalis, and about to rush violently into the citie, all on a suddaine unlooked for, there issued forth upon the enemies a plenteous river and streame of hot scalding water out of the temple of *Ianus*, which stood neere to the gate: whereupon they were driven to flee, and so the citie was saved. From hence it is, that posteritie comming after, open the dores for *Ianus* that he might be at libertie, when he is called forth as it were, to helpe in time of warre.

Others report, that *Tatius* and *Romulus* both, were the founders of that temple: as who, when the covenant was made betwixt them, agreed together of that two-faced god, as an indifferent and common witness to them both of the accord contracted betwene two kings and two nations; and so erected unto him this temple in that very place where now the ruines of *S. Katharines* church are to be seene.

Moreover there be who affirme, that *Cn. Duilius* vowed it, and *Tiberius* built it: but the varietie of these opinions seemeth hereupon to arise; for that it is received and held for certain, that there were many *Iani* worshipped as gods by the posteritie; whereas they in old time beleaved but one: so as that which is spoken of divers, is fallily supposed, as said of one. VVhich may be seene before, where as wee wrote of *Ianus* with foure fronts or faces, whose temple was erected in the Forum. For it is said, that *Ianus* was the first who erected temples and ordained divine service and ceremonies for the gods; and therefore in sacrifices deserved the first place.

Pourtraied he is with a key and a wand; as who is the porter to keepe the gates, and the guide to direct the waies.

Augustus besides, brought his image out of *Egypt* to Rome, and in the hearb-market built a temple in the honour of him.

To *Pietie* in the said hearb-market, *M. Atilius Glabrio* dedicated a temple in that verie place where at this day standeth the Church of *S. Nicholas* in the prison: for even these *Ap. Claudius* the Decemvir by a decree of the Senat, built a prison, for that the common goale (whereof wee have written before) was not sufficient; and called it. The prison for the Commons of Rome: wherein himselfe afterwards being found guiltie, wrought his owne death. In which also many yeeres after, a certaine sillie poore woman of base and obscure parentage (being newly brought a bed) being apprehended for an heinous offence, was condemned to be starved to death. Her daughter, being a milch woman, and delivered lately of a child, made humble request to the goaler, that shee might have leave to goe to her mother: and when hee had made streight search before, whether shee brought with her any food; and saw her have nothing about her, let her in: and so she went and came, many times. At the last, knowne it was that the prisoner within was nourished by the breast-milke of her daughter: whereupon the mother was delivered and set free; and both mother and daughter were allowed their food ever after by vertue of a decree, at the cities charges: and in regard of that kindest and affection of the child to the mother, they consecrated this place to the goddesse *Pietas*. *Livia* supposed, that it was not the mother but the father, that in this manner was by the daughter nourished.

CHAP. II.

The hearb-market: the temple of Iuno Matuta, and of Hope: the oratorie or chappell of Numa: the colomme called Lactaria: the altar and chappell of Carmenta.

THis place hath the name of Forum Holitorium, for that therein is great store of woorts and pot-herbs, without the gate Carmentalis, where, in times past was the old market kept: and at this day called it is, the street Montanaria.

VVithin the compasse of the said market place, *C. Cornelius* the Consull, in the time of the Gaules warre, vowed a temple to *Iuno Matuta*: which afterward being Censor, hee put out to building, in that very place where afterwards stood the church of *S. Andrew* surnamed in *Mentuza*.

The same *C. Cornelius* built in the Forum Holitorium, the temple of *Hope*, and the same adorned with divers and sundrie marbles: which afterwards *Collatinus* consecrated. Many a day after, it was smitten with lightning; and in the end set on fire and burnt.

A colomme also there was in the same market place named *Lactaria*: unto which the sucking babes that were to be nourished with milke, were presented.

The oratorie of *Numa*, stood in the bottome of Argiletum, neere the theatre of *Marcellus*.

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The altar Carmentalis, consecrated by *Evander* to his mother *Carmenta*, stood before the gate Carmentalis.

In the same place also was the chappell of *Carmenta* built by the matrons of Rome. At the first, shee was called *Nicostrata*: but for that shee delivered Oracles in verse, shee tooke the name of *Carmenta*.

CHAP. III.

The fish market, and temple of Fortuna Virilis.

THe fish market standeth along the Tybre, neere to the [Forum] Iunium, betweene the Churches of Saint *Maria* in Porticu and *Egyptiaca*, within the gate Carmentalis, not farre from the Forum Boarium, i. the oxen market.

The Church of S. *Maria Egyptiaca* is at this day neere the Tybre, and a bridge of the said name. Some goe about to affirme and proove, that this was sometime the temple of *Mercie*; others, of *Fortune* and *Chastitie*; but all in vaine: for those temples were not in this place, but in the oxen market: as for this temple of *Fortuna Virilis*, whereof we now speak, it was neer Tybre. In it stood the statue of *Serv. Tullius* made of wood and guilt all over, which in a great skare-fire when all things else were burnt, remained only safe and sound.

CHAP. IIII.

The temple of Vesta, the Salinae, and the arch of Caelus.

Here the church of *Maria* surnamed *Egyptiaca*, there remaineth at this day a most auncient temple, now dedicated to S. *Stephen*, the frame whereof is circular, and the pillars are set round about and beare up the rouse; which being one entire peece of worke, carrieth the whole temple. Consecrated it was in old time to *Vesta*: and *Numa* taking that circular platforme, from the temple which was at Alba, made it with a louver in the top, having a hole to give light.

Howbeit of this goddesse her selfe there is no image nor resemblance; for that fire, whereof shee is the goddesse, can have no certeine and permanent forme. As for *Vesta*, the Latines call her so, because shee is arrayed with divers and sundrie things. Of the Greekes shee is named *Vesta*, for that her force and power appertaineth to altars and hearthes where fire is kept. This is not the temple where in the sacred fire is preserved: but that whereof wee spake before, which *Romulus* built betweene the Capitoll and Palatium.

Salinae, were the store-houses of the salt which served the citie; and they stood upon that bankeside of Tybre, which from the foresaid temple of *Vesta* reacheth into the Aventine.

The arch of *Horatius Caelus* stood at the very foot of the Aventine hill, where the rising thereof beginneth, betweene the mount and the Tybre.

CHAP. V.

The Forum Boarium.

Hitherto from the beginning of this fourth book, are described those things which on the right hand of Tybre were worth the noting. Now forward we will after our manner, run through all the memorable things which are on the left side of that river: and first as concerning the beast-market.

The beast-market was neere to Velabrum and Ianus, betweene the mount Palatine and the Greeke schoole, close to the temple, now called S. *Gregories* church. In it there was a most auncient image in brasse of a bull, whereupon some thinke it tooke the name Boarium. Others, for that oxen were there sold: or because they used in old time to sacrifice those kind of beasts there: or else, for that *Evander* in that place killed an oxen in sacrifice to *Hercules*, for killing *Cacus* and recovering again his kine and oxen. In the same place were kept the instruments wherewith the ministers belonging to sacrifices, the sacrificers also themselves, were furnished when they went about their sacrifice. In this market-place was the first fight exhibited of sword-fencers.

CHAP. VI.

The temple of Hercules Victor, and the altar called Maxima.

THe round temple of *Iupiter Victor* was built in the beast-market, neere the Greeke schoole: where sometime *Evander* reared unto *Hercules* the altar called *Maxima*. This temple (as they say)

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(say) was so religious and venerable, that neither flie nor dog would enter into it. For *Hercules* at what time as hee distributed a dole of flesh to his followers and ministers in his sacrifice, praised unto *Myiagirus* [the god that gathereth flies.] He it is therefore that driveth away all flies from this temple: and at the dore thereof he left his club behind, which so soone as the dogs see, they run away far off: and thus unto the daies wherein *Plinie* lived, it was free from flies and dogs. At the sacrifice and divine service of this *Hercules*, neither women nor bondslaves, ne yet freed men that had beene in villenage, might bee present. At the last, this temple was consumed in that fire which *Nero* the emperor made.

Over and besides, *Evander* erected unto *Hercules* a statue, which was called *Hercules Triumphant*, because so often as there was any triumph in the cittie, it was clad with the mantle, and other habiliments of triumph.

All the time that *Evander* reigned, *Hercules* had no more but an altar which they called *Maxima*: and this *Evander* reared unto him for killing of *Cacus*, and restoring his kine and oxen again. Upon this altar hee sacrificed the tenth part of the fruit of his kine: for *Hercules* had given out and promised, That they should live an happy life, who dedicated unto him the tenth part of their goods. Hereupon commeth the name of Decime *Herculaneæ*: i. *Hercules Tithes*.

CHAP. VII.

The temples of Chastitie, Prosperous Fortune, Matuta, and Fors fortuna: of the place called Vicus Publicus, Velabrum: and the sepulchre also of Acca Laurentia.

NEere to the temple of *Hercules*, well known it is that a chappell was built by *Aemilius* to *Pudicitia Patricia*, i. Gentlewomens chastitie. Now the image that represented this Saint, stood in the beast-market. To the service and sacrifices celebrated unto this goddesse, virgines that were Commoners daughters might not come. And therefore a certain maiden of Commoners degree, reared a chappell also to *Pudicitia Plebeia*. From the service and sacrifices thereof, the Patritian virgins were likewise debarred. Many other places & temples besides, were consecrated to *Pudicitia*.

The temples of *Prosperous Fortune* and of *Matuta*, *Servius Tullius* consecrated in the beasts market: And that *Fortune* hee called *Proserpa*, which was not blind. In that place (they say) an Olive tree sometimes stood, and upon a time when honey dropped & flowed from it, the Soothsayers gave order, that a little cofer or box should be made of the wood thereof; wherein those lots were put and laid up, which by the direction of *Fortune* were either handled or shuffled together by the hands of yong boies: as if such should prove happie, fortunate, and excellent. *Servius Tullius* ascribed all his acts whatsoever to *Fortune*, who being borne of a bondwoman, had many times found good by her, and was in the end advanced to princely dignitie. And hereupon hee dedicated temples to *Fortuna Primigenia*, *Mafcola*, *Conversens*, *Bene sperans*, and *Videns*, as who would say, she ruled and did all. Likewise, a temple he consecrated to little *Fortune*, signifying thereby, that nothing can happen unto us, bee it never so small, but we must attribute it, as comming from the gods.

A temple to *Matuta*, *Camillus* vowed in the Veientian warre and dedicated it; which long before that time *Servius Tullius* had erected. To *Matuta* and *Fortuna Primigenia* the Romanes did sacrifice upon one and the selfe same day: and likewise in one and the same day both their chappels were burned and consumed with fire together. *Cornelius* the Consul caused a temple to bee made unto *Fors Fortuna*, or [Fortis Fortuna] neere unto that of *Matuta*, of the money raised out of the spoile gotten from the Tuscans.

The street called *Vicus Publicus*, began at the Forum Boarium, and went from thence unto the Aventine, as farre as to the temple of *Iuno*. In this street neere the said Forum was the chappell of Velabrum, in that very place where now standeth the church of Saint *Gregorie* in Velabrum, so called.

Aventine hill was sometime seperated from the other mountaines by the Tyber betweene: for before that *Tarquinius Priscus* turned the channell of Tyber, it brake out many times, and having found a frith or creeke, it beat upon the foot of the Aventine. And therefore of necessity, whosoever would goe to the Aventine, was to make a fare, that is to say, by paying his quadrant, ferric over thether in a whirrey. Hereupon that place is at this day called Velabrum, a vehendo, i. ferrying over, where sometimes the Tyber had wrought out a frith.

Antias hath left in writing, that the sepulchre of *Acca Laurentia* was in Velabrum.

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CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Vertumnus and his temple; Ianus with foure faces; the house of Africanus; the court or pallace Sempronia, and the wooll shops.

MEn in old time called *Vertumnus*, not only the god of buying, selling, and offruits; but also him that ruled mens minds, so named a *Vertendo*, for that oftentimes he turned and chaunged at his will & pleasure the purposes & thoughts of men another way far diuers. His temple & image they erected in the Tuscan street, neere to the altars of *Ops* and *Ceres*. The festiual daies of this god, celebrated in the month October, are called *Vertumnalia*. Some there bee that would haue *Vertumnus* and *Ianus* with foure faces to be all one; upon this reason, for that they affirme the temple of *Ianus* afore said to bee in Velabrum, whereas they built that of *Vertumnus*. But now that temple, whereof we haue before spoken, upon foure pillars beareth up one rouse, and hath foure gates besides, and in each forefront twelve little windowes, which signifie the foure quarters of the yeere and the twelve months. In old time they put *Ianus* before, in all sacrifices, and gave him that name *ab eundo*, i. going, and hereupon the entries and dores of houses be called *Ianua*.

Neere the image of *Vertumnus*, *Pub. Africanus* had an house, which *Sempronius* afterwards bought together with the wooll shops, and built the pallace which they call *Sempronia*, neere the temple of *S. Gregore* in Velabrum.

CHAP. IX.

Argiletus: the house of Cornelius; Aequimelum: the chappell of Surquedrie or slouth.

THe *Argiletus* beginneth at the bottome of the Tuscan street, and endeth at the Theatre of *Marcellus*. But *Fabius Pistor* saith, it began at the head of the said Tuscan street, under *Corholus*, betwene it and the great Lutes, and so reacheth to the Aventine. The name it taketh of a kind of clay or loime, whereof there is plentie in that place: or els of one *Argus*, who being entertained as a guest by *Evander*, laid a-wait for his life, intending after hee had murdered him, to be king and reigne himselfe. But the friends and companie about *Evander* discovered his traines, and so hee was by them slaine. Vnto him therefore *Evander* reared a tombe even there, and consecrated the place.

Now *Ianus Argiletus* is iust by the Theatre of *Marcellus*. In this street were diuers shops of artificers or artificers, & especially of stationers or booksellers, & those they comonly called the *Argiletane* shops.

Cornelius Domitianus is said to haue dwelt in Velabrum.

Aequimelum is betwene Velabrum and the Capitoll, neere to the staplers wooll shops. The name arose hereupon, for that *Sp. Melius* a Romane citizen who aspired to bee king, sometime there dwelt: who being detected of that crime, was killed, his goods confiscated, and his house laid leuell with the ground, and the plot where it stood, by the Romanes was made a void yard.

The temple of *Murtia*, goddess of Idleness, was under the Aventine, upon the ascent of the hill called *Clivus Publicus*, in that part whereas folke goe up to the church of *Saint Prisca*. Hereupon the mount Aventine was sometime called *Murtius*.

Moreover, some there be that in this place would haue the Asylum to stand: but wee haue shewed before that the Asylum was first built by *Romulus* upon the Capitoll. But in processe of time, after that so great riches and wealth was gathered and laid up there in the Capitoll, and that otherwhiles the Senat used there to meet and sit in counsell; the Romanes thought it not with the safest for them that theeves, fellons, and other leaud infamous persons of all sorts, should come for refuge thither, and there abide: and therefore they supposed it better for their securitie to translate this privileged sanctuary to some other place. VVhereupon not there alone, but in many other parts afterward there began sanctuaries to be set up, not at Rome only, but also in other quarters of the world.

CHAP. X.

Circus what it is, why it was so called, and for what cause ordained.

THe place where games and exercises of disport were performed, was called the Cirque: so named for that scaffolds were built in circuit round about to behold the pastimes; and within that compass the said solemnities were exhibited: also for that the pompe was carried in shew, and the horses ran about the goles there. Built it was round, but longwise like an arch or bow, having in the circuit about it steps one above another, with apt seats for the beholders; that one should not hinder the prospect of another: in the mids were two marks or goles distant alike one from the other. Also the barriers or *carreres*, so called, because the horses stood there pent and kept in untill the magistrat gave the signall to begin the course.

Now

Now these solemnities of games and plaies, are festivals in the honour of their gods: for ordained they were first and still are observed and kept, either for their birth-daies and natiuities, or dedications of temples. And at the first verily were hunting and baiting of beasts, which they called (*Munera*) to the honor of *Saturne*. But the stage plaies were due to *Liber*: the Circenian games to *Neptune* and *Ceres*. Thus these pastimes were assigned, some to these gods, and others to those; and in honour and memoriall of them yeerely solemnized. As for the games Circenies, they were so called, because when they were performed, they had the banke of the river of one side, and sword set to slanke the other. But of these games, plaies, and solemne fights, *Sisinnus* hath written at large.

CHAP. XI.

The great shew-place called Circus Maximus.

T*arquinius Priscus* instituted first this large circuit for running of races, and laid the foundation thereof betwene the two mounts Aventine and Palatine. But *Caesar* was hee that enlarged it, and made it more magnificent and stately. For being (as it was) three furlongs and an halfe in length, and foure acres broad; it is thought that it was *Caesar* and not *Tarquinius*, who set it out to that largenesse: and this foundeth like to a truth, considering that in *Tarquinius* daies the citie was not so populous, neither given so much to these shewes and fights, as in the time of *Caesar*, and therefore the place required not so great a compasse of ground. Now this Cirque for three parts thereof, to wit, the two sides and one of the ends, had a ditch digged ten foot deepe, and as many broad: behind that ditch were galleries built, three stories high; & these had seats made beneath with stone, and above of timber: at which galleries had one and the same bases, for they closed together round like a globe. Able they were to receive a hundred and fiftie thousand men. See more hereof in *Dionysius*, *Plinie*, *Livy*, and others who haue written of the Roman edifices. This Cirque, *Augustus* adorned and beautified afterwards: for hee made the barriers of marble, and gilded the goales, and many other ornaments hee set it out withall. Lastly, when it was decayed and fallen down, *Frajanus* reedified it, made it more ample, and trimmed it up. Yea, and after him, *Helogabalus* set thereto besides most faire and goodly Columns, and garnished them with gold, and paved the very floore with Chrysocolia. But as touching the beautie of this Cirque, *Naxos* writeth much. For, by report, so elegant it was, that men resorted to it, not so much to behold the exercises and mailtries there, as the pleasant and delectable beautie of the place. Maximus therefore it was called, either by cause consecrated it was to *Fortunus*, the greatest of the gods, or for the excellencie and sumptuousnesse of the games: or else because in comparast of other Circes, to wit, *Flaminius*, and the other called *Intimus*, the inmost, this was the biggest. For *Plinie* hath left in writing, that it lay out in length three furlongs, and one in breadth, so as it would well serve for two hundred and fixtie thousand men to sit within it.

CHAP. XII.

The temples and altars which weread to have been in the Circus Maximus, or about it.

C*erfus* is reported to bee the god of Counsell, either for that hee concealeth mens counsels, or openeth them unto men. This god had an altar in the great shew-place covered over: which betokeneth, that counsell ought to be close and covert. For which cause, this altar as we read, was by the old Romanes to him consecrated. For they, at what time as they consulted about the ravishing of the Sabine maidens, fearing least they should have been detected before the time, dedicated this altar to this god, and erected the portraiture and image of him thereon. VVhich altar verily, either by some iniurie of the times, or through mens neglect of the gods, continued so forlet, as in the end it was altogether unknowne where it stood. At length found it was againe, and at all other times remained covered, but in the time of horse-runnings, and then it was uncovered and set open. To this god was the feast also instituted, called *Consualia*. And those disports and pastimes which they devised for the ravishment of the Sabine virgins, were celebrated at this altar by certaine priests belonging to that god.

In like maner *Neptune*, surnamed the Chevalier, had a temple in this Circus Max. which in the yeer of our Lord 1526 was found behind the temple of *S. Anastasia*, at the foot of the mount Palatine, in the very foundations of the Circus: for such markes and tokens were there to be seene, that by good evidences it appeared that this was the very temple of *Neptune*. For the honour of this *Neptune*, the games Circenies were by men in old time solemnized.

Also to *Genius* the guide & director of secret plots, they erected an altar in the great Cirque. Over and besides these, this Cirque contained three other altars: one to the Great gods; a second to the Penates; and a third to those gods of heaven & earth, from whom all things arise and have their beginning. These gods afore said, the Romanes called *Genij*, *Penates*, *Presidents*, and keepers of the citie.

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Libor, Libera, Ceres, and Proserpina, had their temples about this place called *Circus Max.* which *Porcius* when hee warred against the Latines, vowed: and the same man upon his returne with happie victorie, built and dedicated them accordingly.

To conclude, in the same compasse were the temples of the Sunne, and of *Flora*.

Moreover, a temple there stood neere this *Circus*, unto *Venus*: which *Q. Fabius* Genger the Consull, caused to be made of the monie raised upon the fines of certaine wives that were condemned for playing false with their husbands.

Lucius dedicated a temple to *Juvencus* without the great cirque, not farre from that place.

In like sort, *Mercurie* had a temple neere this *Circus Max.*

In *Plinius* daies there was seene in the *Cirque Max.* the image of *Fortuna Scia*.

CHAP. XVII.

The Naumachie of the great Cirque.

Naumachie is a place so called in *grecish* *naus* *maichion*, i. for that in it they used to skirmish with ships. For there were places digged deepe like ponds, where were represented some shewes of navall fight, for the exercise of the Romane youth, that they might know how to charge and annoy the enemy at sea also. And these kind of sports were exhibited and practised not in the *Cirques* onely, but also in the *Amphitheatres*.

CHAP. XVIII.

The two Obelisks of the Cirque Max.

The Obeliske (as *Marcellinus* testifieth) was a very huge & rough stone rising like a spire or broch, by little and little to a mightie height: and that it might resemble a raine or sunne-beame, it groweth smaller and smaller in fashion of a steeple, with foure sides or edges, and in the top it is very narrow, and there made plaine and smoth right artificially. In most of them are engraven and cut certaine Hieroglyphicke notes, and namely such as testified either the founder thereof, or else other memorable matters. Of these figures and characters, the same *Marcellinus* speaketh in this wise: Moreover the infinite varietie of formes and characters, called Hieroglyphicks which all about we see engraven, the aunient authoritie of the first learning did set forth and marke so. Thus much saith he. Now they drew and portraied therein divers and sundrie formes and shapes of living beasts and birds, and oftentimes devised new and strange resemblances, whereby they reserved and kept for their posteritie whatsoever was memorable and worth remembrance. This manner continued not in *Egypt* onely, but also in other parts of the world, untill such time as letters were found: and then this was given over. At the first one letter emplied a whole word, and one word stood for a whole sentence. But hereof yee shall find much in authors that have written of these characters. Moreover, as *Plinie* witnesseth, these Obelisks were made of the stone *Simichis*. Them they erected & consecrated to the gods, and principally to the Sunne: and therefore in hewing and cutting them, they resembled the sunne-beames, as wee said before. The first that ever devised these Obelisks, was king *Nechus*. At Rome were none of these Obelisks wrought and cut out, but brought thither from other parts, and so for beautifull shew and to wonder at were erected. Therefore in the *Cirque* aforesaid, called *Maximus*, two Obelisks were seene, one standing upright aloft, fourescore foot high: the other lying along in the *Naumachie*; it carried in length a hundred and thirtie foot and eight ynches, besides the base or footfall, which *Augustus* translated to Rome out of *Hieropolis*, a citie of *Egypt*: but when he would have set it up on end, it fell downe and brake in twain. This was hewen out of the quarrey, by king *Sannefretens*, in whose reigne *Pythagoras* was in *Egypt*.

CHAP. XV.

The arch of Serstinus in the Cirque. The place of the Tuberoes in the Cirque. The stewes, the house of Pompey, and the fountaine of Iuturna.

Serstinus having made conquest of Spaine, brought great store of money into the citie chamber: and of the spoiles taken from enemies, hee reared two arches; the one in the beast-market, called *Forum boarium*; the other in the great shew-place, named *Circus maximus*. Vpon these arches he set golden images, and other ornaments to beautifie them.

The house and familie of the *Helij* was none of the welthiest, but yet of great credit and estimation with the Romans. Among whom there was so great concord and unitie, that 16 of them at one time dwelt and agreed well together in one and the same house. For their singular prowesse and worthe

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acts, they were allowed by the Senat and people of Rome a scaffold by themselves in all the shew places and Theatres, to behold all fights and maistris of activitie.

About the *Circus Maximus* stood the stewes and brothel-houses, where sometimes harlots and naughtie packs kept, such as made profession of whoredome. But this place was afterwards laid even with the ground, and is now a void place.

The house of *Pompeius* was neere the *Circus Maximus*, and therein was the statue of *Hercules* erected.

The fountaine or well of the nimph *Iuturna*, is yet (as some thinke) to be seen, boiling up in the *Vellabrum* neere the common sinke or vault called *Maxima*.

CHAP. XVI.

The Septizonium of Severus.

There should follow by course after the great Cirque; the sixth part of the citie, namely, the mount *Coelius*. But because wee meet with the *Septizonium* of *Severus*, and the arch of *Constantine* (before wee come to *Coelius*) betwene it and the mount *Palatine*, some thing would first bee spoken of them, especially being so excellent building as they are. The *Septizonium* therefore is a mightie mount or terrace raised from the plaine ground foure square, compassed about with seven circles, that is to say, courses or rews of pillars one above another, yeelding as it were as many porches or galleries: and in this order they are disposed, that the higher the pillars stand, the lesser and shorter they be. In the mids hereof, foure wals arise, containing within them certaine holow places like cabinets. In the top thereof were bestowed and laid the ashes of kings and emperours deceased. *Iulius Capitolinus* nameth this mount *Septodium*, for the Greekes call places much frequented, wherunto many waies lead, *Heptodia* of *seve*, i. seven, and *dia*, i. a way. *Plinie* calleth it *Septifolium*, of seven foits or folars. For in every course thereof the columnes meet together in the head with marbles transomes. Other beams there be besides, reaching withinforth from them to the mount it selfe, so as every such course yeelded a stage like a gallerie or walking place. Two of these *Septizonia* we read there were at Rome, to wit, the one of *Titus* in the street called *Via nova*, of right great antiquitie, not farre from this of *Severus*: of which at this day there is to be seene no shew or token at all. The other of *Severus*, whereof there remaine still, over against *S. Gregories* church three Zones or girdles (as it were) of curious worke; for the beautie and stateliness of the pillars worth the seeing, and pleasant to behold. Reared it was in the broad street called *Appia*, and built by *Severus* himselfe. That which now is left thereof, leaneth out so, as it seemeth ever and anon readie to fall.

CHAP. XVII.

The triumphant arch of Constantine the emperor.

These triumphant arches were erected for them onely, who having subdued whole provinces or conquered forraigne nations, and obtained brave and fortunate victories, seemed worthe of triumph, and thereupon they were called *Triumphant arches*. Vpon these arches for the perpetuall and everlasting memoriall of acts achieved, were cut and engraven the portraitures of the very places where the warre was performed; the resemblances of fabrickes and raunged battels, if the service was on land, and of ships, if it were at sea. Howbeit, untill the time of the emperors, no man raised any arches, and in *Plinius* daies they began first to be built: so as, that of *Titus* is of all others most aunient. For before their age, only statues and trophies were set up. But in proccesse of time following, many of these arches were raised: among which, that of *Constantine* is to be seen above the rest, at the corner of the mount *Palatine*, neere the Theatre, beautified with triumphall ornaments, and remaineth at this day in a manner found and whole without any hurt. This arch *Constantine* erected for himselfe, upon the victorie which he obtained over *Maxentius* at the bridge *Milvius*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Coelius the mount, and Coeliolus.

The mount *Coelius* in old time was named *Querquetulanus*, for the number of oaks there growing: but afterwards it was so called of one *Calvus Vibennus*, a duke of the *Tuscane* nation, unto who the Romans granted a place in that mountaine to inhabit. For when as the *Tuscane* people, by reason of their multitude, and the strong fenced places which they held, were suspected, commanded they were to remove into a street which of themselves was named *Thuscus*. But such as were without suspicion, kept the hill *Coeliolus* or *Coelicolus*, i. the little *Coelius*; a place where sometime the goddess *Diana* was worshipped: and at this day there standeth the church consecrated to *S. Evangelista* the virgine. This mountaine afterwards by *Tiberius* was named *Augustus*.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The temples of Faunus, Venus, and Cupid: the court Hostilia: the serraine campe: the house of the Lateranes: the pallace of Constantine, and Casorianus: the horseman statue of L. Verius.

VPon the ridge or side of the mount Cœlius there standeth a round church; now patronised by S. Stephen, but hallowed and consecrated in times past to Faunus. Faunus hee was called, *Ἰσχυρὸς*, i. for that hee foretold things to come, by voice and not by signes. The Albanes in old time inhabited that part of the hill, where at this day the church stands of S. Marie Dominick.

In the hill Cœlius stood sometimes the temples of Venus and Cupid, not farre from the gate Nævia, where now is the church of the holy crosse in Hierusalem.

The court Hostilia was in two places of Rome, the one in the common Rōrtm, hard by the temple of Peace, where K. Hostilius first dwelt, the other in that place, where afterwards the church of Saint Eln and Saint Paule was built.

A place there was in the mount Cœlius called Castra Peregrina, toward the Northeast and the Equilia, where at this time the church of the foure crowned Saints, is frequented.

The house of the Lateranes also was built upon the same mount, at the pallace or stately hall of the Lateranes.

The pallace of Flavius Constantinus, neere the house of the Lateranes, stood between the gates Cælimontana and Gabiula.

The pallace of Casorianus was built at the gate Nævia, and the church of S. Holy-crosse in Hierusalem.

In the street called Lateranenſis, stood the statue on horseback of L. Verius. Some say it was made for M. Lucius Antonius, others, for Septimius Severus.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Amphitheatres, and first of that of Statilius Taurus.

NOW it followeth to speake of the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, but before we write thereof, it would bee briefly shewed what an Amphitheatre is. Now this word Amphitheatrum commeth *ἀμφὶ θέατρον*, i. of looking round about: for two prospectes joined in one, make the forme of an hemisphere or halfe circle. Some thinke, that Titus deuided the Amphitheatre first, but some avow and prove, that C. Cæsar built the first that ever was in Mars field: but by the authoritie of Suetonius it is proved, that Statilius reared one Amphitheatre before Titus.

In these Amphitheatres were prizes and rewards propounded to them that would fight with beasts. Condemned persons likewise yielded there to the eyes of men a horrible and fearefull sight to behold, for thither were those prisoners brought by the Licitors, within that enclosure to wrette and maintaine conflict with wild beasts.

Moreover, the emperours before they tooke their journey to any war or expedition, exhibited unto the people in these Amphitheatres shewes of sword-fencers at the sharpe for life and death, to the end, that the fouldiours should be acquainted with fight, and learne not to be affraid of weapons, of wounds, no nor of bloodshed, nor to draw backe and avoid the perils of warre to come, for the novelty and strangeness thereof. A great part of Statilius his Amphitheatrum, is yet to bee seene neere the wals, at S. Croſes church in Hierusalem. And at the same time hee built it, when Augustus Cæsar encouraged and exhorted the cittizens of Rome, every man according to his abilitie to beautifie and adorne the citie.

CHAP. XXI.

The water conduits why they were devised, by what means water were conueighed into the citie, to what purpose, by whom first, and how many.

THe citie of Rome in the beginning, as hath beene said in the first booke, was but narrow of compass, and contained within small bounds: and the people for commoditie and store of water, settled upon the river Tyber. But as the citie daily more and more encreased, necessarie it was that some should build them houses and habitation in one place, some in another, farther from the river: whereupon distressed it was for want of water, which was to be fetched so farre off, and that with great paine and labour: besides, those places which had no current of running waters to wash away the filth, and carie it into Tyber, became (by the noisome aire which was infected with their lothsome and stinking fumes) unhollome, and subject many times to the pestilence. Prince Nerva therefore

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(the emperour) undertook to redresse and remedie this mischief (and others after him by his example) & devised by the wit and subtile invention of men, conduit pipes, to bring water into those parts of the citie which otherwise had none. And this verily they did two waies, the one by arched worke, when by digging certain rills or riverets, the water was carried leuell above ground, forced by certain weights, ballases, and counterpeiles: the other by vaults under the ground, bringing water into the citie by secret under-waies, through pipes, spouts, and rockes. By which means it came to passe, that in the citie every where, such store there was of water, that each house almost had a well in it. But especially at the bottome and foot of the hill Quirinalis, and all the side thereof, in the street Patricius, Suburra, the Latine way, the Aventine, the Iewes street, and in many other places: so as in this our age full it is of such waterworks under the ground. Now were these waters conueighed from divers places, & some conduits especially, such as were devised by arches, were higher or lower than other. In the beginning and all the former times, there were (by report) five heights or depths: The highest of all was new Anio; next, the waters Claudia; in the third place the water Iulia; Tepula in the fourth; then Martia, and after it old Anio, the leuell or current whereof, Virgo followeth and Appia, and the lowest of all others, Alficina, which serves that quarter of the citie beyond Tyber, & other low places built upon the plaine. These waters were first brought into certaine great conduit-heads, and from thence they were by a certaine measure distributed by the conduit officer, and so ran into places appointed. Now that great conduit-head was called Castellum, which receiveth first the common water, and afterwards sendeth it out into divers and sundry parts: and the keeper or officer that overseeth it, is named Castellarius. There were besides leuell or above ground, certaine cisternes or receptacles of water, which kept water to serve carriers, fullers, and other such artificers for their necessarie use. Over these waters were appointed certaine wardens and keepers, and a set number of labourers and workemen to see thereto. Finally, a greivous punishment was to bee inflicted upon them that either marred and hurt the conduit-heads, or derived and conueighed water to other places than the lawes and publicke ordinances, or the Censors or Ædiles permitted; or tooke more water than at the first was allowed them. Appian Claudius (by report) was the first man that brought water into the citie by arched worke. But of the Romane waters, of the conduits, and other matters ordained thereabout, of the manner of conveighance, the instruments, measures, and weights thereto belonging, read Frontinus, who of these things hath written truly and at large. Also have recourse to Sext. Rufus, who of the same argument hath made a good treatise. In the time of Frontinus there were but nine waters and no more brought into the citie, namely, Appia, old Anio, Martia, Tepula, Iulia, Virgo, Alficiana, called also Augusta, Claudia, and new Anio. Rufus reckoneth ten more, whereby it appeareth, that he wrote long after Frontinus.

CHAP. XXII.

The conduit or conveighance of Aqua Claudia.

Claudius began two conduits, but left them unfinished when he died, Claudius the emperour of famous memorie, tooke them in hand againe, and in most magnificent manner made an end. To the one of them, namely which beginning at the sources or springs called Cæruleus and Curtius, was drawne to the citie, he gave the name Aqua Claudia: the other, for difference sake of the two conduits of Anio, he called his own, or the new Anio; and distinct it was from that which is named old Anio. The water Claudia therefore was brought from the gate Nævia, along the side of the mount Cœlius into the Aventine. A part also thereof Caracalla derived into the Capitoll hill.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of those things which now in mount Cœlius are not knowne where they stood.

Rutius the Consull having expelled Tarquine, built a temple to the goddesse Cerna in mount Cœlius, to which goddesse also, upon the accomplishment of his praier and vow, hee offered sacrifice. They in old time supposed that she had power over the vitall members of the bodie, and to her tuition they committed those parts, and that shee should preserve them safe, they did sacrifice upon her altars, and presented oblations.

Agrippina likewise began to build a temple to Claudius Cæsar, which after her death Vespasian finished, and Nero utterly destroyed to the very foundation: this also was erected in the same hill.

Mamurra Formianus, maister of Cæsar's Carpenters in Fraunce, was the first Romane that adorned and set out his house which hee had in Cœlius hill, with marble rough-cast. Moreover, the house of Claudius Centimalus stood upon the said hill. Also the house of the Tetrici, who were two of the thirte tyrants. Likewise the house of Iunius Senatour, wherein, when as all other edifices and buildings upon that mountaine were consumed with fire, the image of Tyberius remained unhurt. There also

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it is said of *Titus Claudius Cyprius*, the maker of hymnes. In this hill was the great *Macellum*, the cave or denne of *Cyclops*, the *Spoliarium*, and the *arimorie*.

CHAP. XXIII.

The waies Appia, and Nova. The temples of Isis, Vertue, Honour, Quirinus or Mars, and the river Almo.

NOW follow those places which are worth the remembrance upon the hill *Caelius* toward the *Aventine*. And therefore the way or street called *Appia* we meet with first, which taking the beginning from the arch of *Constantine*, reacheth as far as *Brundisium*: and because afterwards it was paved and repaired by *Caracalla*, it tooke the name of *Nova*, i. the new causey. But that which properly is called *Nova*, beginneth at the gate of *Palatine*, and along the foot of the *Palatine* hill, over the great *Cirque* called *Maximus*, stretcheth out as farre as to the lowest fish-pool, where now standeth the church of *S. Sixtus*. Many other streets there were, called *Nova*. Take heed therefore that in their names you be not deceived, and least yee thinke that to be spoken of one, which oftentimes was ment of many.

Betweene the church of *Sixtus*, the fish-pool, and the ruines of the *Antonian* baines, there was the church of *Isis Antenorica*, built by *Antonius Bassianus*.

The temple of *Honour* and *Vertue*, not farre from the street *Appia*, was vowed by the father of *Marcus Marcellus* at *Clatidium* in *Gaul*, and seventeene yeers after, dedicated by his sonne *Marcellus*.

Two temples there were of *Mars*, one called the temple of *Quirinus* within the citie, neere to the gate of that name, the other upon the way *Appia* without the citie.

The river *Almo* runneth along the way *Appia*, under the foot of the *Aventine* into the *Tyber*. It beginneth ten miles from the citie in the territorie *Marinum*, which commonly afterwards they called the river of *Appia*. In this river the goddess named the mother of the gods, was every yeere wont to be washed by her priests called *Galli*.

CHAP. XXV.

Of bathes and baines in generall.

THERMÆ properly hath the signification from a Greeke word, *θερμῆ*, which betokeneth hot. But wee use to call those places which either having hote waters, or without them are heat with a staph, appointed either to wash and bath, or to sweat, by the Greeke name *Thermæ*. That the Romans used in old to bath & wash themselves oftener, than we now adaies; is testified by many and divers authorities of writers: and for sundrie causes they were wont so to doe (as yet the manner is amongst us) namely to scour away sweat, or to wash dust off, in like sort for health & pleasure: whereby it came to passe, that every man, if he were but of mean wealth, had in manner a privat bath or hot house by himselfe: but the same were devised and contrived after diverse and sundry sorts. For many publick bathes there were ordained for the comon people to use at their pleasure. *Serv. Orata* invented first and made the pendant or hanging baths. But after that riot & superfluitie abounded in excesse, the bathing houses were built with wonderfull cost and magnificence, so as they seemed to keepe no meane nor measure: as appeareth by the very reliques and ruines thereof at this day. And those places where they built these baines and hote houses, they called *Thermæ*; which contained within them divers places, and an infinit number of rooms, bearing sundrie names, and serving to as many uses. For some were appointed to heat water (& those were round built) from whence hote water was let into the baines, not to them only that were on the ground beneath, but also to those which were pendant and hanging aloft: which water after they had done washing, being foule and good for nothing, was conveyed by certaine pipes and spouts into sinkes. They had other rooms also called *Apodyteria*, wherein they that were to goe into the bath, put off their cloths and laid them by. In the same places were court-yards, having about them most spacious porches or cloisters, built with arched and embowed routes most stately; wherein were marble pillars, garnished with divers and sundry colours. In like manner pavements of stone, and walls seeled and hung with marble tables. Also close walking galleries, groves, and swimming places, all for the pleasure and contentment of the people, where they might refresh and solace themselves. These delights so drew and allured mens minds, as that they would wash oftentimes in one day, yea, and in these baines the princes were wont to sup and bath with other persons whosoever, as it fell out. They had besides private bathes to themselves most sumptuously built, and gorgeously set out. And namely *Antoninus Caracalla*, at his owne charges edified certaine bathes, which by his name were called *Thermæ Antoninæ*. The huge ruines thereof are yet to be seen: some of the pillars still stand, others are throwne down. Some day, they were begun only by *Antoninus*, but finished & adorned by *Sextus*. They stood about the foot of the *Aventine*, neere the streetway leading to *Ardea*, where now is the church of *S. Balbina*. Under these bathes ther stood a most goodly palace, built by the same *Antoninus*, but at this day there is scarce any example or shew thereof.

THE



THE FIFTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

The etymologie of the mount Aventine.



He *Aventine* is of the *Roman* hills the fourth in order. The compasse and forme whereof, because wee have already described in the first booke, needlesse here it is to repeat. But it remaineth to declare, how it came so called, what temples of the gods, and what other edifices be therein. The *Aventine* therefore, some thinke, tooke the name of birds which were wont to flie unto this hill, there to nestle: others, of a king of the *Albanes*, slaine and buried there. There bee againe who suppose, that the *Sabines*, who being by the *Romans* enfranchised citizens, there settled and made abode, gave the name to this hill, of *Avantes*, a river in their province. *Varro* affirmeth that it was so called of a ferriage: For as it hath been said a little before, this mount was divided from the rest, and from the citie by certaine lakes and the *Tyber*, whereupon, they that would goe to it, used to ferrie over in small punts or whirries. Some guesse, that it came to have that name of resort unto it, for that the *Latines* used in great frequence to repaire unto the holie temple of *Diana* there. *Rémurius* also it was named of *Remus* who chose a place in the top thereof to sit, for to take the flight of birds for *Augurie*, and in the end was there entered: *Romulus* therefore commaunded that it should not be inhabited, because hee would have had it wholly consecrated to his brother. This hill, *Ancus Marcius* afterward compassed with a wall, and granted leave to as many as would, there to dwell: howsoever there be some that thinke it stood void untill the time of *Claudius* the emperor of happy memorie, as being an ominous place and unfortunate, by reason of foule birds that haunted it, and therefore not to be received within the walls. But the truth is, when the *Romanes* grew populous, they joined this mountaine also to the rest of the citie.

* *Aventinns*.

CHAP. II.

The temples of Diana, Dea bona, Hercules Victor, queene Inno, Moneta, Luna, Victorie, Minerva, and Libertie. The altar of Iupiter Elicius.

IN the top of mount *Aventine* toward the *Tyber*, there standeth the church of *S. Sabina*, that every place where aforetime was the holy chappell of *Diana*. The feast and holiday of bond-slaves was wont to be kept at *Rome* the thirteenth day of *August*, for upon that day, *Servius Tullius*, whose mother was a bond-woman, consecrated a temple to *Diana* in *Aventine*, and ordained it to be a feastivall day for bond-servants, as who were patronised by *Diana*. Some thinke that this chappell was built by *K. Ancus* of that mony which the citizens conferred and contributed, who lately had been translated thither from *Politorium*. This temple was common unto all the *Latines*, whereupon oftentimes they resorted thereunto.

Very neere unto that place stood the church of *Saint Marie*, called *Aventina*. But in times past the place was consecrated to the goddess *Bona*, i. good. For *Claudia* a vestall virgine of *Nun*, built a chappell unto her in the honour of *Fatna*, sister of *Faunus*, a most chaste maid.

* or rather daughter.

Upon the same banke and brow of the hill, where at this day *S. Alexius* church standeth, was sometime the temple of *Hercules Conqueror*. And neere unto it, another of *Inno Regina*, built by *Camillus* with the pillage gotten in *Vei*. In the ruinate place of *Decius* the emperours baines, there was a temple also of *Hercules*, where the *Christians* afterwards consecrated a church to *Saint Prisca*.

On the side of the *Aventine* hill, stood the chappell likewise of the Moone, as *Virgil* dooth witnesse. Thus much of those buildings in the *Aventine*, which had a certain place thereupon in our knowledge: the rest following were doubtlesse in the *Aventine*, but in what part thereof they stood, it is unknowne after so long time, and namely the temple of *Victorie* built by the *Arcadians*, and in honor of whom they offer sacrifice yeerely. *Minerva* and *Inno* had their temples there in the same hill, by the testimony of approved authours. To *Libertie* a temple was built and dedicated by the father of *Tib. Gracchus*, with the money taken for fines and forfeitures. The cloister belonging to that temple, was by *Elisus Petrus* and *Cornelius Cethegus* Censors, repaired and enlarged, and last of all by *Pollio* also redified. Now this *Saint Libertie* the *Romanes* honored above all others, and in defence and maintenance thereof, they ever shewed themselves most resolute and constant.

Vpon

THE TOPOGRAPHIE OF ROME.

Vpon the same hill, *Numa* reared the altar of *Iupiter Elicius*, so called *ab eliciendo*, i. of fetching out secrets and hidden mysteries.

In like manner there stood an old altar of *Murcia* in that hill. Now they named *Venus Murcia*, of the Myrtle tree consecrated unto her: or as some interpret, because *Venus*, immoderate and excessive, maketh a man to be *Murcus* or *Murcidus*, i. sluggish, slothfull, idle, and good for nothing.

The temple of *Iuno Moneta* was likewise built and dedicated upon that hill.

Camillus in the same mount consecrated a chappell to daime *Matuta*.

The wood or grove also called *Laurentum* or *Laurentina*, consecrated unto *Iupiter*, was there: in which, emperor *Valentinian* [the second] son of *Constantine*, & *Galla Placidia* was slain, as *Plinie* witnesseth.

CHAP. II.

Cacus, and his hole or cave.

Cacus, by report of the poets, was the son of *Vulcan*, whom they beleaved in old time to breach out of his mouth fire and smoke. This *Cacus* infested the places neere unto him with robbing and spoiling. But more probable it is, that he was a most leaud and theevish servant of *Evandrus*, and therefore the Arcadians called him *κακός*, i. naught. A cave he haunted, as by very good conjectures is certainly gathered, in *Aventine* toward *Tyber*, over against the church of *S. Marie* *Aventine*, whereas the river runneth neere to the hill, and whereas there hangeth over a vast and huge craggy rocke, as fit a place as might be, to make a starting hole and cave for such an one, and neere it is to the gate *Trigemina*. Him when *Hercules* had killed and sacrificed, he reared an altar unto *Iupiter Inventor*, neere to the said cave or denne.

CHAP. III.

The Armilustrum, and some other things in generall.

Armilustrum was a place where soldiours shewed themselves and their armour, and where they used to muster; where also in their armes they sacrificed and did service to their gods, with resounding lowd trumpets. Some would have it to be in the *Aventine*, others in the *Cirque Maximus*; but that matters not much. Hither the soldiours, used to repair when they were returned from warre, and here they laid up their harness and weapons. For armour of their owne and in their private custodie the Romanes had not, to use in the warres: but delivered all up to be kept safe either in the *Armilustrum*, or the tower and castle upon the rocke *Tarpeia*.

In *Aventine*, neere the temple of *Iuno Regina*, were the *Scala Gemonia*, that is to say, a steep place with a downefall; where wicked malefactours, drawne with a crooke, were most miserably executed and killed.

There stood sometime upon this hill, neere the temple of *Diana*, the house of *Phyllis*.

A part of this mountaine was called *Remuria*; which *Remus* chose to dwell in: and being there by his brother *Romulus* committed to earth, he gave it his name.

The Senate and people of Rome built in this mountaine, to the honor of *Decius* the emperor, the bathes called *Decianæ*, and others also neere them, named *Varianæ*. Moreover, the baines of *Trajan* were in this place, where now the vineyard of *Frauncis Albertinus* is.

The caves of *Faunus* and *Picus* also, were in the *Aventine*, as fables report. *Italus* likewise dwelt in the *Aventine*, as *M. Cato* recordeth.

The temples and edifices of this hill all in generall, were (by report) burnt in the daies of *Tyberius*, sometime emperor.

CHAP. V.

The sheard hill, and other things within that compasse.

The plaine and leuell ground betweene *Aventine*, *Tyber*, and the citie wall, hath foure sides, but uneven; in which there riseth a little hill, commonly called *Testaceus*. The whole compasse hereof will hardly be measured with two thousand paces; the heighth is about 160 foot. It resembleth in shew the forme of a gourd; and the one side of it which regardeth the *Tyber*, is broader than the other. Neere to this hill, was the glassmakers street (and the potters) also the carpenters habitation. And no man doubteth, but hereupon arose and grew the mount called *Testaceus*. For in old time, at Rome and elsewhere, as also in some places now adaies, much use there was commonly of earthen vessels made by potters: which even by this may be certainly collected, for that in *Numas* daies, there were foure colleges or societies of potters: and these made of clay, not only vessels, but also the images of the gods, and ornaments to beautifie and set out their temples: pillars and walls were by potters worke seled in the outside, nay, the very dead bodies were bestowed in cophins of baked clay. Since then

THE TOPOGRAPHIE OF ROME.

then, in so great store of earthen vessels and potters worke, much of necessitie must needs be broken, which if they had been cast abroad in the corne field and pasture grounds, would have made all barren and unfruitfull; againe, if they had been throwne into the water, would in time have choked up the channell of the current, and forced the river to swell and overflow the bankes: *Numa* therefore commanded this kind of workmen to dwell in one place, and gave order to fling all that was good for nothing, as filth, rifferaffe, and broken sheards, into one place: whereupon, in proceesse of time arose a mount which they called *Testaceus*. Among these potters there was a place hallowed to *Venus Hyrtæa*, as we find in some records.

CHAP. VI.

The Pyramides: the sepulchre of C. Cestius, and the garners of the people of Rome.

The Pyramides were huge towers foure square, rising up in height, sharpe like to a flambe, whereof they have the name *ἀπὸ πυρός*, i. of fire. But *Stephanus* supposeth they were so called, *ἀπὸ τῆς πυλῆς*, i. of wheat, because into that place where they were erected, wheat was brought out of all *Egypt*, which made a great dearth of corne. These at the beginning were reared by the kings of *Egypt*, thereby to spend and consume their superfluous wealth and substance, whereof they had nouse; for feare least if they had gathered good, and heaped up a deale of gold, silver, and other riches, they should thereby have given occasion unto some for to lie in await to take their lives away: also, that the common people should not live in idlenesse. Afterwards, at Rome likewise they bestowed their money thereupon, for to make the world wonder, and to shew their vaine-glorie. There is yet one of them to be seene, standing upright at the gate *Hortiensis*, enclosed within a wall. And commonly it is said, that it was the monument or sepulchre of *C. Cestius*, one of the seven *Septemvirs*, called *Epulones*. But *Blondus* would seeme to prove, that it was the place for burial of the whole college and societie of those *Septemvirs* *Epulones*. Now were they called *Epulones*, who had the power to ordaine and make feasts and solemne bankets to the gods.

It is writtē, that there were 140 garners of the people of R. between the mount *Testaceus* & *Tyber*.

In the same compasse of ground neere *Tyber*, was the lake or poole *Hylerna*.

Some also affirme that there stood sometime in that quarter a little towne called *Capena*.

CHAP. VII.

The sweating steeple, and the image of Iupiter.

By course, the *Esquilæ* should next follow: but because it lieth between the way *Labicana* on the Southeast side, and the valley (which for the breach of 400 foot encloseth that way) on the West; we will rehearse what memorable things soever there bee in the *Labicana* way and the valey aforesaid, before we come to the mount *Esquilæ*. In our returne thereto the triumphall arch of *Constantine*, whereof we spake before, we will as we go, discourse of the rest. Neer then unto this arch, there appeareth the halfe rundle or circumference, of an old steeple made of bricke, which *Vichor* calleth the sweating steeple: for that the report goeth, how sometime there gushed water out of it; whereby the common people standing to behold the games and plaies in the next scaffolds of the Theatre untill they were a thirst, quenched their drought.

In the top hereof stood the brasen image of *Iupiter*, because their auncestours in old time were wont when they made solemne leagues to use the image of *Iupiter*. But for that it was a trouble either to carie with them or to send for the said image, especially if they were to contract and establish any accords in farre remote countries, therefore instead of the complete image they took the seapter only; which might betoken *Iupiter* the K. of the gods, as well as if he had been there present full & whole.

CHAP. VIII.

The Amphitheatre of Titus Vespasianus. The temples of Fortune and Quies.

Between the two hills *Cælius* and *Esquilæ* was there an Amphitheatre. This, *Vespasian* built first, and afterward *Titus* his sonne dedicated and beautified it with the baines, built neere unto it with right great celeritie and speed. This Amphitheatre was commonly called *Colosseum*, of *Neroes* *Colossus*, which was set up in the porch of *Neroes* house. In the same place of the Theatre were the pooles beforetime of *Nero*, whereof we wil speake hereafter in this very booke. This Amphitheatre they called also *Arena*, i. the Sand-floore, because the ground was spread over and laid with sand, that the wrestlers might fall softer & take lesse hurt, also that the bloud should be drunk up to the end that the sword-fencers in combat might not be afraid upon the sight thereof, and so with lesse cheerefulness and courage set upon their concurrent: and last of all, that the champions, whose bodies were annointed with oyle, being bestrewed with the sand, might with more ease take hold one of another. The whole Theatre and place it selfe within, (which during those daies of the games was covered over with tent cloth) would receive eightie thousand men. But hereof see more in *Plinie*, *Pomponius Latius*, and other writers of the Roman acts.

Fulvius


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Fulvius Flaccus built unto *Fortune* (fast by this Amphitheatre) so goodly a temple, as for state and magnificence there was hardly another in all Rome comparable unto it. Besides it, there were many other chappels at Rome consecrated to *Fortune*.

Likewise a chappell of *Quietusse* and rest, was built in the broad street *Labicana*.

CHAP. IX.

Of *Esquilie*.

 He mount *Esquilie*, as well by *Vatro* as others, is devided into many parts, and each part thereof tooke name of those captaines who in times past before the citie of Rome was built, there inhabited. For one was called *Cispius*, another *Oppius*, and a third, *Septius*. But hereof *Vatro* writeth at large. The posteritie following changed those names, as we shall hereafter heare. Some thinke that *Esquilie* tooke the name of *Excubie*, i. watch and ward. For when *Romulus* had no very great trust in *Tatius*, he used to have a standing watch by night, for feare hee should bee secretly forsaid and killed, or els turned out of his kingdome. Others suppose it was so named of fowlers, who there used to cast forth chaffe and such refuse of light corne, to beguile and catch the poore birds.

The side of the hill toward the broad way *Labicana*, which now lieth between the churches of the fortie martyrs, of *S. Clement*, *S. Peter* in *Vinculis*, and *S. Martin*, was called by the name of *Carina*, as *Livie* seemeth to testifie. From that part therefore, because it was first inhabited, we shall doe well to begin our treatise.

CHAP. X.

The *Carina*, the old *Curia* and the new.

These *Carina*, according to their modell and forme were houses like to keeles of ships, standing within the temple of *Tellus*. Their ruines are yet to be scene neere the church of *S. Peter* in *Vinculis*, i. in bonds.

Neere to that place was the old *Curia* built by *Romulus*: but the new was erected neere to *Comptum Fabricium*, i. the *Quairefour* or crosse way of *Fabricius*.

CHAP. XI.

The baines of *Titus* and *Philip*: the statue of *Laocoon*: the palace of *Vespasian*: the houses of *Balbinus* and *Pompey*.

Here remaine yet to be scene the tokens and prints (as it were) of *Titus* the emperours baines, not farre from the church of *S. Martin* in the hills: for there bee great cisternes to receive water, which at this day be called *Septem Salæ*, according to the number of those cisternes: and so far reached the house of *Nero*, called *Aurea*, i. golden.

Not farre from thence, in the yeere of our Lord 1506, one *Felix* a cittizen of Rome, chaunced to find in his vineyard the statue of *Laocoon*, made by those excellent workemen, *Agassander*, *Polydorus* and *Athenodorus*, Rhodians, who with wonderfull cunning portraied and cut most artificially in one entire stone, *Laocoon* himselfe, his children, and the admirable windings and foldings of the serpents about them. And now at this day it is to be scene at the Vaticane, in the palace of *Vespasian*, neere the said baines of *Titus*. See more of this you may in *Plinie*. As for the storie it selfe, most learnedly and lively it is set out by *Virgil*, and there to be read. Behind these baines of *Titus*, betwene East and North, the ruines of others besides, are thought verily to be those of *Philip* the emperour.

Above the baines of *Titus*, some set *Hadrians* baines; for that this place is yet called *Hadrianelus*.

By the testimonie of *Lampidius* it appeareth that *Balbinus* his house was in *Carina*. There also was *Pompeius* house, in which *Lenaxus* his freed-servant taught grammar.

CHAP. XII.

The cliffe *Virbius*, the house of *Servius Tullius*, the golden one of *Nero*, and that of *Virgil*. *Mecenas* his tower and hortyards: the temples of *Fortune* and *Felicite*.

That part of the *Esquilie* which overlooketh the church of *Saint Lawrence* in *Fontana*, is named *Clivus Virbius*: there also is the grove *Fagutalis*, wherein stood the mansion house of *Servius Tullius*.

Neroes

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Neroes house, called *Golden*, tooke up all that space, which from that quarter wherein now *Saint Gregories* church standeth, lay betwene *Constantines* arch, the *Colosseum*, the *Carina*, *Esquilie*, and *Mecenas* hortyards. His house before was in his owne fire wherewith he burnt the citie, consumed also: and when he reedified it anew, hee called it *Aurea*. The spacious largenesse whereof was such, that it had about it, three porches of a mile compasse apeece. It contained also a poole like another sea: walled it was about, and resembled a very citie. There were to it belonging, holts and hamlets cuntry-like, vineyards, pastures, woods, and beafts both tame and wild, of all forts. The house and the porches were double gilded all over, and set out with pretious stones. And in one word there was nothing wanting, that might serve for pleasure or prodigall riot.

In the entrie of this house there stood an huge image giantlike, called a *Colossus*, 120 foot high. After *Neroes* death, dedicated it was to the *Sunne*, and then changed the name. Now men thinke it was called *Colossus*, after his name who was the first deviser of all such statues.

VVithin the same house, *Nero* included also the chappell of *Fortune*. This goddesse being made of the stone *Phengites*, when all the dores were shut, gave light to the whole house within; such raies of radiant brightnesse casteth this kind of stone from it. This goddesse, *Servius Tullius* first consecrated, and of *Segetes*, i. standing corne, called her *Scia*.

At the baines of *Diocletian*, there is a street-way leading up to *S. Antonies* church in *Esquilie*, where stood sometime a most noble towre of *Mecenas*, within his owne hortyards: for those most pleasant hortyards were in the plaine of *Esquilie*. Here-within was *Priapus* worshipped: upon which ill favoured idoll, *Virgil* hath plaied much in verse.

Neere the hortyards of *Mecenas* stood the said *Virgils* house.

The temple of *Felicite*, which tooke up a part of that plot where *Neroes* Gold-house should stand, was by him burnt.

Above those gardens or hortyards of *Mecenas*, was raised a wonderfull peece of worcke, called *Aggeres Tarquinij Superbi*, i. *Tarquinus* bulwarkes.

CHAP. XIII.

The pallace of *Sisiminius*: the plaine and market place of *Esquilie*: the grove *Querquetulanus*: also that of *Iuno Lacinia*, and of *Mars*: the chappell and altar of ill fortune.

The pallace of *Sisiminius* in *Esquilie*, stood (as they say) where the church of *Saint Maric* the greater now is.

The plaine or field *Esquilium*, neere the tower of *Mecenas* (called *Intermontes*) i. among the hills, is betwene the foresaid bulwarkes and the citie wall. This plot of ground was in times past called *Foculus*; because dead bodies were therein burnt. But when the stinking steeme thereof was noisome to the citie, the citizens and *Augustus Cæsar* by a generall consent, gave the said field unto *Mecenas*, where he made his goodly hortyards and most daintie gardens. Of which, *Cicero* with other, speaketh much.

In like manner, the market place *Esquilinum*, was in the same hill.

That side of the *Esquilie* which looketh toward the grove *Querquetulanus*, had in it the grove of *Iuno Lacinia*.

In the same *Esquilie*, was the chappell and altar of ill fortune.

In the way which goeth to the gate *Interaggeres*, even in the verie bulwarks or rampiers of *Tarquinius*, stood the arch of *Gordian* made of marble, garnished also and set out with ornaments of triumph. Of the ruines thereof, was *S. Gregories* church in *Damafus* built.

CHAP. XIII.

The cliffe *Suburranus*: the arch of *Galenus*: the shambles or flesh market of *Livia*, or as some would have it, *Livianum*: the *Pranestine* way, and the *Trophees* of *Marius*.

At the top or upper end of *Suburra*, was the *Clivus Suburranus*, so called of *Suburra*, yeelding an easie ascent from thence up into the *Esquilie*.

Anon you meet with the triumphall arch of *Galen* the emperour (where now standeth the church of *S. Vitus*) making a goodly shew of the *Tiburtine* stone, whereof it was made. Neere unto it was the shambles or market place called *Marcellum Livia*, or *Livianum*. This, as some thinke, tooke the name of one *Macellus*; who being a notorious thiefe, and practising much to steale in the citie, was in the end apprehended, and by the Censors condemned: and his house being seized as confiscate to the citie, was converted to a place wherein they sold meate and all other victuals; and so it kept still the name (as is said) of *Macellum*. Some are of opinion, that the said house was pulled

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downe, and another built in the ruines thereof, which retained the name still of the former.

From hence beginneth the port-way Prænestina, and leadeth to the gate Esquilina.

In this way you shall meet on the right hand with a huge bank of brick, halfe ruinate; upon which were erected two Trophees of marble; that is to say, certain posts [like Quintins] standing upright with spoiles of enemies hanging thereupon; and they resembled men that were taken prisoners. It is said, that these Trophees were set up by *Marius* in his triumph for the Cimbric warre: which when *Sylla* had cast downe and overthrowne, *C. Caesar* (afterwards Dictator) erected againe. The place of the inhabitants thereabout, is at this day called Cimbrum. As touching Trophees, looke to read more in *Plutarch*, *Valerius Max.* and others.

CHAP. XV.

The house of the Aelii: the chappell Marianum: the region or quarter called Tabernola: the baines and dwelling house of Gordian: the palace of Caius and Lucius: also the pallace Licinianum.

The house of the *Aelii* stood in that place, where now be the monuments Mariana and the chappell of that name.

The plaine part of the Esquilæ, betwene it and the mount Caelius, and the Basilica Laceranensis, is at this day called Merulana, for Mariana; and in old time, the region of Tabernola.

Nere the Church of *S. Eusebius* in the way Prænestina, was built the baines and habitation of *Gordianus*. The ruines of those hot-houses are yet to be seene, whereby a man may soone give an estimate, how faire, how stately, and large they were at first.

Betweene the gates Esquilina and Nævia, not farre from the walles, there be to be seene certaine notable ruines: this they commonly call, the baines of *Calpurnius*. But in that place stood in old time, that beautifull and famous pallace which *Cæsar* erected under the name of *Caius* and *Lucius* his nephewes. Hard by the church of *S. Balbina*, whereas now is the Beare called Pileatus, stood sometime the pallace Licinianum.

CHAP. XVI.

The water Martia or Trajana: and the temple of Isis.

The current of the water Martia, passing by the gate Trajana through the plaine of Esquilæ, went as farre as to the baines of *Diocletian*, unto the hills next adjoyning. This in old time was called Aufera. It ariseth out of the spring Piconia in the mountains of the Peligni, and passeth by the Martians country and the lake Fucinus, and so runneth to Rome; the coldest and most wholesome of all other waters that run into Rome. This water, *Ancus Martius* began first to bring into the citie: afterward, *Q. Marius* surnamed *Rex*, tooke it in hand; and a long time after, *Agrippa* repaired the conduit thereof. Of it, read more in *Plinie* and *Frontinus*.

The temple of *Isis*, is by *P. Victor* placed in the quarter Esquilina.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Suburra: the house of Cæsar and Lelia; and the street Patricius.

Suburra is a street of all other most frequented: it beginneth at the Forum Romanum, and goeth on forward directly by the Forum Nervæ, up to the hanging or rising of the hill called *Clivus Suburranus*, whereof wee have written before in this booke; and it endeth where the way Prænestina beginneth. Called it was Suburra, either for that it sustained and bare up the Carinae and the wall under it: or because it lay under the old citie; or as *Varo* thinketh, of the burrough or street *Succufanus*. In this street Suburra, was the house of *Cæsar*, so long as he contented himselfe with a mean estate.

In it were sometimes certaine stewes and brothell-houses, as *Martial* writeth.

The street Patricius windeth crooked from the hill Viminalis, and endeth at the baine of *Diocletian*. Of it, more hath been said in the former booke.

The house of *Lelia* likewise was in the same street, as *Martial* witnesseth.

CHAP. XVIII.

Suburra in the plaine; and the temple of Sylvanus.

The mount Viminalis on the West side of it, hath part of the Quirinalis opposite against it: and the vale lying betwene, was named Suburra the plaine.

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In the same valley in times past, were the ten Tabernæ; so called of the number.

The pit also of Saint *Proba* was in the same hill; which *Proba* her selfe made nere to the Church of *S. Maries* in the field.

At the foot in manner of the hill Viminalis, over-against *S. Agathæ* church, there stood the temple of *Sylvanus*, as appeareth by many good tokens.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the hill Viminalis: the pallace of Decius: the laver of Agrippina: the baines of Olympias and Novatus: the dwelling houses of Q. Catulus, Crassus, and C. Aquilius.

Arro reckoneth the hill Viminalis among the Esquilæ. Viminalis it was cleped, of *Iupiter Viminis*, whose altars were in that hill: or else of plentie of oifers there growing.

In the highest rising and ascent of that hill, there stood in old time, (where now is the church of *S. Lawrence* in Panisperna) the pallace of *Decius* the Emperour, as may be shewed by the ruines thereof.

Not farre from the same place, toward the church of *S. Vitalis*, were the lavers or washing places of *Agrippina* mother to *Nero*.

The baines of *Olympias* were situate toward Suburra; the tokens whereof are now found in the brow of the hill.

Likewise the baines of *Novatus*, were built upon the hill Viminalis, where the church of *S. Prudence* standeth.

The hill Viminalis, had also three goodly houses of most noble personages, to wit, of *M. Crassus*, *Quintus Catulus*, and *Caius Aquilius*: the markes whereof are evident to be seene in the side of the said hill.

Vpon the same hill in times past, a certaine festivall sacrifice was solemnized, which the dwellers and inhabitants there, call *Fagurall*.

CHAP. XX.

The baines of Diocletianus: the Librarie Vlpia: the plaine Viminalis: the gate Interaggeres: and the vale Quirinalis.

The baines of *Diocletian* are to be seene all ruinate on the side of the hill Viminalis: and by their ruines, a man may easily gather how stately and magnificent they were sometime. These were begun by *Diocletian* and *Maximian Herculanus*: in the building whereof 40000 Christians were held to worke many yeeres together in most slavish manner.

These were afterwards finished and dedicated by *Constantine* and *Maximian*, new emperours. Of the vaine and superfluous expences which the Romanes laid out upon Baines, read *Seneca*, who deprecate out their wastfulness most excellently.

In the same baines was the Librarie Vlpia, which by *Hadrian*, or (as some thinke) by *Trajan*, was thither translated; wherein were the linnen records, and those huge volumes called the Elephantine bookes: in which the acts of the Emperours, and all the sanctions and ordinances of Senate, were, as *Pollio* witnesseth.

Behind these baines, from above the rampier or bulwarke of *Tarquinius Superbus*, was the plaine field Viminalis, which spreadeth out as farre as to the citie wall. There is seene as yet the gate *Interaggeres* shut; albeit it seemeth more probable and like to a truth, that it stood in the plaine Esquilina.

In that verie place there was a pit or well of spring running water, which the neighbours dwelling thereby, called the pit of the Vivarium, or the parke pit, within which parke they kept enclosed divers and sundrie kinds of wild beasts. The harbours and denes of these wild beasts are yet to be seene: whereupon it cometh, that those places or parkes which are set out and appointed for feeding of Deere, we use to call Vivaria.

The space betwene *Diocletian's* bathes and *Constantine's* arch, is named the vale Quirinalis: in which they say, that *Romulus* met with *Proculus*.

In the same was the sacred chappell of *Fortuna Publica*.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

The mount Caballus: the etymologie of Quirinalis: the tower Militarium: the baines of Paulus: the chappell of Neptune: the baines of Constantine: the house and street of the Corneli.

THe hill which at this day they name Caballus, was in old time called Quirinalis, as by many signes and reasons may be proved; so as no man skilfull in the Romane storie, need to doubt thereof.

This Quirinall hill, the sixt in order of the mountaines of Rome, (as I have testifieth) taketh that name of the temple of *Quirinus*: after others, of the Quirites, who comming with *Tatius* from Cures, there pitched their tents and lodged. This mountaine is shapd long, for it comprehendeth that little hill which is betweene the gate Collina and Collatina. Vpon it standeth the Obeliske of the Moone, engraven with Egyptian hieroglyphick characters. In breadth, from the North Southward, it reacheth to a tower, now called Comitium.

In the pitch and top of the hill, above the Forum of *Trajanus*, you shall see the tower called *Militarium*; where, in old time the souldiers of *Trajanus* kept their standing guard, and gave the tower that name.

On the sameridge were the baines of *Paulus* built: which place at this day by a corrupt name, is called Bagnana-Poli.

In the descent and hanging of the Quirinall hill toward Suburra, stood sometime the chappell of *Neptune*, which appeareth by the pictures and other reliques there found.

From hence toward the North, were the hot-houses of *Constantine*, as the ruines of the place doe testifie.

The house of the *Corneli* was built in the street so called, and at this day the name it keepeth still. But more hereof elsewhere.

CHAP. XXII.

The temples of Saturne, the Sunne, and Bacchus: Quirinus his temple and porch: the old Capitoll: the chappels of Iupiter, Iuno, and Minerva: the house of Pomponius Atticus.

IN the Cornelian street (whereof a little before wee made mention) were two gyant-like images, called Colossi, resembling two old men, naked, and holding *Connecopia* in their hand. It is commonly received, that these were the statues of *Saturne* and *Mars*; for that certain it is how their temples stood hard by: and many evidences there are, besides the verie ruines thereof, which testifie so much.

Over-against the hot-houses of *Constantine*, upon the very brow of the hill, there standeth to be seene one halfe of a marble tower, which the people dwelling therby, call * Mesa. This men thinke, was the tower of the Sunne, by the ornaments there reared and set up by *Aurelian*: for this Emperor worshipped the Sunne above all other gods; and therefore you shall see stamped in his coine this inscription; SOLI INVICTO, TO THE INVINCIBLE SUNNE. His mother also, a priest of the Sunne, thereupon reared a temple unto the Sunne.

In the side of the hill neere the foresaid bathes, are two horses seene standing; the handy-woke of *Traxiteles* and *Phidias*. These were (by report) *Traxiteles* the kings, and translated to Rome.

That part of the Quirinalis which boundeth upon Vallis Martia, was called the mount and temple of *Clara* and *Apoll*.

Not farre from thence, behind this hill, there is another rising and ascent; where, by antique letters it is evident, that the old Capitoll stood, together with the chappell of *Iupiter, Iuno, and Minerva*.

Over-against these places, enclining toward the right hand, where now standeth the church of Saint *Vesalis*, *Pomponius Atticus* dwelt in an house which came to him by inheritance from his grandfather, and was called *Pamphiliana*. They write, that this was a most sweete and pleasant seat, by reason of a wood neere unto it.

In the same place was built afterwards the temple of *Quirinus*, kept alwaies shut, to signifie that it was an unknowne secret; whether *Romulus* were entered, and lay in the earth, or were translated into the number of the gods in heaven.

There was a porch or walking place there of that name; where folke used commonly to meet, to dispatch busineses and contract espousals.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The path way or caufey called Alta; the house of Sabinus: the street and statue of Mamurris: the court and gardens of Salust, and the field or plaine Sceleratus.

THe high caufey reaching from the bathes of *Constantine* to the gate *Viminalis* along the side of *Quirinalis*, was paved with foure square stone.

Vpon that caufey, at a place called the Pomgranat, *Flavius Sabinus* had an house, wherein by report *Domitian* was borne.

It is avouched that in old time ther was a street of *Mamurris*: and that his statue there stood, where now is *S. Susans* church.

Not far from that church, was the court of *Salust*, and his most neat and fine hortyards, where the field called *Sceleratus* lay, and reached neere the gate *Collina*. Of those hort-yards, as also of the hamlet *Tiburtina*, there yet continue some markes and remnans in the bottome of the valley, betweene the very hill and the way which bringeth to the gate *Salaria*. On that little hill is seene the very house of *Salust*, which the people there inhabiting call *Salutrium*. Of this matter, see more in *Cicero* and others.

Beyond the hort-yards of *Salust*, neere the gate *Collina*, there is an high place like a mount: where in times past the vestal votarie Nuns, such as were condemned for incontinencie and incest, were buried quicke; and thereupon all the plaine about it was called *Sceleratus*, together with the way that leadeth thereto.

CHAP. XXIII.

The temples of Salus, of Ius, Fidius, of Fortuna Primigenia, of Honor, Hercules, and Quirinus: also the Senate house of women.

THe mount Quirinalis had very many temples and chappels, although the certaine place where they stood is not so well knowne at this day, namely, one of *Apis*. That of *Salus* was painted by *Fabius Pictor*, and burnt in the time of *Claudius*. By *Iunius Bubulcus* Dictator when he triumphed over the *Aequians*, it was vowed: by him (Censor) put out to making, and in his second Dictatourship dedicated.

* *Sanctus, Ius, and Fidius*, were the Sabine gods, which, when they left their native countrey and home, with all their other household gods, they carried with them into mount Quirinalis. This god (forsooth) was in words and name three, in deed and truth but one, as they said. These three therefore had one temple built them upon this hill, and were called by one name *Sanctus*. The opinion received of which godhead, was such, that an oth was thought to carie a great power of sanctitie and holines, whereby a man in that threefold name and one Deitie, avowed and swore thus, *Me-Dius-Fidius*.

Domitianus a Pretour or lord cheefe justice within the citie of Rome, built a temple upon that hill, to *Fortuna Primigenia*.

Besides, in that mount were the temples of *Honor* and *Hercules*.

Likewise the counsell house of women was in the mount Quirinalis, at which in former times the wives and dames of the citie met yeerely upon certaine solemne set daies.

Moreover it is recorded that the feast *Agonalia* was celebrated in Quirinalis.

CHAP. XXV.

The court or Forum Archimonium: the pillar Tiburtina: the house of Martial: the Cirque of Floralia: the temple of Flora: the shops of Minimus, and the common ascent called Clivus Publicus.

Betweene the hill Hortulorum (whereof yee may read before in the first booke and the chapter next following) and Quirinalis, there is a valley foure square, but lying out somewhat in length. In that part thereof which lieth under the mount of *Clara* and *Apoll*, was the court called Archimonium. For the very church of *S. Nicholas*, which at this day standeth upon that place, is named *De Archimonijs*.

Not far from it there is another place, to wit, *Pila Tiburtina*: There stood the house of *Martial*, as hee himselfe witnesseth.

Next to it followeth the round Cirque (*Floralium*) where yeerly to the honor of the goddesse *Flora*, the

* Deus Trino:
minis Sabi-
norum.

B b b b b iij

the feastvall Floralia is celebrated. Now this *Flora* was a famous courtizan or strumpet at Rome, who having by her whorish trade gathered a mightie deale of goods together, in her last will made the people of Rome her heire, with this condition, That every yeer they should celebrate the memoriall of her birth day. But the Senate thinking this a ridiculous mockerie, to honour and dignifie so filthie a thing with such a remembrance, they devised a goddesse of floures forsooth, called *Flora*, and her upon those holydaies they seemed to please and content, that there would be good to the growth of trees and corne, and that they might doe well in their floueing and bloueing time. To this goddesse, wee read that a temple likewise was consecrated. Anon you meet with the workehouses where they make Minium, i. Vermilion. Neere unto which was the *Clivus Publicus*.

CHAP. XXVI.

The hill Hortulorum, the temple of the Sun, and the sepulchre of Nero.

His little hill (*Hortulorum*) containeth but a few things worth the writing. Among which is the house of *Pincius* a Senatour, who gave the name both to a gate and a mountaine, which in these daies are called, Mount *Pincius*, and gate *Pinciana*.

The reliques and markes of his house are seene in that very place, neere the old wall. And about the same walls we meet with an huge building in forme of an hemisphere or halfe circle, which men imagine, was the temple of the Sunne.

Vpon the same hill over-against the tombe of *Marcellus* in the very port way *Flaminia*, fast by the monument of *Domitian*, stood *Neroes* sepulchre also.

Now this hill *Hortulorum* tooke the name of certain hortyards and gardens under it, which in old time, by reason they were continually so well watered, were most fruitfull. Downe this hill, all they were wont (in times past) to descend into *Campus Martius*, who meant to sue and stand for any magistracie.



THE SIXTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the flat plot of the citie, and the Theatre in generall.



That it may bee understood more certainly, in what place of the plaine and leuell part of the citie every thing stood, let there bee a streight and right line drawne from the Capitoll, through Pantheon to Tybre, neere the church of *Saint Roch*. So shall the citie bee in manner divided into two equall parts. The one shall lie from the front and side of the Tyber, the other from the Forum of *Trajanus* to the gate *Flumentana*, along the foot of the two hills *Quirinalis* and *Hortulorum*.

Begin we will therefore at the Theatre of *Marcellus*, and recount the places in order, as hitherto we have done. As for *Theatrum*, a Greek word it is, and in Latine may be aptly translated *Visorium*. The first Theatres were appointed among the Athenians, and those in regard of husbandmen, who on feastvall daies visited the temples of the gods: afterwards, at Rome they began to bee taken up. The first, and that the greatest of all others, was built of timber by *M. Scævus*: for, the concavities within would receive fourescore thousand men. After it, were Theatres made to turne about and shew their front one while this way, another while that. But as touching Theatres, see more in *Cassiodorus* and *Vitruvius*, who have written plenteously thereof, and namely by whome they were first ordained, and in what manner built.

CHAP. II.

The Theatre of Marcellus and the Librarie: the gallerie and court of Octavia.

Augustus built many things under the name of others, as wee find it written by authours in many sundry. And among the rest was the Theatre of *Marcellus* his nephew or cousin by his sister *Octavia*. A part

A part hereof is yet to bee seene betwene the Capitoll and Tyber, where now standeth the pallace of the Sabelli. It was able to containe eightie thousand men. See more thereof in *Aconius*.

Hard by the very same Theatre was the gallerie of *Octavia*, reared by the said *Augustus* for his sister *Octavias* sake. Therein were certaine curious peeces of worke wrought by *Praxiteles*, and namely the ravishing of *Proserpina*. The portraiture of *Bacchus* and *Satyrus*. Also *Apollo*, *Diana*, and the nine muses, the workmanship of *Timarchides*. VVithin this gallerie or walking place, *Plinius* saith there stood a chappell of *Iuno*, and the image of the said goddesse. Fast by the said gallerie stood the court or pallace of *Octavia*, and in it *Cupid* portraied with lightening in his hand. It tooke up in times past as great a space, as at this day the churches of *S. Nicholas* in *Carcere*, and *S. Marie* in *Porticu*.

After the death of *Marcellus*, *Octavia* his mother set up a librarie neere his Theatre. Now the first that ever ordained, That bookes of all learning should bee in some publicke places bestowed for to beeread of all that would come; was at Athens *Pisistratus* the tyrant, and at Rome *Asinius Pollio*.

CHAP. III.

The Cirque or shew place Flaminius, and the temple of Apollo.

That this Cirque *Flaminius* stood in that place where at this day the darke store houses and sellers be, hard by *S. Catharins* church, the markes yet remaining testifie. *Flaminius* it was called, either because it was built about the plaine called *Campus Flaminius*, or else by *Flaminius* the Consul, who was slaine at the battell of the lake *Thrasymenus*. In it were the plaies and games exhibited, which they call *Apollinares*: and therein the horse-runnings were performed. To it the Senate used oftentimes to come downe from the Capitoll to sit in counsell. *Neptune* also had a chappell there.

Apolloes temple was in that very place, as it evidently appeareth, where now *S. Maries* church is under the Capitoll, betwene the hearbe-market and the Cirque *Flaminius*, neere to the gate *Carnentalis*.

CHAP. IIII.

The temples of Vulcane, Mars, Bellona, Hercules, and Iupiter Stator: the colonne or pillar Bellica: the altar of Neptune: the gallerie Corinthia: and the colosse of Mars.

Vithin the Cirque *Flaminius* stood most famous temples of the gods, to wit, of *Vulcane*, *Mars*, and *Bellona*, to wit that which was toward the gate *Carnentalis*. Before the said gate there stood a marble pillar, which the Romanes called *Bellica*, for it shewed when warre was to be made. The Romanes in old time used and retained this manner in proclaiming warre: The publicke beadle, or one of the heraults called *Faciats*, launced a speare with some other ensignes of warre, into that land upon which they meant to levie armes. But when after many conquests they had enlarged their empire and dominion, and that they were oftentimes to give defiance to nations farre remote and distant, because they should not need to sling a speare or javeline, as I said before, into that land, they did but sticke one in the pillar abovenamed, on that side which regarded that part whether they were to make their expedition.

To *Hercules* the Great, protectour and keeper of the cirque *Flaminius*, they built a temple in the same place: for his statue was there erected in the very entrance thereof, on that side where now standeth the church of *S. Lucie* in the darke *Apothecæ*.

M. Fulvius built another temple of the allowance that hee had of the Censours stocke, to *Hercules Musarum*: for hee had heard in Greece how *Hercules* was *Musagetes*, i. the leader and companion of the Muses. The same *Fulvius* translated the images of all the Muses out of the towne *Ambracia* to Rome, and consecrated them under the protection and safegard of that most potent and mightie deity, to the end that they might have mutuall helpe one of the other: namely, the quietnesse of Muses by the defence of *Hercules*; and the valour of *Hercules*, by the sweet voice of the Muses. This church much decayed and disfigured by time, *Martius Philippus*, *Augustus* his father in law, i. his mothers husband, repaired.

In the same Cirque they would have the temple of *Iupiter Stator* to stand.

There also (as they gather by certain presumptions) was the altar of *Neptune*, which in old time ran bloud.

Octavius reared a porch or gallerie, built & born up with brazen pillars, and therupon named *Corinthia*. This stood betwene the Cirque and *S. Nicholas* church, and was also called *Chalcaria*, i. brazen or copper.

The Colosse or stately image of *Mars*, at the cirque *Flaminius*, was in the temple of *Brutus Callaisius*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The porch or gallerie of Mercurie: the Theatre of Octavius: his house, cloister, and gallerie: and the temple of Venus Victrefe.

Betweene the Cirque Flaminius and the Tyber, in the very entrie of the church of S. Angel in Piscina, there is a porch or gallerie, consecrated sometime to Mercurie, or as some would have it, to Iuno. This being consumed with fire, L. Septimius Severus reedified. But the porch which standeth in the Iewes street called Ceura, they say was builded by the emperor Severus.

Betweene the gallerie of Marcellus and the mount reared by Hadrian, Pompey was the first that built a Theatre to continue. For all others before were taken down when the games and shewes were once done and past: and when need required, new were set up. A great part of this Theatre when Pompey had finished, comes Caligula and made an end of the rest. Afterward, Theodorick king of the Ostrogoths reedified it. This also received eightie thousand men.

Neere unto this Theatrum there was a court or stately hall called Atrium, the same which at this day they name Satrium; also the house of Pompey, and a porch before it. These edifices of Pompey, at what time as Philip exhibited the stage-plays, were consumed with fire. Neere to the same Theatre, the emperor Claudius of famous memorie, reared an arch of marble for memoriall of Tiberius Caesar.

In the foresaid Theatre (men say) was the temple of Venus the Victrefe.

CHAP. VI.

The baines Agrippina: Pantheon, and the porch thereof: also the temple of good speed.

From the arch of Pompey as you goe, northward, you shall meet with the baines Agrippinae, the fmarke whereof are seen in that place which now of the inhabitants there, is called Cyambella. Now, Agrippinae they were named of Agrippa who built them: See Plinie hereof in his Discourses of Nature.

Neere unto the foresaid baines, there is a temple of greatest antiquitie, and among other old temples of the citie, the noblest of al the rest, which at this day remaineth in maner whole and sound. Because it was dedicated almost to all the gods, they thought good to name it Pantheon. In form it was like the world, representing a sphere or globe. At this day they call it S. Mariae the round. Of this temple Plinie and others have made mention, unto whom I referre the readers. In the very porch and entrie of this temple, were the statues of Augustus and Agrippa. The images also of Mars and Venus. At the lappet of Venus care, there hung as a pendant that most costly and pretious pearle of Cleopatra. Likewise there stood the image of Minerva, the handiwork of Phidias. Moreover, Hercules; at whose statue the Carthaginians in old time used yeerely to sacrifice mankind. They ascended up into this temple as into the rest, by many steps: for men in times past used to reare their temples on high, and made but one way to goe into them. A porch to this temple Agrippa joined: a peece of worke worth all admiration, which of some was called Prothyron. For this word Porticus, betokeneth nothing els but an ornament or porch, *prothyron* before the dore. Hereof also have authours written much. This temple first Hadrian the emperor of happie memorie, and afterwards Antonius Pius, reedified.

Certaine reliques and remnants foure angled and somewhat long, of Good-speeds temple, are evidently seene in the streets of Minerva and S. Eustachius. This god was long ago worshipped, that all things might fall out happily in the end. Portraied hee was in habite of a poore man, holding in his right hand a charger, and in his left an eare of corne.

CHAP. VII.

The baines of Nero and Alexander: the Cirque named Agon.

Behind S. Eustachius church, betweene Pantheon and Lombards street, the remnants are seene of the baines and vaults of Nero.

Neere unto these, Alexander built others new (by conveyance of water into them, which they call Alexandrina) and those very faire and delectable: VVherof Lampridius hath written much.

Neere unto them (some thinke) were the bathes of Hadrian: and they would have them to stand in that very place, where now is S. Aloisius church.

In the plane part of the citie there appeare most evident tokens of a long and spacious Cirque, which they call at this day Agon. It took that name, either of the games Agonalia instituted by king Numa

Numa in the honour of Ianus, which in that shew-place are represented, the ninth day of Ianuarie: or because all manner of such shewes and disports, called by the Greeks, Agones, were wont there to be exhibited. Some would have it to be built by Nero or Alexander, upon this reason, that other ornaments of theirs were to be shewed there. For the manner of their princes and Emperors was, ordinarily to bestow their monuments and memorials in one place.

CHAP. IX.

The temple of Neptune: Terentius: the altar of Dis or Pluto: the marish Caprea.

ON the strond of Tybre, where now S. Blas Church standeth, sometimes Neptunes temple stood. The same was rebuilt by Hadrian. Therein were the painted tables hung, which represented the shipwrackes.

Terentius is a place in Mars field, so called, for that in it the altar of Dis was hidden: or because the water of the Tybre running thereby, eat away and wore the bankes of that side: or lastly, by occasion of Evander, who arrived with a fleet in that place, and there abode. There also in time of the Albane warre, they hid the altar of Proserpina under the ground, that they onely might have knowledge thereof, where it was.

In the same Mars field (some thinke) was the fenne or marish Caprea, where Romulus in a tempest which sodainly arose, was taken away. Of which matter Livie writeth.

CHAP. X.

The house Corvina: the broad way or gate: and the temple of Isis.

THe second part of the flat citie, reacheth along the foot of Quirinalis, from the Forum of Trajanus to the gate Flaminia. In which part neere the Capitoll, was the house Corvina, built by that name and familie; and to this day keepeth still the old name; for commonly called it is Macellum Corvorum.

From that house unto the barres or railes in Mars field, extendeth the way Lata, retaining yet the antique name: and there standeth the church, named S. Mariae in the broad way.

In the same way, stood sometime by report, the temple of Isis neere the railes above-said, where now is the church of S. Macellus. Now this Isis was a goddesse of the Egyptians. Shee was honoured and worshipped also at Rome, together with Osiris surnamed Serapis: of whome the publicke plaies in the quarter Flaminia, Iteum-Serapeum bare the name. It happened in the temple of Isis that incest was committed; whereupon the Emperour Tybrius caused the priests of that temple to be crucified, and the place it selfe to be demolished. Other temples of this goddesse there were at Rome: for Caligula translated all her sacred rites and ceremonies to Rome, and daily with exceeding great reverence observed the same.

CHAP. XI.

The arch of Camillus: the temple of Minerva: and the swine market.

AS a man goeth downe from the broad-gate afore said toward the Pantheon, he shall see a most auncient arch. Some thinke (but untruly) that erected it was for Camillus: for many a faire day after his time, these arches were in no request and use: and therefore it belonged to some other L. Generall. Betweene this arch and Pantheon, Cu. Pompeius built a temple to Minerva, wherein he comprised in a compendious summe, the memoriall of all his acts and exploits. Other ensignes also in the honor of the citie of Rome, he there set up, and those he garnished and adorned. VVherof read Plinie.

At the foot of the mount Quirinalis, in the hortyards of the Columenses, neere the ascent and rising of the hill which leadeth now into the mount Caballus, there was sometime the market-place Suarium, so called of selling swine there. For Varo witnesseth, that in old time they had certaine set and appointed places for the selling of severall things, and thereof the markets tooke the name. Thus of oxen, the market Boarium; of fish, Piscarium; of swine, Suarium; of woorts or hearbs, Holitorium, was called. &c.

CHAP. XII.

Of the field called Martius, or Tyberinus.

FOrasmuch as in the former booke it hath been sufficiently declared as touching Mars field where it lay, it shall be needlesse to make any repetition thereof in this place: but why it was called Martius,

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Martius, would be here in briefe considered. Named so it was, because it was consecrated to *Mars*: for when the *Tarquines* were expelled out of their kingdom, what ground soever or standing corne they were possessed of, they divided amongst those citizens who were not landed at all, reserving only this field Martius: which because it was consecrated to *Mars*, that in it their games and plaies should be solemnized and the youth exercised, they thought that the fruit also there growing should likewise be counted sacred and accursed, and so deemed it unlawfull that any distribution thereof should be made, but threw it all into the Tybre, whereof arose the yland called Tyberina; of which wee will speake in the last booke. In this field therefore (besides the native beautie of the place and the delectable sight of the medowes) were erected the ornaments and statues of brave and renowned persons: yea out of the very Capitoll (when the place began to be pestered and over-streight by reason of so many ornaments which thither were daily brought) many of them were from thence translated into Campus Martius. This field was called of men in old time, Tyberinus; like as Tybre also was named Martius.

CHAP. XIII.

The porch, the Temple, Colunne, and Pallace of Antoninus Pius: the railes or enclosure, called Ovilia.

Betweene the Sciarra and Pantheon streets, neere to Saint Stephens Church in Trullio, there sheweth a stately porch, which most men suppose was that of *Antoninus Pius*, for that his temple standeth so neere. The Colunne also of *Antoninus* is not farre off. This hee raised of an exceeding height with winding and turning staires, like that of *Trajanus*, whereof wee have spoken before. Between this Colunne and the porch or gallerie, the said emperor had (by report) a goodly pallace. Betweene the said Colunne and the water Virgo, they say, the railes or enclosure within *Mars* field stood, called Septa. Now this place was enclosed within wooden railes, and strongly fenced with posts on every side, wherein the people of Rome when at the creation and election of magistrates they were to passe their voices, were kept close: and for the resemblance of sheepe pennes, Ovilia of some they were called. By *Livie* they are set down, neere the waies Fornicata and Flaminia.

CHAP. XIII.

The hill Citatorum: the Villa Publica, temple of Neptune, and the bridge in Mars field.

Betweene *Antonines* Colunne and S. *Lawrences* church in Lucina, there is raised a mount, called now Citorius, for Citatorum; not that it was a mount in deed, but because the people of Rome when in the chusing of magistrates they were to give their voices, as they were cited went thither as it were into some hill. Some say it was called Acceptorum, of taking the peoples suffrages: others, Septorum, for the vicinite of those Septa before said. This little mount, there be that would have to rise and encrease by the ruins of some porch or stately gallerie: or els, of the common Hostellerie, called Villa Publica. For there was in time past a place called Villa Publica, a large building in manner of a court or hall; wherein were received and entertained all embassadours of enemies, who might not be allowed either to enter into the citie, or to goe into the publicke lodging or Hospitall called Græcostasis.

Neere to the Septa, *M. Agrippa* (as *Denis* writeth) built a goodly temple with a most beautifull porch to it, in the honour of *Neptune*.

At this foresaid hillocke called Citatorum, and the Colunne of *Antoninus*, there was a bridge fast by the Septa, whereupon they that were cited when they had given their voices, passed by and went their waies: and so were severed from the rest that were to give their suffrages, because they should not be entermingled amongst them, nor be able to shew unto them, on whose side they had passed their voices.

CHAP. XV.

The water Virgo: the lake and chappell of Inturna, as also that of Pietie.

The water Virgo, which reteineth still the pleasant sweetnes to the tast in drinking, & keepeth yet the old name, beginneth to gather to an head neere the bridge Salaris; and being carried in a most deepe gutter, entrench into the citie at the gate Collina, and so is raised to the hill Hortulorum: where, by arched worke it is conveyed through *Mars* field, and yeeldeth all the way to the inhabitants, water for their use; and endeth at the length in the hortyards of *Lucillus*.

Moreover in *Mars* field, there was (as men say) a fountaine and well or cistern of *Inturna*, sister of *K. Tarnus*, yeelding most holefome water. This water-Nymph, they avouch (and that right well) to have

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have been called *Inturna*, a *juvando*, i. of helping; because shee was thought to helpe the sicke. The very place is at this day by a corrupt word, named Lotreglio.

In the same *Mars* field, it is recorded, that in times past stood the temple of *Pietie*, even whereas now the church of S. *Savior* is.

CHAP. XVI.

The arch of Domitian: the obeliske of Mars field: the Amphitheatre of Claudius the Emperour.

The triumphant arch, so dismembred (as it were) and bereft of all the ornaments, standing betweene the churches of S. *Sylvestre* and *Lawrence* in Lucium, and taketh up a peece of the way or street Flaminia, is attributed unto *Domitian* the Emperour. And hereupon (besides other presumptions) they appropriate it to him, for that this emperour reared many such arches in every place.

The Obeliske also there is in this *Mars* field, which *Augustus* transported from Hieropolis a citie in Egypt, to Rome. Besides, the native ensigns and wonderfull hieroglyphick inscriptions which it brought with it of the owne, therein to be seene, *Augustus* adjoynd other ornaments no lesse admirable. But hereof it is better to read *Plinie*.

Claudius the emperour, built neere the Septa in *Mars* field an Amphitheatre, which he decked and adorned with faire statues and most beautifull colunnes.

CHAP. XVII.

The vale Martia: the pallace: the porch of Augustus: the Naumachie of Domitian: and the temple of the familie Flavia.

The vale Martia taketh the name of Campus Martius: it lyeth betweene Tybre and the hill Hortulorum: within which, in a place lower than all the rest about it, appeare the Naumachies of *Domitian*; where, in old time he exhibited shewes of navall fights. In which place before-time likely it is, that *Augustus* had his Naumachie; which being cleaned and scoured by *Domitian*, reteined afterwards his name. Read *Suetonius*.

Neere to this Naumachie, was the temple (as it is thought) of the kinred Flavia.

In this place, *Julius Capitolinus* prooveth, that the porch and pallace of *Augustus* was built.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Mausoleum of Augustus: and the two obeliskes neere it: also the tombe or sepulchre of Marcellus.

In the vale Martia, betweene the way Flaminia and the banke of Tybre, hard by S. *Roches* church, *Augustus* made a Mausoleum, to serve for a sepulchre as well to himselfe and all the Emperours, as also for his whole house and name. This building is like unto a turret standing at the gate called Populi, which sheweth it selfe spoiled now of all the ornaments that set it out. Men would have it to be the sepulchre of *Marcellus*. And *Augustus* named this sepulchre of his, Mausoleum, for the resemblance it had of that of *Mansolus* K. of Caria, which *Artemisia* his wife built for him. Read *Cassiodore*, *Strabo*, and others thereof.

Close unto the Mausoleum of *Augustus*, were two obeliskes, as the ruinate remnants thereof doe testifie.

CHAP. XIX.

The way Flaminia: the Trophees of Marius: and other goodly ornaments of the field Martius in generall.

Cneus Flaminius the colleague of *M. Lepidus*, having vanquished the Ligurians, paved the caufey or street Flaminia. This way led from Placence, through Narnia, Fuligneum, Nuceria, Callium, to *Fortunes* temple, to Pisaurum, and so forward to Ariminum. See *Livie* and *Suetonius*.

Betweene the Mausoleum of *Augustus*, and the hill called Hortulorum, were the Trophees of *Marius* over *Jugurtha*. Trophees, as *Varro* witnesseth, were so called of *τροπή* a Greeke word, which signifieth, flight; for that the manner was, to hang up the spoiles and disrobings of enemies put to flight and slaine, upon trunks and posts.

In *Mars* field, were the sepulchres of *Sylla*, *Hirtius*, and *Pansæ*, of *Julia*, *Britannicus*, *Drusus*, the Emperour *Claudius*, and other right hardie and valiant knights, beside infinite ornaments more, whereof we have written before in this booke.



THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the river Tybre.

* Or as some say,
the Aspinus.

TH should follow by due course and order, to treat of Ianiculum and all that quarter of the citie on the other side of Tybre: but because these parts are separate from the rest of the citie by the river Tybre betweene; thereof also it is meete to say somewhat briefly. And first verily the reason of that name would be shewed. Some thinke therefore, that the river was called Tyberis, *son of Aspinus*. For the Sicilians when as in old time they had overcome the * Carthaginians in battaile, and taken a number of them prisoners, enioyned them, for the better fortification of their owne citie, to cast a trench about it, and to let water thereinto: and this ditch in reproch of their enemies, they called *Tiber*. And the same men upon a time afterwards, when as they encamped neere Rome, gave this verie name unto this river also, whereas before it was called Albula. Some thinke it was named so of Tyberis a king of the Tuscaus, slaine upon the banks thereof. Vano is of opinion, that it tooke the name of Tyberius, a neighbour prince of the Vejentians. In holy writings we read it Tyberinus. In vulgar speech they call it Tyberis: in poetrie, Tybris. In old time it was tearmed Rumon, as it were, gnawing and eating the bankes thereof. Also at one side of the citie it was cleped Terentus, as a man would say, wearing the bankes. It springeth from the Apennine, above Arnus. At the first it is but small and shallow, but before it entred into Rome, it (having received 40 other rivers) is encreased to such bignesse, that ships of burden and the greatest hulkes, may come up in it as farre as Rome. This river divideth Tuscan from Umbria, the Sabines country and the Latines, entred at the North part of the citie, and so passeth through it Southward, betweene the gates Hostienfis and Portuenfis, leaving Ianiculum on the right hand and the citie on the left, and so neere unto Hostia is discharged into one maine broad streame, and falleth into the Tyrrhene sea. Vpon the bankes thereof, as if they were consecrate to some divine power, it was not lawfull to set up any building. Certaine warders and keepers there were appointed, for the channell and the bankes. But of this river, *Plinie* and others have left much in writing.

CHAP. II.

Of the bridges built upon Tybre.

THe Tybre, as is above-said, beeing so deepe as that it is navigable, and beareth the greatest ships, hath no found in any place that can be waded through; and therefore necessarie it was to make bridges over it, and so to joine that part on the farther side of Tybre, to the rest of the citie. *Hercules*, after he had killed *Geryon*, built a bridge, where afterwards stood that which they called Sublicius. Also before the foundation of the citie, there was a bridge over Tybre, called Sacer; upon which they sacrificed men to *Saturne* by throwing them downe into the river. But when *Hercules* afterward had put downe that manner of sacrificing, he gave order, that mens images made of reeds and bulrushes (which they called Argeos) should be cast downe in stead of them. But after the citie was built, there were other bridges made to the number of eight; to wit, Milvius, Aelius, Vaticanus, Ianiculensis, Cestius, Fabricius, Palatinus, and Sublicius. And all these, save the Sublician onely, *Tullius* overthrow.

CHAP. III.

The bridge Milvius.

THe bridge Milvius, which men now call Molvius, standeth upon the way Flaminia, a mile and more from the citie. Built it was in the troublesome times of *Sylla*, by *Scavrus* when hee was Censor. Many a time they say it was cast downe, and as often set up againe.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

The bridge Aelius, now S. Angel, the Vatican or Triumphall, the Ianiculensis or Aurelianus.

THe bridge at this day called S. Angell, in times past Aelius, tooke that name of *Aelius Hadrianus*, for he built that bridge, and neere unto it a sepulchre, which they call Moles Hadriani. Beneath this there is another which giveth passage into the mount Vaticane and the plain thereof, and thereupon they named it Vaticanus; also Triumphalis, for that over it they went up in triumph to the Capitoll, to give thanks to *Iupiter* and rejoice. The piles are yet to be scene in Tyber, over against the spittle or hospitall of *S. Spirit*. The third bare the name Ianiculensis of Ianiculum neere unto it, and Aurelianus of the port-way Aurelia, or the gate so called. *Antonius Pius* paved it over with marble, and being demolished in the civile wars, was called the broken bridge. Afterwards Pope *Xystus* the fourth, reedified it, and gave unto it his owne name.

CHAP. V.

The bridges Fabricius and Cestius.

Beneath the bridge Aurelius one furlong, over-against the Theatre of *Marcellus*, in the very middelt of the channell of Tyber, there appeareth a shelte or Island, this was united to the citie by the bridge Tarpeius, so called first of the rocke Tarpeia neere unto it, afterwards Fabricius, of *L. Fabricius*, who by that bridge conjoined the citie and Island together. The same at this day is called the bridge of foure heads, taking the name of foure marble images with foure faces apeece, standing at the entrie of the bridge, but that bridge which closeth the said Island with the parts beyond Tyber, was called *Esquilinus* or Cestius in times past, but now *S. Bartholomewes* bridge.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Island Tyberina.

OF this Islands beginning, wee have treated before in the description of *Mars* field, *Livie* and *Dionysius* also set downe this storie at large. It resembleth the forme of a bireme gally, & where it is broadest, it is not above a dart shoot over, in length it containeth about two stadia or a quarter of a mile. This was in times past called Lycaonia, and was hallowed to the honour of *Aesculapius*, whose image from out of Epidaurus was thither brought. Of *Aesculapius* and his temple, read *Plinie*.

A temple also of *Iupiter* standeth in it, dedicated by *C. Servilius* the Duumvir, which had been vowed by *L. Furius* sixe yeeres before in the Gaules warre.

In the same Island were sicke folke presented unto *Aesculapius* (in the field.) And neere unto the temple of the said god, was a lazar-house, for that this god was the inventer and maintainer of Phisicke.

In it also stood the chappell of *Faunus*, neere to the very river: but scarcely remaine there any tokens thereof. This *Faunus* (as men say) was reported to have bene the first that consecrated chappels and temples to the gods, and for this cause, all such places consecrated to the gods, were called Fana. By the testimonie of *Cornelius Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, the statue of the emperour *Iulius* stood there.

CHAP. VII.

The Senatours bridge called also Palatine, and that which is named Sublicius.

Beneath the abovenamed Island, as it were a darts cast off, was the seventh bridge, called Senatum pons, of the Senatours: also Palatinus, of the mount Palatine neere adjoining: and at this day named it is the bridge of *S. Marie in Egypt*, by reason of *S. Maries* church neere by.

Now followeth the last bridge Sublicius, and which also is counted the most auncient of all others. This was first made of tymber by *Ancus Martius*, at the very foot of the Aventine mount: framed onely with a floure of planks without any yron spikes and nailes or props to shoare against it, so as in time of warre and trouble it might bee taken in peeces one from another. Now

C c c c c

Sublicius

Of those things that be without the gate Collina. The port-way from the gate Collina is called Salaria, because the Sabines at it brought salt into the citie. Therupon stood the bridge Salaria. And reacheth to Numentana. In it was the temple of *Anna Erycinia*, vowed by *Fabius* the Dictator, and dedicated by *L. Porcius*. There, stood the image of *Pompey*, who had been killed at the battle of *Pydna*. Likewise the temple of *Honor*, and an altar in it. Finally the monument or tombe of *Lucius* the barber of *Augustus*.

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At the gate Capena, was the temple of *Mars* the warrior, or *Gradivus*; and therein the sculpture of *Mars*. Hard by the same temple was the stone *Manalis* brought into the citie of Rome in time of a great drought, and presently there arose a shoure of raine; whereupon it was called *Manalis*. In the way Capena, stood the oratorie or chappell of *Dea bona*: and neere to it, they say, that *Clodius* and *Papirius* were slaine. Neere to the gate Capena, was the altar of *Apollo*, the sacred grove of *Honour*; and the temples of *Hope* and *Minerva*. Likewise of *Tempest*, built by *Marcellus*. Moreover, another of *Ridiculum*: because *Annibal* having there encamped, was enforced to depart from thence mocked and scorned. Vpon the way Appia was the bridge *Valentinus*, built by the Emperour *Valens*, and thereupon, neere the hill *Masica*, standeth the towne *Sinuesia*.

This way had certaine notable sepulchres, namely of *Collatinus*, the *Scipios*, the *Servilij*, *Metelli*, *Tullij*, of *Ennius*, *Pompeius*, the *Horatij*, and others. And in that part is to be seene the plaine, whereupon the *Horatij* fought that famous combat to the utterance. In it also there is a water and well-spring, consecrated to *Mercurie*. To it upon a time when the people of Rome ran, every man dipped therein his branch of laurell, and therewith besprinkled them that were next, with an invocation to *Mercurie*; that as many as had this asperion and sprinkling, might be assoiled of their finnes, and of perjurie especially. The grove also of *Egeria* was without this gate. The way *Laurentina* fell into Appia: wherein *S. Sebastian* (by report) suffered; even in the very place where they used to solemnise the feast *Terminalia*, to the god of Meeres and Bounds *Terminus*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of those things that be without the gate Hostiensis, and others in general.

From the gate Hostiensis beginneth the way Hostiensis, which leadeth to Hostia, built by *Ancus*. This was called in old time, the gate of the three twinnes breechren, or *Trigeminorum*: and without it, *Livie* setteth the Bursle or merchants hall, *Emporium*.

In that part of the citie on the other side of the water, were three gates, *Portuensis*, *Aurelia*, and *Fontinalis*. At *Portuensis*, beginneth a way of that name, and leadeth to the port towne *Ostia*: where there was a temple of *Portunus*, the god of havens: and wherein the feast *Portunalia* was celebrated to the honour of that god.

From the gate Aurelia, the way also Aurelia taketh beginning; which along the sea coasts of *Thufcia*, leadeth to *Pile*. The same was called *Trajana* of *Trajanus* who repaired it: wherein were the horse-yards of *Galba* the Emperour; and there also was his sepulchre.

[At the gate Fontinalis, was the feast *Fontinalia* celebrated at Rome, namely to the goddesse of Fountaines, as saith *Sext. Pompeius*.]

Ccccc iii





TO THE READER.



Or as much as *Titus Livius* is prolix and full of varietie: and howsoever otherwise willing enough to speake our language, yet most loth to forbear and forget certaine Roman words, vvhether with so long time he hath bene acquainted: also for that now and then hee saith one thing in his English tongue, and in his French and Italian another; vvhether by hee may bee thought either to trip, or to have forgotten himselfe, and the fault imputed to his teacher: In these regards (mee thought) I owed thus much for their sake that converse with English *Livie*, as to satisfie them in that behalfe. A twofold Index therefore I have digested: the one directing and leading readily to the most material & principall matters contained in the whole bodie of the Historie: the other, expounding those things that may seeme at first straunge to the most: and withall, shewing here and there the reason of the foresaid disagreement, hoping that as use will make them more familiar in those straunge phrases: so deeper and farther conference with him in his primitive Latine (the onely touchstone of his true speech) shall excuse and acquit mee of iust blame, who have endeavoured that he might deliver his mind in English, if not so eloquently by many degrees, yet as truly, as in Latine.



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A SECOND INDEX, CONTAINING THE EXPOSITION OF THOSE TEARMES IN LIVIE WHICH ARE NOT YET FAMILIAR IN ENGLISH, AND OF SOME PLACES, OMITTED BEFORE IN THE MAR- GINALL NOTES:

Whereunto the Reader may have recourse, when hee meeteth with any
such difficultie in the Historie.

A **A**ulus, the forename to divers families in Rome.
Adiles, certaine inferiour magistrates in Rome: who were of two sortes; *Plēbey*, and *Centuriles*. *Plēbey* of the Commons onely, two in number; more auncient than the other; chosen by the people alone to second and assist the Tribunes of the Commons as their right hands. This name they tooke of the charge they had of temples, chappels, and oratories; albeit they registred the Sanctions and acts of the people called *Plēbisfita*, and kept the same in their owne custodie; and were clerkes of the market: also they exhibited the games and plaies called *Plēbey*. *Centuriles*, were likewise twaine, elected out of the order and degree of the *Panitia*: so called, of the Ivorie chaire wherein they were allowed to sit, as officers of greater state. They set forth the great solemnities called *Ludi magni*, or *Romani*; were overseers of the buildings throughout the citie as well publicke as private, in manner of the *scopuli* in Athens; they had regard to the publicke vaults, finks, conveyances, and conduits of the citie waters; looked to the Arsenall; &c. Moreover, they had power to attach the bodies of great persons; and were charged to see unto the provision of corne and victuals. At the first, none but *Panitia* might be advaunced to this place: but in proceesse of time, Commonsers also attained therunto. These as well as the *Plēbey* were *Sacrosancti*, & unviolable.
Antii, they were, who being citizens of Rome, were by the Centours deprived of giving their voices in their Centurie or Tribe; paid all tribute with cittizens according to the valuation of their goods; and served in the wars of their owne charges: and either because *ex pendebant*, or, *ex non magistrant*, it seemeth they tooke that name.

A **A**gmen quadratum: *Agmine quadrato ducere*, is taken in a three-fold fence. First, The same that *infesto exercitu*, *infesto agmine*, or, *infestis signis*: which signifieth the ordinarie manner of enemies marching with banners displayed, either to a battaile, or to the siege and assault of a fort: and this manner of phrase addeth a grace onely to the sentence. Secondly, To march or fight in a foure square battaillon, though not alwaies with equall sides & right angles: and the same not charged with the carriages at all. Thirdly, VVhen an armie is spread and displayed at large, enclosing the impediments or baggage in the midst, for safetie and securitie.
Agrarie, were lawes preferred by the Tribunes of the Commons, as well for division of lands (conquered from the enemies) among the Commons; as to restrain the possessions of the Nobles within a certaine limit and compasse.
Ambitus, The inordinate and excessive desire to be in office of state, appearing by indirect and unlawfull meanes; either to their friends and kinsfolkes, or to the people: against which many lawes in Rome were provided; namely, *Acilia*, *Bebia*, *Emilia*, *Licinia*, and others.
Ancilia: *Ancile* was a buckler or scutcheon, that (as they say) fell from heaven into the hands of *R. Numa* in time of a plague; and hee being advertised by *Egeria*, that it was for the health of the citie, and ought to be kept safe; caused it more to be made unto it, so like, as they could not be knowne from the patterne, which hereby was preserved. The keeping hereof was committed to the twelve *Flamines*.
Annales, were briefe memorials, *Chronicles*, or commentaries, containing the names of Consuls every yeere, the date of times, and all memorabilia.

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memorable occurrents happening therein. The high priests, called *Pontifices maximi*, had the charge by their place to gather the same into tables, and to set them up in their houses for to be seene: and hereupon they were called *Annales maximi*, & *Maximis Pontificibus*; and not of their greatnesse, as those huge volumes, named *Libri Elephantini*.

Ap. Appia, a forename appropriate to the House of the *Claudij* in Rome.

Appia via, A notable street or high-way; begun by *Ap. Claudius* reaching frō Rome, as far as *Capua*: and afterwards by *Iulius Caesar* and *Trajan*, it was extended to *Brindis* in *Calabria*. Of all other it seemeth to be the principall, by the testimonie of *Papinius* the Poet, who writeth thus of it,

Appia cunctarum fertur Regina viarum.

Called it was *Triumphalis* (as also the gate *Capena*;) because through it the triumphes ordinarily passed at the said gate.

Ara maxima, The great altar reared by *Hercules*, and tooke the name of a great heap of stones about it.

Avor infelix, Is commonly taken for a tree that naturally beareth no fruit.

Argiletus imus, Is the base or low part of a street in Rome; in regard of the upper end thereof, called *Summus*: in like sort as *Ianus summus* & *imus*.

Area, is taken for some void place, whereupon nothing groweth, *quia aere*: as *Forum boarium* in Rome, *Area quæ posita de bove nomen habet*, and differeth from *Campus*, for that it is lesse. Also a plot of ground made levell and cleane for to build upon: as in *Suetonius* 26. *Forum Caesar de manubijs inchoavit*, the *Area* whereof, (*id est*, the trimming and levelling of the plot) cost *H-S. milies*, *id est*, an hundred millions of *Sestertij*. Last of all, the broad yards before temples, not covered but compassed about with columnes, like a cloister with an altar in the mids, be called *Area*.

Auspices, were wisards or soothsayers, directed by the bowels & inwards of beasts killed for sacrifice, called also *Extispices*, & in Greeke *iugurani*, who prying into them, had especial regard of the liver; whereupon their whole Art and learning was teamed *haruspiciis*, albeit they observed also the heart, lungs, spleene, and kidneys.

As, or *Astis*, usually in *Livie* is taken for a Romane poise, or coine in brasse, the tenth part in value of their silver *Denarius*. At first it was a pound weight of twelve ounces; but afterwards, the *Sextans*, *id est*, the sixth part thereof, was valowed worth the whole: and howsoever otherwise it altered in poise, it went alwaies for 3 farthings or thereabout of our english money.

Augurium, See *AUSPICIA*.

Aurci Romani, Peeces of gold coine currant in

Rome: in round reckoning equivalent to our spur-roiall of 15 sh. For 100 *Sestertij* made *aureum*, which amount to 15 sh. 7 d. ob. the 4 part of *mina*, i. a *lib.* in silver, and of an ounce of angell gold.

Auspicia: *Auspices* were properly the observation of the birds, either by their singing and flying in the aire; or by their gesture and manner of feeding in their *caves* or coupe: whereby their *Augurs* and *Pullarij* knew in their learning, the pleasure and will of the gods, whether they favoured their enterprises or no. The birds that gave signe by their voice and singing, they called *Osines*, *quasi ore canentes*, as the crow, raven, and owle; and thereof came *Augurium*, *quasi avium garrulus*. Those that flew ought by their flight & wings, were named *Alites* or *Præpites*, as the buzzard, eagle, crane, grype, swan, and broad-winged fowles, *avium præpites*. The good signes were called *Simistra auspicia*, *quasi sinistima*, *quod sinist fieri*, whether they came from the left hand or the right. In pullets or chickens kept in cages, they observed whether they came forth willingly to their meat (for to abtaine from it was thought unluckie:) whereas their feeding heartily was a good signe, and called *solistimum tripudium*, *quas terripavium* & *terrepudium*, when some of the meat falleth out of the mouth, & *terram parit*, i. beateh upon the ground; as it must needs do, when they pecked either corne, or gobbets called *offæ*.

B

Balisti, were certaine warrelike engines for to send out and levell mightie stones, to batter & shake citie walls, made with ropes of sinews and womens haire especially twined together: as appeareth by *Venus Calva* at Rome, unto whom, by occasion that the women of the citie parted with their haire for that purpose, a temple was dedicated. According to the weight of stones or bullets that this engine would carrie, they were called *Centenariæ*, or *Talentariæ balistæ*.

Basilicæ, were stately edifices or halles at Rome; at first serving to plead in under covert, wherein they differed from *Fora*: and also to minister justice, of *basileus*, which significeth a Judge, as well as a King: but afterwards they used to meete there in consultation; also to negotiate and traffique: and these had not onely benches and barres like law-courts, but shops also for the better sort of wares and merchandise.

Bellona, The goddesse of warre; whose temple stood before the gate *Carnementalis*, & neer adjoining therunto was a colunne named *Bellica*: from which the Romanes were wont to launce a dart or javelin towards those parts where

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where they intended to make war: whereas in former times they sent their heralds to the very confines of their enemies, to performe that ceremonie.

Bigati, were the Romane *Denarij*, having the stampe of a charriot drawne with two horses, called *Bigæ*.

Booarches, The chiefe magistrates of the *Bœotians*.

C

Caius. The forenames of sundrie families in Rome.

Calends, was among the Romanes, the day of the new Moone, which fell out with them ordinarily the first of every moneth: so named *dei Fæstæ*, *id est*, a *calando*, because the pettie Pontife used then to call the people to the court *Calabra*, and there to pronounce unto them how many daies wer to the Nones of each moneth, &c.

Candidati, were they that stood in election and sued for dignities of magistracie: during which time, they wore whiter and brighter gowns than ordinarie, that they might be the more easily seene and discerned a farre off among others.

Cataphracti, as well horse as foot, were they that were armed at all peeces with complete harness: and such horsemen were named *Defensores*.

Catapultæ, were engines of warre to shoot arrows or such like offensive weapons, far off: and by that name was called not onely the instrument it selfe, but the arrow or whatsoever was shot out of it: as *Turneb.* writeth in his 15 *Adversar.* cap. 1.

Censores, Magistrates of State in Rome: whose charge was to valew and estimate mens goods, and enroll them accordingly in their severall raunges. Also to demise unto certain Fermoars, called *Publicanes*, the publicke profits of the cittie for a rent, and to put forth the cittie workes unto them, to be undertaken at a price. Likewise to oversee mens manners, whereby oftentimes they would deprive Senatours of their dignitie, take from gentlemen their horses of service and their rings; displace Commoners out of their owne tribe, disable them for giving voices, and make them *Ærarij*.

Centuries, were raunges and degrees of men according to their worth, as they were assessed and enrolled by the *Censores*.

Centuriata comitia, were those assemblies and elections, wherein the people of Rome gave their voices and suffrages, according to their haviour and wealth, by *Centuries*. And such were at all times most favourable to the nobles.

Circenses ludj (as one would say) *Circen-eses*. For in

the beginning before the great listes and shew-places (called *Cirques*) were built, the plot of ground wherein were performed the horse-runnings and other matteries, was flanked of the one side with the river, and environed on the other with swordes. *Vide Turneb. Adversar. lib. 3. cap. 5.*

Cistophorus, A peece of silver coine in Greece and those parts neere adjoining, lesse than *Drachma* or *Denarius*: so called of the stamp, representing a man carrying a panier or calker with holy reliques, in *Cybeles mysterijs*, in *Bacchi orgijs*, or *Cereris imitjs*. If it be true, that 7500 of them goe to the *Euboicke* talent, which containeth 4000 *Denarij*, it is just our groat sterling: but if *Denarius* have proportionem *sesquiquartam* to it, and that 4 *Denarij* are 5 *Cistophores*, (as *Glarean* collecteth out of *Budanus*) it commeth to our teston of 6 pence.

Cloacina, supposed to be the image of *Venus*, found by *K. T. Arius* in the great vault or sinke conveyed under the citie, called *Cloaca maxima*. And for that it was not knowne what goddesse it resembled, hee gave it the name of that place. Others say, it is written *Cluacina*, of the old word *Cluo* (to fight:) for that the Romans and Sabines (readie to strike a battaile) were by meanes of myrtle braunches consecrated unto *Venus*, pacified and reconciled, in that very place where afterwards the said goddesse was by that name worshipped.

Coemptionalis senex, *Paulus Manutius* upon the familiar Epistles of *Cicero*, giveth this attribute to *Scaptius* in the end of the third booke of *Livie*, whereas in all editions it is, *Coemptialis*. Now these *Coemptionales senes* (saith hee) were those old men, in whose tuition and authoritie, men by their last will and testament left their widowes or daughters; and without whome they might not passe in *Dominium virorum per coemptionem*, i. be married according to the ceremonie called *Coemptio*, whereby the husband and wife seemed to buy one another.

Cohort, was ordinarily a band of 500 souldiours; although once or twice in *Livie* wee read of *Quadragesima cohorte*.

Comitium, was a publicke place or Hall within the *Forum Romanum*, where the people used to assemble for audience of justice, pleading of causes, and other occasions: whereupon *Comitiales dies*, were such daies upon the which they might so assemble and meet together.

Comitia, or *Comices*, were the solemn assemblies of the people at Rome, summoned by the magistrates lawfully; to choose officers, to enact new lawes or cancell old, by their voices: whereof were three sorts.

Comitiata, instituted by *Romulus*. *Centuriata*, by *Serv. Tullius*. *Tributa*, brought in by the *Tribunes*. E e e e e ij of

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of the people : and the first author thereof was P. Volvo.

Curia and *Centuriata*, were *Auspicata*, i. performed with the solemnitie of observing the approbation of the birds, and the Senators.

Tributa, were held by the Commons only, *penes quos non erant auspicia*, and required neither *Auspicia* nor *authoritatem*, i. the allowance of the *Patres*. And as in *Comitiis Centuriatis*, the richer and greater men had the vantage ; so in *Curia* and *Tributa*, the poorer sort (for their number) went away with the better.

In the *Curia comitia*, at the first (untill *Serv. Tullius* his reigne) passed the election of KK. and other magistrates, judgements in capitall matters, and lawes. But in latter times, they served onely for two lawes : i. *de imperio*, or, *de re militarium* ; in which the *Consull* or others (chosen to their magistracie in *Centuriatis comitiis*) had authoritie of commaund in the armie : the other, *de adoptione* ; and these lawes were called *Curia*.

In the *Centuriata comitia*, from the time of *Servius Tullius*, passed the elections of *Consuls*, *Decemvirs*, *Tribunes consular*, *Censours*, *Pretours*, and such greater magistrates ; and confirmed they were by *Curia*. Also, judgement of capitall matters, and the lawes named *Centuriata*. In this, there was one *Centuria* drawne forth by lot out of all the rest, to give their voices first, and that was called *Prærogativa*. After which, were called to their suffrages, the Centuries of the first and second Clasis, and they were named *Primo-vocata* : the rest which followed, were called *Inter-vocata*.

Tributa, served for the creation of *Tribunes*, *Ædiles* of the Commons, and other inferiour magistrates. Also the laws as touching peace, or enfranchising allies, judgements penall and fines, and those ordinances concerning the good of the Commons, called *Plebiscita*.

Some have thought amisse, that *Curia* and *Tributa comitia*, were both one : but *Curia* were more auncient, and of greater state as beeing *Auspicata*, and *ex autoritate Patrum*. Herein onely they agreed together and differed from the *Centuriata*, that in delivering their voices, the Tribes and *Curie* were intermingled : whereas the Centuries were sorted and gave their voice according to their degree, age, and abilitie in the *Censors* book.

Congius, or *Chus*, A measure among the Romanes containing 6 *Sextarii*, and every *Sextarius* about 20 ounces : so that *Congius* receiveth X. *librales mensuras* ; as appeareth by the old pourtrait thereof in brasse, with these two characters, X. P. i. ten pound. VVhereby in round reckoning it may go for our wine gallon or somewhat better. And for that great persons were wont at first to give dole unto the common people, of wine or oyle by the

Congii ; all other donatives and largesses of that kind, were afterwards called *Congia*.

Consull, one of the sovereign yeerely magistrates in Rome, succeeding in the place of KK. so named, *a Consulendo*, either of asking counsell of the people and Senat in State matters, and withall giving his owne advise, and providing for the good of the weale-publicke : or else, of judging, for so *Consulere* signifieth ; as when we say, *boni consulere*. And *Livie* saith, that *Prætores*, *Consules*, and *Judices*, may be taken one for another. Two of them were usually chosen everie yeer, as appeareth by the law of the 12 tables : REGIO IMPERIO DUO SUNTO : TIQUE PRÆAUNDO, IUDICANDO, CONSULENDO, PRÆTORES, IUDICES, CONSULES, APPELLANTOR, &c.

Corona, hath divers significations in *Livie*. *Corona urbem cingere*, i. to invest a citie round about with armed men, and to give the assault from all parts at once. *Sub corona vendere servos*, i. to sell slaves in open market, either having ghirlands on their heads, as the manner was ; or environed about with a guard of souldiours, which also is called *Corona militum*. Sundrie ghirlands or chaplets there were moreover, called *Corona*, wherewith souldiours were rewarded by their capitaines, or they honoured by their souldiours ; (besides those that were presented to Generals by their friends and well-willers, or offered to the honour of the gods :) as *Obsidionalis* or *Graminea*, which was a wreath of a cuich grasse called *Gramen*, given to him that delivered an armie from streight sieges, and was by the whole armie bestowed upo that favor. *Cinica*, made of oke branches, for him that in battell saved the life of his fellow citizen. *Muralis*, resembled the battlements of walls ; which he received of his captain, that first scaled the walls and mounted over, in the assault of cities. *Castrensis*, in forme of a palliade or rampier made with pales or strong stakes ; the honour of him who first entered the enemies campe. *Navalis* or *Rosstrata*, poutraied with the stemmes or beake-heads of shippes, called *Rostra* ; his reward that first boured the enemies ship, and gave the first meanes of a navall victorie : These were the principall. For, others there were not so ordinarie, as namely, *Exploatoria*, garnished and set out with the sunne, moone, and other stars ; bestowed upon them that did speciall service in espial and discoverie of the enemies quarters.

Curie, were parishes in Rome, 30 in number, instituted by *Romulus*. Certaine halls besides, appointed for assemblies & convocations about church matters and religion : whereof some were old, called simply *Vetere* ; others new, named *Novæ*. As for *Curia Hostilia*, it was the ordinarie auncient place of publicke counsell within Rome.

Curio,

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Curio, the priest belonging to ech *Curia* or parish afore said : and *Curio Max.* the chiefe superintendent over them all.

D

D. *Decius*, a forename : for *Decius*, although it were the gentile name of a house, grew afterwards to bee a forename, as *Paulus* : and likewise forenames at the first, came to name families, as *Posthumus*.

D. *Decimus*, a forename likewise, as of that *Brutus* surnamed *Albinus*, who killed *Cæsar*.

Decemvirs, were magistrates, officers, or fellowships, ten in number.

Decemvirs legibus scribendis, were ten men chosen, to make laws in Rome : who afterwards usurped the sovereigne authoritie, and tyrannized.

Decemviri sacrorum, were certain priests, who had the keeping and perusing of Sibyls bookes of destinies, and therout gave order for sacrifices and expiation of prodigies.

Decemvirs ; ten iudges or ministers of iustice, selected out of the great court or counsell of the hundred *Centumvirs*, and they were called, *Decemviri Scitibus indicandus* : assitant they were to the Pretour or L. chiefe iustice.

Dictator, a sovereigne magistrat above all others in Rome, from whence no appeale was granted, meeere absolute and king-like : but that his time of rule was limited within fixe months ordinarily : so named, either because he onely said the word and it was done, or because hee was *Dictus*. i. nominated onely by one of the Consuls, and not otherwise chosen. usually in some time of great daunger of the state. Hee was called also *Pretour Maximus* : and namely when he was made for the ceremonie of striking up or driving a naile : also *Magister Populi*, as *Cicero* 3. *de fin.* : Moreover he was sometimes appointed to ordeine and hold solemne feasts, in regard that it had rained stones.

Duumvirs, magistrates two in number, of divers sorts.

Duumvirs capitales, judges to sit upon life and death : from whence it was lawfull to appeale to the people.

Duumviri sacrorum, out of the *Patritias*, ordeined for dedication of temples, preparing the sacred beds for the gods, called *Leſtilonia* ; and for the bookes of Sibylla : these afterwards were increased to five, and so to ten. See **D E C E M V I R I**.

Duumviri Navales, two wardens of the navie, ports, and sea-coasts.

E

E *Epulones*, were certaine priests whose office was to prepare and set out the solemne feast

for *Jupiter* called *Epulum*, and for other gods : Of them were three, called *Triumviri Epulones*, and after seven, *Septemviri Epulones*.

F

F *Æciales* were the Heraults : of whom there was a collidge of 20, the principall of them was *Pater patratus*, as it were their Deane. And according to *Plutarch*, hee ought to bee a man that had children of his owne, and his father living : for having the charge of making peace and alliances, it behooved that he should be a person accomplished, & as well to looke before as behind *Epuriparato* *si desolato*, to regard what is past and what is to come : the one was signified by his father, the other by his children. *Fas* signifieth sometimes *festus dies*. i. holidays : and in that sense *Ovid* entitleth his bookes *Fasti*, wherein he setteth downe the ordinarie feasts of every month. Otherwhiles they are put for law-daies, wherein the L. chiefe iustice or Pretour might use these three words, *Do, Dico, Addico*, which betokē to give leave to the partie for to plead, to minister law and justice betweene plaintiffe and defendant, and to pronounce the sentence and award.

Flamines, certaine priests among the Romanes : they tooke that name of *Filamen*, a filer of wollen yarne, that they used to weare upon their heads. Three of the there were *Patritij*, and those were called *Majores*, namely *Dialis*, for the service of *Jupiter*, 2. *Martialis*, of *Mars*. 3. *Quirinalis*, of *Romulus* deified. Of Commoners were twelve more, called *Minores*, deputed to inferior charges, and the meanest of them all attended the service of *Pomona* the goddesse of appuls and such fruits.

Fortuna a great goddesse in Rome, enticuled with many and sundrie surnames.

Fors Fortuna, a goddesse of Rome, whose temple was in *Transiberina* region, where shee was honored and worshipped of idle persons, such as professed nothing, but lived of their rents only, and namely for that she came unlooked for and undeserved.

Fortis Fortuna. i. strong fortune, so called for her power, especially in battaile. *Publica*, when she favoured the common wealth. *Mascula*, good to the male kind, & *Muliebris*, to the female. *Virilis*, kind to folke of ripe yeeres. *Primigenia*, gracious to the first begotten or the eldest. *Equestris*, either for running to helpe with great speed, or assitant in horset service. *Obsequens*, pliable and easily intreated to accomplish all their vowes and desires. *Parva*, for advancing meane and obscure persons to wealth and worship. *Stiva*, for the kind and reasonable ripening of corn and fruit. *Prospera*, which was alwaies present and vouchsafed her helping hand. *Ma-la*, when contrariwise shee was backward and

Eeeee ij

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and evermore crossed their designs. *Viscata*, for that many a one hath bene by her enticements snared and entangled. *Redux*, *induxit*, *Bene Sperans*, *Refpiciens*, *Propria*, *Virgo*, *Calva*, *Conversens*, *gracis* *topa* *invenit*, *quasi* *astutus*, *caeca*, *Vitrea*, &c. See *Alexander* ab *Alexandro*. *Marlian*.

Forum Romanum, or *Latium*, The great common place at Rome, wherein causes were pleaded, and audience given to publicke Orations. Under the name of *Forum* were other places also and courts, as also markets, distinguished by their proper adjuncts, as *Forum Boarium*, *Oitorium*, &c.

Furca, VWhereof slaves were called *Furciferi*, was a kind of forke or gibbet which slaves carried upon their shoulders when they were scourged by their maisters, either about the *Forum* or *Cirque*: whereupon afterwards they were crucified and executed: howbeit, some thinke they bare it onely for a publicke shame.

G

Gabinus cinctus was a kind of habite and wearing of a gowne after the *Gabines* fashion, when it was cast over the shoulder so backward, that it seemed to compasse and gird round the whole bodie. In that manner the *Consull* clad, used solemnly to see open the dores of *Ianus* temple, before hee went to the warres.

Genius, *Genij* were supposed to bee *plumarii* and *pararii*, brokers (as it were) between men and the gods, or rather interpreters and *Salutigeruli*, messengers betwene, of a middle nature betwixt the one and the other, *Caelius Rhodigin*, lib. 2. cap. 3. But according to *Empedocles*, each one was thought to have his angell from the very day of nativitie, unto whome they used to sacrifice upon their birth day, as to their protector. Also every place had their peculiar *Genij*, and then were they called *Lares*, as *Rurales*, and *Pemariis* in *Livie*.

Galli, Priests of *Cybele* that goulded themselves in a frantike furie, and used in their service to her, for to strike and beat upon tabers and drummes.

H

Halla, Besides the ordinarie signification, signifieth the *Centumvirall* or *Decemvirall* jurisdiction in supplie or assistance of the *Prætorian*, for that they set up a speare to bee scene at the place of judgement. Also it betokeneth port-sale, when they sold either goods or slaves to him that would bid most at such a speare. Moreover, the putting forth of the cities works, called *Hydrotribuna*, to cer-

tain *Publicanes* or undertakers by the great, at a price, and it was called *Subbæstatio*.

I

Ianus is a god in Rome, sometime represented *Bifrons* with two faces, signifying the time passed, and that to come: otherwhiles *Quadrifrons*, and betokeneth the foure times of the yeere; having in his right hand a character resembling three hundred, in the left another, shewing threecore and five, according to the daies of the yeere. But in the plural number *Iani*, betoken certaine hals or great four-square buildings, with foure prospectes and crosse thorow fares, whereof were divers in Rome. *Ides*, Eight daies in every moneth; of an old word *Idus*, to divide: for that they commonly fall about the middest of the month, namely upon the thirteenth or fifteenth daies, according to *Horace*, *Idus tibi sunt agenda, qui dies menssem Veneris marinas*, findit *Aprilis*.

Interdicted of water and fire, were they who for some crime were banished. VWhich judgement, although it was not by expresse sentence pronounced, yet by giving order, that no man should receive such an one into his house, but denie him fire and water (the two necessarie elements of life) he was condemned (as it were) to a civile death: and this was called *Legitimum exilium*. But voluntarie exile was, when a man to avoid the painment of a greivous fine, or imprisonment, went out of the way of his owne accord, and left his native countrey.

Iugerum, which commonly I translate *Acre*, seemeth among the *Romanes*, to bee in measuring of land the *Basis*, ground, and foundation of all other measures in that kind; like as, the *Ass* or *Alsis*, of weights: of which it borroweth the tearmes in sub-division and multiplication, whereof the least is *Semiscrupulum*. Now is the *Scrupulum* in land measure fifteene foot square, according to which, it may soone be gathered, how much *Iugerum* containeth, considering it hath that name, *a duobus actibus junctis*: by which reckoning it beareth 28800 foot of ground within the square. But for that, others thinke that *Iugerum* is as much as *uno jugo bovum uno die exarari potest*, i. one daies worke of a yoke or teeme of oxen: for want of another fitter word (except I would call it a journell) I have expressed it by our familiar tearme of an *acre*, which is not much under or over a daies worke in plowing of oxen here in England.

Interregnum, or *Interregencie*, is properly the time betwene the former king deceased, and the creation of a new: and hee that ruled in the meane space, was called *Interrex*. VWhich tearme continued afterwards in the free State

H-S. This

THE TOPOGRAPHIE OF ROME.

K

when there were no kings, in the case of vacancie of head magistrates.

H-S. This Character compounded of two capital I, and the letter S, thus coupled together, is *Sestertius*, that is to say, a silver coine among the *Romanes*, consisting of two *Asses* and an halfe, and thereupon it hath the name *Sestertius*, as a man would say, *Semis tertius*, i. two, and halfe the third: and therefore you see the numerall note of two, and S for *semis*, which is halfe. It is the fourth part of the *Romane* *Denarius*, and in value amog us is three halfe pence farthing cue. But *Sestertium* in the neuter gender, betokeneth as much as *mille Sestertius*, i. a thousand *Sesterties*, so that *decem Sestertia* signifieth tenne thousand *Sestertij*, and *decem Sestertium* is as much: for you must in this manner of speech understand *millia* for the regimen of the Genitive case. But if you adde unto *Sestertium* the numerall adverb, it sheweth the same *Sestertium* in the neutre above said, multiplied a hundred times so much as the said numerall beareth. For example, *decies Sestertium*, is *decem Sestertium*, a hundred times told, and as much to say as *decies centena millia Sestertium*, which is a million of *Sesterties* in the primitive signification: whereby a man may soone reckon how much is *millies Sestertium* and the rest, either under or over *decies*. The same is to bee said of *Numus* and *Numum*, for it is the same that *Sestertius* and *Sestertium*. Moreover, *decies*, *millies*, and such like adverbs, whether you put *Numum* or *Sestertium* thereto, or no, is all one: so that by this forme of speaking, *ejus bona fuerunt vicies*, is meant thus, his goods amounted unto two millions of *Sestertie* peeces. Thus much for *Livie* and other *Historians* and writers in prose: for I am not ignorant that Poets for the verse sake confound these two words many times, and put *Sestertij* for *Sestertia*, as *Georgius Agricola* hath well observed.

Iupiter Indiges, *Indigetes* were these called, *aut quia nullius rei indigeant*, because they need nothing, or *quasi in deis agentes*, i. conversing among the gods, having bene sometimes men; or by reason that they might not *indigetari*, i. bee named; or rather for that they were easie to bee entreated; and last of all, *quasi in loco degentes, & ideo propitij*, i. the tutelar gods and protectours of this or that place: which I rather incline unto.

Iustitium was the stay of civile jurisdiction and pleas for the time, upon some suddain troubles, as *Tumultus Gallicus*, &c. VWhich vacation, if wee will bee somewhat bold, may bee called not unfely a *Lawsteed*, as *Solstitium* the *Sunne-steed*.

Juvencius p 88
Juvencus p 939

L

L. Lucius. } The forename of manie *Romanes*.

Latina, *sc. serie*, Certaine holy daies *Conceptiva*, i. appointed by the Priest or magistrate, as occasion required, and not set feasts. The solemnitie was published and held by the *Romane* *Consuls* newly created, upon the mount *Albanus* to *Iupiter Latialis*: and a sacrifice was there offered which they call *Latur*, for the health of the *Latine* people: at which, the manner was to give a dole of flesh called *Visceratio* to the *Latine* States.

Lechiffone, is in some sort declared in the fift and two and twentie bookes of *T. Livius*, and is as much to say, as the solemnne ceremonie of trimming and setting out a bed, not for repose but repast, according to the ancient manner: wherein they laid the images of their gods, reared upon boulders and pillows: the principall whereof was that in the honour of *Iupiter* at the *Epulum Iovis*, whereupon *Iupiter* was laid, *Iuno* and *Minerva* sitting of either side by him.

Lectus is usually to be understood in *Livie* for the bed whereupon they laid themselves at ease when they tooke their refection, and *Triclinium* is taken for *Conclave*, i. the parlour where they were wont to sup, because the usuall manner was to set three such beds or pallets together: (whereof the reume had the name) and a table raised somewhat higher from the floore, & placed so, as it served all three pallets, and was open at one side for the servants to come unto it, and either set meat thereupon, or to minister what was called for. Vpon each of these beds there sate or leaned ordinarily three persons: so as nine was the full nuber of guests at the board, according to the rule, NO FEWVER THAN THE GRACES, NOR MORE THAN THE MUSES. For *Horace* in this verse, *Sæpe triclinis lectis videascantæ quaternos*, seemeth to glaunce at the niggar-dise of him that would rather want meat than guests, and so set twelve at the table which was but for nine, whereby also they were pent up together tooftight.

Legati, are usually taken for *Embassadours* sent from one prince or State to another. Also for *Lieutenants* in an armie, having the charge of a legion under the Generall, and in his absence, the charge and command of all. VWho likewise were sent as *Nuntioes* or messengers of credence from the Generals in the field, to make true report unto the Senat, of the suc-

cess

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cesse of their affaires. Moreover, they are oftentimes put for deputed-delegates, or commissioners assisstant to the Cos. or L. Generall, in matters of state; having their principall reflections from the Senat, but commision to deale in the particulars after their owne discretion: much like to those that bee called *Legati a latore*.

Libitina, the goddesse of funerals; and after a sort, the superintendent over sepulchres; supposed to be *Venus Epitymbia*. In whose temple were all things to be sold necessarie for the interring and burial of the dead. VVherupon they also who were employed to carrie forth and burie corpses, were called *Libitinarij* as well as *Vespillones*; in Greeke *νεκροφάγαι*. It is put for death in *Horace* when he saith, *Non omnis moriar, magna pars mei, Vitabit Libitinam*; and in *Livie*, as well for the ministers as furniture to sepulchres belonging. The chapell to this goddesse stood without the cittie, and a gate there was *Libitinensis*, at which they carried forth their dead. For at Rome they might not commonly burie or burn a dead corps within the cittie, unless it were upon a special priviledge: & the law of 12 tables provided therefore in these expresse words, *IN URE NON SEPELITO NEVE URITO*: but in some barren part of their land, each man bestowed the ashes or bodies of their dead. The practise whereof is evident by many examples in histories; and at this day are monuments standing of their tombes reared neere the great cauley Appia, and elsewhere about Rome. The consideration hereof, with some other circumstances of a place in the 3 booke of *Livie*, gave me occasion haply to translate amisse. There happened to bee a great mortalitie in Rome and the territorie about it, not onely of men but of cattell also; at what time as the *Volsians* and *Æquians* were encamped within three miles of Rome, with a purpose to give the assault to the cittie; but they were suddainly stricken with a feare that they durst not approach neere, *et Æaque procul visa atque imminentes tumuli avocare mentem eorum*, &c. where I have englished *imminentes tumuli*, tombes and graves neere at hand, in opposition of *reستا urbis* (*Rom. mæ*) *procul visa*; and the rather, because it presently followeth, *In deserto agro, inter tabernaculorum atque hominum: where tumuli*, may well be put for tombes and monuments; and [*imminentes*] neere at hand: as *Livie* and others doe take those words. But if any man would have it meant rather of the 7 hills of Rome commaunding and overlooking those houses aforesaid, I will not be against it, but rather my *divitijs* *opertis* shall go with him: and pardon me I hope he will, if either there or elsewhere I have seemed to nod and take a little nap, *Namque opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum*: meaning that I have taken

my selfe in the manner, and not slept untill my neighbour awaked me.

Lictors, in *Livie*, are ministers or sergeants attending upon the magistrates of Rome; namely, Dictatours, Consuls, Pretours: for those only were called sometime magistrates *ad ætatem*, as superiour to the rest: so called (as *Festus* thinketh) *quod scæces virgarum ligatos ferant*, for that they carried rods tied up in bundels; which rods were of birch, willow, hazell, or the Carpine tree, (a kind of Plane or Maple) and within them stuck an axe, all to signifie whipping & death. These officers made way before those magistrates, and were ministers also of the execution.

Litnus, was the Augurs staffe, much like a bishops crozier, crooked at the end.

M

Magister Equitum, Master or Generall of the horsemen. This was an office or dignitie among the Romanes, incorporate as it were in the Dictatour alone, who ever had the absolute naming and chusing of him: and ordinarily he was subject to him, howsoever *Minutius* was by strong hand and a violent course of the people, made equall to *Q. Fabius* his Dictatour. Commaunder hee was under him of the Cavallerie: also his Lieutenant-generall and coadjutour with him in all execution. The same that *Tribunus celerum* in the time of the KK.

M. Marcus.

M. with the note of A. } The forenames of certain Romanes.

Manipulus, in an armie, was at the first a pettie companie of ten soldiours following one javelin, having a wisp of hearbs or hay fastened to the upper end, as a man would say, an handfull of men: used after, for a small band or squadron of souldiours: and Manipulares were they tearmed, who served in one such *Manipulus*.

Maia, otherwise called *Leucothea* or *Ino*, the daughter of *Cadmus*. Into her temple, at the time of her solemne feast, might no maid servant enter: and if any did, they were sure to be beaten forth by the dames or wives there assembled; in remembrance of one *Antigera*, the chamber-maid of *Ino*, with whom her husband *Atamas*, as shee thought, was more familiar than shee liked well of.

Megalesia, were plaies or games at Rome, not (as the letter seemeth to import) Magni, which were Romani, but in the honour of *Cybele* the goddesse, named also *Idæa*, *Magna mater*, i. the great mother of the gods.

Multa decem millium æris gravis, &c. was no doubt, a fine of brassen money set upon a mans head, after the weight of so much: every As weighing a lib. of 12 ounces. For before that silver

was

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was cast and stamped for coine, *As grave plaustris ad ætatem convocabant* (as *Livie* saith) when they paid tribute or subsidy to the citie chamber, as they were assessed.

Mundus Muliebris, the Elegancie of women. *Nam quem visum Græci nomine ornamentum appellaverunt, cum nos perfecta absolutaq; elegantia mundum i. the world.* *Plin.* first booke fourth chapter.

Murcia or *Murtia*, one of the names attributed to *Venus*, quia præter modum, non moveret sed faceret hominem murcidum. i. nimis desidiolum & inactuosum: contrarie to that other goddesse *Agenoria*, quæ ad agendum excitaret. And hereupon it is that *Murcia* is put for the goddesse of sloath and litherneffe.

N

Nova tabula, was an easment proposed in favour of debtors at Rome, whereby the old debt-bookes and obligations were cancelled, or the *Nomina* dashed out. Among the Athenians this practise was called *Sisacbia*. i. an easing of burden, or *Chneocopia*, a cutting off or striking out of debts.

N. Numerius, a forename to some houses of Rome.

Nundina, were the market daies appointed every ninth day at Rome, for the paissants of the cuntry to repaire unto the citie, to sell commodities or to buy their necessities. And hereupon *Trinundinū*, is the space of 27. daies, comprehending three market daies.

Nones, were daies in the month so called, because they began the ninth day ever before the Ides: honoured by the Romanes both for the birth-day of king *Servius*, and also for the chusing out of the KK. for otherwise it was not festivall (as *Ovid* saith) *Nonarum tutela Deo caret*.

O

Ovales or *Ova*, were egges set upon the goles in the solemnitie of the horse-running, at the plaies *Circenses*, to reckon or skore up (as it seemeth by *Livie*) the races, which were performed with 24 courses, to represent foure and twentie hours of the day. Neither was it for nought, that choise was made of egges, rather than other things: for as eggs are laid by birds (the swiftest of al other living creatures) so they also were to contend and strive to bee most active, &c. or else because *Castor* and *Pollux* (those renowned horsemen) came of an egge, as Poets fable.

P

P. Publius, a forname to some Romane families.

Panetolium or *Panetolus*, was a solemne diet or counsell, wherein all the states of *Ætolia* assembled to consult of publicke affaires.

Patres, were at Rome an hundred Senators or noblemen, counsaillers of state; chosen in this manner: three out of every one of the 30 Curios, & those make 90; three more out of each tribe, (which then were but three) & one by *Romulus* himselfe: and as this number made the bodie of the Nobilitie or Senate at the first; so, out of every Curia, he chose ten of the most personable and active young men, to the number of 300, (which he called *Celeres*) to guard his person. From whence came the order of the knights or gentlemen of Rome; a mean degree betwene the two estates of Nobles and Commons, as it were the seminarie, to replenish the Senate, whē the places were void, and to augment the number of them. These were called *Patres Conscripti*, *Ascripti*, and *Selesti*. And like as the former were named *Patres Majorum gentium*; so the latter sort, *Minorum gentium*; alluding to the severall raunges of the gods, who were some of them, *Majorum gentium*, such as ever were counted in heavē; termed also *Selesti*: others, *Minorum gentium*, who had bin men, and were after cannonized gods. The offspring and progenie of the *Patres*, were *Patrii*, in opposition evermore of *Plebei*, i. Commoners.

Porticus, were either the porches and other state-like buildings before temples, as belonging unto them: or else goodly galleries & walking places apart by themselves; under which men retired in the raine, and where they used to walke to coole themselves in summer.

Præda, bootie, pillage, or saccage in the own kind, as it was gotten from the enemy, to wit, slaves, prisoners, beasts, goods, armour, &c. *Manubie*, the mony raised of such pillage or prey, sold.

Pretour, one of the superior magistrates of Rome. In the citie he ruled as L. chiefe justice: in the province he commanded as L. governour and deputie; and was General in the field as well as the Consull. At first, the name of Consull, Pretour, and Iudges, was all one.

Prærogativa centuriæ, were those centuries in *Comitijs Centuriatis*, which by lot had the first place in giving their voices: the rest that followed, were called *Primo-vocate* & *Inter-vocate*, & delivered their suffrages in their course.

Prætexta toga, a robe embroidered of purple, common to men and women, *Ingenuitatis insigne*, & ornamentum. *Cicero* in *Verrum*. 3. VVhereby it appeareth, that it was allowed but to certain persons; and as *P. Manutius* writeth, to 6 sorts.

1. The children of the *Patrii*, until 17 yeres age.
2. All Senators upon festival daies.
3. VVardes at the games or plaies called *Comptalitijs*.
4. Al magistrates, as well in the citie, as in the colonies or bourrough townes incorporate, called *Municipia*, and Masters of *Constratones*.
5. All priests, and among them, the Augurs.
6. They that triūph. And this differed fro the rest

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rest, being wrought with gold and damask worke.

It seemeth that these differed likewise one from the other, in the manner of the guardings; laid broader or narrower: as also in the rich or deep colour, whereupon they were called *Dibapina*: or that some of these robes were all one purple, other but parcell. And whereas the gentlemen of Rome are said *Purpuram induere*, it is to be understood either of *angusti-clavus*, or else of some lighter colour, as the violet, and not of that rich red purple, which is skarlet. For that robe which was done upon our Saviour Christ, * one of the Evangelistes called *aurislu* and other two, * *angelus*.

Pullarius, the Chickmaiter or pullitier; one that had the charge and overseeing of the sacred chickens, kept in a pen or coupe for auspica: who by observing their gesture or feeding betimes every morning, related what was foretold thereby good or bad. See more in *AUSPICIA*.

Pro-consull. } Some have thought, } *Pro consule.*
Pro-pretour. } that they should bee } *Pro pretore.*
Pro-questor. } written otherwise thus, } *Pro questore.*
but they are in mine opinion out of the way: for in deed *Pro-consull* is he, who having bin *Consull*, went out of his magistracie at the yeeres end, and nathlesse was sent forth into his province againe with full Consular authoritie: whereas *Proconsule* (to speake precisely) is the *Viz-consull*, namely one that having never bene *Consull* created, but some private person, yet upon an urgent occasion, might for the while supplie the place of the *Consull*. The same is to be said of the rest. And hereof you may read in the *Oration of Cicero, pro lege Manilia*. Howbeit in my translation of *Livie*, I have sometime used *Viz-pretour* and *Viz-consull*, for *Pro-pretour* and *Pro-consull*: because that manner of composition frameth wel with our teannes in English. Moreover wee read once in *Livie* of a *Pro-dictatur*, in the proportionable signification to the other.

Q

Quadrigati, were the *Denarii Romani*, having the stamp of a chariot drawn with foure horses, called *Quadriga*.

Quadrans, a peece of base brasse coine or poise at Rome, the fourth part of *As*, which is a cue and a c.

Quaestors, were inferior officers in Rome, as treasurers to receive and lay out the citie-monie, whereof there were *Urbani*, *Provinciales*, and *Caestrenses*.

Quaestorium, a plot or quarter in the *Romane campe*, where the treasurer lodged and other officers of the campe.

Q. Quintus, the forename of sundrie Romanes.

Quindecemviri, the same that *Quinqueviri* first, and

Decemviri sacris faciundis. Their number was fiftene: and albeit they were increased by *Sylla Dictator* to sixtie, yet they retained still the name of *Quindecemviri*.

Quintana was a gate in the *Romane campe*, at which, provision was brought in to serve the market. Read the annotation in the end of English *RACITUS*.

Quinqueviri Mensarii, were certaine men; five in number, appointed upon occasio to discharge the debts of the commons, so called of *Mensa*, a table set out in publicke place; upon which they either counted or weighed their money.

Quinqueviri muris reficiendis, were five officers at Rome chosen extraordinarily for repairing of the wals and turrets of the citie.

Quinquatrus or *Quinquatria*, were certaine feasts and games at Rome in the honor of *Minerva*. They continued five daies, and began the fift day after the Ides of march. i. the twentieth of March: and these were called *Quinquatrus Majores*. For others named *Minores*, fell about the Ides of Iune, & that was the minstrels holiday, as appeareth in the ninth of *Livie*.

Quintilis, the month of Iuly, before *Iulius Caesar* time.

Quirinalis, was a festivall day to *Quirinus*, appointed for them to sacrifice, who had neglected or missed to doe divine service in their parish at the feast *Formacalis*: and it was called the fooles holiday; for that they were ignorant of the time of the former feast, or knew not their owne Curia.

Quirites, the name appropriate to the citizens of Rome: and so they loved to bee called within the citie: but in the campe, if the Generall gave them that tearme, it was taken for a great disgrace unto souldiours and men of armes.

R

Rorarii, were light armed footmen, resembling our forlorne hope: so called *arore*. i. *Deaw*. For like as there falleth commonly a drizzling deaw before a good shoure of raine: so these *Rorarii* skirmished loosely, before the legionarie souldiours came to the battaile.

Rostri, were three-tined pikes of brasse, set in the nose or beak-head of war-ships to offend the enimie, as appeareth by *Vagil*, *Rostriq; tridentibus*: and thereupon by *Synecdoche*, the stemmes of ships were so called. And for that the publicke pulpit for orations at Rome, was reared and adorned with such, it also was called *Rostri*.

Rudera, Cum milites religione sacri rudera jacerent. To make sence of this place, I have translated *Rudera*, peecees of brasse money: for that I cannot see what should be ment by rubbish stone in that place, which was not demolished by *Anniball*,

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Anniball, for any thing that I can find; but onely robbed of the silver and gold within the chappel of *Fratria*: in stead whereof were found *avis aceris*: by reason that the souldiours, who had some sence of religion and touch of conscience (whereof their leader *Anniball* had never any) cast from them [*Rudera*]. Now, probable it is that *Rudera*, is corruptly put for *ara*, the latter end of the word: or if we admit *Rudera*: it is well knowne that *Rudus* as well as *as* signified brasse and brasse money, as appeareth by *Rudusculum* the diminutive: for as of *as* came *Aesculum*, so of *Rudus* (no doubt) *Rudusculum*: and like as of *Aesculum*, *Aesculanus*, a god of the *Painins*, father of *Argentinus* (because copper and brasse money was before silver coine:) so, of *Rudusculum*, the gate *Rudusculana* in Rome, set out with brasse. Now that *Rudusculum* is put for a small peece of brasse coine, it is proved by the forme of words in buying and selling, and in manumission (*Rudusculum libram ferro*): which is all one with *are Libram percutio* or *feri*. By which I collect, that *Rudera* in this place may stand for *ara*, i. peecees of coin. For there went afore, *avis aceris*, which *Horace* putteth for heaps of brasse money, and not for brasse images. And well it may be, that the souldiours upon some devotion, threw into the church their oblations of such money as they had in their belts or bandoliers. This conjecture & construction of mine may serve, untill somewhat here may be made of rubbish stone, or better exposition come in place. The word (*I am sure*) will bear it, and the context in al sence and congruitie, doth require it.

S

Salutare Deos After a devout & reverent manner they bowed unto the Idols or gods of the heathen as they passed by, & withall, touched their hands: which *Lucretius* sheweth in these verses,

— Tum portas propter, aliena
Signa manus dexteras ostendunt attenuari
Sape salutantum, sacru proterque meantum.

Sceleratus Vicus, a street in Rome named before time *Cyprius*, which in the Sabine language significth (good): but upon occasion of a wicked act committed therein, it was by the contrarie, called *Sceleratus*.

Secession, was a generall insurrection and revolt of the commons in Rome, wherein they left the citie, untill such time as they had the authority of their Tribuns strengthened & confirmed: yea and certaine lawes enacted and established by a solemne oth, with a curse denounced to all them that went about to abrogate or abolish the same: which thereupon were called *Sacrata leges*.

Sext. } *Sextus.*
Serg. } *Sergius.*
Serv. } *Servius.* } All forenames to Romans

Sextilis, the month of August, so called by the Romanes before *Augustus Caesar* his daies, for that it was the sixt in number: as *Quintilis* the fift, beginning at March.

Subura, 97 a. In *Inventum grassantem in Subura*. It might well be that yonkers there made a fray or committed some riot and felonie: for it was a street most of all others frequented; and besides, in it kept strumpets and courtisanes, like enough to give occasion of much quarrell and misrule among youth, as appeareth by *Juvenal* and *Martial* in this Distichon.

Eame non nimium bone puella;
Quales in media sedent Subura.
Suffragers, were the voices of the people given by *Ceturies*, *Curie*, or tribes, which in Rome wet affirmatively under this forme, *Uti rogar*, i. be it according to your bill: and negatively thus, *Antiquo*, i. I denie or reject it.

Sordidati, were they that chaunged their weed in *ratu*, i. (whiles either themselves or their friends were in trouble and daunger of judgement) that is to say, put off white, which was the ordinarie colour, and did on blacke: but if they chaunged their apparell upon sorrow and mourning for the losse of friends or any publicke calamitie, they were called rather *Phyllati* and *Atati*.

Sella Curulis, a seat or chaire of estate. One of the regall ornaments at Rome, belonging to the kings first: afterwards, during the free state, used by *Dictators*, *Consuls*, *Pro-consuls*, *Pretours*, and *Propretours*, *Censours* and *Aediles*, namely those called *Curules*, for distinction from those that were *Plebeij*: and last of all, by the emperours in the time of the monarchie. This chaire was made of *Ivorie*: on which the abovesaid magistrats usually sat, not onely in the Senat-house when they consulted or gave audience; or when they beheld the publicke games and plaies, and rode either in triumph, or otherwise in the streets, mounted upon their Chariotes: but also at home within their private houses; and wheresoever else it pleased them. And this badge or ensigne of honor they had both in time of their magistracie, & afterwards. And as such Senatours were called *Curules* (for the rest, who had not attained to those dignities, they named *Pedanes*, as some thinke, for that they went on foot to the Senat or places before mentioned) so those magistrats likewise abovesaid, were entituled by the name of *Curule*. And *Curulis* was that chair called either of *Curvus* a chariot, for that they sat thereupon within their chariots; or, *quasi Curva*, because it was made crooked or curb-wise, like unto our folding chaires.

Senatona, A Counsaillour of state. A name it was of honour; and not of age, as the word implieth: for to that place me attained often times very young. Senat was the bodie of that degree and

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and common Counsell, opposite unto *Plebs* at Rome, namely when it was *biceps*, and the whole people comprehended under *Senatus* and *Plebeis*.

Sextans, a small brassen peece of money at Rome, which being the first part of *As*, cometh to a cue or halfe a farthing.

Sextarius was the Basis of measures in Rome, as *As* of weights: and looke how *As* was divided into twelve ounces, so *Sextarius* into twelve *cyathi*, and in measures *Sextans* was the sixth part of *Sextarius*, which weighed twentie ounces, much about awine pint and a halfe a mugus.

Of *Sibylls* bookes so often mentioned in *Livie*, which being three in number, were bought of *Sibylla* by king *Tarquinius* the proud, at the price of nine, after he had burned sixe of them before his face: which bookes were kept diligently in the Capitoll: and wherout the *Decemvirs* by their learning made report of the will and pleasure of the gods, See *A. Gellius*. 1. booke 19 chapter.

Signum, was the generall name of all the ensignes in the field. But *Aquila* more particularly was the maine standerd to a whole legion: so called, for that upon the top of a speare was reared and fastned an Eagle in silver at full reliefe, and the same sometime was gylded standing upon a base or footstall of the same metall. The other ensignes, as well of cohorts, which were bands of five hundred men usually, as of centuries, i. companies of hundreds, named more especially *Vexilla*, & were generally called *Signa*, had the portaiture of Minotaires, wolves, bores, horses, dragons, with sundrie other devises according to the fancie of the Colonels or capitaines, containing also the name of the cohort or Centurie, and the legion to which they belonged.

T

Talentum Atticum, As well *ponderale*, which was weighed, as *nummale* or *nummum*, which was counted in mony, was of two sorts: The lesse, of sixtie pound Atticke, and every one of them consisted of a hundred *Drachme* or *Denarii Romani*. If *Mina* then, bee three pound two shillings sixe pence, sterling, the lesse talent Atticke amounted to 187 pound tenne shillings of our English monie. The greater, or simply the great, talent, in *Livie*, is fourescore *mina*, and hath *proportionem* *Atticam* or *Siquiteriam*, ad *minus*, which cometh to two hundred and fiftie pound sterling. Now was the Euboicke talent (a heere of *Livie* also speaketh) halfe of *Talentum majus Atticum*.

T. Tius, A forename to many houses of the Romanes.

T. Tisula, A targuet-fence, which the Legions

Rom. soldiors, made either in the open field when they were overcharged with their enemies, or in approaching the walls of townes to give assault. In the former, after they had enclosed within them their baggage and light armed men, they rested themselves upon their knees, with their targuets close couched together over their heads, to avoid the enemies shot: and after they had well breathed they would rise up all at once againe, fresh and lustie to a new skirmish. In the latter, they had the like targuet-rouse, but pent-house wise, one overlapped the other after the manner of tiles, and so they skaled walls without offence from above.

Templum hath in *Livie* three significations, 1. A sacred house or chappell dedicated to some god or goddesse for divine service, as the temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitoll, &c. 2. An open place, from whence a man might see all about him, as having nothing to hinder his prospect, and which likewise might bee seene from all parts, wherof cometh the verbe *Contemplari*, i. to behold. And such did the Augures chuse for to take their signes of bird-flight. 3. Any place hallowed, although not for divine service, yet for debating of serious humane affaires, as their Curie and Counsell-chambers, yea, and the Rostra at Rome.

Thalassio, An Auspicate or luckie word used at Bridales or weddings in Rome, like to this among the Greekes. *Thalassio* is *Thalassio* *Hymen* & *Hymenae*, hymen *Exc. Catull.*

T. Tense, wherof *Livie* writeth in the fifth & ninth books, were certain pettie chariots or dreyes of silver or yvorie, carrying the images and ornaments of their gods in great pompe upon certaine high daies: and they who led the horses drawing the same, wore their richest apparrell, holding in their hands and training the same reins stretched out at length in solemne wise, wherupon *Festus* thinketh they tooke the name *T. Tense* *quasi Tense*.

Trabea was a roiall robe or mantle of estate, all of deepe purple or skarlet onely, at the first: but afterwards, embroidered richly with gold. *Livie* seemeth to confound it with *Vestis purpurea*, *Picta*, *Balata*, and *Triumphalis*. And in truth, all one they were in the principall substance and matter thereof, namely, purple or skarlet; but differens in the setting out, being embroidered with gold, more or lesse, distinguished also with white among (for that was a roiall colour) as may appeare by the *glademe*, which was a white wreath, or had done about the head of kings, or in the manner of the worke for either it was *pallata*, so called a *ludum* *clavum*, i. of the broad buttons of gold, ad in *st. palmam*, i. to the breadth of ones hand, as *Festus* thinketh: or branched and damasked with flowers, yea, like to the date tree: or else *picta*, i. of the same embroidered

Tribunes,

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Tribunes of the Commons were certaine magistrates, as Provosts or protectors of the Commons, to restrain & keepe downe the excessive power of the nobilitie; chosen and confirmed by the generall oath of the people, whereby they were *Sacrosancti*, i. sacred or inviolable, and no violence might be done to their person. They had a negative voice and power of inhibition, called *Intercessio*, whereby they might crosse & stop the proceedings of the Senate, or any magistrate, save only the Dictator: even the very Consuls, whome in some case they might command.

Tribunes militarie in Consuls authoritie, or *Consularie*, governed the state of Rome many yeeres in steed of Consuls.

Tribunes militarie in the armie, were Colonels over a thousand.

Tribuni auri, were the keepers of the cittie chamber or common Treasure, as it were, the maisters of the exchequer.

Tribes in Rome, first three, containing each of them tenne *Curie*: but afterwards they were five and thirtie, containing all the naturall citizens of Rome.

Tribu moveri, was a kind of ignominie and disgrace, when a man was displaced by the Censors out of his owne tribe into another more base than it, and namely *crustica* in *urbanam*, of which *urbane* there were foure: *Suburana*, *Esquilina*, *Palatina*, and *Collina*: into which king *Servius* distributed those that were manumitted; and *Quintus* afterwards, *sextensem tribum*.

Triumviri capitales, Three Iudges delegate to sit upo life & death, touching felonious crimes. They were called also *Quaestores parricidii*, &c.

Triumviri Aeneales, Three officers for the mint of money, either brasse, silver, or gold. They are represented in old coines, by these five letters stamped thereupon, *A. A. A. F. F.* for *are, auro, argento, flando, feriundo*: that is to say, for the melting, coining, and stamping of brasse, silver, and gold. They were afterwards foure in number, and named *Quatuorviri*.

Triumviri or *Tresviri nocturni*, Three overseers of the night-watch, for fire, &c.

Triumviri Mensarii, Three Commissioners deputed for the time, and as occasion required, in steed of bankers or treasurers to receive a stock of mony, & to lay the same out upon extraordinary charges, as in the time of the second Punicke war, when the cittie chamber was without mony. VVhich stocke was put into their hands out of private mens purses, by way of a voluntarie benevolence and contribution, as appeareth in the sixe and twentieth booke of *Livie*.

Triumviri (Extraordinarii) Three likewise to levie souldiours and able men for to beare armes (without the usual order of musters) throughout Italie, upon some speciall occasion.

Triumviri coloniis deducendis, three commissioners who had authoritie to enroll new inhabitants into any colonie: also to set out and divide the cittie lands gotten by conquest, at their discretion among them.

Triumviri also there were three, *VVardens* to oversee the sacrifices, the oblations & offerings to the gods.

Taurilia, certaine feativall games instituted (as *Festus* saith) by king *Tarquinius* the proud, for to pacifie the infernall gods; upon occasion of a contagious maladie that hapned to women great with child, endangering both them and those they went with: which arose upon the corrupt flesh sold abroad in the market of oxen and bulls, killed for sacrifices: wherupon the mony employed about those solemnities, was called *Tauricum as*.

Solitanilia or *Stovetantilia*, was a solemne sacrifice at the lustration, review, or purging of the cittie every fifth yeere; & this was called *Lustrum conditum*. It was performed by killing a bull, a ram, and a bore. At which solemnitie all that were able to beare armes, assembled in order of battaile.

Triumph, a solemnitie in honor of them who have vanquished their enemies: so called, for that their souldiours rejoynded, *totriumph*; (as *Varro* thinketh) or of *Triumphus* for *Triumphus*: one of *Bacchus* names, the first inventer thereof: or of *Triumphus*, three voices: because it was grunted by the suffrages of souldiours, Senators, and common people: as it may appeare in *Livie*, by the triumph of *L. Paulus Aemilius*, who had like to have bene disappointed thereof, by his owne souldiours.

V

Venus Erycina, *Ovid. A. Fast.* *a sculo nomina colle tenet*: shee was so called of a promontorie in Sicilie, called *Eryx*, where there was a goodly temple built in the honour of *Venus*; and afterwards at Rome also in memoriall thereof.

Versus Escemini, certaine licentious and unchaste songs, used among the *Painims* at weddings: the manner whereof, came first from the cittie *Fescenninum* (as some thinke:) or as others, *Quia fescennium putabatur arere*, because they were thought to have vertue to withstand witchcraft and forcerie.

Vestales virginis, were certain professed Nuns vowing virginity, who had the keeping of the sacred fire of *Vesta*. *Nec tu aliud vestiam, quam pyram intellige flammam*, *Ovid.* This *Vesta* was broght from *Troie* with the image of *Minerva*, called *Palladium*, and other holy reliques.

Vltro tributa, *Horat.* were certaine cittie workes, for which the Censors did bargain with the Publicans or undertakers, at a price.

Verbena, although it signifieth a speciall herb, called

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called *Verbena*, *verve* in english, & in Greek *θερβανη*, because doves delight much to bee about it: yet the word is attributed to divers other herbes put to holy use among the Pagans, which are called *Sagina* in Latine, and in Greeke *ιερβανη*. But *Diocorides* describeth one sort thereof which runneth by the ground, and groweth not so high as our vervein doth, and it seemeth to be that which the Physicians, Herbarists, and Apothecaries call *Gramen*, *γρην* in Greeke, *dent de chien* in French, and the coich grasse in English: according to which faith *Lyrie*, *Facialis ex arce puram graminis herbam attulit*.

Victorialis, *quinaris numus*, A peece of Romane silver coine, halfe *Denarius*, and a double *Sesterterius*, having the image of *Victorie* stamped upon it, either standing on foote crowned with a chaplet of bay, or els carried in a triumphall charriot drawne with foure steeds, holding forth in her right hand the foresaid guirland, as is to bee seene in diverse antiquities of coine.

Veteres significeth a place in Rome called *Vetere*: *Curia* in respect of *Nova*, or certain shops called *Argentaria* of bankers, in regard of others also, named *Nova*.



A Table of all the Orations in Titus Livius, by way of division of the generall into particular members, fitted for all sorts of speaking or writing, and digested according to the severall places of the three principall heads of all Causes in Oratorie, to wit, the *Deliberative*, the *Demonstrative*, and the *Judiciall*.

The persuasion

To reconciliation and peace-making, betweene Romanes and Albanes, by *Metius Sufletius* prince of the Albanes, to *Tullus Hostilius* king of the Romanes. 16 L
Of *Appius Claudius* a Tribune militarie, to the people of Rome, for the continuance of warre and keeping souldiours in wintering campe at the siege of Veij, against the Tribunes of the Commons. 181 B
Of *L. Lentulus* the cheefe of the Romane embassadours to the armie and the Consuls, that they would of their own accord yeeld themselves unto the Samnites at the place called *Caudine furca*, when there was no hope of escaping. 314 L
Of *Decius Mus* the Consull to the people, that there might bee Augurs and Pontifices chosen out of the Commons. 355 B
Of *Acedux* the Spaniard to the captaine of the Saguntines, for the sending backe of the hostages into their owne cities, whom *Anniball* had demaunded of all the States, and bestowed in safe custodie at Saguntum. 445 D
Of *Minutius* the maister of the horse unto his souldiours for joining campe with *Fabius*, when he perceived that both hee and his, were saved by the prowess of the said *Fabius*, after himselfe had unluckily fought against *Anniball*. 455 A
Of the Romane captives in the overthrow at Cannæ to the nobles of Rome, that they might be raunfomed. 367 A
Of *Varro* the Consull, to the Campe embassadours, that after so great losse and soile of the Romanes they would so undertake war with the Carthaginians, that neither *Anniball* might thinke himselfe conquerour, nor the Romanes conquered. 475 D
Of *Fabius Maximus* to the people, That the command in war being taken from *Othacilius*, they would consider what Generall should make head against *Anniball*. 513 D
Of *P. Sulpitius* the Consull to the people about remooving the warre into Macedonie, and to aid the Athenians against *Philip*. 776 K
Of *Aristhenus* a prince of Achæa to the Achæans, for the demaunds of the Romane embassadours, that they would stand for them against *Philip*. 820 L
Of *M. Porcius Cato*, in maintenance of the law *Oppia*, which *C. Oppius* a Tribune of the Commons in the Punicke war had made for restraint of womens apparrell against the nobles and Tribunes of the Commons, who went about to abrogate the same. 853 C
Of

The persuasion

Of *Anniball* in the counsell of king *Antiochus* concerning the contracting of peace with king *Philip*, and the whole course of war, which *Antiochus* prepared against the Romanes 922. K
Of reconciliation by *Q. Caecilius Metellus* to *M. Lepidus* and *M. Fulvius Censorius*, who for many yeeres together had borne a deadly malice and enmitie one against another. 1088. K
Of *M. Servilius* for *L. Aemilius Paulus*, that hee might have triumph graunted over the Macedonians by him conquered, when his owne souldiours withstood the same, for that they were skanted in the pillage: and *Servius Sulpitius Galba* opposed himselfe against it. 1226. H.

Diffusion.

Of *Cneus Martius Coriolanus* to the nobilitie against the Communalitie and the Tribunes in distributing the old provision of corne. 66. L.
The fraudulent diffusion of *Accius Tullius* king of the Volscians, to the end that the Volscians might not bee present at their solemne games, and so hee might after stirre them up against the Romanes. 68. L.
Of *M. Furius Camillus* the Dictatour, to the people against the Tribunes of the commons, for going to dwell at Veij, when Rome was in a manner rased. 212. H.
Of *Appius Claudius* against the Tribunes of the commons, that the lawes concerning debt, the proportion or stint of lands, the election of tribuns militarie, and, that one of the Consuls should be of the commons, might not passe. 245. D.
Of *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, that the Roman captives at the Cannian overthrow might not be ranfomed. 467. E.
Of *Q. Fabius Maximus* surnamed *Cunctator*, that the province of Africke might not be decreed to *Scipio*. 699. D.
Of *L. Valerius* a tribune of the commons, in the behalfe of women (against the sentence of *Cato*) that the law *Oppia* should be annulled, which was made to suppress the superfluous expence of women. 856. I.

Exhortation

Of *Tanaquil* the wife of *Tarquin Priscus*, to *Servius* her sonne in law, that he might succeed in the place of his father in law deceased, who was murdred by two shepheards. 29. A.
Of *Tullia* the daughter of *Tarquin Priscus* to *L. Tarquinius* her husband, to aspire unto the kingdome, against her father. 33. L.
Of *Accius Tullius* a prince of the Volscians to his countenmen, wherein hee stirred them up against the Romanes, for that they were commaunded by them to depart the citie, so as they might not be present at the publike games. 69. B.
Of the ancient Senatours of Rome, for the putting downe of the Decemvirship, and restoring the Tribuneship of commons. 122. K.
Of the legates to the communalitie of Rome, which was gone into mount Sacer, by reason of the obstinacie of the Decemvirs, who would not give over their magistracie: that now having dispatched their businesse, they would returne into their native cuntry, to their own houses, wives and children. 123. F.
Of *Valerius* the Consull to the horsemen, that they would valiantly fight against the armies of the *Aequi* and *Volci* joined together in *Algidum*.
Of *Horatius* the Consull colleague of *Valerius*, to his men, That if their hearts served them, they would set up such a shour, as at the charge of a battaile. 129. C. D.
with a grievous complaint, Of *Caius Canuleius* a tribune of the commons unto the communalitie, against the nobilitie, for the publishing of lawes concerning marriage of nobles with commons, and that there might be one Consull a commoner. 140. H.
Of *Veitius Metius* king of the Volscians to his people against the Romanes, that they would with sword make way, where they saw him goe before. 157. J.
Of *Mamercus Emilius* the Dictatour to his souldiours, being frightened with the strange sight of the burning firebrands which the *Fidenates* and *Veientians* did carrie. 160. G.
Of *Sexus Pompeius* a Decurion of horsemen to his souldiours, in a desperat battaile, by occasion of the rashnes of *Caius Sempronius* the Consull. 163. F.
Of *Camillus* being banished to the *Ardeates*, That they would take armes for the Romanes against

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against the Gaules, who had woon the citie of Rome, all but the Capitoll. 208.H
 Of *Mar. Furius Camillus* the Dictatour to his souldiours, terrified at the great number of their enemies, to wit, the Antemnates, Volscians, Latines, and Hernickes. 221.C
 Of *Aulus Cornelius Cossus* the Dictatour to his souldiours, and to *Quintius Capitolinus* the master of the horsemen, against the huge multitude of the Volscians. 214.L
 Of *M. Manlius Capitolinus* (after his imprisonment) to the Commons, whome by gifts and largesse hee had allured against the nobilitie for suppressing and deposing of magistrates. 229.C
 Of *M. Popilius* a Commoner Confull and colleague of *Scipio*, to his souldiours; against the Gaules who had encamped in the Latine territorie. 265.C
 Of *M. Valerius Corvinus* the Confull to his men against the Samnites. 277.C
 Of *Pub. Decius* a militarie Tribune, to *Aulus Cornelius* Confull, when there was no hope scene of escaping out of the hands of the Samnites. 273.A
 Of *P. Decius* a militarie Tribune, to breake in upon the enemy from the hill which hee had seized. 273.B
 Of *Mar. Valerius Corvinus* the Dictatour to the mutinous and wicked souldiours (who being snared with the pleasures and delights of Capua, had plotted to dispossesse the Capuans of their citie) that they would not fight against their owne country. 278.C
 Of *Titus Quintius* the Romane, chosen captaine against his will by the mutinous Roman souldiours, That laying aside anger and hope, they would not make triall of the fortune of a battell against them. 278.C
 Of *L. Annius Sennius* a Pretor of the Latines unto his souldiours, to demaund of the Romans, that if they would have them to be in league and societie, they should elect from among them one of their Consuls and part of the Senate. 282.K
 Of *Quintus Fabius* the Dictatour, to breake upon the enemy, to revenge the death of the Romane citizens, and to recover the colonie from the Samnites. 230.H
 Of *Virginia*, the daughter of *Aulus*, a Patritian, and wife of a Commoner Confull, to a laudable contention in vertue, at the dedication of the altar called *Ara Pudicitia plebeia*. 397.A
 Of *Aloisius* the Spaniard to the Saguntines in exceeding great despaire of their state about the articles of peace which *Anniball* at the point of victorie did impose upon them as conquered persons. 400.I
 Of *P. Scipio* the Confull to his men against *Anniball* and the Carthaginians. 415.C
 Of *Anniball* to his souldiours against *P. Scipio*. 417.C
 Of *Cneus Lentulus* a militarie Tribune to *Lucius Aemilius Paulus* Confull, to save himselfe by flight at the overthrow of Cannæ. 462.X
 Of *Lu. Aemilius* the Confull unto *Cn. Lentulus*, for fortifying of the citie of Rome. 462.X
 Of *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* a militarie Tribune to his souldiours, who had escaped out of the Cannian overthrow, That they would make way by sword and valour through the thickest troupes of the enemies. 463.C
 Of *L. Pinarius* captaine of the Romane garrison at *Aenna*, to his souldiours: for to prevent treason trecherie intended. 535.A
 Of *L. Martius Septimius* the Generall, to his souldiours, That they would charge upon the armie of *Asdruball* to revenge the death of the *Scipios*. 577.A
 Of *P. Scipio* to the old souldiours, to make warre beyond *Iberus*. 642.O
 Of *Scipio* to his souldiours at the siege of new Carthage. 616.H
 Of *Porcius Cato* to his souldiours, That they would recover by armes and prowesse the rule and government which the Romanes had lost beyond *Iberus*. 861.F
 (a cold exhortation) Of *T. Quintius* to his souldiours at the siege of *Lacedæmon*. 872.I
 Of *Achilles* the Confull to his souldiours against *Antiochus*.
 Of the Rhodians in the Senate, with a petition for reward, after *Antiochus* was overcome by *L. Scipio* with the helpe of the Rhodians. 577.C
 Of *Cn. Manlius* the Confull to his souldiours against the Gallogreeces, for that they had aided *Antiochus* against the Romanes. 992.M
 Of *Perseus* the Macedonian king, in regard of the hope of victorie against the Romanes. 1077.B.

Of

Dehorta-
tion

Of *M. Furius Camillus* to the people of Rome against the Tribunes of the Commons, that leaving the ruines of Rome, they would not go to Veij another citie. 212.I
 Of *M. Valerius Corvinus* Dictatour, to the mutinous and rebellious souldiours from fighting against their native country. 278.O
 Of *Pacuvius Calavius* the Campane to his sonne, not to kill *Anniball*. 478.X
 Of *Vibius Virius* to the Campanes, That they should not yeeld themselves to the Romanes. 592.I.

Admo-
nition

Of *Metius Sufferius* captaine of the Albanes, to *Tullus Hostilius* king of the Romanes, about peace making betweene Romanes and Albanes. 16.M
 Of *Tullus Hostilius* king of the Romanes to his owne souldiours, concerning the trecherie of *Metius Sufferius*. 20.M
 Of the two Delegates, *Valerius* and *Horatius*, about the demaunds of the Commons, who through the Decemvirs fault were departed into mount Sacer, for that they having finished the time of their government refused not withstanding to leave their magistracie. 123.A
 Of *Appius* the Decemvir at the resigning of the Decemvirship. 124.H
 Of *M. Duillius* a Commoner, for hope of libertie after punishment taken of the Decemvirs. 128.
 Of *Camillus* to the Tusculane Senatours, about sending ambassadors to Rome for treatie of peace. 235.C
 Of *Quintus Cincinnatus* the Dictatour to *Aulus Sempronius* the Generall of the horsemen, concerning the manner of warre against the Prenestines. 237.D
 Of *Camillus* the Dictatour to the Quirites, concerning the opposition of the Tribunes of the Commons. 244.O
 Of the Romane Confull to the Campanes, that they should not take armes against the Samnites, with the answer of the Campanie ambassadors. 270.I
 Of *Furius Camillus* to the LL. of the Senate, as touching the Latines subdued, and by what meanes they might keepe them quiet in continuall peace. 291.A
 Of *Spurius Posthumius* the Confull (who was put under the yoke at *Caudinæ Furcæ*) in the Senate, of the peace made at *Caudium*. 317.D
 Of *Aulus Cornelius Arvina* the Fæciall heralt to the Samnites at the deliverie of the sureties that undertooke the peace. 319.F
 Of *Anniball* to the Spanish souldiours, about removing the warre. 405.A
 Of *Fabius Maximus* the Cunctator to *Aemilius* the Confull, concerning *Varro*, and the order of warre-service with the enemy. 456.O
 Of *Maharball* the captaine of the souldiours to *Anniball* the Victor, that hee would make use of his victorie: with the answer of *Anniball*. 463.B
 Of *Perolla* the Campane to *Pacuvius Calavius* his father about the killing of *Anniball*, with the answer and dehortation of the father from that wicked deed. 478.H
 Of *Anniball* to his souldiours against *Claudius Marcellus*. 636.K
 Of *P. Scipio* to *Masanissa* king of the Massesyli, who fell in love with *Sophonista* wife of *Syphax*, king of the Numidians and daughter of *Asdruball*. 749.B
 Of *T. Quintius Flaminius* in the generall counsell of Greece, for making war upon the tyrant *Nabis*, by reason of Argos the noble citie of Greece, which by him was held. 866.I
 Of *P. Sulpitius* the Romane embassadour to *Minio* the cheefe of the friends of *Antiochus* who was fled, for that he refused conference with the delegates. 897.A
 Of *T. Quintius* to the Achæans concerning the Island *Zacynthus*, which they pleaded to bee under their subjection. 935.C
 Of *T. Quintius* to *M. Atilius* the Confull in defence of the Ætolians. 938.
 Of *T. Quintius* to the states of the Ætolians about reconciliation with the Romanes. 938.I
 Of king *Eumenes* to *L. Aemilius* the Pretor, that he would not conclude peace with *Antiochus*, but by the authoritie of the Senate and graunt of the people of Rome. 955.C
 Of *Scipio* to the petition of *Heracles* the embassadour of *Antiochus* for peace. 965.D
 Of *Scipio* to the petition of *Zeusis* the embassadour of king *Antiochus* about conditions of peace, 971.C

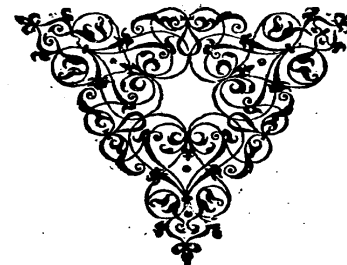
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|----------------|---|--------|
| Admonition | Of <i>P. Scipio Africanus</i> accused for robbing the common treasure to the commons; as touching his exploits. | 1016.1 |
| | Of king <i>Eumenes</i> in the Senate, concerning <i>Perseus</i> king of the Macedonians. | 1131.1 |
| | Of <i>P. Licinius Calvus</i> to the people, that they would bestow the honour of the Tribuneship freely offered unto him, upon his sonne that sued for it. | 1921.0 |
| Petition | Of embassadours yeelding <i>Falery</i> to the Senat. | 198.1 |
| | Of peace by the Tusculane legates in the Senat. | 235.2 |
| | Of <i>Sextus Tullius</i> to the Dictatour, that he would give the souldiours leave to fight. | 257.2 |
| | Of the Campan legates in the Senat, for aid against the Samnites. | 269.4 |
| | Of <i>Annius Setinus</i> the Pretour of the Latines to the LL. of the Senat, that one of the Consuls might be chosen out of the Latines. | 283.1 |
| | Of <i>Quintus Fabius Maximus</i> the Consull elect, to the people, that he might appoint <i>Publius Decius</i> a staid and discreet man, to be his colleague. | 367.1 |
| | Of <i>Munius</i> the maister of the horsemen, to <i>Fabius</i> the Dictatour, when he joined campe with him. | 450.1 |
| | Of <i>Sophonisba</i> the wife of <i>Syphax</i> , to <i>Masaniissa</i> , that hee would not suffer her to come in the proud and cruell hands of any Romane. | 747.1 |
| | Of <i>Annibal</i> to <i>Antiochus</i> , that he would account him amongst his chiefe friends, in opposition to the Romanes, against whom he had fought fixe and thirtie yeeres. | 899.1 |
| | Of peace by <i>Zeusis</i> the legate of king <i>Antiochus</i> to the Romanes. | 971.1 |
| | Of king <i>Eumenes</i> in the Senat, for reward and recompence of labour employed, and charges spent, in the Romane warres against <i>Antiochus</i> . | 975.0 |
| | Of <i>Romulus</i> to <i>Jupiter Stator</i> , that hee would assist the Romanes against the Sabines. | 10.0 |
| Praier | Of <i>Quintus Fabius</i> the chiefe of the cittie, to the Tribunes of the commons, that Quinquagirs might not be created, for setting downe lawes and conditions concerning the Consuls power. | 94.0 |
| | Of <i>Virginias</i> to the souldiours, whose offer of honourable dignitie he refused. | 122.0 |
| | Of <i>Camillus</i> the Dictatour, to <i>Apollo</i> and <i>Iuno</i> at the siege and assault of Veij. | 193.1 |
| | Of <i>P. Decius</i> the Consull, when he devowed himselfe for the Romane legions in the Latine warre, who afterward by his death recovered victorie to the Romanes. | 287.1 |
| | Of <i>Aristobenus</i> the Pretour of the Achæans, to <i>T. Quintius</i> , that he would deliver and set free from the tyrant <i>Nabis</i> , the most auncient cittie of Greekes, <i>Argos</i> . | 867.1 |
| Thanksgiving | Of <i>Romulus</i> to <i>Jup. Feretrius</i> , at the offering up of spoiles, and dedication of the temple. | 9.1 |
| | Of the Saguntines to the LL. of the Senat, with a gratulation for their victorie. | 698.0 |
| Reconciliation | Betweene Romanes and Albanes by <i>Metius Sufferius</i> . | 16.1 |
| An Intimation | Of <i>C. Mutius Scevola</i> , to <i>Porcen</i> king of the Clusines. | 52.0 |
| Congratulation | Of <i>Papirius</i> the Dictatour to the people, about the absolution and pardon of <i>Q. Fabius</i> maister of the horsemen, who against his Edict had fought. | 367.1 |
| | Of the Syracusians to <i>Marcellus</i> , for killing of <i>Annibals</i> favourites, who held and oppressed Syracuse, and for reconciliation with the Romanes. | 570.1 |
| Commen-dation | Of king <i>Eumenes</i> sonne of <i>K. Attalus</i> , for the Romanes victorie against <i>Antiochus</i> , with a petition of rewards for cost and labour employed in that warre. | 975.0 |
| | Of <i>P. Scipio</i> to <i>Luceius</i> prince of the Celtiberians, for rendring to him his spouse. | 923.1 |
| | Of <i>Spurius Ligustinus</i> the Centurion to the commons, with a request that they would assigne him a place of service worthie his deserts, in the Macedonian warre. | 1134.1 |
| Praise | Of <i>Scipio</i> by <i>Annibal</i> , with a petition of peace. | 760.0 |
| | Of <i>Antigonus</i> , by <i>Philip</i> king of the Macedonians, whom hee thought worthie to weare the crowne of Macedonie, disinheriting his sonne <i>Perseus</i> a parricide. | 1093.1 |

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|-------------|---|--------|
| Dispraise | Of the arrogancie of <i>Cato</i> , by <i>Aulus Virginius</i> to the Commons. | 96.1 |
| | Of the schoolemaister of the Faliscanes trecherie, by <i>Camillus</i> . | 198.0 |
| | Of the filthy ceremonies of the Bacchanales, with a solemne invocation of the gods, by <i>Posthumius</i> Consull, to the people. | 1032.0 |
| Accusa-tion | Of <i>L. Quintius Cincinnatus</i> the Consull, to the people against <i>Aulus Virginius</i> . | 101.1 |
| | Of <i>Aulus Virginius</i> against <i>Appius</i> the defendant. | 125.1 |
| | Of <i>L. Sextius</i> a Commoner Tribune, against <i>M. Posthumius</i> a militarie Tribune, to the people. | 171.1 |
| | Of <i>T. Manlius</i> the Consull against <i>T. Manlius</i> his sonne, whome hee had beheaded, for that in the Latine warre he fought against the enemy without his commaundement. | 285.0 |
| | Of a recrimination of <i>C. Manlius</i> the Dictator against certaine noblemen, who accused him of ambition or unlawful suing for dignities, because they might not come to their answer when they were accused. | 332.1 |
| | Of <i>P. Sempronius</i> a Tribune of the Commons against <i>App. Claudius</i> , who within the lawfull time, that is to say, eighteen months, would not resigne up his office of Censorship. | 338.1 |
| | Of <i>Hanno</i> against the Carthaginians, about the league broken with the Romanes by <i>Annibal</i> , whome the Romane embassadours required to have punished, as the authour guiltie of that crime. | 398.1 |
| | Of <i>P. Scipio</i> against the mutinous souldiours, who in his absence had thrust the Colonels out of the campe, and bestowed the soveraigne commaund upon the chiefe heads of that sedition. | 688.1 |
| | Of the Legates of king <i>Philip</i> in the counsell of the Ætolians against the Romanes, with a dissuasion that the Ætolians should not side with them. | 789.1 |
| | Of <i>L. Furius Purpurio</i> and <i>P. Æmylius</i> , against <i>Cn. Manlius</i> , that hee might not have a triumph graunted. | 1011.1 |
| | Of <i>Perseus</i> the sonne of <i>Philip</i> the Macedonian against his brother <i>Demetrius</i> , whom he accused of Parricide. | 1065.1 |
| | Of <i>Q. Martius</i> the Romane embassador against <i>Perseus</i> king of the Macedonians, for the covenants of league broken. | 1138.0 |
| Defence | Of <i>M. Manlius Capitolinus</i> before <i>Cornelius Cossus</i> the Dictator, and the LL. of the Senat. | 227.1 |
| | Of <i>Sp. Posthumius</i> against the Tribunes of the Commons, who hindered the submission made unto the Samnites at Caudine Furca. | |
| | with a persuation, Of <i>Hanno</i> to the Carthaginians, that they would think that joy vaine, which was risen upon <i>Annibals</i> victorie over the Romanes at Cannæ. | 481.1 |
| | Of the embassadors of those souldiours who remained after the Cannian overthrow to <i>Mar. Marcellus</i> , concerning the disgrace offered to them by the Senat, with a petition of a better state and condition. | 548.1 |
| | or a recrimination, Of <i>M. Marcellus</i> against the Syracusian embassadours, who complained of injuries done unto them by him. | 607.1 |
| | Of <i>Cornelius Scipio</i> Consull, against <i>Q. Fabius Maximus</i> , who dissuaded that the province of Africa should be graunted to <i>P. Scipio</i> . | 699.0 |
| | with a recrimination, Of <i>Annibal</i> to the Carthaginians, who blamed him when he laughed in the generall mourning of the cittie. | 771.1 |
| | Of the Romane Legates in the counsell of the Ætolians against <i>Philip</i> , with a persuation, that the Ætolians should abide in league and amitie with the Romanes. | 191.0 |
| | Of <i>Philip</i> the King to those imputations which the Romans & others did challenge him for. | 830.1 |
| | Of <i>Nabis</i> tyrant of the Argives to <i>T. Quintius</i> in the generall counsell of Greece. | 871.1 |
| | Of <i>Cn. Manlius</i> the Consull against <i>L. Furius</i> and <i>P. Æmylius</i> , who interposed their negative, that he should not triumph for the war which he managed against the Gallogreekes. | 1013.1 |
| | Of crimes objected to the Achæans by the Lacedemonians, by <i>Lycortas</i> their Pretour, before <i>Appius Claudius</i> cheefe of the Romane Legates. | 1046.1 |
| | Of <i>Demetrius</i> king <i>Philip</i> his sonne, accused of parricide, against his brother <i>Perseus</i> . | 1067.1 |
| | Of <i>Arco</i> brother of <i>Xenarchus</i> the Pretour of the Achæans, for <i>Perseus</i> king of the Macedonians | |

- nians against *Callicrates*, who had persuaded that no societie was with him to be contracted.
1111.a.
- Defence { Of *Perseus* the Macedonian king, to *Quintus Martius* the Romane embassadour. 1138.g
Of *L. Aemilius Paulus* for making delay in his going into Macedonie, with an admonition to the people, that they would not feed the rumours of warre, but keepe in their prating, for that it was a great hinderance to them that were to be employed in warre-affaires. 1183.b
Of *L. Aemilius Paulus* to his souldiours, wherein he sheweth the reason why hee delaied battell. 1195.d.
- Excuse Of *Scipio* to the petition of *Anniball* concerning the conditions of peace. 761.a
- The up- { Of *P. Horatius* to the people of Rome for his sonne accused of felonie. 19.g
braiding { Of *Himileo* a man of the Barchine faction, against *Hanno*, who accused the Carthaginians for the breach of the league with the Romanes by *Anniball*. 481.a
- Invective { Of *Lu. Quintius Cincinnatus*, against the licentiousnesse of the nobles in creating of magistrates. 101.a
Of *C. Pontius* Generall of the Samnites against the intollerable pride and inhumane crueltie of the Romanes, with a persuation to a just and lawfull warre. 312.g
Of the same *C. Pontius* to the Romane Fæciale herault at the deliverie of Consuls, Captaines, Treasurers, and Colonels, sureties for the Caudine peace. 820.g
Of *M. Ruffus Minutius* Generall of the horsemen against *Quintus Fabius* the Dictator, for his delays and cowardise against *Anniball*, besieging *Sinuessa* a Colonie of the Romans, even before their eies. 440.x
Of *T. Quintius* against *Nabis* the Argive tyrant, for that he accounted of the Romane allies as enemies, and had joined himselfe with their enemies against the Romanes. 872.a
- Expostulation { Of *Veturia* to *Coriolanus* her son, making warre upon the Romanes for the Volscians. 70.x
Of *Minio* the principall friend of *Antiochus*, to the Romane embassadours. 897.d
Of *Rhodian* embassadours in the Senate with a clearing of crimes objected. 1124.g
- Purgation { Of *P. Valerius Publicola* Consull to the people, in the case of seeking to be king. 48.1
with a challenge, Of one of the Carthaginians to the Roman Legats, shewing upon what plot and advise *Anniball* had besieged *Saguntum*. 403.b
- Com- { And lamentation of *Lucretia* to her husband, her father and friends, for the violence offered her. 41.b
plaint { Of *P. Valerius Publicola* Consull, to the Tribunes and the whole Communalitie against *Appius Herdonius*, who with banished men and slaves had in the night seized the Romane castle. 99.b
Or a greivous lamenting with an exhortation of *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fourth time Consull to the Commons, touching the discords of the citizens. 133.b
Of *Perolla* the Campane, to *Pacuvius* his father, that he had thrice betrayed his country. 419.a
Of *Magius Decius* to the multitude of the Campanes gathered about him, untill by the commaundement of *Annibal*, he was bound and led to execution. 479.d
Of the Samnite embassadours to *Anniball* that he would aid them against the Romans. 502.i
Of the Locrenian embassadours in the Senate, against *Q. Pleminius* captaine of the Romane souldiours, for the great injuries offered to them by him and his souldiours. 721.c
Of *Philip* the Macedonian to the Romane Legates. 1040.x
Of *Philip* the Macedonian touching the unfortunate estate of him and his children. 1064.1
Of *Callicrates* the Achæan against *Perseus* king of Macedonie. 1110.1
Of *Lu. Aemilius Paulus*, as concerning his wonderfull calamitie and of his triumph, which was (as it were) a spectacle and mocking stocke of this worlds mutabilitie. 1230.g

Of

- Rebuke { Of the Volscians to the Roman Legats, who after the losse & ruin of *Saguntum*, required of them to stand firme in league & societie with the Romans against the Carthaginians. 401.a
Of *M. Marcellus* to his souldiours, in that they abandoned their campe with that fearfulness, whereby they lost the opportunite of fight, which *Anniball* refused. 637.a
Of *Aristhenas* Pretour of the Achæans, against them: for that in their Counsell they were silent, and answered not to the demands of the Romane Legates. 820.i
Of *L. Aemilius Paulus* to king *Perseus*, because he submitted to the Romans, with an admonition to his men, of the change and alteration of this world. 1205.f
- Humble { Of *Lu. Virginus* to his souldiours, wherby he refused the magistracie of a Decemvirship offered unto him without his seeking. 122.h
inreatic { Of *T. Manlius* the Consull to the Latine embassadours, requiring of the Senate, That one of the Consuls might bee chosen out of the Latines, and that they might have a part in the Senate. 283.a
- Comm- { Of *Scilins*, against the decree of *Appius* the Decemvir, to the end that *Virginia* his spouse should not remaine without her fathers house. 118.h
ination or { Of *L. Virginus* the father against *Appius Claudius* for his daughter *Virginia*. 119.a
threatening { Of *Cornelius Cossus* the Dictator, against *M. Manlius Capitolinus*, for that by his excessive gifts he had stirred the people up against the nobilitie. 224.1
Of *C. Fabius* the Dictator, touching the rashnesse of *Rufus Minutius* Generall of the horsemen. 449.c
Of *P. Cornelius Scipio* against *Cecilius Metellus* and other noble young men of Rome, who plotted to abandon *Italie* for feare of *Anniball*. 495.x
Of *Tib. Gracchus* to his souldiours, of penaltie to be inflicted upon those slaves who refused to fight. 519.c
- Interro- { Of *Caius Junius* a Tribune of the commons, to *Tempanius* a horseman: about *Sempronius* the Consull, who had shamefully abandoned his campe in the war against the Volscians. 194.m
gative { Of *M. Manlius Capitolinus* to the gods, when he was led to prison for a sedition. 231.a
Of *L. Papyrius* the Dictator, to *Fabius Maximus* Generall of the horsemen, for that against his decree he had fought with the Samnites. 301.m
Of king *Philip*, and, Of *Titus Quintius* the Consull, touching conditions of peace. 827.d



The Errata

Page 5, line 10. read, with ber. p. 9. l. 40. r. swie and rage. ib. 42. considerate. 43. subtilite. 11. 35. unresolute. 19. 6. long continued not. 37. 2. made according. 37. 5. 4. his conscience. 38. 20. uppermost. 38. 27. appearance. 39. 5. in the margin. r. 7500 lib. p. 41. 36. ungracious. 42. 35. one instant. 45. 46. plauses. 51. 13. out of. 58. 3. sent them home. 65. 37. fel stomach. 70. 44. house gods. 71. 27. so forward. 72. 19. in the margin. r. 15. p. 75. 7. al at once. 77. 47. guidons. 78. 10. Carmentalis. 81. 30. slunk. 83. 35. the generall. 89. 24. baryng. 91. 29. were killed. 91. 50. the mutall. 92. 26. than in any. ib. 46. Curio. 111. 25. competitors. given. 112. 44. they not. 114. 8. upholding. 115. 24. nor in. 112. 56. this uncom. 134. 38. houses. 140. 29. the child. 154. 26. Volturna. 155. 5. Confors. 155. 55. was entred. 159. 55. they encamped. 177. 10. upon us. against us. 179. 43. Locutius. 188. 26. have himself. 190. 13. bee trained. 193. 11. might overtoile. 194. 10. and their new. 203. 50. fourth time chosen. 218. 4. thence against. ib. 8. For the Tuscans. ib. 19. fell to. 219. 25. seised on. 219. 43. that they had. ib. 55. 25. tribes. 221. 41. put himself. 226. 44. Squasours. 239. 13. toward a wall. 244. 5. negative voices. ib. 32. P. Manlius. 247. 30. small things. I confesse. 248. 34. willingly determined. 250. 49. and lost. 261. 42. Commons born. 276. 13. in the margin. r. 870. p. 287. 29. Novensiles. 287. 43. Anieplani. 290. 6. Publius. 300. 30. purposely. spent. 310. 36. for Sabines read Samnites. 311. 53. the whole count. 316. 22. nor the pleasant. 323. 40. into our enemies. ib. 49. our sillie errors. 325. 48. he knew how. 333. 20. God Hercules. 361. 23. for the provision. for pag. 395. r. 393. for 396. r. 394. p. 408. 32. dissonant. ib. 50. angered and provoked. 409. 20. sought the soulds. 411. 20. entermingled almost. 415. 45. their joints flake and fliffe. 419. 4. to them and their. 421. 41. to main the walls. 405. 49. here and there. 433. 1. that was left. 439. 53. bee flood. 450. 55. Strucke both him. 457. 1. entertaine them. 468. 53. to lie close. 478. 19. further (quoth bee) 490. 35. that as they. 502. 54. as it seemeth. 505. 32. for on out, read out. 534. 8. revols from the Romans. 548. 38. confined into Sicilie. 563. 22. the life of Gracchus. 584. 12. their beeles. ib. 28. low degree. 593. 36. to refrigate. 600. 12. for fittie read five hundred. 602. 3. M. Valerius. 603. 33. the Epirots. 619. 2. a right. 622. 30. Sex. Digitiis. 630. 47. new were. 634. 36. desert of theirs. 655. 16. Q. Fulvius. 658. 37. M. Livius. 673. 22. them be refitted. 697. 40. ours of Italie. 700. 38. rather than. 703. 11. read thus. As me thinke the very suspicion it selfe is not so well cleared as it ought to be. 709. 7. of three hundred. 710. 11. never looked they. 751. 6. in the margin. Idolatours. 791. 15. within our confines. 815. 19. kings pavilions. 817. 28. so much. 842. 11. to Prusias. 868. 27. and spiall. 890. 16. the swiftest and hottest horses. 895. 49. and kindle. 921. 14. to the armie also. three hundred thousand of wheat: and two hundred and fiftie thousand of barley to Rome: besides, That the king would send five hundred, &c. in the margin. read, of so great a State. 926. 51. Phestus. 951. 3. read for to force the heaven, due fashion the haven. 961. 50. his owne vessels. 962. 36. dispossessed. 965. 25. a pish as, &c. 972. 14. Damocritus. 22. L. E. mylius the Pro-pretor. 986. 38. to strike another. 987. 10. Damocetes. 988. 42. Dolopians. 997. 55. be recommended them. 1007. 20. Colopians. 21. Clezomenians. 1024. 3. and one occasion. 1027. 8. En. Manlius. 1028. 33. Hippala Egecia. 1030. 20. from her own mouth had. 25. a capitall matter. 1034. 14. Opietius. for p. 1077. r. 1073. l. the Pontick. 50. for p. 1080. r. 1083. and over the lease. 1084. 1082. l. 34. Cleomenes. 1097. 7. bold and continue. 11. Colonell of the second legion. 1098. 51. in one of his feet. 1099. 20. having sent. for p. 1098. r. 1098. l. 55. was put over and. 1113. 21. of Orthobulus his wives. 1120. 46. Lenas and P. Elius Ligur. 1127. 34. uske authority. 1137. 21. the amitie and 51. Pantachus. 1155. 45. be bestowed. 1159. 24. Affes. 1166. 34. mutual acculations. 1167. 35. Statera. 1170. 8. read thus, Yet could not be find in his heart to expend, &c. 1178. 48. betwene Perseus and Eumenes. 1179. 3. nor bee tooke. 1180. 21. to content. 54. image of Vertumnus. 1196. 9. owne ranke. 40. as they did. 47. him quite. 1205. 49. faithfully. 54. frailetie of man. 1206. 8. confidently trust. yet before night? 1208. 36. be had assigned. 1209. 50. person to doe. 55. to a benefite. 1210. 39. the tribe Esquilina. 1214. 52. Lycia and Caria. 1215. 2. during this warre. 1216. 17. Ura-ton and agent. 1226. 9. If by nothing. 1234. 10. read, a hundred thirtie sixe, and a hundred thirtie seven. 1266. 17. no king raignd ever there.